Aghu

Annotated texts with grammatical introduction and vocabulary lists

Wilco van den Heuvel
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This book is an adaptation of Drabbe’s 1957 Spraakkunst van het Aghu-dialect van de Awju-taal, and makes the entire text collection, all lexical material, and the grammatical analysis of Drabbe (1957) available to a wider public. The present book is entirely based on Drabbe (1957), and generally follows Drabbe’s grammatical analysis rather closely. At the same time, the author has added new insights and made a connection with relevant developments in linguistic theory that have taken place since the 1950’s.

The Aghu language is one of the Awyu-Dumut languages, and is spoken in Southwest New Guinea, on the Indonesian half of the island, along the upper part of the 525-kilometer long Digul river. This area is characterized by vast lowlands, covered with swamps and rainforests. The texts presented in this book clearly reflect this natural environment, and offer a unique view of Aghu myths and legends from a period in which the Aghu-speakers had only just been relocated from their clan lands.

By its combination of a richly annotated text collection, a detailed grammatical introduction, wordlists that exhaustively and very clearly present the Aghu lexical data from Drabbe’s original publication, and an accessible index, this book is an invaluable tool for everyone who is interested in the culture or language of this region. Moreover, the text-based description of phenomena like switch reference, tail-head linkage, or clause-chaining make this language description into a valuable source for all linguists interested in the study of these phenomena or in whatever the study of a language may have to offer.
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A-PL 33
Aghu: annotated texts with grammatical introduction and vocabulary lists / Wilco van den Heuvel

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Subjects: Papuan languages.
Papuan languages — grammar.
Grammar, Comparative and general— switch reference.
Typology (Linguistics)

Creator: Heuvel, Wilco Van den, author.

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Other Creators/Contributors: Australian National University; Asia-Pacific Linguistics

Cover image: Cover from Petrus Drabbe’s Spraakkunst van het Aghu-dialect van de Awyu-taal, published in 1957 by Martinus Nijhoff, Gravenhage.
Preface

This book has as its primary aim to make Drabbe’s 1957 *Spraak kunst van het Aghu-dialect van de Awyu-taal* available to a wider scientific public. Petrus Drabbe (1887-1970) was a missionary of the Holy Heart, who worked between 1912 and 1960 in the Philippines, the Moluccan Tanimbar islands, and, from 1935 onwards, on the south coast of Dutch New Guinea (present West Papua, Indonesia). As Drabbe appeared to have a great skill for language learning and language description, his mission decided to appoint him as a ‘mission linguist’, which meant that he could devote most of his time to the analysis and description of local languages. Over a period of 25 years, Drabbe described over ten different languages in more or less detail, Aghu being only one of them.

Drabbe’s description of Aghu started off as a follow up to an earlier article on the Pisa and Sjiagha “dialects of the Awyu language” (Drabbe 1950). In the preface to *Spraak kunst van het Aghu*, Drabbe writes that after publication of the respective article, he was asked from different sides to provide original material to illustrate the “grammatical rules.” In answer to this question, Drabbe started collecting texts in what he calls “a third dialect of the Awyu language”, with the aim to publish them as an illustration of his 1950 article. During the process of collection, however, Drabbe discovered that the dialect was so different from the other two, that the texts could not serve the original aim, and even justified the publication of a separate language description or *sprak kunst*.

“Hereby we offer this [language description] to the practitioners of linguistics, together with some texts as an appendix, with interlinear literal translation and some notes”

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1 “We bieden die thans de beoefenaars der taalwetenschap aan, tezamen met een aantal teksten als aanhangsel, en wel met interlineaire letterlijke vertaling en enige nota’s.” (Drabbe 1957:iii)
From the study of Drabbe’s work, I have come to know Drabbe as an outstanding scholar, with a fine eye for the character and own ‘peculiarity’ of individual languages. As a Roman Catholic priest, Drabbe had received a decent training in classical languages, and it is this background that provided Drabbe with the tools he used to produce his language descriptions. The fact that Drabbe had not received a formal linguistic training at academic level, at times seems to have been a cause of tension in the contemporary acceptance of his work. The following 1957 preface gives some insight into the dynamics of this discussion, and may also serve as a justification of the present ‘re-publication’ of Drabbe’s work.

“There is another desire which, unfortunately, also this time we couldn’t fulfill. One would want us to provide many and exact phonetic data about the languages whose grammatical structure we analyze and describe; ideally, one would like to see these data accompanied by an analysis of the phonological structure. We fully acknowledge this desire as justified, but are not capable to meet this desire, as we know that we are not competent. Although it is, in principle, possible to learn what one does not know, given our age and the amount of work it would take to do such a study, which — if one wants it to lead to the desired results — would take a lot of time, we think we serve the interests of our mission — our primary aim — better if we spend the rest of the time that will be given to us in the same way as before. Although we acknowledge the desire mentioned above as justified, and although we acknowledge that our work will also in the future, seen from a scientific perspective, contain a gap, we are nevertheless of the opinion — and we are not alone in this — that our labour is not without merit for linguistics.”

“Aan een andere wens konden we helaas ook ditmaal niet voldoen. Men zou gaarne zien, dat we in ruime mate exacte fonetische gegevens verstrekten over de talen, waarvan we de grammaticale grondstructuur ontleden en beschrijven; liefst zou men deze gegevens nog vergezeld zien gaan van een analyse der fonologische structuur. We erkennen ten volle het rechtmatige van dit verlangen, maar zijn niet bij machte eraan tegemoet te komen, daar we ons incompetent weten. Weliswaar kan men leren wat men niet weet, doch gezien enerzijds onze leeftijd en anderzijds de omvang van een dergelijke studie, die — wil ze tot de gewenste resultaten leiden — geruime tijd in beslag zou nemen, menen we de belangen van het missiewerk — ons eerste doel — beter te dienen, door de tijd die ons nog geschonken zal worden, te besteden als voorheen. Het rechtmatige van bovengenoemd verlangen erkennen, en toegevend, dat ons werk ook in de toekomst, van wetenschappelijk standpunt bekeken, een lacune zal blijven vertonen, menen we toch — en we staan daarin niet alleen — dat onze arbeid niet zonder waarde is voor de taalwetenschap.” (Drabbe 1957:iii)
Drabbe concludes his preface with the following words:

“Where our opponent [Prof E.M. Ühlenbeck] rightly signals the lack of exact phonetic signs as a lacuna in our work — but, in our opinion, values this too highly — his judgment should be explained not out of prejudice or bias, but out of his great enthusiasm for structural linguistics. We can fully appreciate this enthusiasm, as we too consider a structural analysis to be necessary, if one really wants to bring all secrets of a language to the surface of conscious knowledge. We would therefore be delighted if the work, with which we only made a beginning, would, in this spirit, be brought to completion by others.”

Although this book does not work within the paradigm of structural linguistics that was current in the Fifties, it shares the same enthusiasm to bring all secrets of the Aghu language, as hidden in this Spraakkunst, to the surface. Not only to be seen by those who are competent in Dutch or those who manage to get hold of a copy, but by all those who, with Drabbe, would like to know more about this language, because

“Each language is a fascinating miracle, and because it is an intense joy to analyze such a miracle, as one repeatedly does new and unexpected discoveries.”

---

3 Waar onze opponent het ontbreken van exacte fonetische gegevens terecht signaleert als een lacune in ons werk, doch naar onze mening dit al te zwaar laat wegen, moet zijn oordeel verklaard worden niet uit vooringenomenheid of partijdigheid, maar uit zijn grote enthousiasme voor de structurele taalwetenschap, een enthousiasme, dat we ten volle kunnen waarderen, omdat ook wij een structurele analyse als noodzakelijk beschouwen, wil men uiteindelijk erin slagen alle geheimen van een taal aan de oppervlakte der bewuste kennis te brengen. Het zou ons dan ook ten zeerste verheugen, wanneer anderen de arbeid, waarmede wij slechts een aanvang maakten, in deze geest zouden kunnen voltooien” (Drabbe 1957:iv).

4 “…[omdat] iedere taal een boeiend wonder is, en het een intens genoegen is zo een wonder te ontleden, doordat men telkens nieuwe en onverwachte ontdekkingen doet” (Drabbe 1965: 27).
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## Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in this book follow the category labels proposed in the Leipzig glossing rules. If the Leipzig glossing rules provide no label for the respective category, I followed the labels proposed in Lehmann (2004).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGM</td>
<td>augmented (see section 2.3.2.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFT</td>
<td>counterfactual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnj</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CON</td>
<td>connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT_I</td>
<td>continuative I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT_II</td>
<td>continuative II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td>deictic center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dem</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>distant past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DST</td>
<td>distant (demonstrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMP</td>
<td>emphatic (pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIST</td>
<td>historical past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intr</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
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<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>iterative (aspect)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>literally</td>
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<tr>
<td>LNK</td>
<td>possessive linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>nonfirst person; see 2.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPP</td>
<td>opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pA</td>
<td>proto-Awyu</td>
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<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>pn</td>
<td>person number</td>
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<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp</td>
<td>postpositional case marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<tr>
<td>pron</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>QST</td>
<td>question</td>
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<tr>
<td>RLS</td>
<td>realis</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEQ</td>
<td>sequential</td>
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<tr>
<td>SR</td>
<td>switch reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>same subject</td>
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<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel (of unspecified quality)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

This book and Drabbe’s *Spraakkunst*

The present book can be seen as an adaptation of Drabbe’s 1957 *Spraakkunst van het Aghu-dialect van de Awju-taal*. It is intended to make the entire text collection, all lexical material, and the grammatical analysis of Drabbe (1957) available to a wider public, including those who are not competent in Dutch. Although the present book is entirely based on Drabbe (1957), and generally follows his grammatical analysis rather closely, at points I have added some of my own insights, or tried to make a connection with relevant developments in linguistic theory that have taken place since the Fifties (e.g. a growing understanding of clause chaining and switch reference).

This adaptation has been written as part of the project *The Awyu Dumut family of Papuan languages in its linguistic and cultural context*. In this project the different languages that are part of the Greater Awyu language group have been compared, and documented in more detail.⁵ At times, I have made reference to other publications that have resulted from this project, especially where new insights shed light on analytical problems within Aghu.

Great care has been taken to indicate clearly in the text where my analysis differs from Drabbe’s. At the same time, in order to enhance the comparison between this book and the original, each section closes with a list of references to the corresponding sections in Drabbe (1957). The structure of this book follows that of Drabbe: Part I, consisting of chapters

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⁵ This project took place at the VU University of Amsterdam, and was supported by De Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, reference number 380-89-020.
1 to 5, is a grammatical introduction to the texts; Part II deals with vocabulary; and part III is an extensive collection of texts.

**Language name, environment and speakers**

The name ‘Aghu’ ([axu]) as the name for this language was chosen by Father Drabbe, because this was the term speakers of the language used to refer to themselves. As in many other languages, the term that is used for self-reference is the word meaning ‘human being’. Drabbe preferred this name over *Djair*, which was the label used by outsiders, but not used for self-reference. The name *Djair* was introduced by foreigners from overseas in the 1920’s, at the time of first contact. It was used to refer both to a side-river of the Digul-river (called *Biaxe* by the people themselves; see the *Biaghe rivier* in map 1 below), and to some 100 ancestors of the Aghu-speakers, who lived by the side of this river. Drabbe writes that later the name was extended to refer to “all Papuans wearing aprons in these areas.” By local Papuans living along the Digul-river, the name *Djair* was considered a Malay term, and used as an exonym when they spoke Malay, both as a name for the *Djair* river and as a name for the people. By the time Drabbe wrote his sketch (1957), the speakers of Aghu had all moved elsewhere.

When Drabbe wrote his grammar sketch, Aghu was spoken by some 1,500 people, in the area between the Digul river (*Dügü* on the map below) and the Mapi river, also indicated on the map below. The northern border was formed by an imaginary line running from the village of Mutiriop to the east, and the southern border by an imaginary line eastwards from Kenggi. On the map below, the villages with a name are those where a teacher (Malay: *guru*) had been located, while the other dots refer to places where small groups of Aghu people were living. The division into ‘villages’, where a *guru* was located, and the other locations where Aghu were living reflects the contemporary process of village or *kampung*-formation. The
*kampungs* were initiated by the Dutch government, which tried to relocate people from their clan lands (the dots on the map) to these settlements. It was in these *kampungs* that institutions such as schools, clinics, churches, shops or government offices were founded, and often the foundation of *kampungs* was supported, or even initiated, by the mission (cf. de Vries 2012). In this light, Drabbe’s remark that the majority of these 1,500 speakers “are now under the influence of government and mission” should be read as “most of the Aghu speakers now live in *kampungs.*” Drabbe remarks that the villages of Mutiriop and Kenggi hosted people from the Mandobo area together with the Aghus. This remark reinforces the idea that here we have *kampungs* formed by the government, where we would often (and still do) find people from different tribes living together (de Vries 2012).
The region where Aghu was spoken is bordered by very sparsely populated areas to the west, by speakers of Mandobo to the east, Marind in the south,
and Kombai speakers in the north. It should be noted that Drabbe states that there are no Awyu speakers to the north of the area. This may mean either that the area was sparsely populated by the time of writing, or that Drabbe did not consider Kombai to be an Awyu variety.

**Language classification**

As stated above, Aghu is just one of the many different languages on which Drabbe published. He speaks about Aghu as a “dialect” of the Awyu language, other “dialects” being Sjiagha and Jenimu (Drabbe 1950), Pisa (Drabbe 1947), Kaeti (Mandobo; Drabbe 1959) and Yonggom Wambon (Drabbe 1959). Drabbe speaks about these varieties both as separate “languages” (e.g. Drabbe 1959: 4,115) and as “dialects of the Awyu language.” Although this terminology may seem contradictory or confusing, there are, in fact, good grounds for both of these characterizations. On the one hand, these language varieties are part of a dialect continuum, in which speakers from adjacent geographical localities, e.g. A, B, C, D and E, speak slightly differently. In such a (somewhat simplified) situation, speakers from B will understand speakers from A and C, but not D, while speakers from C will understand speakers from B and D, but not A and E, etc. On the other hand, the varieties described by Drabbe are so different that they are not mutually intelligible and rightly considered different languages.

While Drabbe considers all varieties to be part of the Awyu group, Healey (1970) and Voorhoeve (2002, 2005) later proposed an Awyu-Dumut family

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6 Drabbe writes that the Aghus refer to “tribes on the left shore of the Digul-river, which speak a different language, have other customs, and other phallocrypts (covering of the genitals; Dutch: schaambedekking)” as Ghabu. These Ghabus, who did not speak Malay, referred to the Djairs or Aghu people as Kojêt. It is not entirely clear to me how the Ghabu relate to the Mandobo: are they a group of Mandobo?

7 In this book, the name Yonggom Wambon is used for the language variety described by Drabbe (1959), while the name Digul Wambon is used for the language variety described by de Vries (1992).
of languages, with a division into an Awyu family (Pisa, Jenimu, Sjiagha, Aghu) and a Dumut family (Yonggom Wambon, Kaeti (Mandobo) and, after de Vries and Wiersma (1989, 1992) also Digul Wambon). Voorhoeve also considers Kombai (de Vries and Wiersma 1989, de Vries 1993) to be part of Awyu-Dumut, probably as a separate branch. Later work on proto-morphology (de Vries, Wester and van den Heuvel 2012) has confirmed this hypothesis, and lead to the following classification of these languages:

![Diagram](attachment:image.png)

**Figure 1:** Aghu as member of the Awyu branch of the Awyu-Dumut language family.

De Vries et al. also argue for a genealogical link between Korowai (van Enk and de Vries 1993) and the Awyu-Dumut language group, as part of a Greater Awyu-family. Generally the Awyu-Dumut family (or Greater Awyu) is considered to be part of the Trans New Guinea family, primarily on the basis of its pronouns and some basic vocabulary (see e.g. Voorhoeve 2005, Ross 2005 followed by Pawley 2005:94). Hypotheses about any intermediate levels of classification (e.g. with the Ok languages, cf. Voorhoeve 2005 and van den Heuvel and Fedden 2014) remain highly speculative, or await further investigation.
PART I

GRAMMATICAL INTRODUCTION
1. Phonology

Drabbe (1957): sections 2-6, p. 1b-4a

1.1 Phoneme inventory

1.1.1 Vowels
The vowels of Aghu are given in the following figure, where the signs in brackets indicate the orthography used in this book, in case this differs from the IPA notation.

![Figure 2: Aghu vowels; signs in angular brackets (<> ) indicate the orthography used in this paper.](image)

The phonemic contrast between five of the six vowels is illustrated in the following series of minimal pairs: mi ‘drink’; mü ‘blunt’; me ‘upper stream’; ma ‘name of clan’; mo ‘back end’. The phonemic status of /u/, finally, is evidenced by the following series: kumu ‘WITH’ vs. kimi ‘hold’; osu ‘go up’ vs. osü ‘go down’; jobo ‘fish trap’ vs. jobu ‘sharp object’; ko ‘kind of tree’ vs. ku ‘youngest shoot of palm tree’.

Although the phonemic contrast between the vowels is clear,⁸ the language also has a number of words where the vowels fluctuate in certain positions

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⁸ “The vowels mentioned above can certainly be distinguished from each other, and the difference between them is relevant without any doubt” (Drabbe 1957:1b).
(Drabbe speaks about the ‘swopping’ of vowels). Drabbe gives the following fluctuations: $a \sim e$ in mase~mesa~mese ‘already’ or jafi ~jefi ‘good’; $o \sim u$ in moso~musu ‘come up’; $e \sim i \sim u$ in keto~kito~kuto ‘leg, (of animal:) hindleg’ and $e \sim o$ in bedo~bodo ‘arm, (of animal:) foreleg’. Drabbe also mentions that it is often hard to distinguish the vowels from each other, and then mentions more or less the same contrasts: $a$ vs. $e$, $o$ vs. $u$, $i$ vs. $e$ and $ü$, $ü$ vs. $u$. It should be noted that it is always phonologically adjacent vowels that are hard to distinguish, and that the fluctuation is also between adjacent vowels. It is also relevant to note that all the examples of fluctuation are two-syllable words, in which it is always the first syllable that has a fluctuating vowel (and sometimes also the second syllable). As word accent falls on the last syllable of the word (see 1.2.3 below), the first vowel is unstressed. It is very well possible that what Drabbe describes as ‘swopping of vowels’ (fluctuation) or as a difficulty to distinguish vowels, has to do with a reduced or centralized pronunciation of vowels in unstressed positions. A centralized pronunciation would make the vowels in these positions phonetically more similar and therefore harder to distinguish.

1.1.1.1 Nasal vowels and long vowels
In word-final position, the oral vowels contrast with ‘nasal vowels’, which are phonetically also somewhat longer than the oral vowels. As shown in

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9 The only exception here is the alternation between kito and kuto, where $i$ and $u$ are not adjacent. However, given that both the contrast $i$ vs. $ü$ and the contrast $ü$ vs $u$ are hard to distinguish, it is very well possible that [küto] was a possible realization too, in case we would have adjacent vowels $i$, $ü$ and $u$.

10 This is also the case in Dutch, where vowels are reduced in unstressed positions, e.g. leading to the realization [bə'næn] for /'banan/ cf. Booij (1999:14).

11 Although nasal vowels are generally restricted to word-final position, the language also has a few examples of compounds in which they have survived: á,sé ‘unmarried woman’, and ángu ‘area below the house’. The latter is a compound of á (< *an) ‘(women’s) house’ and a morpheme that is not attested elsewhere.
Wester (2014:35), Aghu nasalized vowels are reflexes of PAD vowel plus final *m or final *n. These final nasals were dropped, or realized as nasalization of preceding vowels in Pisa and Aghu, as neither Aghu nor Pisa have word-final consonants.

Some examples of vowel contrasts are the following: kiā ‘pointed bamboo’ vs. kia ‘story’; xā ‘bread tree’ vs. xa ‘bark’; ō ‘leave’ vs. o ‘say’; ē ‘eat’ vs. e ‘stand’, mī ‘firefly’ vs. mi ‘come down’; dū ‘bow’ vs. du ‘sago’.

Phonologically, ‘nasal vowels’ can be analyzed as a vowel followed by an ‘autonomous’ alveolar nasal. In cases where the nasal forms the end of a (phonological) word, it loses its place features and is linked to the preceding vowel, which is then nasalized and lengthened; note in this respect that Drabbe describes the nasals as phonetically longer. When the autonomous nasal does not form the end of a (phonological) word (which is the case e.g. for verb stems in a nasal vowel followed by inflectional affixes — see 2.3.1.1) or when it is followed by a vowel-initial word with which it forms a ‘close unit’12 (which is the case e.g. for verbal nouns followed by certain vowel-initial words — see 2.3.2.2), it is realized differently. Before the stops /k, g, b/ and /d/ the nasal assimilates to the following consonant, as in xafū ‘break’ + ke-ge ‘1.RLS[SG]’ realized as xafūnge ‘he broke’. When preceding /d/ within words, however, the nasal feature is linked to the following /d/, so that it is realized as -n, as in ku-ne ‘put.into-1.RLS[SG]’ from kū ‘put into’ plus the 1st person realsis marker -de (2.3.1), or ku-nia ‘put.into-HIST’ from the same verb plus historical past marker -dia (2.3.3.1). Before vowels, the nasal is realized as n, as in afī ‘take.II’ + oā ‘1PL.’ + e ‘FUT’ - > afioane ‘we will take’, or asī - > asin oman oxo [build.VN ignorant

12 Drabbe writes about a word being used “in close connection with another [word]” (Drabbe 1957:3).
The other examples given by Drabbe are the following:

- The nominal compound *jā abukume mbūsiü* [fire make.fire.II.VN house] ‘fire place’, where the final nasal of the verbal noun *abukumē* assimilates to the initial /b/ of * büsiü* ‘house’;
- In *o-d-oan = de* say-1.RLS-1PL = NEG ‘we didn’t say’, the autonomous final nasal of the verbal suffix -*oā* assimilates to the initial /d/ of the following negator *de*;
- In *dūŋ gi* [bow scrape.off], which is a common expression for ‘making a bow’, *dū* and *gi* apparently form a ‘close unit’: the final nasal assimilates to /g/; We find the same assimilation in *kumanŋ gi* [ill become] ‘become ill’ with the final nasal of *kumā* assimilating to the initial /g/ of *ki-* *gi* ‘become’.
- In *dafi-na-ngge* come.II-N1PL-DUR, the final nasal of *dafinā* assimilates to /k/ of the durative suffix *ke*;
- In *axine*, the final nasal of the 3SG irrealis form *axĩ* precedes the future suffix *e* and is realized as *n*.

Before /m/ and /n/, the final nasal links to the preceding vowel, so that we get a sequence of a nasalized vowel and [m] or [n], respectively. An example is *efe gõ mi-ke* [3SG blood come.down-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘his blood came down’.

With regard to vowel length, Drabbe writes that vowels are generally uttered neither short nor lengthened, but that in certain cases we hear a certain lengthening. Most relevant are the cases of contrastive vowel length, as these offer convincing evidence of the phonemic status of vowel length. Drabbe gives a few examples: [a:] ‘women’s house’ can be contrasted to [a]

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13 One could, in other words, also state that the default realisation of a consonantal nasal, with no inherent specification for space, is alveolar.
‘rain’, while [iː] ‘bird’ can be contrasted to [i] ‘lie’ and [i] ‘mention’.\textsuperscript{14} Another convincing case of contrastive vowel length is found in the contrast between semifinite realis forms and distant past forms, as in \textit{da-ke-nâ} ‘hear-N1.RLS-N1PL’ vs. \textit{dâ-ke-nâ} ‘hear-DIST-N1PL’ (see section 2.3.3.1).\textsuperscript{15}

While the words \textit{i} and \textit{ã} are lengthened in isolation, the vowel is short in nonfinal position, as in the compounds \textit{i.kimi} ‘kind of bird’ or \textit{i.numu} ‘kind of bird’, or \textit{a.müto} ‘house ridge’.\textsuperscript{16} In this book, I follow Drabbe in rendering vowel length by placing the diacritic \textsuperscript{−} above the vowel, at all places where he does so.

\subsection*{1.1.2 Consonants}
The following table gives an overview of Aghu consonants:

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & Bilabial & Alveolar & Palatal & Velar \\
\hline
 & un-voiced & voiced & un-voiced & voiced \\
 Plosive & p & b & t & d \\
 Nasal & m & n & & \\
 Fricative & f & s & & x \\
 Approximant & w & & j & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Aghu consonants; the signs in brackets indicate the orthography used in this book.}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{14} Other cases of words with long vowels given by Drabbe are \textit{tâku} ‘hang (tr.)’, \textit{kêku} ‘take on shoulders’, \textit{bê} ‘pound sago’, \textit{mâdî} ‘not.want.II’.

\textsuperscript{15} Some lengthened vowels are probably relics of the absorption of final consonants in earlier phases of the language; this absorption led to nasalisation (in the case of nasals) or lengthening of the preceding vowel, cf. de Vries (2015). In the case of the distant past, illustrated in the text above and in 2.3.3.1, we have to do with the elision of a non-final consonant $k$.

\textsuperscript{16} In the compound \textit{i+ axafo}, the vowel is even realized as a glide, “so that one could also write \textit{jaxafo}” (Drabbe 1957:2a).
The consonantal system is rather straightforward, with a contrast between plosives, nasals and fricatives, and two approximants. Plosives and fricatives have a three-way place distinction: bilabial, alveolar and velar, while only stops make an additional contrast between plus and minus voiced. All consonants are attested in word-initial and word-medial position; the language has no word-final consonants.

While for most of the consonants their realisation is similar to the IPA sign used for them, the following deserve extra discussion.

/d/ is realized as [d] at the beginning of words, but intervocalically it is realized as a flap r, or, as Drabbe states, as “a sound in between d and r.”

/x/ is realized as [x] at the beginning of words; intervocalically it may be slightly voiced.

/s/ is realized as [ʃ] when followed by iü, as in siü ‘banana’, posiü ‘old’ or püsiü ‘very’.

The following lists of words serve to illustrate that the contrasts given in the table above are indeed phonemic.

Bilabials
- Intervocalic: abi ‘knob’ (Dutch: knobbel) vs. afi ‘other side’ vs. api ‘mother’ vs. ami ‘bring down’. An example of intervocalic /w/ is found in jowe ‘nibung palm’
- Word-initial: bi ‘cold’ vs. fi ‘name’ vs. pi ‘long’ vs. mi ‘drink’ vs. wi ‘pig’

Alveolars
- Intervocalic: \textit{kidǐ} ‘straight’ vs. \textit{kitǐ} ‘put up’ vs. \textit{kisǐ} ‘sharp, pointed’; \textit{xati} ‘again’ vs. \textit{xasi} ‘spear’ vs. \textit{xani} ‘happy’; \textit{ede} ‘give’ vs. \textit{ete} ‘see’; \textit{wodo} ‘thumb’ vs. \textit{woto} ‘bunch’; \textit{tadi} ‘big’ vs. \textit{tani} ‘split’


\textbf{Velars}

- Intervocalic: \textit{mogo} ‘front of person’ vs. \textit{moxo} ‘nail’; \textit{axu} ‘human’ vs. \textit{agu} ‘search’ vs. \textit{aku} ‘fog’

- Word-initial: \textit{gu} ‘2SG’ vs. \textit{ku} ‘self’ vs. \textit{xu} ‘man’

It should be noted that Drabbe gives also /ŋɡ/ as a phoneme, which, as he writes, is attested in medial position only (Drabbe 1957:3b). Given the root structure of the language discussed below, however, the phonetic sequence [ŋɡ] is better analyzed as the sequence of the phonemes /n/ and /ɡ/, with assimilation of place causing /n/ to be realized as [ŋ]. It is interesting to note that also Drabbe seemed to have his doubts about the phonemic status of [ŋɡ], when he stated that all cases of [ŋɡ] might be compounds or derivations, with the first member ending in a nasal vowel. He gives \textit{kangō} ‘red’ as an example, pointing out that this can probably be analyzed as a compound of \textit{kā} and \textit{gō} ‘blood’, as there are many Papuan languages that express red by a word meaning ‘blood’.

\textbf{Fricatives}

- Intervocalic: \textit{boxi} ‘fence’ vs. \textit{bofī} ‘sharpen’; \textit{asū} ‘darkness’ vs. \textit{axu} ‘human’

- Word-initial \textit{fō}\textsuperscript{17} vs. \textit{xō} ‘sail’; \textit{faki} ‘secretly’ vs \textit{xati} ‘again’.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Fō} is the sound made by skulls when they want to talk.
1.2 Root and syllable structure

1.2.1 Root structure
The form of Aghu lexical roots can be described as follows:

\(((C)V[-\text{nasal}] (C^{[+\text{nasal}]})_{1-4} ((C)V^{[+\text{nasal}]}))_{0-1}\)

Figure 3: the form of Aghu lexical roots

An Aghu root, then, consists of one to maximally four (C)V-sequences, only the last of which may contain a ‘nasal vowel’, which, as explained above, is analyzed as a vowel followed by an autonomous nasal unspecified for place. In addition, Drabbe’s data contain some instances of roots containing a CC sequence; in all cases except one, the first consonant of the sequence is a nasal, as in *jangi ‘dog’, or *sunke ‘tobacco’.\(^{18}\) Consonant-final roots are not attested.\(^{19}\)

The minimal Aghu root, then, consists of only a vowel, and is exemplified by words like a ‘rain’ or u ‘voice’. The maximal root length in the data available to us, in terms of CV(C) sequences or syllables (cf. 1.2.2 below) consists of four (C)V(C) sequences, as in the following examples:

---

\(^{18}\) We found only one instance of a sequence of two medial non-nasal consonants, in *xabgibo ‘cockroach’, and one instance of two initial consonants, in *skamaxia ‘duck’.

\(^{19}\) Healey (1970:1001, 1024f), however, describes Aghu as having consonant final verb roots, as he presents the semifinite suffixes -k, -x and -ox as part of the verb. This practice is not followed by Voorhoeve (2001), although he makes an exception for *ete ‘see’, which he presents as *eteox and as derived from a proto form *feteox. Both Healey and Voorhoeve allow for root-final nasals, corresponding to what I analyze as vowels followed by an autonomous nasal.
kumukanĩ ‘vomit’ (used in combination with the verb ki ‘become’), or kutaxamu ‘each other’. There is one root, kiaxaime ‘guard’, which has even five (C)V(C) sequences, but which — in terms of the number of syllables — can be analyzed as having minimally three and maximally five syllables, dependent on whether the VV sequences are considered part of one syllable or not (cf. 1.2.2 below).

As for possible sequences of vowels, within lexical roots only the following sequences of vowels have been attested.\(^{20}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(1) } & /ai/ \text{ in } xaini \text{ ‘come close’, } Aïdu \text{ ‘name of person’}; /ei/ \text{ as in } jei \text{ ‘earthquake’}; \text{ there are only a handful of attestations of these sequences.}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{20}\) In principle, the sequences of ‘vowels’ given here, could be analyzed either as VV, or as CV / VC ([ai] and [ei] as VC, the other sequences as CV). This is because [i] and [ü] are always ambiguous between a C or V interpretation when they occur next to another vowel (cf. Pike 1975:129). In general, the best method to make a choice between these possible analyzes is by comparing the ambiguous sequences with unambiguous sequences elsewhere in the language. In the case of Aghu, however, this does not really help us further. Given that the language has no unambiguous sequences of root-internal vowels, one would be inclined to analyze the ambiguous sounds as C. This, however, would lead to consonant-final roots in the case of [ai] - > /aj/ and [ej] - > /ej/, and to (mainly root-initial) CC sequences for all other sequences, as the sequences are very often attested directly following a consonant (e.g. sia ‘cricket’). In spite of the lack of unambiguous VV or CC sequences, there is, however, good reason to analyze the sequences as VV. Drabbe usually spells i and not j, which strongly suggests that the sound is phonetically not realized as an onglide or offglide. Whereas the realization as an onglide or offglide would still allow for an analysis as V (cf. note 23), the opposite is less likely. If a sound, in other words, is usually realized as a vowel, it is most likely that it should also be analyzed as such. A parallel story holds for ü. If this were a consonant, we would expect it to be written as such, e.g. as w. The idea that Drabbe’s spelling indeed reflects a realization as a vowel is confirmed by the systematic cases in which he uses j instead of i, instead of ü he writes jü, cf. note 23 below. And in initial position Drabbe does make a difference between jV and iV, and between wV and uV, cf. note 24.
(2) /ia/, /ie/, /io/, /iü/ and /üa/, /üe/ and /üo/;\(^{21}\) these sequences are more frequent.

Unfortunately, Drabbe does not specify whether the two vowels are part of the same syllable, or whether one of the two is more prominent than the other. This means that there are insufficient grounds to characterize these vowels as glides (either onglides, or offglides).\(^{22}\) Phonetically, the sequences of series 2, which form the great majority of vowel sequences, generally consist of a high front vowel, followed by a lower vowel, as indicated in the following figure:

\(^{21}\) Drabbe also gives some words with the sequence /ea/. All these cases can be analyzed as complex words, ending in -axa (or axe), which has a predicative function: *tafeaxa* ‘again’, *makeaxe* ‘what’, and *buteaxa* ‘tight’ (Dutch: *stevig*). Cf. section 3.4 on adverbs, section 3.2.5.1 on interrogative pronouns and 3.3 on adjectives.

\(^{22}\) Cf. Chapman et al. (2000:71), who state that “a vowel glide may be defined as a sequence of two vowels in one syllable, one of the two being more prominent than the other.”
Interestingly, the sequences /iu/ or /yu/ (nor /yi/, /ui/, /uy/), consisting of two high vowels, are not attested, while /iy/, a sequence of two high vowels, is rendered by Drabbe as jü, which indicates that this phonetic sequence is realized as an onglide [ˈy]. Further it should be noted that the sequences beginning with /i/ (series 2 above) are attested almost exclusively following a consonant, as in sia ‘cricket’ or giedi ‘orphan’. There are some exceptions, however. I follow Drabbe in analysing intervocalic [j] as /j/, as

23 Although Drabbe never allows for /CjV/, he does include a number of words containing the sequence sjü, like sjü ‘banana’, posjü ‘old’ or püsjü ‘very’. In line with the analysis presented above, however, these words should be analyzed as ending in a sequence of two vowels, i and ü, phonetically realized as an onglide jü. It is relevant to note Drabbe’s remark that s is realized as [ʃ] (Dutch: s mouillé) “usually before ü, as in sjü ‘banana’, posjü ‘old’ or püsjü ‘very’” (1957:3a,b). In my view, then, we have to do here with the phonemic sequence /siü/, phonetically realized as the sequence of a palatalized s and an onglide: [ʃ( j) ü].
in *xajo* ‘ornament’, and follow Drabbe too in the difference he makes between initial /iV/ vs. /jV/ and /wV/ vs. /uV/. 24

Below is a list of words illustrating possible root forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>‘woman’; ď ‘leaf’; ū ‘liver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>tiū</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cũ</td>
<td>mĩ ‘star’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vũ</td>
<td>ĩ</td>
<td>‘bird’ 25; io ‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVũ</td>
<td>siū</td>
<td>‘banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVũũ</td>
<td>siũũ</td>
<td>‘spider’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C)VCV</td>
<td>xato</td>
<td>‘mouth (inside)’; efé ‘paradise bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C)VCũ</td>
<td>xadĩ</td>
<td>‘of bad character’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C)VCũũ</td>
<td>bomga</td>
<td>‘lip’; āngu ‘louse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C)VCũũũ</td>
<td>kango</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVCV</td>
<td>xuüo</td>
<td>‘sky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVCCV</td>
<td>kiambu</td>
<td>‘crocodile’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc. ....

1.2.2 Syllable structure
Aghu syllable structure could possibly be rendered as in the following figure:

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24 Drabbe gives quite a few instances of /jV/ and /wV/-initial words, but only the following /iV/ and /ía/-initial words: io, ‘stone’, ūaboxofi ‘lay down’. In these few instances, we can contrast /j/ vs. /i/ and /u/ vs. /w/ in analogous environments: io ‘stone’ vs. jō ‘copulate’ and ūaboxofi ‘lay down’ vs. wa ‘bad’.

25 I have analyzed long vowels as V. It is also possible, however, to analyze them as V. It falls outside the scope of this book to go deeper into this question.
It should be noted that this syllable structure follows the assumption that the vowel sequences given above are not part of the same syllable, but that the second vowel of each sequence forms a syllable on its own (possibly followed by a nasal consonant). Another option would be to consider the vowel sequences described above as (possibly) part of one and the same syllable, and to analyze them as sequences of two vowels. In that case, Aghu syllable structure would have to be presented as follows:

\[(C)V(V)(C^{[\text{+nasal}]})\]

Figure 6: alternative Aghu syllable structure

### 1.2.3 Lexical stress

Lexical stress is on the last syllable of the word. Drabbe speaks of a “weak accent.” Following Drabbe, I have not indicated stress in case it is regular, and use an accent grave to indicate stress in irregular cases, as in *toxopòmu* ‘some’. Scattered over the book, Drabbe gives several examples of stress shift to the prefinal syllable caused by “a strong connection between a word and another element.” A case in question is the sequence *si-ke nisi* [build-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘the one who builds’, where stress has shifted from the suffix *-ke* to the stem (cf. Drabbe 1957:11).
Another example is formed by the question particles *ka* and *(a)xajo* discussed in 2.7.

1.3 Vowel harmony

Aghu has a number of morphemes in which one or more vowels harmonize or tend to harmonize with the vowel of the preceding or following root or affixes. Drabbe writes, however, that ‘only *a* never harmonizes, and [that] other vowels harmonizing with *a* become *e*’.

The following cases are described or attested:

- The same-subject suffix *-dV* (according to Drabbe: *-de*) harmonizes with the final vowel of the root to which it attaches. Thus we have *fimidi* think-ss, *xodo* go-ss, *musudu* come.up-ss, *iidu* stick-ss, *ete-de* see-ss, and — with *a* as final vowel of the root — *ade* take-ss.

- The vowel of *-dV* may also harmonize with the vowel of a following word, although this is more rare. Thus, we find both *xo-do=k dü bē-ke-nā* [go-ss=CON sago pound-N1.RLS-N1PL] ‘they go to pound sago’, where the vowel harmonizes with the preceding *o* ‘go’ and *xo-dū=k dü bē-ke-nā*, where the vowel harmonizes with the following *ū*.

- The vowels of the 3SG pronoun *efè* may harmonize with the vowel of the following word when it is used as possessive pronoun. Thus we find both *efè fī* and *ifi fī* 3SG name ‘his name’.

- The vowel of the specific article *fè* may harmonize with the final vowel of the word that it specifies: *dü fī* ‘an (other) clump of sago’.

- The vowel of the fossilized affix *-mV* harmonizes with the preceding vowel of the root to which it got attached, but may also harmonize with the vowel of the following suffix. The suffix is
found in forms like *tame* ‘write’, *sumu* ‘do repeatedly’, *fimi* ‘think’, *isipomo* ‘tread upon’, *küümü* ‘love’. Drabbe gives one example where the vowel harmonizes with a following vowel: *fimi-de* think-
1.RLS[SG] may also be realized as *fime-d-e*.

It should be noted that in all of the cases above, the vowel is either unspecified, in that it always harmonizes with another vowel, or has the vowel quality *e*, in those cases where harmonization is optional.26 Other cases of harmonization are the following.

- The vowel of the verb *ki* ‘become’ may harmonize with the *e* of the future suffix, so that *ki-n-e* become-
1SG-FUT alternates with *ke-n-e*.

- In the compound *kedo* ‘eye’ plus *mi* ‘come down’, plus *ete* ‘see’ all vowels of the noun harmonize with *mi*, leading to *kidi-mi-ití* ‘look down’.

- The N1.RLS suffix *-oxe*, which is one of the allomorphs of *-ke*, is usually realized as *-oxe*. When followed by the same-subject marker *-ku*, however, it is realized as *-oxo* (5.4.2.1). This may be seen as a case of partial assimilation, as the final vowel /e/ has not fully assimilated to /u/.

26 Drabbe (1957:2) writes: “we got the impression that [of all vowels] *e* is most often subject to harmonization.” Drabbe contrasts the “weak vowel” of the SS affix *-de* with a strong vowel *e* in the 1SG affix *-e*: the former always harmonizes with the preceding (or sometimes: following) vowel, while the latter does not. In my analysis, however, the “weak vowels” are unspecified for place, and receive their place features from neighboring vowels. We thus have both (a) vowels unspecified for place, which always harmonize with neighboring vowels, like the vowels in *-mV* and *-dV* and (b) vowels that are specified for place, some of which are specified as *e*, like the vowels in *efè* ‘3SG’. Vowels belonging to the latter category may, but need not, harmonize.
- The 1SG realis suffix -de is realized as -du when followed by the same-subject marker -ku (5.4.2.1) or by the different-subject marker -wu (5.4.2.2).

1.4 Vowel elision

As stated in 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 above, Aghu neither allows for consonant-final roots, nor for consonant-final syllables. At the same time, both medial vowels and final vowels are often elided, except in prepausal position. Drabbe gives the following examples, all of which are cases of medial vowel elision: [amko] for amoko ‘child’; kesxe for kesaxe ‘tree’; amgi for amigi ‘young woman’; aksümü for aküsüm ‘pour out’; ogsü for ogüsü ‘go up close’. In xo km= oxe for xo kèmu o-xe [DST ACC say-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘he said it over there’, we find both medial and final vowel elision. As a further illustration Drabbe gives “a sentence from a myth, first as one hears it when it is pronounced slowly, and then as one hears it when someone speaks rapidly:”

(1)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>da-xe-nā</th>
<th>ba-gidi</th>
<th>xati</th>
<th>mi-di =ke</th>
<th>xo-do =ke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[daxnā]</td>
<td>bagdi</td>
<td>xati</td>
<td>mdik</td>
<td>xdük</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
<td>sit-next.day</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>come.down-SS = CON</td>
<td>go-SS = CON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dü  

bēkenā  

dü  
bēknā]  

come-N1.RLS-N1PL | sit-next.day

‘they come home and the next day they come down and go out pounding sago’ (Drabbe 1957:3b)

Another case presented by Drabbe is the following:

---

27 Drabbe is not explicit about this, but we may safely state that this is the case, because neither Drabbe’s description nor the text corpus contain examples of elision in prepausal position, where I take prepausal as preceding a comma, colon, or semicolon.
In the example above, we do not only find an illustration of vowel elision, but also of the realization of /d/ as [r] in intervocalic position. Apparently, the ‘rule’ that regulates the realization of /d/ (cf. 1.1.2 above) is applied before the vowel has elided, so that we get [nomorkoxe] and not [nomodkoxe] as the surface realization.
2 Verbs

2.1 Introduction
Drabbe 1957: section 19f, p. 9f

As will be seen below, Aghu verb stems fall into two types: type I, used for realis, and corresponding stems of type II, used for irrealis. Aghu verb stems of type I are generally morphologically simple, while those of type II — which will be discussed in 2.2 below — can often be related to those of type I by (fossilized) affixation. The only complex stems of type I mentioned by Drabbe are the following.

(1) Verbs ending in \(-mV\) ‘do’ (with the final vowel harmonizing with the vowel of the preceding root, see 1.3), which Drabbe refers to as compounds, but which I will refer to simply as complex verbs.\(^{28}\) Examples are tame ‘write’; sumu ‘do repeatedly’; fimì ‘think’; isipomo ‘tread upon’ (Dutch: betreden); küümü ‘love’. Drabbe states that \(mV\) in ‘compounds’ often has a transitivizing function, as in other Aywu languages, (Drabbe 1957:9b-10a), but does not provide examples that would support this claim.\(^{29}\) To the category of verbs in \(-mV\) also belong certain stems of type II (2.2, Table 3, type

---

\(^{28}\) It seems more appropriate to consider \(-mV\) a suffix, as the formative is not attested as a lexical verb elsewhere (the lexical verb for ‘make’ or ‘do’ is ame), but only as an auxiliary in combination with verbal nouns, see 2.3.2.2. If \(-mV\) is considered an affix, it is incorrect to speak of the verbs under discussion as compounds. Although the gloss ‘do’ is, admittedly, somewhat unusual for an affix, it has not been possible to find a more appropriate term that would capture its function. More on \(-mV\) can be found in 2.2 below, esp. note 32.

\(^{29}\) Also de Vries (t.a.) points out that “all [Awyu Dumut] languages” have a productive process of word-formation with mo ‘to do’, but does not mention the transitivizing function.
a), certain iterative stems (2.4.1), continuative stems (2.4.3.4), and numeral verbs (2.9).

(2) Verbs compounded with *xo(x)* ‘go’

(3) A very small category of compound verbs formed by stems expressing motions in opposite directions, briefly dealt with in section 2.4.3.3.1.

As the composite semantic nature of the verbs is often not so clear from the semantics of the parts, I follow Drabbe in glossing both the verbs of category (1) and of category (2) as simple stems. I will do the same for compound verbs of a fourth, rest category. Although Drabbe does not mention these verbs separately, for some of them his gloss makes clear that he analyzes them as compounds. Examples of verbs belonging to this rest category are the following: *atoni-sü(k)* [fall-go.down] (cf. *osü(k)* ‘go down’) ‘fall down’; *pin-osü(k)* [fall-go.down] ‘fall down’; *eto-komu*30 ‘see and leave behind’ (cf. *eto* ‘see’); *mi-kū* [come.down-put.into] ‘swallow’, *kid-osü(k)* [eye-go.down] ‘look down’, *ügü-fū(ox)* [fell-lay.down] ‘fell and lay down’; *geni-mi(k)* [break-come.down] ‘break and come down’.

Other complex verbs are the directional verbs described in 3.5.

In line with the other Awyu-Dumut languages (cf. Wester 2014:87f), the Aghu verb system can best be analyzed according to two parameters: a basic opposition between realis and irrealis mood,31 and the division of

30 For this verb we have no data about the form of the realis marker.

31 At this point, Wester’s analysis differs from Drabbe’s analysis. Drabbe does not acknowledge the basic division into realis and irrealis mood, but analyzes the system presented below basically in terms of tense. He classifies stems of type II as future stems, and uses the following terminology: semifinite realis forms are ‘zero forms’, where zero indicates “the absence of tense, mood and aspect markers” (Drabbe 1957:10a); semifinite irrealis forms are “zero future forms”, while the irrealis finite forms are termed “e-forms” or “future indicative forms.” The 1st person realis marker *d(e)* (see semifinite realis in Table 2 in this section and Table 5 in 2.3.1.1 below) is analyzed by Drabbe as part of
verbs into nonfinite, semifinite and finite verbs. Of these, only the semifinite and finite verbs are inflected for mood and person-number, while the finite verbs are inflected for tense in addition. All inflection is realized by suffixation. The basics of the Aghu verbal system are visualized in the following table.

Table 2: The Aghu verbal system; ‘-‘, as in ‘- mood’ stands for ‘minus mood’; V is a vowel of unspecified quality; SS a same-subject marker, while pn stands for person number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NONFINITE:</th>
<th>Neutral with respect to realis-irrealis distinction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- mood</td>
<td>Stem_I + -dV’sS’ / -bu ‘SS’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-person.number</td>
<td>(stem_II (+ -a), as a verbal noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REALIS (stem type I)</th>
<th>IRREALIS (stem type II)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEMIFINITE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ mood</td>
<td>stem_I + -d(e) / -ke + pn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ person.number</td>
<td>stem_II + pn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- tense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| FINITE                |                         |
| + mood                | Distant past: stem_I + dk(e) / ke^2 + pn |
| + person.number       | Historical past: stem_I + d + ia + p n |
| + tense               | Future stem_II + pn + e  |

1. The suffix -dk(e) contains a reflex of the proto-Awyu realis mood marker *-d — which we also find in the realis semifinite form — plus a distant tense marker -k, cf. 2.3.3.1 below.

2. The suffix -ke contains a reflex of the proto-Awyu realis mood marker *-k plus a distant tense marker -ke. The two are contracted, which has led to lengthening of the final vowel of the stem, cf. 2.3.3.1 below.

the 1st person markers, while he considers the nonfirst person realis marker ke and its allomorphs as (meaningless) “ligatures” (Drabbe 1957:10b).
Formally, realis forms are characterized by the use of a stem of type I plus one of the dedicated realis markers $d(e)$ or $ke$, which in finite forms are sometimes fused with markers for tense. Functionally, the opposition between realis and irrealis has to do with the actualization of events: realis forms portray situations as ‘actualized’, as having occurred or actually occurring’ (Mithun 1999:173), while the irrealis portrays situations as not actualized (yet), existing purely within the realm of thought. Nonfinite verb forms are morphologically and functionally simplest, allowing only for the marking of ‘same subject’ (SS), which indicates that the subject of the verb is the same as the subject of the following verb (see 2.3.2.1 below). They are not marked for person and number of the subject, and there is no realis-irrealis distinction. Somewhat more complex are semifinite verbs, which inflect for person and number of the subject, and which distinguish — as described above — between realis and irrealis mood. Most complex, finally, are the fully finite verbs, which mark the same categories as the semifinite verbs, plus the category of tense.

Grammatical tense plays only a minor role in Aghu. Although the language has a category of fully finite verbs, which bear a formal expression of tense (historical past, distant past or future), these finite verbs are attested very rarely in the texts available to us. The texts contain only four cases of a future tense, historical past verbs are attested only in the concluding sections of the narratives, while distant past tense forms are found predominantly in contexts where the distant past meaning has bleached (cf. 2.3.3.1 example (65); 2.4.3.3 examples (105) and (107)). It is important to be aware, however, that the text corpus is highly biased, as it contains only very little direct speech. In fact, all four examples of future tense forms in the text corpus are found in quoted direct speech, which makes it very likely that investigation of Aghu daily conversation would yield a much higher frequency of future forms compared to the frequency in Drabbe’s
corpus. Whether this is also true for the different past tenses is a question that cannot be answered.

Coming to aspect, iterativity and habituality are expressed by suffixation to the verbal stem, which can then be used as the basis for nonfinite, semifinite or finite verbs (2.4.1 and 2.4.2). Durative aspect, on the other hand, can be expressed morphologically in semifinite and finite verbs, by the use of durative affixes that attach to the inflected verb; *i*- ‘DUR’ attaches to inflected realis verbs, while *-ke* attaches to inflected irrealis verbs (see 2.4.3.1). Durative aspect can also be expressed by the use of a proclitic *bu=* (2.4.3.2), or by syntactic constructions formed with posture verbs (2.4.3.3). Special forms of the posture verbs are used in the formation of continuative constructions, which express long or very long duration (2.4.3.4).

There do not seem to be systematic morphological differences between intransitive and transitive verbs (except from a single affix *-ni~nü* that seems to occur on intransitive verbs only, see Table 3 below). For the syntax of intransitive and transitive clauses the reader is referred to section 4.1

2.2 Stems of type I and type II: form
Drabbe 1957: section 25-26, p. 12-14; section 19, p. 9-10

As to their morphophonological structure, stems of type I can be divided into three types:
Type a: \(\ldots \tilde{V}\)\textsubscript{stem I} : stems ending in a nasal vowel
Type b: \(\ldots V\)\textsubscript{stem I} : stems ending in a non-nasal vowel
Type c: \(\ldots mV\)\textsubscript{stem I} : complex verbs in \(-mV\)\textsuperscript{‘do’}\footnote{32}

Stems of type II, on the other hand, all end in a non-nasal front vowel, so that their phonological make-up can be presented as follows:

\[\ldots V\textsubscript{front}\]\textsubscript{stem II}\footnote{33}

All stems of type II, then, end in \(i, e\) or \(\ddot{u}\). Although the form of the stems of type II cannot be fully predicted from the form of stems of type I or vice versa, and therefore have to be listed in the lexicon, there are some clear patterns. These have been summed up in the following correspondence table, where the second and the third columns give the patterns and the last column gives examples. Note that for each stem of type I, the form of the

\footnote{Stems of type Ic end in \(-mV\), which is an affix related to the verb \textit{ame} ‘make, do’ and derived from \textit{PAD} \(*emo\) ‘do, make’. In these complex stems, the final vowel harmonizes with the preceding vowel. Drabbe remarks that \(mV\) is also attested in other ‘Awyu languages’, where it also has the meaning ‘do’; compare the wordlist in Appendix A of Wester (2014). Affixation with \(-mV\) often has a transitivizing function. For the \textit{PAD} form \(*emo\) see Voorhoeve (2005: 152). Note that Aghu also has an auxiliary verb \(mV\), which we will meet in 2.3.2.2.5.}

\footnote{It should be noted that my analysis at this point differs from the analysis by Drabbe. In his view, all stems of type II end in a nasal vowel. In his analysis, then, it is the bare stem\_II that is used for N1SG (see Table 4), while in all other cases the stem is denasalized. In my view, a system in which the final vowel of stem\_II is not intrinsically nasal is simpler than the system proposed by Drabbe and therefore to be preferred. Moreover, although the Aghu system should, in the first place, be analyzed on independent and synchronic grounds, it is still noteworthy that the analysis of type II stems as ending in a non-nasal vowel seems to make more sense in a historical-comparative perspective. First, none of the other Awyu languages have nasalization as a feature of stems of type II. Second, the nasalization in N1SG — see Table 4 below — can be explained from proto-Awyu \(*cn\) ‘N1SG.IRR’ (cf. De Vries ea. 2012: 282, where the authors reconstruct \(*-cn\) (but follow Drabbe in characterizing Aghu as having nasal irrealis stems)).}
N1.RLS marker has been added in brackets (except for the stems ending in a nasal, for which see section 2.3.1.1).

Table 3: The forms of stems of type I and II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem_I</th>
<th>Stem_II</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>V̕]</td>
<td>Vme]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vgyge]</td>
<td>i ‘make a fiber skirt’ – ɡige; ɡō ‘make a plank bed or a bridge’ – ɡönge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vdü]</td>
<td>bū ‘shut eyes’ – būdū; jofū xō ‘sail’ – jofū xodū; xaʃū ‘cut in pieces’ – xaʃūdū; toxɔ ‘cut (animals) in big pieces’ – toxodū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vbi]</td>
<td>ɡi ‘shoot’ – ɡiʃ; mii ‘be afternoon’ – miiʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>fii]</td>
<td>ɡiʃe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V̕]</td>
<td>füʃe]</td>
<td>ifii(ox) ‘hit’ – ifiiʃe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni(k)²</td>
<td>di]</td>
<td>a weni(k) ‘stop raining’ – a wedi; bunii(k) ‘capsize’ – budii; dari(k) ‘open (intr, of eyes)’ – dadii; gini(k) ‘be full of men or animals’ – gidi; giponii(k) ‘be midnight’ – gipodii; xainii(k) ‘be similar to’ – xaʃidii; xanii(k) ‘die (plural subject)’ – xaʃidii; xoni(k) ‘come into existence’ – xodi; kianii(k) – kiadi ‘pass’; kenii(k) ‘be light / clear’ – kedii; pani(k) ‘be cooked through’ – podii; tonii(k) ‘hide (intr)’² – tadi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³⁴ Aghu verb stems are bound morphemes, in the sense that they are attested only in combination with (inflectional) affixes. To enhance the readability, however, throughout this book the stems are written without a hyphen.

³⁵ From Drabbe’s description it can be deduced that there are at least two verb forms in Aghu that can only be used with a plural subject. These are xani(k) ‘die,IT’ and kunũ xanda(x) ‘sleep,IT’. That iterative xani(k) implies a plural subject seems to me an implication of the fact that creatures generally don’t die more than once, so that the interpretation of xani as an iterative dying by an individual is excluded.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bünü(k)</td>
<td>‘extinguish [intr]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>düü</td>
<td>‘sail off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siünü(k)</td>
<td>‘have a wound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peso güünü(k)</td>
<td>‘have a wound’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Irregular forms reflecting a-prefixation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i(k)</td>
<td>‘mention’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>äi(g)</td>
<td>‘lie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi(k)</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi(k)</td>
<td>‘scrape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fi(k)</td>
<td>‘smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si(k)</td>
<td>‘build’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi(k)</td>
<td>‘scrape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ü(k)</td>
<td>‘fell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aküme</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxo kĩ</td>
<td>‘bathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kü̃</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxo akime</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aküme</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ada(k)</td>
<td>‘bind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dafi</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matafi</td>
<td>‘come uphill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saxe</td>
<td>‘swell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaxe</td>
<td>‘swell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mese</td>
<td>‘rise from sitting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mose</td>
<td>‘come in / out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muse</td>
<td>‘grow (of plants)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaie</td>
<td>‘give birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xai⁴</td>
<td>‘give birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogü(k)</td>
<td>‘go in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osü(k)</td>
<td>‘go down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>‘come down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xotaxi(k)</td>
<td>‘move over (intr)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ab gi(k)</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dotaxi</td>
<td>‘get up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūtaxi</td>
<td>‘go downhill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oto(x)</td>
<td>‘go uphill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penoto(x)</td>
<td>‘raise the head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temtaxi</td>
<td>‘flee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penotaxi</td>
<td>‘raise the head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temtaxi</td>
<td>‘flee’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes

1. This pattern (Ṽ with Vŋge as stem-II counterpart) is used only for a number of monosyllabic verbs.
2. Drabbe remarks that virtually all of the verbs ending in ni or nü are intransitive. I assume, therefore, that the verbs given here are to be understood as intransitives.

---

36 Drabbe incorrectly writes kü(ox), suggesting that the root would be kü. From examples like küo-bu ‘dig-ss’ (3.050) and küo-do=k ‘dig-ss = CON’ (2.006) it appears that the verb stem is küo.
Given the many examples that he gives, verbs ending in \textit{ni} seem to be rather frequent.

3. Drabbe, referring to Drabbe (1953), suggests that the prefix \textit{a-} might be the same as the future marker in Kamoro, “as Kamoro seems to be similar to Awju in other respects too” (Drabbe 1957:13b). Van den Heuvel and Fedden (2014:19), however, who studied the relation between Awju-Dumut and neighboring language groups, remark that they are “rather pessimistic about the chances of finding striking similarities.”

4. Drabbe does not give the form of the \textit{N1 RLS} marker here.

5. Drabbe points out that all these verbs are compounds with \textit{xo} and follow the stem alternation \textit{xo} ~ \textit{axi}. That they are compounds is confirmed by the form of the imperative: see section 2.5, in the discussion below Table 24.

6. This pattern is used only for complex verbs affixed with \textit{-mV ‘do’}. For all these verbs, the \textit{N1 RLS} marker has the form \textit{-oxe}, with elision of the final vowel of the stem, cf. section 2.3.1.1.

In addition to the irregular cases of \textit{a-prefixation} in the table above, the language has other “fully irregular” forms, like the following: \textit{axu(k)} ‘brood’ – \textit{axuke}; \textit{bē(k)} ‘pound (sago)’ – \textit{beje}; \textit{de(k)} ‘wait’ – \textit{demić}; \textit{pinoxo ū(k)} ‘jump’ – \textit{pinoxo wie}; \textit{tomū(g)} ‘roast’ – \textit{tomūdi}; \textit{ū(g)} ‘stick with spear’ – \textit{fūr}; \textit{ū(k)} ‘chirp’ (sound made by crickets) – \textit{aĵū}; \textit{ūkū(k)} ‘fight’ – \textit{ūkofoř}; \textit{aksūmū(g)} ‘poor out’ – \textit{aksūmūfić}. The forms \textit{ede(ox)} ‘give’ and \textit{ete(ox)} ‘see’ have \textit{edaxe} and \textit{etaxe} as stem \textit{II} counterparts, respectively.

As can be seen in Table 2 above, stems of type II are used as the basis for irrealis semifinite verbs (2.3.1.3 and 2.3.1.4) and as the basis for verbal nouns (2.3.2.2). It was also mentioned that they are used as the basis for durative forms in \textit{-ke} (2.4.3.1).

2.3 Semifinite, nonfinite and finite verbs and their specifications for mood and tense

\textit{D}rabbe 1957: see the references directly below the titles of the subsections
2.3.1 Semifinite verbs
Drabbe 1957: section 20, p. 10; section 27, p. 14

The inflection of semifinite verbs is given in Table 4 below. Note that the N1.RLS marker -ke has several allomorphs, the distribution of which will be discussed below. While the table renders the realis forms by adding ‘I’ to the gloss (e.g. ‘hear_I’), in the rest of the book only stems of type II are specified for stem type in the gloss. Thus, a stem like da, being of type I, is glossed as ‘hear’, whereas its stem II counterpart is glossed as ‘hearII’. Stress is generally regular, on the final vowel of the suffix, and has therefore not been indicated (1.2.3). An exception is formed by the N1PL realis forms, where stress is on the final syllable of the stem. This is indicated only in the tables that give the paradigms, and not in the examples cited in the text.

Table 4: Stems of type I and stems of type II inflected as semifinite realis and irrealis verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>REALIS (stem_I)</th>
<th>IRREALIS (stem_II)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pattern</strong></td>
<td><strong>Example</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pattern</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>stem_I + de²</td>
<td>da-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear_I-1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>stem_I + ke³</td>
<td>da-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear_I-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>stem_I + d + oã</td>
<td>da-d-oã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear_I-1.RLS-1PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>stem_I + ke³ +</td>
<td>dã-ke-nã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nã</td>
<td>hear_I-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1: The allomorphs of -ke are -ge, -xe or -oxe, and will be dealt with below.
2. Following a verb stem that ends in a nasal vowel (see 1.1.1.1 above), the nasal feature is linked to the alveolar, so that we get a denasalized vowel followed by n(e), as in kũ ‘put into’ -> ku-ne ‘put into-1.RLS[SG]’ or ku-n-oã ‘put into-1.RLS-1PL’.

The following sections explain the forms in the table above in more detail, and also discuss their functions.
2.3.1.1 Semifinite realis verbs: form
Drabbe 1957: section 20, p.10; 23, p. 11

The following table gives the semifinite forms for more than only da(k) ‘hear’ (see Table 4 above), and shows how different stems inflect with different nonfirst person realis markers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>da(k) ‘hear’</th>
<th>i(g) ‘lie’</th>
<th>da(x) ‘come’</th>
<th>ede (ox) ‘give’</th>
<th>fi(ox) ‘roast’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>da-de</td>
<td>i-de</td>
<td>da-de</td>
<td>ede-de</td>
<td>fi-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>dā-ke</td>
<td>i-ge</td>
<td>da-xe</td>
<td>ed-oxe</td>
<td>fi-oxe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>da-d-oā</td>
<td>i-d-oā</td>
<td>da-d-oā</td>
<td>ede-d-oā</td>
<td>fi-d-oā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>da-ke-nā</td>
<td>i-ge-nā</td>
<td>da-xe-nā</td>
<td>ed-oxe-nā</td>
<td>fi-oxe-nā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>üfü(ox) ‘hit’</th>
<th>tame ‘write’</th>
<th>fimi ‘think’</th>
<th>kū ‘put.into’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>üfü-de</td>
<td>tame-de</td>
<td>fimi-de</td>
<td>ku-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>üfü-oxe</td>
<td>tam-oxe</td>
<td>fim-oxe</td>
<td>kuŋ-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>üfü-d-oā</td>
<td>tame-d-oā</td>
<td>fimi-d-oā</td>
<td>ku-noā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>üfü-oxe-nā</td>
<td>tam-oxe-nā</td>
<td>fim-oxe-nā</td>
<td>kuŋ-ge-nā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As argued in Wester (2014:103-4), in Awyu languages semifinite verb forms contain reflexes of proto-Awyu realis markers *-d and *-k, used for verbs with a speaker-subject (first person), and for verbs with someone else than the speaker as their subject (nonfirst person), respectively. In Aghu, these reflexes can be discerned in the form of the realis suffix of the first and nonfirst persons: the first person singular -de and first person plural -doā reflect *-d, while the nonfirst person suffixes -ke and -kena reflect *-k. 37,38

37 In the tensed forms of distant and historical past, the realis marker d is used in all persons; see Table 9 in section 2.3.3 below.
38 The e in 1st person singular de is probably a reflex of proto-Awyu *-e(fe) ‘1SG’, while e in nonfirst person can be traced back to proto-Awyu *-en ‘N1SG’ (reconstructions from Wester 2014:85). Synchronically, however, I have analyzed -de and -ke as portmanteau
The form of the realis nonfirst marker is -ke, -ge, -xe, or -oxe, and is dependent on the verb. Each verb stem, in other words, combines with only one of these allomorphs, and which allomorph is chosen is part of the lexical entry of the verb. That the choice of the allomorph is not (fully) phonologically conditioned is clear from the existence of minimal pairs: verbs that differ only in the form of the realis marker with which they combine. Some examples are given in Table 6 below.
Stems ending in a nasal vowel invariably combine with the allomorph -ge, while the autonomous nasal segment is realized as a velar nasal consonant (cf. section 1.1.1.1 on nasal vowels). Thus we get xafuŋ-ge [break-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘he breaks’ as a N1 semifinite (singular) realis form of xafũ ‘break’, or sikũ-ge-nâ [place-N1.RLS-N1PL] ‘they place’ as a N1 semifinite (plural) realis form of sikũ ‘place’. Another category with a fully predictable ending is formed by the category of stems -mV ‘do’. These stems invariably combine with -oxe, with elision of the final vowel of the stem. Thus, atetame ‘split.it’, when combined with the N1.RLS suffix, results in atetam-oxe-nâ [split.it-N1.RLS-N1PL] ‘they split’ (1.009), while efegem-oxe [cut-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘she cuts’ (1.011) is an example of a semifinite formed with mV-derived efegeme ‘cut’. While the final vowel of -mV final verbs usually harmonizes with the final vowel of the root, Drabbe notes that it may also harmonize with the vowel of the suffix. As the only illustrations he gives fime-de as an alternative for fimi-de and fimo-d-oã as an alternative for fimi-d-oã, and he points out that we find “the same” for the distant past and historical past forms.

As mentioned above, in semifinite realis forms stress is regularly on the last syllable of the subject suffix, except in N1PL, where stress is on the final syllable of the stem. For N1PL forms with -oxe as a realis marker stress is
on -o, as in *tam-òx-enã* [write-N1.RLS-N1PL] ‘they write’. In combination with elements causing stress shift (cf. e.g. 2.7), the singular forms may undergo some additional changes. For 1SG, *do* or *du* may be used instead of *de*, as in *nu te ak’ ò-du nisi bo-de* [1SG NOM custom speak-1.RLS[SG] owner sit-1.RLS[SG]] ‘I am the interpreter of customs’, where we find *ò-du* instead of *o-de*.\(^3^9\) For N1SG with *-oxe* as a realis marker we find *-òxo* instead of *oxe-*, as in *tam-òxo nisi* [write-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘writer’.

In the remainder of this book, I follow Drabbe in adding the form of the realis marker when citing a verb stem of type I, unless we have no data about its form. This is done by adding the marker in brackets, as in *da(x)* ‘come’. Stems ending in a nasal vowel and those ending in *-mV* however, will be presented without the realis marker.\(^4^0\)

### 2.3.1.2 Semifinite realis verbs: function

Drabbe section 24, p.11-12

Coming to the use of the realis semifinite forms, one could state that these are used for events that are conceived of as ‘actualized, as having occurred or actually happening’. They are not specified for tense, or, in the words of Drabbe: indefinite with respect to tense. Drabbe uses example (2) below to illustrate that it is the last verb in a series of semifinites that specifies the tense; the use of semifinite *küŋ-ge*, as the final verb in a series, places all events in the past of today or the day before; distant past *küŋ-ki* places

\(^{3^9}\) For the use of *ba(x)* ‘sit’ as a copula see 2.8.2; for the use of *nisi* see 3.1.3.

\(^{4^0}\) The choice not to present these makers is motivated by the fact that the forms of the realis marker are fully predictable and because adding the form of the realis marker would also be a source of confusion. In the case of forms ending in a nasal vowel a notation like *sikuŋ(g)* would incorrectly suggest that the stem contains a nasal specified for place. And a notation like *efegem(oxe)* would not show that the stem contains a final vowel of unspecified quality (cf. section 2.2, note 32).
them in a past before yesterday (cf. 2.3.3.1); historical past *kü-nia* places them in the far past (2.3.3.1).

(2)  üfü-oxe-nā,  efe  gō  isiom =  mi-di  ki-ke

hit-N1.RLS-N1PL  3SG  blood  whole=  come.down-SS  become-N1.RLS[SG]

*küŋ-* / *küŋ-ki* / *kü-nia*


‘they hit him, his blood fled away entirely, and he died’ (Drabbe 1957:12a)

In many cases, and certainly in the majority of cases in the text corpus, semifinites are not followed by finites in the same sentence, which makes their interpretation depend on the wider context. In daily conversation, semifinites generally — but not necessarily — refer to events that take place presently, or to events that took place earlier at the day of speaking or the day before.

(3)  da-de

come-1.RLS[SG]

‘I come’ / ‘I came (recently)’ (based on Drabbe 1957:11b-12b)

In narratives, it is very common to use semifinite forms throughout a story, and to give a temporal specification only at the end, usually a historical past form, formed with *-dia* (see section 2.3.3.1). Consider the following sentence, which belongs to the introductory part of the myth of the two orphan girls.

(4)  Efe  küda  bodo  efegem-oxe.

N1SG  younger.sibling  hand  cut-N1.RLS[SG]

‘Her younger sister cuts her hand.’ (1.011)

Throughout the text, the narrator alternates nonfinite forms with semifinite forms (with the exception of durative constructions, in which the meaning
of the distant past is neutralized, cf. 2.4.3.3), and it is only in the very last sentence of the story that we meet a specification with respect to tense:

(5) \(\text{Enek} \quad \text{okem' } \quad \text{badek}\)
\(\text{ê-ne = k} \quad \text{okem = ba-de = k}\)
\(\text{eat-SS = CON} \quad \text{all.the.time} \quad \text{sit-SS = CON}\)

\(\text{siü} \quad \text{enigomodok } \quad \text{badianã.}^{41}\)
\(\text{siü} \quad \text{enigomo-do = k} \quad \text{ba-dia-nã}\)
\(\text{banana } \text{eat.IT-SS = CON} \quad \text{sit-HIST-N1PL}\)

‘From that moment onwards they stayed there and ate bananas.’ (1.314)

The text corpus also contains a number of texts that lack any specification for tense at all. These are texts 8a, 8b and 9, which deal with customs or habits. The following sentence forms the first sentence of text 8a, which deals with practices of sorcery.

(6) \(\text{Axu} \quad \text{mi-di=k} \quad \text{xo-xe:}\)
\(\text{human} \quad \text{come.down-SS = CON} \quad \text{go-N1.RLS[SG]}\)

‘The man comes down and goes;’ (8.001)

In one of these texts it is not the tense, but a certain aspectual feature that is specified only at the very end of the story. Drabbe states that in the text about the Waringin spirit (text 9) the very last verb of the narrative specifies the entire text — consisting of a series of clause chains that all end in a semifinite verb — as referring to habitual actions:

---

41 In this book, the examples taken from the text corpus, like example (5) above, generally have four lines, while the examples copied from Drabbe’s grammatical introduction have only three lines.
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(7) Enigomodok etedek basumsumoxe.
enigomo-do=k ete-de=k ba-sum-sum-oxe
eat.IT-ss=CON see-ss-CON sit-IT-IT-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He always sits, eating and watching.’ (9.08)

2.3.1.3 Semifinite irrealis verbs: form
Drabbe 1957: section 27, p. 14

For the form of semifinite irrealis verbs, consider Table 7 below, which is the same as Table 4 above.

Table 7: Stems of type I and stems of type II inflected as semifinite realis and irrealis verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>REALIS (stem_I)</th>
<th>IRREALIS (stem_I)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pattern</td>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>stem_I + de</td>
<td>da-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear_I-1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>stem_I + ke</td>
<td>da-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear_I-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>stem_I + d+ oã</td>
<td>da-d-oã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear_I-1.RLS-1PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>stem_I + ke+ nã</td>
<td>da-ke-nã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear_I-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For stems in e and for the forms compounded with xo(x) ~ axi ‘go’ the final vowel is elided before the 1PL suffix -oã, so that we get ade ‘hear_II[1SG]’, ad-oã ‘hear_II-1PL’, axi ‘go_II[1SG]’ and ax-oã ‘go_II-1PL’.42

It should be noted that in the irrealis forms we find no explicit marking of mood (analogous to ke and d(e) in realis), except from the use of an irrealis

______________________________
42 However, stems in e do not show elision of e in N1PL, e.g. in ade-nã ‘hear_II-N1PL’. They even have “a somewhat lengthened e compared to the analogous e in semifinite and distant past forms” (Drabbe 1957:14a).
stem.\textsuperscript{43} The person number affixes for the plural are the same as those used in the realis, and also the first person singular is formed analogous to the first person in realis: it is by opposition to the first person plural form that the form is (zero-)‘marked’ as singular. Only n\textsubscript{1}sg is formed differently, by nasalization of the final vowel of the stem. As stated above, this nasalization is most probably a reflex of proto-Awyu *(en) n\textsubscript{1}sg.\textsubscript{irr} (cf. de Vries et al. 2012: 282; Wester 2014:85).

\textbf{2.3.1.4 Semifinite irrealis verbs: function}

\textit{Drabbe 1957: section 27, p. 14; section 57, p.23}

Semifinite irrealis forms basically refer to events that are not actualized (yet), where the speaker may have a higher or lower degree of certainty about the probability that the event will actualize. According to Drabbe, semifinite irrealis forms may have an adhortative or an optative reading. From the few examples attested in the text corpus, however, it seems that the forms may also allow for an intentional reading or even express an assurance. They are also used, finally, in the protasis of potential conditional sentences. I will first cite some of the examples given by Drabbe and then discuss some of the examples that we find in the text corpus.

Drabbe lists the following verb forms plus translations:

\begin{align*}
(8) \quad adi & \quad \text{eat}_{\text{II}}[\text{1SG}] \quad \text{‘let me eat’} \\
afi & \quad \text{take}_{\text{II}}[\text{1SG}] \quad \text{‘let me take’}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{43} The fact that irrealis is marked by ‘zero-marking’ seems to go against Dixon’s claim that “if one term [in a language with a reality contrast] may have a zero realization, or a zero allomorph, this is always realis, showing it to be the formally unmarked term in the system.” (Dixon 2012:25). However, irrealis in Aghu is marked not only by the absence of realis markers (or zero-morphemes), but also by the use of a different stem. In this sense, both realis and irrealis are overtly marked.
He also gives an example where the form is used directly following an imperative: üfena akümé [hit.IMP[SG] die_II.N1SG] ‘hit him so that he dies’.

Turning to the text corpus, we find only 17 instances of semifinite irrealis forms. While some of the sentences can indeed be interpreted as adhortatives or optatives, in most contexts the semifinite irrealis forms seem to imply a strong intention, promise or assurance. In text 1, we find 4 instances of the expression madü [not.want_II.1SG] ‘I will refuse’; in all cases this expresses a boy’s refusal to eat (1.104; 109; 112; 115). We find the same expression in text 3, to express the elder brother’s refusal to obey his brother’s command. Also in text 2 do we find examples of use that express a person’s intention. Consider (9) below. The sentence is part of a passage where a married couple, Aidu and Xaidu, have gone into Apupüsimo’s garden without telling him. His daughter goes down to have a look, and sees Aidu and Xaidu pounding sago. “It is my father’s sago”, she tells them (2.054), and then the two say:

(9) Oxenä: bejoa-ne geto aw = 
o-xe-nä bej-oä-ne geto awu
speak-N1.RLS-N1PL pound.sago_II-1PL-FUT your.father immediately
Here, what Aidu and Xaidu say to Apupusimo’s daughter is definitely stronger than an adhortative or optative. It should be understood as a strong intention or promise, and the same promise is repeated in 2.060 and 2.061.

Further down in the same text, we find an example of an irrealis semifinite that refers to an event that the speaker presents as very likely to happen. The sentence is part of a passage where the two children of the couple mentioned above come to Apupusimo’s house to ask where their parents are. Apupusimo answers that they have probably gone out to look for sago. The children wait in Apupusimo’s house while Apupusimo goes out to collect some bananas. Then they hear their parents’ genitals scratch the inside of a water quiver, and conclude (although this isn’t told explicitly) that their parents have been killed. When Apupusimo comes back, he tells the children:

(10)  
\[\text{Oxe: } \text{gugu} \quad \text{napi} \quad \text{gugu} \quad \text{neto} \quad \text{bagidi}\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{o-xe} & \text{gugu} & \text{n-api} & \text{gugu} & \text{n-eto} & \text{ba-gidi} \\
\text{sing-N1.RLS[SG]} & 2\text{PL} & \text{LNK-mother} & 2\text{PL} & \text{LNK-father} & \text{sit-next.day} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{dafin\=a} \quad \text{num'oxe.}\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{dafi-n\=a} & \text{num = o-xe} \\
\text{come_II-N1PL} & \text{such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He says: “your mother and your father will come tomorrow.”’ (2.137)

Semifinites irrealis forms are also used in the protasis of conditional sentences, as in the following examples. The first has been provided by
Drabbe in his grammatical introduction, the second has been taken from the text corpus.

(11) *fiko* *afl* *sumke* *edaxe-je*
    work take-II.N1SG tobacco give-II[1SG]-FUT
    ‘if you work, I will give you tobacco’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

(12) *Boasī* *Apupūsimo* *efè* *te* * núgu* *xomū-ge, (...)
    wear.down-II.N1SG Apupūsimo 3SG NOM 1PL fight/kill-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘If (the skirt and the penis gourd) wear down, then Apupūsimo has killed us, (...)’
    (2.074)

A final example of the use of the semifinite irrealis is the following. We have insufficient data to conclude whether the irrealis here indicates that the event of pounding sago has not been actualized yet at the moment of speaking, or whether it is used because the event was not yet realized at the moment of going.

(13) *Apupūsimo* *posii* *nu* *k’* *oman* *oxo* *num’oxe,
    Apupūsimo posii nu ke oman oxo num = o-xe
    Apupūsimo old 1SG FOC ignorant COP such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]

    *dü* *fe* *bejenā* *xoxenā* *num’oxe.
    dü fe beje-nā xo-xe-nā num = o-xe
    sago 3SG pound.sago-II-N1PL go-N1.RLS-N1PL such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘The old Apupūsimo said: “they may have gone to pound some sago.’” (lit. ‘I don't know, they have gone they will pound some sago.’; 2.127)

Summarizing, we can state that the semifinite irrealis is used to refer to events that are not actualized yet, where the degree of certainty that the event will actually take place (as intended by the speaker) is to be inferred from the context.
2.3.2 Nonfinite forms

Of the three types of verbs: finite, semifinite and nonfinite, it is the last category which is morphologically the simplest. This section deals first with nonfinite verbs formed on the basis of stems of type I, and then discusses nonfinites formed on the basis of stems of type II.

2.3.2.1 Nonfinite verbs formed on the basis of stems of type I

Drabbe 1957: sections 46-48

The form of nonfinite verbs on the basis of stems of type I is as follows.

Table 8: Form of nonfinite verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem₁ + dV(⁺ = k)</td>
<td>da-de(⁺ = k) come-SS(⁺ = CON)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-di(⁺ = k) lie-SS(⁺ = CON)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ede-de(⁺ = k) give-SS(⁺ = CON)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuu-do(⁺ = k) dig-SS(⁺ = CON)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>osu-du(⁺ = k) go.up-SS(⁺ = CON)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>üfi-dü(⁺ = k) hit-SS(⁺ = CON)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem₁ + bu</td>
<td>a-bu take-SS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nonfinite verbs formed on the basis of stems of type I consist of the stem followed either by the suffix -bu (or: cilitized b =) or by the suffix -dV (or: cliticized: -d =), where the final vowel of the latter suffix harmonizes with the final vowel of the verb to which it is attached. If this final vowel is a, however, the suffix takes the form -de, as illustrated by da-de(⁺ = k) in the table above. After stems ending in a ‘nasal vowel’ the autonomous nasal causes the suffix to be realized as -nV, exemplified by kuku-nu⁺ = k, while bu is realized as mbu. When directly preceding the verb eme ‘finish’,

---

44 For vowel harmony cf. 1.3 above.
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however, the suffix is realized as -nd= rather than as -nV, as in fi ku-
nd=em-oxe [tuber put-ss = finish-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘he had finished planting
tubers’ or dìi e-nd=em-oxe [sago eat-ss = finish-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘he had
finished eating sago’. The semifinite forms in -dV can be followed by the
clitic = k, whose function will be discussed below.

About the function of nonfinite realis forms, Drabbe remarks that:

“They are not participles [Dutch: deelwoorden] in the full sense of the word, but they can
be rendered as such in Dutch, and the fact is that we need a term.”

The function of nonfinite verb forms is best explained by considering their
distribution, which can be summarized as follows.

1. Nonfinite verb forms never form the final verb of a clause chain or
sentence (for the definition of clause chain and sentence see section
5.1).
2. The subject of the nonfinite verb is coreferential with the subject of
the following verb.

---

45 “het zijn geen deelwoorden in de volle zin van die term, doch ze kunnen in het Ned.
door deelwoorden worden weergegeven, en we hebben nu eenmaal een term nodig”
(Drabbe 1957:18a).

46 Although this is true in the great majority of cases, the text corpus contains a few
examples of nonfinite forms followed by a verb with different subject. I noted the
following cases: 1.304, 3.085, 3.157, 6.109, 6.161, 6.284, and 6.302. Some of these cases
could possibly be explained by assuming that we have to do with a verb of perception that
has been left out, for example in 3.085, where I have added the verb in brackets (cf. 3.072,
3.076 and 3.096, where the verb dake is used):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abu</th>
<th>dadek</th>
<th>[dake]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-bu</td>
<td>da-de=k</td>
<td>da-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take-ss</td>
<td>come-ss = CON</td>
<td>hear-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Aghu no difference can be discovered between the functions of \(-bu\) and \(-dV\). In this respect, the language seems to have neutralized a prior distinction that is still found in other Awyu languages, where cognates of \(-bu\) are used for future nonfinites, and cognates of \(-dV\) for present and preterite reference as well as for imperatives (Drabbe 1957:18b, referring to Drabbe 1950). The forms in Aghu can be followed by both realis and irrealis verb forms, and get a temporal and modal interpretation according to the specifications of these following verbs (and the context in which these verbs are used). Drabbe (1957:18) gives the following examples to illustrate his point. Note that in all cases the subject of \(a-de\) and \(a-bu\) is identical to the subject of the following verb \(xo-xe\) ‘he went’.

\[(14) a \quad \begin{array}{ll}
a-d' & xo-xe \\
take-SS & go-N1.RLS[SG]
\end{array}
\]

‘he took it with him’ (lit. ‘taking (hold of) it he went’; Drabbe 1957: 18b)

\[(b \quad \begin{array}{ll}
a-d' & axi-n-e \\
take-SS & go_{II}-N1SG-FUT
\end{array}
\]

‘he will take it with him’ (lit. ‘taking (hold of) the things he will go’; Drabbe 1957:18b)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
efe & joxo & okude & b' & ike. \\
3SG & elder.brother & still & DUR & call-N1.RLS[SG]
\end{array}
\]

‘He brings it and hears that the other brother is still calling.’ (3.085)

While 3.157 can also be explained along the same lines (and possibly 6.109 ‘he sees his brother cutting the meat’, but I admit this ‘explanation’ is very much ad hoc), this is not possible for the other cases, although it is remarkable that also in 6.284 and 6.302 we have to do with a context of perception.

\[47\] Drabbe remarks that with imperatives, however, there seems to be a preference for the use of \(-dV\) over \(bu\), as in \(da-de=k\ bunu\) [come-SS = CON sit.IMP[SG]] ‘come and sit here’ or \(a-de\ noxi\) [take-SS go.IMP[SG]] ‘take it with you’.
The following two examples have been taken from two different texts, and show the use of nonfinites formed both with \(-dV\) and with \(-bu\) in narratives. In the texts available to us, the forms formed with \(-dV\) clearly outnumber those formed with \(-bu\). For **bagidi**, which is a bleached form, see section 2.8.3.3.

Of the forms in \(-dV\), the great majority are followed by a clitic \(=k\), which, however, is — for technical reasons — written as an affix in the text corpus (see e.g. 1.005). According to Drabbe, this suffix is a ‘connective’ (Dutch: schakelement) \(ke\), which is usually shortened to \(=k\). The latter form is indeed much more frequent in the text corpus we find only one example of nonfinite forms plus \(=ke\) (in 4.80), compared to hundreds of attestations of \(=k\). According to Drabbe, nonfinites plus \(=k\) form less of a unit with the event expressed by the following verb, or — even more specific — express that the two events generally take place in sequence. Thus, according to Drabbe (1957:19), the following two sentences differ slightly in meaning. In (18a) below, what happens is portrayed as an event of taking (an object)
followed by an event of going (with the object still being carried), while the 
b) sentence expresses an event of going with a simultaneous event of 
carrying the object.

(18a) \[ a-de=k \quad xo-xe \]
\[ \text{take-SS = CON go-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
‘he took it and went away’ (Drabbe 1957: 19a)

(b) \[ a-d’ \quad xo-xe \]
\[ \text{take-SS go-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
‘he had it (e.g. in his hand) and went away’ (Drabbe1957:19a)

Drabbe is ready to admit, however, that the relation between the use of \( =k \) 
and sequentiality is not more than a tendency. More importantly, the text 
corpus contains clear examples of the use of \( =k \) in cases where reference is 
made to events that should clearly not be interpreted as taking place in 
sequence. One such example is the use of \( =k \) in durative constructions, as 
illustrated in (19) below (for more information on durative aspect the reader 
is referred to 2.4.3).

(19) \[ \text{D ü } \quad \text{ni } \quad \text{aguduk} \quad \text{ekenā} \]
\[ \text{dü ni agu-du =k e-ke-nā} \]
\[ \text{sago DAT search-SS = CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]
\[ b’ \quad \text{asū } \quad \text{kike} \quad \text{daxenā}. \]
\[ \text{bu asū ki-ke da-xe-nā} \]
\[ \text{DUR dark become-N1.RLS[SG] come-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]
‘They stay searching for sago, it is getting dark and they come (home).’

(2.004)

In a durative construction like this, it is clear that the standing (expressed 
by \textit{ekenā}) and the searching (expressed by \textit{aguduk}) do not take place in 
sequence, but simultaneously.
As a final illustration of the limited functional load of \( =k \), compare (16) above to (20) below, which differ only in the use of \( =k \). In text 1, where (20) has been taken from, this combination of clauses is, with slight variation, found twelve times, in all cases with the clitic \( =k \) separating \textit{midi} and \textit{xoxena}, while in (16), taken from text 2, we find the same situation expressed without the use of \( =k \).

(20) \(...\) \textit{ba-gidi} \textit{xati} \textit{mi-di} =k \textit{xo-xe-nā}.  
sit-next.day again come.down-SS =CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘(...the next day they come down and go again.’ (1.019, 21, 23, 25, 27, 33, 75, 79, 82, 86, 231, 223)

2.3.2.2 \textit{Verbal nouns on} \( \tilde{V}, \text{formed on the basis of stem of type II plus nasalization} \)

Drabbe 1957: sections 30-34, 37-42, p. 14-16

When stems of type II are augmented with final nasalization, we get verb forms that could be described as verbal nouns, homophonous with the N1.SG irrealis forms.\(^{48}\) Examples are \textit{ongā} ‘\text{fall}_{II}.VN’ or \textit{kumā} ‘\text{put}_{II}.VN’. While most verbal nouns are formed by final nasalization, Stems of type I ending in \( e \) behave somewhat differently. Some of these have verbal nouns in \( ā \) (e.g. \textit{tama} from \textit{tame} ‘write_{II}’), while the other ones have verbal nouns that end either in \( ē \) or in \( ā \), dependent on the construction in which they are used: they end in \( ā \) only when used as argument of a predicate (see 2.3.2.2.1 below), or in the construction combining with an inflected form of

\(^{48}\) It should be noted that the form of the infinitive is similar to the infinitives in -\text{Vn} in Sawuy (another Aywu language), Korowai and Tsaukambo (greater Aywu), and to infinitives in -\text{i-n} that we find in certain Ok languages like Mian, Telefol, Tifal, Faiwol or Bimin, or to -\text{n} in Oksapmin (cf. Healey 1964: 72, Voorhoeve 2005: 164, Loughnane and Fedden 2011:27). Although the similarity between Greater Ok and Greater Aywu at this point is striking, it is insufficient evidence of a genealogical relation between the two language groups (van den Heuvel and Fedden 2014).
the same lexeme described further below in this section.\textsuperscript{49} Forms in ﲈ should not be confused with the forms augmented with ﲈ described in 2.3.2.3 below.

The forms under discussion here are termed ‘verbal noun’,\textsuperscript{50} to express that these forms are derived from verbal roots but:

(i) have very few verbal properties left, especially because they cannot, on their own, serve as the head of a main verbal clause;
(ii) share a number of distributional properties with nouns;
(iii) also have some idiosyncratic properties, which make them different from other nouns.

Before we go deeper into the distributional properties of verbal nouns, first some words need to be devoted to their semantics. If we take a verb with a basic lexical meaning X, a verbal noun formed from lexeme X usually refers to ‘the activity or event of X-ing’. With certain verbs, however, the verbal noun may also refer to what Drabbe calls the result of a process (1957:15), or to what could tentatively be called the ‘effected

\textsuperscript{49} That stems in \v{e} have verbal nouns in ａ or ｃ with different distribution raises the question whether it wouldn’t make more sense to speak of two types of ‘verbal nouns’ with different function. For stems in \v{e} these two types would then be distinguished formally, while for stems that end in other vowels the types would have no formal distinction. Before deciding to reanalyze Drabbe’s data at this point, one would first have to consider the question whether the alternation between ａ and ｃ could not be explained on the basis of the phonological environment in which the two alternants are used (vowel harmony, stress pattern). As the data are too limited to investigate the influence of the phonological environment, however, I have decided to follow Drabbe’s analysis.

\textsuperscript{50} More precisely, Drabbe speaks of ‘nominal use of the future stem’. Drabbe’s formulation betrays two aspects where the analysis here differs from his: (1) where he speaks of future stems, we speak of irrealis stems or stems of type II; (2) for Drabbe, the forms under discussion coincide with the stem, as for him the future stems or stems of type II discussed in 2.2, Table 3, end in a nasal, cf. also footnote 33.
object’ or ‘affected subject’. He gives some examples of effected objects of transitive verbs: *ga nongā* [2SG LNK-carve\_II.VN] ‘your carved work’; *efe tamā* [3SG write\_II.VN] ‘his written work’; *na soxo kumā* [1SG ground put\_II.VN] ‘my planted work’. Later on, Drabbe gives a number of verbal nouns “that can be rendered in Dutch by a past participle” (Drabbe 1957:16), and which designate ‘affected subjects’. Thus, we have *axu akūmā* [human die\_II.VN] ‘dead person’; *genimiā* [clip\_II.VN] ‘stump (e.g. of arm)’; *ān-afi* [woman-take\_II.VN] ‘married man’ and *xu-afi* [man-take\_II.VN] ‘married woman’.

Coming to the distribution of verbal nouns, their distribution comes close to that of nouns:

a. they can be argument (subject or object) of a predicate;

b. they can be predicated over by means of the predicator *de*;

c. they can be marked for (dative) case;

d. they can take the position of the possessed noun in a possessive construction; vowel initial verbs in this position combine with the possessive linker *n-*

They differ from nouns, however, in that they can also be predicated over by *oxo*, a predicator that is otherwise never used for nouns, but only for the predication of adjectives and numerals (cf. section 4.2.2 and 4.2.3). The remainder of this section will first discuss and illustrate the different distributional properties of verbal nouns mentioned above, and then give some additional contexts in which they are used. We will begin, therefore, with contexts in which the verbal nouns clearly take a position usually reserved for nouns.
2.3.2.2.1 (a’) Argument of a predicate

Drabbe 1957: section 31, 32, p. 15a

An example where the verbal noun functions as argument of a predicate is the following. Note that this example not only illustrates point (a) above, but also point (d): the verbal noun is used as part of a possessive construction and takes the possessive linker n-.

(21)  
\[
g a \quad n-o n g \ddot{a} \quad j a f i \quad o x o \\
2 S G \quad L N K - c u t _ { I I . V N } \quad b e a u t i f u l \quad C O P \\
\]
‘your carved work is beautiful’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

While in (21) the verbal noun takes subject position, Drabbe also gives examples where the verbal noun is used as a complement (for the use of \textit{kī(k)} as a copula instead of \textit{oxo}, which is a common alternation, cf. section 4.2.6). Two of those examples are given in (22) and (23).

(22)  
\[
e f e \quad t e \quad b u \ddot{i} \ddot{s} \ddot{i} \ddot{u} \quad a s i n \quad o m a n \quad o x o \\
3 S G \quad N O M \quad h o u s e \quad b u i l d _ { I I . V N } \quad i g n o r a n t \quad C O P \\
\]
‘he cannot build houses’ (lit. ‘he is ignorant of house building’; Drabbe 1957:15a)

(23)  
\[
n u \quad d \ddot{u} \quad b e j \ddot{a} \quad d a f a n \quad o x o \\
1 S G \quad s a g o \quad p o n d _ { I I . V N } \quad k n o w i n g \quad C O P \\
\]
‘I can pound sago’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

Example (22) is analogous to (24) below, where we see \textit{omā} ‘ignorant’ with the noun \textit{idī} as object.

(24)  
\[
(\ldots) \quad i d i \quad o m a n \quad g i k e . \\
(\ldots) \quad p a t h \quad i g n o r a n t \quad b e c o m e - N I . R L S [ S G ] \\
\]
‘(…) he did not know the way.’ (6.155)
2.3.2.2.2  (b’) Predicated over by de
Drabbe 1957: section 31, p. 15a

(25)  efe  tamanj  ge  de
      3SG  write-II.VN  FOC  COP
‘it is his writing’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

Drabbe also gives examples, however, of verbal nouns predicated over by
means of oxo. This is a property of verbal nouns in which they differ from
other nouns, which can only be predicated over by de (cf. section 4.2.1).
The example below illustrates predication with oxo:

(26)  ga  n-ongan  oxo
      2SG  LNK-cut-II.VN  COP
‘it is your work’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

2.3.2.2.3  (c’) Marked for case
Drabbe 1957: section 33, p. 15a

Verbal nouns can be marked for dative case by the postposition ni.

(27)  fiko  ali  ni  da-d-oã
      work  take-II.VN  DAT  come-1.RLS-1PL
‘we have come to work’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

(28)  dugu  simê  ni  da-xc-nã
      roof  twine-II.VN  DAT  come-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘they have come to twine a roof’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

Ni is never used with inflected verbs, but only with nouns, an illustration of
which is given here:

(29)  (...) aŋ  go  xu  dü  ni  agukenã.
      aŋ  go  xu  dü  ni  agu-ke-nã
      woman and man sago DAT  search-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘(...) the woman and a man go to search for sago.’ (2.003)

2.3.2.2.4 (d’) Possessed in possessive construction
See (21), (25) and (26) above. Note that the use of a possessive linker for vowel-initial words confirms that we have a possessive construction (cf. section 3.2.2).

In addition to contexts where verbal nouns behave as nouns, Drabbe gives many uses of verbal nouns that are specific to the category. The rest of this section sums up these uses.

2.3.2.2.5 With auxiliary verb mV ‘do’, expressing ‘intention’ or ‘be about to’
Drabbe 1957: section 34, p15a-b

Combined with the auxiliary mV ‘do’, the verbal noun is used to express either that the subject of the verb intends the event to take place, or that the event is about to take place. Examples (30) and (31) are an illustration of the first, while (32) and (33) illustrate the second use.

(30) \text{axī me-de} \\
\text{go}_\text{II.VN do-1.RLS[SG]} \\
‘I plan to go’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

(31) \text{xasi ongā m-oxe-nā} \\
\text{spear cut}_\text{II.VN do-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
‘they want to cut spears’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

(32) \text{kesaxe xaxa-bu miē m-oxe} \\
\text{tree break.off-SS fall}_\text{II.VN do-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
‘the tree breaks off and is about to fall’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

(33) \text{a aw aki m-oxe} \\
\text{rain already = rain}_\text{II.VN do-N1.RLS[SG]}
‘it is starting to rain already’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

The following sentences contain one of the rare examples of this construction in the text corpus. Sentence (34) narrates how ‘the mother’ plans or intends to go out on her own, and (35) shows how she actually leaves together with her sister and son.  

(34) (...) bagidi xati efe napi kütaxî moxe.  
ba-gidi xati efe n-api kütaxî m-oxe  
sit-next.day again 3SG LNK-mother go.downhill_I.II.VN do-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘(...) the next day his mother (i.e. one of the two sisters) wants to go down.’  
(1.069)

(35) Efe neni efe küda emu amoko  
efe n-enî efe küda emu amoko  
3SG LNK-elder.sister 3SG younger.sibling then boy  
ütübadek xozenä.  
ütüba-de=k xo-xe-nä  
be.together-SS =CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘The two sisters and the boy then go together.’ (1.070)

Drabbe points out that as an alternative for verbal nouns it is also possible to use a finite irrealsis form, as in axi-n-e m-oxe go_I.II-N1SG-FUT do-N1.RLS[SG] ‘he wants to go’.

---

51 From Drabbe’s translation it is not clear whether (34) entails the actual realization of the mother’s going down. Sentence (34) might only indicate the mother’s intention, but it might also indicate that the mother has already started to leave, after which, as narrated in (35), the other sister and the son quickly go with her.
Drabbe discusses two constructions in which we find the verbal noun: followed by one of the formatives namu ‘only’ or isiomu ‘purely’; or followed by an inflected form of the same stem. First he gives five examples of a verbal noun followed by namu ‘only’ and then by an inflected form of the same verb. In all the examples namu ‘only’ modifies the verbal predicate, not one of its arguments. It is striking that in four out of five cases the predicate is, implicitly or explicitly, contrasted with the predicate of a following clause. Consider (36) through (38). In (36) and (37) we find an explicit contrast, while in (38) the contrast (‘one would expect that I also shot the pig, but I did not’) is more implicit.

(36) adā namu da-de, etaxe-n = de xo
    hear-II.VN only hear-1SG.RLS see-II-VN = NEG COP
    ‘I only heard it and didn’t see it’ (Drabbe 1957:15b)

(37) būsiū asī namu si-de, nu baxe-n = de xo
    house build-II.VN only build-1.RLS[SG] 1SG sit-II-VN = NEG COP
    ‘I only built the house and did not live in it’ (Drabbe 1957:15b)

(38) wi etaxā namu ete-de, temk-oxe
    pig see-II.VN only see-1.RLS[SG] go.away-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘I only saw the pig (and did not shoot it), it went away’ (Drabbe 1957:15b)

Drabbe gives two examples of a similar construction formed with the formative isiomu ‘only, purely’, where we find the verbal noun, followed by isiomu procliticized to a habitual verb form:

(39) fimā isiom = fitim-sum-oxe
    think-II.VN purely think.IT-IT-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘he has a good sense’ (Drabbe 1957:16a)
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(40) adī isiom = enigom-sum-oxe
  eat-II.VN purely eat.IT-IT-N1.RLS[SG]
  ‘he always eats’ (Drabbe 1957:16a)

Instead of a verbal noun, the language may also use a nonfinite form based on a stem of type I, with no apparent difference in meaning. This means that there is no apparent difference in meaning between (41) and (42) below, which differ only in the use of a verbal noun, based on a stem of type II, versus a nonfinite form, based on a corresponding stem of type I.

(41) dū tomā namu tomū-d-oā adī-n=de xo
  sago roast-II.VN only roast-1.RLS-1PL eat-II-VN = NEG COP
  ‘we only roasted sago, and did not eat from it’ (Drabbe 1957:15b)

(42) dū tomū-dū namu tomū-d-oā adī-n=de xo
  sago roast-SS only roast-1.RLS-1PL eat-II-VN = NEG COP
  ‘we only roasted sago, and did not eat from it’ (Drabbe 1957:15b)

2.3.2.2.7 Predication with oxo or ki for the expression of a state
Drabbe 1957: section 39, p. 16a

Drabbe writes that one also finds expressions like (43), where the verbal noun forms a predicate in combination with a following oxo. Such a construction portrays a state, in this case a state of loving. Instead of oxo, speakers may also use a form of ki(k) ‘become’, as in (44).

(43) efe te nu ni fiman oxo
  3SG NOM 1SG DAT love-II.VN COP
  ‘he loves me’ (Drabbe 1957:16a)

(44) nügu ni fimaŋ gi-ke-nā
  1PL DAT love-II.VN become-N1.RLS-N1PL
  ‘they love us’ (Drabbe 1957:16a)
Because (i) Drabbe speaks about ‘certain expressions’ (Dutch: ‘uitdrukkingen’) and (ii) he gives only one verb as an example, one gets the impression that here we have to do with fixed expressions, and not with a very productive process. In the text corpus, no examples of such constructions are attested.

2.3.2.2.8 With a numeral verb

Drabbe 1957: section 40, p. 16a

Verbal nouns are used in combination with numeral verbs, as in the following examples (more on numeral verbs can be found in 2.9 and 3.10.2). Here verbs in -mV ‘do’ have verbal nouns whose final vowel alternates between ã and ẽ, while the stems in e ‘always have ẽ.’

(45) baxë womi okuomasikem-oxe-nâ
sit_II.VN night do.three-N1.RLS-N1.PL
‘they stayed for three nights’ (Drabbe 1957:16a)

(46) tamâ / tamë djam fasikem-oxe
write_II.VN hour do.one-N1.RLS[SG]
‘he wrote for one hour’ (Drabbe 1957:16a)

(47) fiko afi bidî bidikumu-d-oã
work take_II.VN month do.five-1.RLS-1PL
‘we worked for five months’ (Drabbe 1957:16a)

2.3.2.2.9 In negative sentences

Drabbe 1957: section 42, p. 16a-b

Verbal nouns are also used in negation, as in the following examples:

52 I assume that those stems in e that always have a verbal noun in ã, like tame – tamâ ‘write’, form an exception to this.
(48) joxo de baxe-n = de xo
3PL LOC sit-II-VN = NEG COP
‘they are not here’ (Drabbe 1957:16a)

(49) nügu te dafi-n = de xo
1PL NOM come-II-VN = NEG COP
efe te mase xā-ki
3SG NOM already go-II-N1.DIST.SG
‘when we had not arrived yet, he had gone already’ (Drabbe 1957:16b)

(50) nügu xaifie-n = de (xo)
1PL be.born-II-VN = NEG COP
kesaxe xo mumu musu-dia
tree DST first stand.up-HIST[SG]
‘before we were born, this tree had sprouted already’ (Drabbe 1957:16b)

The construction illustrated here, although formed with irrealis stems (which also form the basis for fully finite future stems), can only be used for the negation of present and past events. Sentence (51) is an example of the use of this construction in the text corpus:

(51) Joxo namse edaxende xo.
joxo n-amse edaxe-n = de xo
3PL LNK-children give-II-VN = NEG COP
They do not give to their children.(2.012)

While future negation is generally expressed by negated fully finite verbs (more on which can be read in 2.6), for negative future conditionals one uses the verbal nouns under discussion here. However, to form a negative conditional predicate, one does not use the copula xo, but the N1SG irrealis form of the verb ki(k) ‘become’, as is illustrated in (52) and (53).
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(52) \textit{ba-gidi a aw = aki-n = de kĩ} \textit{ax-oa-ne}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
sit & next.day & rain & already & \textit{rain\_II-VN} = \textit{NEG} & \textit{become\_II.N1SG} & \textit{go\_II-1PL-FUT} \\
\end{tabular}

‘if it won’t rain tomorrow we will go’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

(53) \textit{fiko aʃi-n = de} \textit{kĩ} \textit{sumke edaxe-n = de}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
work & take\_II-VN = \textit{NEG} & \textit{become\_II.N1SG} & tobacco & \textit{give\_II-VN} = \textit{NEG} \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{madii-e} \textit{not.want\_II[1SG]-FUT}

‘if you don’t work, I will not give you tobacco’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

2.3.2.2.10 As complement of \textit{mũ} ‘refuse / not want’

Drabbe 1957: section 42, p. 16b

In line with its use in negation, described in the previous paragraph, the verbal noun is also used as complement of the verb \textit{mũ} ‘refuse / not.want’. Interestingly, the verbal noun is followed by \textit{=de} \textit{NEG}, so that we formally have to do with double negation. Analogous to what we saw in constructions with the auxiliary \textit{mV} ‘do’ in 2.3.2.2.5 above (which express intention), here it is also possible to use a finite future instead of a verbal noun, so that both (54a) and (b) are acceptable. In cases like this, the stress on the verb is prefinal, so that the final future suffix \textit{-e} is often elided.

(54a) \textit{adi-n = de mũŋ-ge-nā}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
eat\_II-VN = \textit{NEG} & \textit{not.want-N1.RLS-N1.PL} \\
\end{tabular}

‘they refused to eat’ (Drabbe 1957:16b)

(b) \textit{adi-nan(-e) = de mũŋ-ge-nā}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
eat\_II-N1.PL-FUT = \textit{NEG} & \textit{not.want.IMP-N1.PL} \\
\end{tabular}

‘they refused to eat’ (Drabbe 1957:16b)
The following example has been taken from the text corpus.

(55)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>joxo</th>
<th>edaxende</th>
<th>mungenā.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>joxo</td>
<td>edaxe-n = de</td>
<td>mū-ge-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>give_II-VN = NEG</td>
<td>not.want-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They do not want to give (it to their children).’ (2.024)

The construction with mū is also used for negative commands or prohibitives, as in (56a) below. It is also possible, however, to use a future form instead of a verbal noun, parallel to what we saw in (54a) and b above:

(56a)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>oxē</th>
<th>manefi-oxone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>speak_II.VN</td>
<td>not.want.IMP-PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘do (pl.) not say!’ (Drabbe 1957:16b)

(b)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ox-e-nàn(-e)</th>
<th>manefi-oxone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>speak_II,N1PL-FUT</td>
<td>not.want.IMP-PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘do (pl.) not say!’ (Drabbe 1957:17b)

The following is an example of a third person ‘prohibitive’, for which one uses a semifinite irrealis 3rd person form:

(57)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>daﬁ</th>
<th>madi-nā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>come_II.VN</td>
<td>not.want_II-N1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘let them not come!’ (Drabbe 1957:16b-17a)
2.3.2.3 **Verbal nouns formed on the basis of a stem of type II plus nasalization, with augmented à.**

Drahbe 1957: sections 35-36, p. 15b

Verbal nouns can be augmented with a vowel *a* that bears primary stress, resulting in forms like *axinà* ‘come II.VN’, where the autonomous nasal survives as *n*. Augmented verbal nouns are found in the following contexts.

2.3.2.3.1 **Predication with *oxo*** or *ki* for expressing ‘be about to’

Drahbe 1957: section 35, p. 15b

The augmented verbal noun can form a predicate in combination with *oxo* or *ki*, parallel to what was described for the non-augmented infinitive above. Compared to the analogous construction with the non-augmented verbal nouns, which expresses a state, the augmented verbal noun adds the meaning aspect of being about to enter into a state. According to Drahbe, the meaning is the same as the meaning of inflected auxiliary *mV* ‘do’ plus non-augmented verbal noun described in 2.3.2.2.5 above. He gives the following three examples. In constructions with *ki(k)* ‘become’, the verb *ki(k)* should be taken as ‘getting into the state of’, so that the predicate in a sentence like (59) should be understood as ‘getting into a state of almost dying’.

(58) *migu te axin-à oxo*

1PL NOM go II.VN-AUGM COP

‘we are about to go’ (Drahbe 1957:15b)
2.3.2.3.2 In negative sentences with de (o)xo: ‘not able to’
Drabbe 1957: section 36, p. 15b

The negative counterpart of the construction above is formed with de (o)xo. Drabbe describes the meaning as a ‘not being able to’, and gives the following two examples.

(61) nu agemen-à de xo
1SG break.2.II.VN-AUGM NEG COP
‘I cannot break it’ (Drabbe 1957:15b)

(62) gu te abatün-à de xo
2SG NOM lift.2.II.VN-AUGM NEG COP
‘you cannot lift it’ (Drabbe 1957:15b)

2.3.3 Fully finite verbs
As indicated in Table 2 above, fully finite verbs can be distinguished from semifinite verbs by the presence of tense markers. Stems of type I can be specified for different past tenses, while stems of type II can be specified for future tense.

---

53 adek edke is an analytic durative construction, cf. 2.4.3.3.
2.3.3.1 Fully finite realis verbs: distant past and historical past
Drabbe 1957: sections 21-24, p. 10-12; section 99, p. 40-41

Table 9 and Table 10 below give the forms of the distant past. The first of these also shows how the forms are structured.

Table 9: Distant past, with interlinearized examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1SG     | Stem_I + dke  
          | da-dke hearI-1.DIST[SG] |
| N1SG    | Stem_I + lengthening of final vowel + ki  
          | dā-ki hearI-N1.DIST.SG |
| 1PL     | Stem_I + dk + oā  
          | da-dk-oā hearI-1.DIST-1PL |
| N1PL    | Stem_I + lengthening of final vowel + ke + nā  
          | dā-ke-nā hearI-N1.DIST-N1PL |

The following table compares the distant past forms of da(k) ‘hear’ to the forms for a number of other verbs, where especially the form of the nonfirst persons is to be noted. For verbs in -mV ‘do’, like tame ‘write’ and fimī ‘think’, the final vowel of the stem is realized as ā. The final vowel of verbs in fi or fūi is realized as ā or ūā, respectively. For the other verbs in e or i the final vowel of the stem in distant past forms is ā. For certain verbs in o, not illustrated in the table below, the final vowel is either ō or ā, as in xō-ki~xā-ki ‘go-N1.DST[SG]’.

---

54 While semifinite dakenā and finite dākenā are only minimally different, the N1PL forms are more easily distinguished for those stems which have an allomorph of -ke (i.e.: -xe, -oxe, -ge, cf. section 2.3.3.1) as the realis marker: compare e.g. semifinite kifiōxenā ‘they put’ and finite kifiokenā ‘they put’.
Table 10: Distant past, other verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>da(k) ‘hear’</th>
<th>i(g) ‘lie’</th>
<th>da(x) ‘come’</th>
<th>ede(ox) ‘give’</th>
<th>fi(ox) ‘roast’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>da-dke</td>
<td>i-dke</td>
<td>da-dke</td>
<td>ede-dke</td>
<td>fi-dke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>dā-ki</td>
<td>i-ki</td>
<td>dā-ki</td>
<td>edā-ki</td>
<td>fīa-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>da-dk-oā</td>
<td>i-dk-oā</td>
<td>da-dk-oā</td>
<td>ede-dk-oā</td>
<td>fī-dk-oā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>dā-ke-nā</td>
<td>i-ke-nā</td>
<td>dā-ke-nā</td>
<td>edā-ke-nā</td>
<td>fīa-ke-nā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>üfü(ox) ‘hit’</th>
<th>tame ‘write’</th>
<th>fimi ‘think’</th>
<th>kũ ‘put.into’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>üfü-dke</td>
<td>tame-dke</td>
<td>fimi-dke</td>
<td>ku-nke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>üfüā-ki</td>
<td>tamā-ki</td>
<td>fimā-ki</td>
<td>kuŋ-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>üfü-dk-oā</td>
<td>tame-dk-oā</td>
<td>fimi-dk-oā</td>
<td>ku-n-koā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>üfüā-ke-nā</td>
<td>tamā-ke-nā</td>
<td>fimā-ke-nā</td>
<td>kuŋ-ke-nā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distinctive formal feature of the distant past tense forms is the presence of a suffix -k or -ke throughout the paradigm (which is the reason why Drabbe refers to them as k-forms). There is a strong analogy in form between the realis semifinite and the distant past forms, which is clear from the comparison between the two paradigms given in Table 11 below. First, d in -dk ~ -dke ‘1.DIST’ is a reflex of the proto-Awyu realis marker *-d that we also find in first person semifinite forms. Second, the nonfirst persons of the distant past show traces of the realis marker -k(e) N1.RLS, found in nonfirst persons of the semifinites. The Aghu distant past forms can be traced back to earlier forms containing -k, according to the trajectory dā-ki < *da-k-ki and dā-ke-nā < *da-k-ke-nā; elision of historical *-k ‘N1.RLS’ has been compensated by lengthening of the final vowel of the preceding stem. As a final point of similarity between the two paradigms, it should be noted that the person-number markers are largely the same. Semifinite and distant past forms have the same person number markers in the plural. In both paradigms the first person singular is unmarked, so that its being singular follows from the opposition to the first person plural form (where -dk and -dke are seen as allomorphs, analogous to the allomorphy between -de ‘1.RLS’ and -d in the semifinite forms; alternatively one could
state that 1SG -e indicates 1SG, and contrasts with 1PL -oã, so that da-dke would have to be glossed as da-dk-e ‘hear-1.DIST-1SG’). Only the formation of the N1SG is different, in that it is only in the distant past forms that we find a vowel i.\(^{55}\) Just as we saw for semifinite realis forms above, stress is regularly on the last syllable of the subject suffix, except in N1PL, where stress is on the final syllable of the stem (cf. 2.3.1).

Table 11: Semifinite realis and distant past forms compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Semifinite</th>
<th>Distant past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>da-de</td>
<td>da-dke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear-I-1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>hear-1.DIST[SG]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>da-ke</td>
<td>dã-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear-I-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>hear-N1. DIST.N1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>da-d-oã</td>
<td>da-dk-oã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear-I-1.RLS-1PL</td>
<td>hear-1.DIST-1PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>da-ke-nã</td>
<td>dã-ke-nã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear-I-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
<td>hear-N1. DIST-N1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now consider Table 12, which gives the historical past forms for da(k) ‘hear’. Table 13 gives the historical past forms for a number of other verbs.

\(^{55}\) The vowel is found in none of the other N1SG forms. It should be noted, however, that Pisa and Jenimu also have i ‘N1SG’. Wester (2014:85) reconstructs proto-Awyu *-en ‘N1SG’, with regular sound change from proto-Awyu *e into Pisa and Jenimu i, but gives no explanation of how proto-Awyu *-en developed into -i in Aghu distant past.
Table 12: Historical past plus interlinearization: da(k) ‘hear’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Stem_1 + dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da-dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear_I-HIST[SG]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>Stem_1 + dia + oã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da-dia-oã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear_I-HIST-1PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>Stem_1 + dia + nã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dã-dia-nã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear_I-HIST-N1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Historical past: other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>da(k) ‘hear’</th>
<th>i(g) ‘lie’</th>
<th>da(x) ‘come’</th>
<th>ede (ox) ‘give’</th>
<th>fi(ox) ‘roast’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>da-dia</td>
<td>i-dia</td>
<td>da-dia</td>
<td>ede-dia</td>
<td>fi-dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>da-dia-oã</td>
<td>i-dia-oã</td>
<td>da-dia-oã</td>
<td>ede-dia-oã</td>
<td>fi-dia-oã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>da-dia-nã</td>
<td>i-dia-nã</td>
<td>da-dia-nã</td>
<td>ede-dia-nã</td>
<td>fi-dia-nã</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>üfü(ox) ‘hit’</th>
<th>tame ‘write’</th>
<th>fimi ‘think’</th>
<th>kũ ‘put.into’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>üfü-di</td>
<td>tame-dia</td>
<td>fimi-dia</td>
<td>ku-nia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>üfü-di-oã</td>
<td>tame-di-oã</td>
<td>fimi-di-oã</td>
<td>ku-nia-oã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>üfü-di-nã</td>
<td>tame-di-nã</td>
<td>fimi-di-nã</td>
<td>ku-nia-nã</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compared to other verbal paradigms, it is striking that the historical past has only one form for all persons in the singular. Apart from this, the paradigm is analogous: the person number markers for the plural are the same as those in other paradigms, and singular is zero-marked, as we saw for 1st person singular in semifinite, future and distant past forms. Wester (2014:111) is probably correct in her suggestion that dia contains a reflex of the proto-Awyu realis marker *d ‘1.RLS’, also reflected in first person semifinites and distant past forms. In all persons, stress is on the final syllable of the person-number suffix.

56 Following up on Wester (2014:103), the paradigm of the historical past might reflect an earlier phase within proto-Awyu, in which the language had only one realis marker *d used in all persons. At a certain point in time, however, final consonant deletion made that
Drabbe discusses the meaning of distant and historical past forms only very briefly. He writes that the forms of the distant past are used for events that took place before yesterday, but not too long ago, while the historical past is used for events longer ago. He illustrates the difference with the following opposition. Sentence (63) below is used to refer to the birth of a child of three or four months’ age, while one would rather use (64) to refer to the birth of someone who now is and adult. Drabbe remarks, however, that in many cases the use of either of the forms is possible, and depends on the conceptualization of the event as having taken place either ‘rather recently’ or as ‘rather long ago’:

“The boundary between the use of the preterite forms is not precise, of course, the more because the Papuan, and especially the Aghu-Awyu who do not know of wet and dry seasons according to which they can measure the time, have only a very limited notion of time.”

(63)  
\[ xaifä-ke-nä \]
\[ give.birth-N1.DIST-N1PL \]
‘he was born’ (lit. ‘they gave birth’; Drabbe 1957:12b)

first person (which used to end in *-ep) and nonfirst person (which used to end in *-en) could not be distinguished any more, and a realis marker *-k was used to distinguish nonfirst from first persons. This is the situation we see reflected in the Aghu semifinite and distant past realis forms.

57 “De grens tussen het gebruik der beide praeterita is natuurlijk niet nauwkeurig te trekken, temeer daar de Papoea, en vooral de Aghu-Awyu die geen natte en droge moessons kent om er de tijd mee te meten, een zeer slecht begrip van tijd heeft.” (Drabbe 1957:12b). In my view, a more correct formulation would be to say that the Aghu have a very different rather than “limited” notion of time.
It is important to note that the text corpus contains only a handful of distant past forms, and that all of them are used as part of analytic durative constructions as discussed in 2.4.3.3. In these constructions the forms are neutral with respect to past or present tense: consider (65) below, and (59) above.

\[(65) \quad \text{Fomenek} \quad \text{ēkenā},\]
\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{fome-ne} = k & \text{ē-ke-nā} \\
\text{search.food-SS} = \text{CON} & \text{stand-DIST-N1PL} \\
\end{array}\]

‘they are searching food’ (1.027)

Interestingly, in his discussion of distant past forms, Drabbe devotes a separate paragraph to the use of ‘k-forms as duratives’ (1957:40). In that paragraph, however, he does not mention the durative constructions that we just saw. Instead, he discusses combinations of two clauses with the first clause headed by a distant past form, combined with the durative prefix ı-, the durative particle bu or the adverb okènu ‘all the time’. The second clause may be headed by a finite or semifinite verb, and is asyndetically linked to the first clause. According to Drabbe, these sequences of clauses are used to refer to sequences of processes (which are durative by definition) in the past, and are used ‘mainly when in Dutch one would link the two sentences by the conjunction ‘totdat’ (English: until).\footnote{For the future counterpart of these constructions see section 2.4.3.6.}

He gives the following three examples:

\footnote{On the basis of Drabbe’s description of the formation of historical past forms, one would expect xaiïia-dia-nā instead of xaiïi-dia-nā. Either Drabbe’s description is incomplete at this point, or xaiïi-dia-nā should be considered a typo.}
Summarizing, the distant past forms are used:

1. To refer to events taking place before yesterday. Examples are given by Drabbe, but not attested in the text corpus.

2. In analytic durative constructions, where they are neutral with respect to past or present tense; a handful of examples are attested in the text corpus, further discussed in 2.4.3.3.

3. As head of the first clause of two asyndetically linked clauses, in combination with durative -i, durative bu or the adverb okem = bu ‘all the time’, to refer to a sequence of processes in the past. It is not clear whether ‘past’ in this context implies a ‘distant past’ of before yesterday, or could also refer to a more recent past.

It is important to note that both in (2) and (3) the event expressed by the distant past verb is separated in time from following events: the distant past refers to processes that commence at an unspecified distance compared to the tense locus, where the tense locus can either be the here and now, or be provided by a following (nonfuture) verb. In that sense, what is described by Drabbe as a distant past tense, might also be thought of as a form that

---

60 The term ‘tense locus’ is used by Sandra Chung and Alan Timberlake (1985), but has, for some reason, not been used in Timberlake’s (2007) revised version.
primarily expresses distance compared to a tense locus: either a distance of more than one day compared to the ‘here and now’, as in (1) or an unspecified distance compared to the tense locus expressed by a following verb, and proceeding until — but generally not overlapping with — this locus, as in (2) and (3).

Coming back to the historical past forms, it should be noted that they are attested in the text corpus almost exclusively in the concluding sections of the myths (1.314; 2.222; 3.190; 4.80; 5.40; 6.322; 7.082 (where the historical past form badia is also found at the beginning of the narrative, in 7.002)). It is very well possible that, within the genre attested in the text corpus, the forms could also be conceived of as referring to a ‘mythical past’: serving to place an entire narrative in a certain, mythical (past) perspective. Tense could thus be argued to operate at the level of the narrative as a whole, rather than at sentence level.

2.3.3.2 Fully finite irrealis verbs: future

The forms of the future verbs are those of the semifinite irrealis verbs plus a suffix -e (allomorph -je after vowels). Consider the following paradigm, which gives both the semifinite irrealis forms and the future forms in -e.
Table 14: Semifinite and fully finite irrealis forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Semifinite irrealis</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>afi</td>
<td>afi-je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>take_II[1SG]</td>
<td>take_II[1SG]-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>afi</td>
<td>afi-n-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>take_II.N1SG</td>
<td>take_II-N1SG-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>afi-oã</td>
<td>afi-oan-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>take_II-1PL</td>
<td>take_II-1PL-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>afi-nã</td>
<td>afi-nan-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>take_II-N1PL</td>
<td>take_II-N1PL-FUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that in all persons except 1SG the addition of \(-e\) leads to the spelling out of the nasal inherent to the person number markers.

Drabbe states that these forms are “future indicative forms, so that adejè means „I will hear”” (Drabbe 1957:14b), where it should be noted that he contrasts them with the semifinite forms that he has dealt with in the directly preceding section and which he describes as ‘optatives’. In line with Drabbe’s explanation and the data in the text corpus, I will characterize the finite future forms as basically exhibiting a declarative-affirmative function: with the use of a finite future the speaker expresses that (s)he expects the event expressed by the verb to happen, or to become true.

Future forms are also used in the apodosis of potential conditional sentences, where the protasis can be headed either by a semifinite or by an imperative. Examples are given in (69) through (71) below, where (71) and (70) differ only in the use of an imperative versus a semifinite. Drabbe remarks that in cases like this, the use of the imperative is more common.
(69) *díi  fū  ba-xē  gem-e-je*
    sago  3SG⁶¹ sit-II-N1SG  buy-II[1SG]-FUT
    ‘if there is some sago, I will buy it’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

(70) *fiko  afĩ,  sumke  edax-e-je*
    thing  take-II.N1SG  tobacco  give-II[1SG]-FUT
    ‘if you work, I will give you tobacco’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

(71) *fiko  nedĩ,  sumke  edax-e-je*
    thing  take.IMP[SG]  tobacco  give-II[1SG]-FUT
    ‘if you work, I will give you tobacco’ (lit. ‘work and I will give you tobacco’; Drabbe 1957:23a)

Finally, the future is also used as a complement of intentional constructions with the auxiliary verb *mV* ‘do’ or *mũ* ‘not.want’, examples of which were given in 2.3.2.2.5 and 2.3.2.2.10.

Examples of the use of future forms in the text corpus are restricted to a handful of cases, all of which are presented here. The first example is found in (73) below, which is a reaction to the question presented in (72) (for question formation with *a xajo* see Table 31 in section 2.7). Note that both the question clause and the declarative-affirmative clause are headed by finite future forms: *iēna* and *ieje*, respectively.

(72) **Oxe:**
    *Oxe:  Kiawi,  gu  okagimu  iēna*
    speak-N1.RLS[SG]  Kiawi  2SG  permanently  stand-II-N1SG-FUT

    *xajo  num’oxe.*
    *xajo  num = o-xe*
    QST  such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘He [Apupusimo] says: “Kiawi, will you stay (there)?”’ (2.198)

⁶¹ For the function of *fū* see section 3.1.5.3.
Kiawi oxe: nu okagimu ieje
Kiawi o-xe nu okagimu ie-je
Kiawi speak-N1.RLS[SG] 1SG permanently stand_H[1SG]-FUT

num’oxe.
num = o-xe
such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]
Kiawi says: “I will stay (here)!” (2.199)

We find a second case of a future in the text about the two orphan girls, who find a boy at the place where one of the two cut her hand. They say that they will ‘take’ the child, meaning that they will accept it as a child. Both in this and in the preceding example, the future verb seems to refer not so much to an event or situation that will take place only in the future, but to something that will hold true from the moment of speaking onwards.

Amoko afüoane num’oxe.
amoko afü-oä-e num = o-xe
boy take_H-1PL-FUT such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]
“‘We will adopt him as a child”, so she says.’ (1.045)

Example (75), from the text about the hunter and the fisher, is another attestation of a future form. Here the future verb is the head of a complement clause, the main clause being headed by an inflected form of the auxiliary verb mV ‘do’. The construction is parallel to the construction in which the complement clause is headed by a verbal noun, as described in 2.3.2.2. In constructions like this, main clause plus complement clause together express an intention or a ‘being about to’ to do something.

Num’oxe, eke axine moxe,
num = o-xe e.ke axi-n-e m-oxe
such = speak-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG.FOC go_H-N1SG-FUT do-N1.RLS[SG]
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idi oman gike.
idi oman gi-ke
path ignorant become-N1.RLS[SG]
‘So he says, and he wants to walk on, but he does not know the way anymore’
(6.155)

A final example of a future form in the text corpus is given in (76).

(76) Efe neto posiï axu kuto isipofianane
    efe n-eto posiï axu kuto isipofie-nan-e
    3SG LNK-father old human foot tread.and.lay.down-II-N1PL-FUT

aine num’ odok aguke.
ai-n-e num = o-do = k agu-ke
lie-II-N1SG-FUT such speak-ss = CON search-N1.RLS[SG]
‘Her old father (thinks): “they will put their feet down and there will be a track of
human feet” (lit. they will put their f eet down and it will lie), and starts
searching.’(2.160)

Drabbe remarks that here the future is used in a way in which the future
can also be used in Dutch: ‘er zullen wel voetsporen zijn’, or, in English
‘there will probably be footprints’. The future, used as part of a quote, thus
expresses a degree of certainty from the part of the speaker (enough to
make him search for the track), and forms an affirmation from the part of
the speaker (in this case to himself) that a certain situation will probably be
the case.

It is clear that the data is far too scarce to make any reliable claims about
the meaning of the future, or to deviate from Drabbe’s interpretation. I do
believe, however, that future investigation of the future should bear the
following factors in mind:

(1) The use of a ‘future’ suffix -e is not needed for a future interpretation;
the bare semifinite irrealis already implies a future reading.
(2) It might very well be that suffixation with -e is used to express a certain degree of certainty or assurance from the part of the speaker, rather than a future tense. In this respect it is important to note that the ‘future’ suffix -e follows the person-number markers, unlike the tense affixes -k and -dia, which precede the suffix. This might be seen as iconically reflecting the fact that evaluative modal operators operate at a higher level (the level of the entire proposition) than the more objective operators of tense (which, to follow Dik’s terminology, operate at the level of the State of Affairs, cf. Dik 1997: 236-243, 295-296). 62

2.3.3.3  Summary about tense
Summarizing, tense is a very marginal category in Aghu, and the attested cases of fully finite forms are few. It is clear that tense hardly plays a role within the narratives available to us. Of the distant past forms the text corpus contains only a handful of cases, in constructions where the temporal meaning is bleached. Historical past forms are attested only in the concluding sections of the narratives, and might possibly be thought of as a means to place the stories in a mythical past. Future forms, finally, are very rare too, largely due to the narrative genre with only little direct speech. More investigation, especially of texts from other genres, would be needed in order to get a better grasp of the Aghu tense system, and to see whether its classification as a category of tense does indeed most justice to its function.

62 This is confirmed by what Drabbe writes when dealing with the use of future in negative volitionals (Drabbe 1957:16, cf. also the end of section 2.6, and the examples (35), (54a) and (56a), to which we referred in 2.3.3.2 above). Here he points out that the future is also used in other “subjective utterances”, e.g. in xamiki fime-je [true think_II[1SG]-FUT ] ‘I believe it is true’. Interestingly, it is precisely the more subjective moods which according to Dik operate at the level of the entire proposition. Compare also 2.127.
2.4 Aspect
Drabbe 1957: sections 53-57; p.21-23

Although the term ‘aspect’ has not been used in this chapter yet, we have come across a number of constructions that have a modal or aspe ctual function, all of them formed with the irrealis infinitive plus an auxiliary. Both inflected \textit{mV} ‘do’ plus irrealis verbal noun (2.3.2.2.5) and \textit{oxo / ki(k)} ‘PRED’ / become plus augmented irrealis verbal noun (2.3.2.3.1) may express prospective aspect, expressing that an event is about to take place. The former section also discussed fixed expressions that are used for the expression of a state. In the present section we discuss some other aspectual categories that are expressed in Aghu. First, attention will be given to categories that are expressed by morphological means: iterative aspect (2.4.1), habitual aspect (2.4.2) and durative aspect (2.4.3.1, also 2.4.3.4). Then the focus will switch to lexical and analytical ways of expressing durative aspect (2.4.3.2 and 2.4.3.3), or continuative aspect (2.4.3.5), while morphological expression of continuative aspect is discussed in (2.4.3.4).

Starting with the morphological expression of aspect, consider the following table, which gives an overview of different types of aspect that are expressed morphologically on the two types of Aghu stems.
Table 15: Morphological means of expressing aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect / Stem type</th>
<th>Iterative</th>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>Durative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem_I</td>
<td>Suffixation of stem with -(o)gomo/-gumu/-gimi or -(o)sumu</td>
<td>Reduplication of stem + -mV</td>
<td>Iterative stem + -sumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem_II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Suffixation of inflected (semi)finite with -ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sections discuss the different types of aspect one by one.

2.4.1 Iterative aspect

Drabbe section 55, p. 22; section 77, p. 31a

Iterative aspect can be expressed in different ways, all illustrated in Table 16 below.
Table 16: Different patterns for expressing iterative aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| I       | Verbal root¹ + -(o)gomo / -gumu / -gimi / -(o)sumu | da(k) ‘hear’ -> da-gomo  
|         |          | i(k) ‘mention’ -> i-gimi  
|         |          | etc(ox) ‘see’ -> etc-sumu  
|         |          | xō ‘take out’ -> xōng-sumu  |
| II      | Full reduplication of verbal root plus -mV | xo(x) ‘go’ -> xo~xo-mo  
|         |          | kū ‘love’ -> kū~kū-mū  |
| III     | Partial reduplication of verbal root | poni(k) ‘burst’ -> po~poni (k)  |
| IV      | Reduplication of (stem + iterative affix) | kia si(k) ‘tell’ -> kia sigi~sigi-mi  |
| V       | Idiosyncratic iterative stem | axafa ‘break wood’ -> asūbame  
|         |          | xaxa(k) ‘break (intr, of wood)’ -> übakī(k)  
|         |          | ageme ‘break rattan’ -> gioki(k)  
|         |          | tī ‘shoot’ -> saxa  
|         |          | asi ‘bite’ -> asigio  
|         |          | efegeme ‘cut off’ -> efegio  |

¹ Drabbe (1957:22) remarks that for those verbs which have stems of type I ending in a nasal vowel and corresponding stems of type II in -mV, the iterative stem is formed on the basis of stem II, as in kekū ‘put on shoulders II’ -> kekumsumu, or kū ‘put’ -> kumsumu.

While -gomo is used only with certain verbs, most verbs may combine with -sumu. For reasons that are not clear, Drabbe describes the forms -gomo / -gumu / -gimi and -sumu as auxiliary verbs rather than as affixes. He does not explain whether there is any regularity in the choice between the three competing forms -gomo, -gumu, and -gimi, but mentions that the number of verbs combining with these is small, and gives only the following examples (examples with -gumu are lacking):
Although this is not mentioned explicitly, it seems that the choice for -ogomo is predicted by the form of the realis marker, in the sense that those verb stems that combine with -ox N1.RLS also take an o-initial iterativity marker: either -ogomo or -osumu (see below).

While only a small number of verbs may combine with -(o)gomo etc., Drabbe states that “with most of the verbs -sumu can be used.” From the fact that Drabbe gives no examples of verbs that can combine with both -gomo/-gumu/-gimi and with -sumu, we may be inclined to conclude that verbs are specified for the use of either an affix from the first set, or for the use of -sumu. It might also be, however, that some verbs allow for both -sumu and an affix from the other set. The following overview gives the forms listed by Drabbe to illustrate the use of -sumu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>-sumu Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ete(ox) ‘see’</td>
<td>et-osumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üfi(ox) ‘hit’</td>
<td>üffi-osumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da(x) ‘come’</td>
<td>da-sumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ùpomo ‘break (tr, stone)’</td>
<td>ùpom-sumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u.o(x) ‘speak’</td>
<td>u.o-sumu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Drabbe’s description it is not clear whether the stems formed with -gomo or -sumu can be used in all possible mood-tense combinations. In his grammatical introduction, Drabbe only gives a list of stems and no examples of their use, while the text corpus contains only a handful of clauses in which these stems are used, all of them in text 1. In all the attested cases of pattern I (1.216, 224, 227, 306, 314), the iterative verb stem
is used as a nonfinite, and as part of a durative construction formed with a posture verb (cf. 2.4.3.3 above):

(77) \[ \text{Ügümü-dü} = k \quad \text{ê-k-i} \]
    fell.\text{-}SS = \text{CON} \quad \text{stand-DIST-N1SG}

‘She kept on felling for a while.’ (1.216)

Drabbe notes that *sumu* is also used as an adverb, in the position directly preceding the verb, as in \( u \, \text{sum}=o(x) \) [sound repeatedly = speak] ‘talk a lot’, \( \text{büsiü} \, \text{sum}=si(k) \) [house repeatedly build] ‘build many houses’, or \( \text{sum}=i(k) \) [repeatedly mention] ‘call repeatedly’ e.g. of a child calling for his mother.

It should be noted that iterative stems of both pattern I and pattern II all end in \( mV \), which is also true for certain stems of type IV and V. This \( mV \) is, most probably, the (fossilized) affix -\( mV \) ‘do’, see 2.1 above. Drabbe points out that “the \( \text{mu} \)-forms” of these stems can also be used as adverbs, and are “best translated into Dutch by present participles.”\(^{63}\) These “\( \text{mu} \)-forms” are formally similar to adverbs in -\( \text{mu} \), and can be thought of as ‘participial adverbs’, which modify another verb. Drabbe illustrates this category of participial adverbs with the following three adverb-verb combinations: \( \text{agu-gumu} \, xo(x) \) [seek-\text{IT} go] \( \rightarrow \) ‘go searching(ly)’ from \( \text{agu}(k) \) ‘search’; \( \text{biakumu} \, xo(x) \) ‘go jumping from tree to tree’ from \( \text{biaku}(k) \) jump’ and \( \text{kia.sigimi} \, da-xe-nā \) [chat.\text{IT} come-N1.RLS-N1PL] ‘they came here chatting’ from \( \text{kia.si}(k) \text{ chat}’ \) (Drabbe 1957:31a). In the text corpus we found only one example:

---

\(^{63}\) The function of participial adverb-verb combinations seems very similar to the use of nonfinite iterative stems described by Drabbe at the end of his section on iteratives. Drabbe remarks that iterative nonfinites are often used “in the following way”: \( \text{kia.sigisigimi-di} = k \) \( \text{xo-xe-nā} \) [chat.\text{IT} come-N1.RLS-N1PL] ‘they are walking while chatting’; \( \text{enigiomo-do} = k \) \( \text{da-xe-nā} \) [eat.\text{IT} come-N1.RLS-N1PL] ‘while eating they came here’; \( \text{ada} \) \( \text{igimi-di} = k \) \( \text{xo-xe-nā} \) [sing mention.\text{IT} go-N1.RLS-N1PL] ‘while singing they were going’. 
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(78)  
Asü  kike  biakbiakumu  xodok  
asü  ki-ke  biak-biaku-mu  xo-do = k  
darkness  become-N1.RLS[SG]  RED-jump-PTCP  go-SS = CON

keda  fe  ogüke.  
keda  fe  ogü-ke  
waringin.tree  3SG  go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]

‘In the night it goes jumping from waringin tree to waringin tree.’ (9.04)

We now come to stems of pattern III, which are formed by reduplication of a verbal root. In (79) we have a semifinite verb, with partial reduplication of the verbal stem atame ‘split’. The sentence refers to two orphan sisters who have taken some leaves down and then split the leaves. The splitting of the leaves is conceived of as an iterative process.

(79)  
Abkodok  atetamoxenä.  
a-b = ko-do = k  atetam-ox-enä  
take-SS = go.downhill-SS = CON  split.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘They took them down and split them.’ (1.009)

Pattern V, finally, is illustrated in (80). Here we have a verbal root asü(k) ‘bite’ with an idiosyncratic iterative stem: asigiom.

(80)  
Banek  efe  napi  bodo  asigiomoxe.  
ba-ne = k  efe  n-api  bodo  asigiom-oxe  
shout-SS = CON  3SG  LNK-mother  hand  bite.IT-N1.RLS[SG]

He shouts and bites his mother’s hand (several times?) (1.043)

To close off this section, the table below gives an alphabetical overview of all the iterative stems that were attested in the text corpus.

Table 17: overview of iterative stems attested in the text corpus. Unless indicated otherwise, the meaning of the iterative stem follows from the meaning of stem_I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iterative stem</th>
<th>Stem_I</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adeseme</td>
<td>ada(k) ‘bind’</td>
<td>1.243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asigiome</td>
<td>asi(k) ‘bite’</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atetame</td>
<td>atame ‘split’</td>
<td>1.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibame</td>
<td>bimi ‘cut open’</td>
<td>8.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>efigiomo</td>
<td>efegeme ‘cut’</td>
<td>1.153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enigomo</td>
<td>ê ‘eat’</td>
<td>1.314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gisaxame</td>
<td>gü ‘pick’</td>
<td>3.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kübüto ‘flee’</td>
<td>teme ‘flee’</td>
<td>8.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukumu</td>
<td>kũ ‘put into’</td>
<td>3.124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusumu ‘throw away, cast; let loose’</td>
<td>kũ ‘put into’</td>
<td>1.257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migimi</td>
<td>mi(k) ‘come down’</td>
<td>1.306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saxa(k)</td>
<td>ū ‘shoot’</td>
<td>4.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sigimu</td>
<td>si (k) ‘twine’</td>
<td>2.190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisibumu</td>
<td>sibumu ‘close’</td>
<td>3.174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susumu</td>
<td>sũ ‘stick into’</td>
<td>1.244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toxosumu</td>
<td>toxō ‘cut in big pieces’</td>
<td>1.262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>übüsümü ‘tie up’</td>
<td>asu ‘tie’</td>
<td>1.246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ügümbi</td>
<td>ü(k) ‘fell’</td>
<td>1.154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ükü ‘bark’</td>
<td>n.a.²</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xanimi</td>
<td>xani ‘die’</td>
<td>2.105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xoysumu</td>
<td>xõ ‘take out’</td>
<td>1.252</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Kusumu has developed its own idiosyncratic meaning, cf. Aghu-English wordlist.
2. Drabbe glosses the form ükü in 4.05 with 'bark'. It is not entirely clear whether this form should indeed be seen as an iterative stem of a non-iterative counterpart, and if so, what would be the form of this non-iterative stem. Note that ükü also has (developed?) the meaning ‘fight’, or ‘threaten’.

2.4.2 Habitual aspect
Drabbe section 56, p. 22-23

Habitual aspect is expressed by the iterative stem plus another iterative suffix -sumu. As some of the iterative stems are formed by means of the
same suffix, this may result in forms with a double suffix -sumu, as in the following example, which contrasts the iterative with the habitual form of the verb.

(81)a 
\[\text{eto-sum-oxe.} \]
see-IT-N1.RLS[SG] 
‘he looked repeatedly’

(81)b 
\[\text{eto-sum-sum-oxe.} \]
see-IT-IT-N1.RLS[SG] 
‘he was used to look’ (Drabbe 1957:22b-23a)

Drabbe gives the following two additional examples to illustrate the contrast.

(82)a 
\[\text{fi-ogom-oxe} \]
roast-IT-N1.RLS[SG] 
‘he was roasting several things in a row’

(82)b 
\[\text{fi-ogom-sum-oxe} \]
roast-IT-IT-N1.RLS[SG] 
‘he was used to roast’ (Drabbe 1957:22b)

(83)a 
\[\text{xo~xom-oxe} \]
~ IT~ go-N1.RLS[SG] 
‘He went time and time again’

(83)b 
\[\text{xoxom-sum-oxe} \]
go.IT-IT-N1.RLS[SG] 
‘He was used to go’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

In the text corpus we find only one example of a habitual formation. This example was given in 2.3.1.2 above and is repeated here:

(84) 
\[\text{E} \text{nigomodok} \text{ edek k basumsumoxe.}\]
enigomo-do = k ete-de = k ba-sum-sum-oxe
eat.IT-SS = CON see-SS-CON sit-IT-IT-N1.RLS
‘It always sits, eating and watching.’ (9.08)

2.4.3 Durative (progressive) aspect
In this book I follow Drabbe in his use of the term ‘durative’, except that I use the term ‘continuative’ for the forms discussed in 2.4.3.4, which express different degrees of longer duration. Apparently, for Drabbe the term ‘durative’ (Dutch: duratief) doesn’t need any further explanation; for
him it suffices to use the term and to translate durative verbs or constructions with a Dutch present continuous.\textsuperscript{64}

In order to describe the meaning of the durative forms and constructions in Aghu, we follow Drabbe’s characterization plus translation of individual examples, and study the use of duratives in texts (of which Drabbe gives only translations for entire passages, and morpheme-to-morpheme glosses). Doing so, we may describe the meaning and use of the durative as follows:\textsuperscript{65}

- The durative presents an event as an ‘ongoing activity’, and, by implication, as an activity with a certain duration.
- In all of the attested cases, durative forms are followed directly by a comma, semicolon or a full stop; they are, in other words, clause or sentence-final (cf. section 5.1 on the notions of clause and sentence).
- There is no implication of temporal overlap with the event expressed by a following predicate. It is the context which guides the interpretation at this point.

First consider (85)a and b. Here the durative construction \textit{widi gidik ĕki} (see 2.4.3.3) expresses that the catching of the fish has a certain duration. The following \textit{abu dadek}, which happens to have the same subject as the durative, expresses a subsequent event, which as it were forms the temporal

\textsuperscript{64} E.g. \textit{fiko afike} ‘hij is aan het werken’, which can be rendered in English as ‘he is working (now)’.

\textsuperscript{65} There will probably be minor differences in meaning and use between durative aspect expressed by affixation (2.4.3.1), durative aspect expressed by the use of \textit{bu} (2.4.3.2), and durative aspect expressed by analytic constructions (2.4.3.3). These differences are not apparent from Drabbe’s description, however, nor do we have the means to investigate these differences, as the available data is too little, and because we do not have access to speakers’ intuitions.
limit of the durative event; she searches (for a while) until she brings it up to the house.

(85)a  
\[ Xodok \ widi \ gike. \]
xo-do = k widi gi-ke
\[ go-SS = CON \ \text{river} \ \text{scrape-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
‘She goes and catches fish’ (1.057)

b  
\[ Widi \ gidik \ eki, \ abu \ dadek \]
widi gi-di = k e-ki a-bu da-de = k
\[ \text{river} \ \text{scrape-SS} = \text{CON} \ \text{stand-N1.DIST.SG} \ \text{take-SS} \ \text{come-SS} = \text{CON} \]

\[ osuke, \ bùsiù \ osuke. \]
osu-ke bùsiù osu-ke
\[ \text{go.up-N1.RLS[SG]} \ \text{house} \ \text{go.up-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
‘She catches fish (for a while), brings it and goes up, she goes up to the house’ (1.058)

While the example above describes two subsequent events, (86) below is a clear example of a durative construction with overlapping events: the durative event of bathing overlaps with the event of coming, expressed by the subsequent verb.

(86)  
\[ Oxo \ bi \ kingenà, \ midik \]
oxo bu kî-ge-nâ mi-di = k
\[ \text{water} \ \text{DUR} \ \text{bathe-N1.RLS-N1.PL} \ \text{come.down-SS} = \text{CON} \]

\[ ûge. \]
fe ü-ge
\[ 3SG \ \text{stab-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
‘While they are bathing, he comes down and stabs one.’ (1.138)

---

66 For the use of the distant past in analytic duratives see section 2.4.3.3.
Comparison of these two examples confirms that the main function of the durative is to express the internal temporal structure of the event, as an activity with a certain duration; the question of overlap with neighboring events is not part of its meaning, but a matter of inference from the context. It is also possible, however, that the different durative constructions (the morphological duratives given in Table 15, durative with particle _bu_ and analytic duratives) differ at this point, in that some imply overlap and some do not. Unfortunately, the data are insufficient at this point.

2.4.3.1 _Durative aspect expressed by affixation on the verb_  
Drabbe 1957: section 53-54, p. 21-22

Drabbe writes that although all realis forms can be used to refer to processes that are ongoing at present or in the past, the language has two suffixes to ensure a ‘durative’ reading: Stems of type I (or ‘realis stems’) may combine with a prefix _i_- , while stems of type II (or ‘irrealis stems’) may combine with a suffix -ke (with allomorph -ge after nasals). The rest of this section will first discuss the durative forms in _i_- , and then the forms in -ke.

All stems of type I, except those that start with _i_ , may combine with the durative prefix _i_- . Drabbe gives six examples of _i_- prefixed forms in his description, while the texts contain only one additional example. Sentences (87) and (88) are two of the examples given by Drabbe.

(87)  
_fiko_  
work  
DUR-take-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘he is / was working’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)

(88)  
_u_  
voice  
DUR-speak-1.RLS[SG]  
‘I am / was speaking’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)
The following example has been taken from the text corpus.

(89)  

\[
\text{Efe } \quad \text{namse} \quad \text{xo} \quad \text{büsiü} \quad \text{baxenä}; \\
\text{efe} \quad \text{n-amse} \quad \text{xo} \quad \text{büsiü} \quad \text{ba-xe-nä} \\
3\text{SG} \quad \text{LNK-children} \quad \text{DST} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bamoxenä}, & \quad \text{ikio} & \quad \text{ioxe}, \\
\text{bam-oxe-nä} & \quad \text{ikio} & \quad \text{i-o-xe} \\
\text{sit.CONT}_I\text{-N1.RLS-N1PL} & \quad \text{water.quiver} & \quad \text{DUR-speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\text{xaxafen} & \quad \text{u} & \quad \text{ioxe}; \\
\text{xaxafen} & \quad \text{u} & \quad \text{i-o-xe} \\
\text{scratching} & \quad \text{sound} & \quad \text{DUR-speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\text{etoxenä}: & & \text{stand.up-SS = CON} \\
\text{et-oxe-nä} & \quad \text{see-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
\text{‘The children stay at home [after Apupüsimo has left his house]; they stay, and the water quiver is making sound, it is making a scratching sound; they stand up and see:’ (2.132).} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The paradigm for \textit{-ke} affixed forms is given in Table 18 below, which gives paradigms for the verbs \textit{bēje ‘pound.sago\_II’}, \textit{afi ‘take\_II’} and \textit{ajü ‘fell\_II’}. Note that all of these are stems of type II, which are the only type of stems that the durative affix \textit{-ke} can combine with. In all cases, stress is on the suffix \textit{-kè~ge}. 
Table 18: Durative forms formed by suffixation of -ke~ge to inflected stems of type II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bëje ‘pound.sagoII’</th>
<th>aﬁ ‘takeII’</th>
<th>ajü ‘fellII’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>bëje-kè</td>
<td>aﬁ-kè</td>
<td>ajü-kè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pound.sagoII[1SG]-DUR</td>
<td>takeII[1SG]-DUR</td>
<td>fellII[1SG]-DUR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>bëjä-kè</td>
<td>aﬁ-kè</td>
<td>ajü-kè³⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pound.sagoII[N1SG]-DUR</td>
<td>takeII[N1SG]-DUR</td>
<td>fellII[N1SG]-DUR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>bëj-oan-gè</td>
<td>aﬁ-oan-gè</td>
<td>ajü-oan-gè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pound.sagoII-1PL-DUR</td>
<td>takeII-1PL-DUR</td>
<td>fellII-1PL-DUR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>bëje-nan-gè</td>
<td>aﬁ-nan-gè</td>
<td>ajü-nan-gè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pound.sagoII-N1PL-DUR</td>
<td>takeII-N1PL-DUR</td>
<td>fellII-N1PL-DUR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of this paradigm to the paradigm of the semifinite irrealis, given in 2.3.1.3 above, shows that the person-number suffixes in both paradigms are basically the same. Thus, 1SG is expressed by the simple stem, 1PL by the suffix -oan (with place-assimilation of the autonomous nasal to following k), and N1PL by -nã (with same assimilation). The only difference is found in N1SG, which is expressed by nasalization in the semifinite forms (as in aﬁ ‘takeII-N1SG’), and by lengthening of the stem-final vowel in the durative form (as in aﬁ-kè takeII[N1SG]-DUR). This lengthening can, historically, be explained as compensatory lengthening for the elision of final nasalization, serving at the same time to keep 1SG and N1SG marked as distinctive forms. Another peculiarity of the N1SG form is found in stems ending in ê, which have a in N1SG (instead of ē, which would be expected by analogy to other forms), as is exemplified with the

---

³⁷ Drabbe’s publication does not indicate the lengthening here, probably because it was technically not possible for the publisher to render ū (Drabbe 1957:21).

³⁸ Compare the compensatory lengthening for the (historical) elision of the realis marker k in N1 distant past forms, described in section 2.3.3.1.
form *bējā-kè* [pound.sago_{II}[N1SG]-DUR] ‘he pounds sago’ in the table above.

No examples of the use of *-ke* were attested in the text corpus, so that the only examples of the use of *-ke* are those given by Drabbe in his discussion of this affix, two of which are presented as (90) and (91) here.

(90) *fiko*  *afi-kè*
    work  take_{II}[N1SG]-DUR
    ‘He is working’ (Drabbe 1957:21a)

(91) *u*  *ogh-enaf-geè*
    voice  speak_{II}-N1PL-DUR
    ‘they are speaking’ (Drabbe 1957:21b)

It should be noted that Drabbe only gives a present-tense translation, which suggests that this is the only possible reading, especially because he does include both present and past translations at other places (e.g. example (92) in 2.4.3.2 and (103) and (105) in 2.4.3.3). This is confirmed by the impossibility of combining a 1st person durative verb in-*ke* with a local deictic other than ‘here’, for which the reader is referred to section 2.8.3.1.

2.4.3.2  **Durative aspect expressed by use of particle bu**

Drabbe 1957: section 54, p. 21-22

An alternative way of expressing durative aspect is by the use of a particle *bu* — often cliticized as *b=* before vowels, and harmonizing with the following vowel — in combination with a semifinite or finite verb, or with one of the durative forms discussed in the previous section. The formative *bu* usually directly precedes the verb, but it is not a prefix, as it can be separated from the stem, as in (92) and (93).
(92) \( b’asü \) \( ki-ke \)
\[ \text{DUR} = \text{dark} \quad \text{become-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \]
‘it is getting dark’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)

(93) \( Igidi \) \( bu \) \( o \) \( pani\ke \),
\[ \text{i-gidi} \quad \text{bu} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{pani-ke} \]
\[ \text{lie-NEXT.DAY} \quad \text{DUR} \quad \text{feces} \quad \text{come.up-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \]
\[ isi\om’ \quad b’ \quad o \quad pani\ke . \]
\[ isi\om = \quad \text{bu} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{pani-ke} \]
\[ \text{very} \quad \text{DUR} \quad \text{feces} \quad \text{come.up-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \]
‘The next morning he is farting, he is farting loudly.’ (2.169)

Sentence (94) exemplifies the use of \( bu \) with a durative verb in \(-ke\); (95) is another example of \( bu \) used with a semifinite, while (96) and (97) illustrate the use of \( bu \) with finite verbs, the latter of which also bears the durative prefix \( i-\).

(94) \( bu \) \( dafi-\text{naj-ge} \)
\[ \text{DUR} \quad \text{come-II-N1PL-DUR} \]
‘they are on their way to here’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)

(95) \( bigio \) \( bi \) \( si-de \)
work \quad \text{DUR} \quad \text{twine-1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \]
‘I am / was twining a mat’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)

(96) \( fiko \) \( b=\text{ā-ke-nā} \)
work \quad \text{DUR} = \text{take-N1.DIST-N1PL} \]
‘they were working’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)

(97) \( nūgu \) \( nī \) \( u \) \( i-o-dia \)
\[ \text{1PL} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{sound} \quad \text{DUR-speak-HIST}[\text{SG}] \]
‘a long while ago he was giving a speech for us’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)

Drabbe remarks that we very often find constructions like (94) and (96) combined with the element \( awu \), cliticized \( aw= \), which means ‘already’, as
in *nu awu bu dafi-ke* [1SG already DUR come II[1SG]-DUR] ‘I am coming already’. This is in line with Timberlake’s observation that the durative is often used to express that an activity is going on ‘already’ or ‘sooner than expected’ (Timberlake 2007:287). Another example is given with (98) below. The sentence narrates how Apupüsimo’s daughter goes downhill, after she has told him that there are people in his sago garden. When she has gone downhill, she sees that these people are pounding ‘already’.

(98) *Kütoxe;* etoxe dü mase bu
  küto-xc etox-xc dü mase bu
  go.downhill-N1.RLS[SG] see-N1.RLS[SG] sago already DUR

*bêkenâ.*
  bê-ke-nâ
  pound-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘She goes downhill and sees that they are already pounding sago.’ (2.053)

Another particle mentioned by Drabbe as bringing along a durative reading is *okêmu*, ‘always, continuously’, used in combination with distant past forms. Examples were given in section 2.3.3.1 above, e.g. (67).

It should be noted that in both of the examples of the use of *bu* ‘DUR’ in the text corpus we have to do with a situation that is presented as being perceived: either audible (in (93)), or visible (in (98)). In that respect it is relevant to pay attention to what Drabbe remarks at the end of his section on duratives. He points out that most of the time duratives (in *i*- or formed with *bu*) combine with demonstrative pronouns. In my opinion, these

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69 This is also true in most of the examples from the text corpus. Clear examples of events presented as perceived are found in 1.071, 1.306, 2.049 and 2.053/54, 3.054, 3.057, 3.072/73, 3.076, 3.085, 6.055, 6.063, 6.077, 6.122, 6.161, 8.018. The other examples of the use of *bu* can also be taken as such: 2.004, 2.022, 2.029, 2.036, 2.052, 2.054, 2.059, 2.118, 2.169, 2.201/2, 2.207, 2.208, 6.053, 6.195 and 8.001.

70 This tendency, however, is not confirmed by the data in the text corpus.
demonstratives — which will be dealt with in more detail in 3.2.4 — contribute to the visualization of the event, or — more broadly — present it as being perceived: either visually, or audibly, or possibly also by other sensory means. The combination of durative aspect and the use of demonstratives — deictic by definition — places the event in the ‘here and now’ of either the addressee (as in the examples that follow), or of the participant that perceives the event (as in (98) above). Drabbe gives the following examples:

(99) fiko xo b = afì-ke
    work DST DUR = take_II[N1SG]-DUR
    ‘he is working there’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)

(100) ada xo k’ b = ai-nan-ge
    sing DST ACC DUR = mention_II-N1PL-DUR
    ‘they are singing there’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)

(101) nu aw’ nigi dafü-ke
    1SG already = here come_II[1SG]-DUR
    ‘I am coming!’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)

(102) xü ni b’ ajü-oan-ge
    garden THIS DUR = fell_II-N1PL-DUR
    ‘we are clearing the garden’ (Drabbe 1957:22a)

2.4.3.3 Durative aspect expressed by constructions with posture verbs
Drabbe 1957: section 84, p. 34–35; section 87, p. 35

In addition to the morphological and lexical means discussed in the two previous sections, durative aspect can also be expressed analytically, which in fact is the most common way to express durativity (Drabbe 1957:40b).
The analytic construction is formed by a nonfinite realis form in \(-dV(=k)\) followed by a (semi)finite realis form or a \(-ke\) final durative form of one of the posture verbs \(ba(x)\) ‘sit’, \(e(k)\) ‘stand’, or \(i(g)\) ‘lie down’. Consider the following example, where we find the nonfinite realis form \(adek\) followed by a semifinite realis form of the verb \(e\) ‘stand’. It should be noted that in the durative construction under discussion, the posture verbs still have a lexical semantic content, in that the posture of the subject is still part of the meaning. Thus, the construction with \(e\) ‘stand’ in (103) not only implies a durative meaning, but also implies that the subject is in standing posture. In this book, this has been made clear by adding this meaning aspect in brackets.

(103) \[ fiko \quad a-de=k \quad c-ke \]

\[ \text{work} \quad \text{take-SS}=\text{CON} \quad \text{stand-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \]

‘he is / was (standing and) working’ (Drabbe 1957:34a)

As mentioned, it is also possible to use a finite form of the posture verb. In (104) we find a historical past, while (105) forms the distant past

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71 Here, the term ‘construction’ should in the first place be taken in a rather loose sense, as indicating a certain constellation of verbs. Whereas in stricter definitions of the term ‘construction’ the term entails that its properties are more than the sum of the properties of its parts, this is not necessarily the case here. In fact, I will argue below that the durative reading can very well be seen as a contextual implication, and not as a necessary part of the meaning of the construction. On the other hand, as we will see below, it is specifically within the framework of this construction that the so-called distant past and historical past have a wider range of possible interpretations. In other words: while the durative reading may be seen as a contextual implication, and cannot be taken as an argument that we have to do with a construction in the strict sense of the word, the range of interpretations imposed on distant past and historical past forms seems specific to this construction, does not seem to follow from the sum of its parts, and can be seen as an argument for considering this as a construction in the stricter sense of the word.

72 Drabbe does not explicitly restrict the construction to realis (semi)finitive positional verbs. As he does not say anything about irrealis positional verbs in this construction, it is safest to remain ignorant at this point, and to leave this out of the discussion.
counterpart of (103) above. Interestingly, the use of the distant past in this construction is extended in that “[the forms] are indifferent with respect to a more distant or a more recent past, and can even be used as present; only from the context can one conclude which tense is intended” (Drabbe 1957:34).

73

(104) bigio si-dí = k ba-día
mattress twine-SS = CON sit-HIST[SG]
‘he was (sitting and) twining a mattress (in the far past)’ (Drabbe 1957:34a)

(105) fíko a-de = k é-ki
work take-SS = CON stand-N1.DIST[SG]
‘he is / was (standing and) working’ (Drabbe 1957:34a)

Now consider the following passage:

(106) Xodok fomeŋgenã.
xo-dó = k fomè-ge-nã
go-SS = CON search.food-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘They go to search food.’ (1.026)

(107) Fomenek ēkenã,
fome-ne = k ē-ke-nã
search.food-SS = CON stand-DIST-N1PL

daxenã bagidi xati midik
da-xe-nã ba-gidi xati mi-di = k
come-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again come.down-SS = CON

73 “… hier echter zijn ze indefiniet t.o.v. een korter of langer verleden, en kunnen ze zelfs als praesens gebruikt worden; uit de samenhang alleen kan men dan weten welke tijd ermee bedoeld is (…) ”
xoxenā.
xo-xe-na
go-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘After they have been (walking and) searching (for a while), they come home, and
the following day they come down (out of their house) again and go out.’ (1.027, 028)

The use of the durative construction at the beginning of (107) (fomenek ēkena) stresses that the searching is a process: going on for a while, and not a punctual event. Similar to what we saw in (85) above, the event does not overlap temporally with the event expressed by the following verb: daxenā; first they search for food and only after they have searched for food, they come home. This means that the durative aspect expressed by this construction primarily has to do with the internal structure of the event, and does not relate to the (temporal) relation between this event and events expressed by following verbs. This is even clearer from the fact that we also find the durative construction combined with the use of –ku SS.SEQ. This marker, further discussed in 5.4.2.1, expresses — in addition to identity in subject — that the following event is sequential to the present one:

74 In the durative construction, we find the suffix -ku used in combination with ba, i, and e, as well as with their continuous counterparts bame-, imi, meme- (see section 2.8.3.4). Consider the following example, which differs from (108) below in the use of (1PL rather than 1SG and) a continuative stem rather than a ‘normal’ stem of type I.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bigio} & \quad \text{si-di}=k & \quad \text{bamoan}=gu & \quad \text{ax-oa-ne} \\
\text{mattress} & \quad \text{twine-SS=CON} & \quad \text{sit}_{II}[1PL]=SSSEQ & \quad \text{go}_{II}\text{-IPL-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We will first be busy twining the matrass for a while and then go’ (Drabbe 1957:37a,b)

The suffix does not seem to be used, however, in combination with the continuative _II forms bambax, mebax, and ibax. At least, this is what I conclude from the fact that Drabbe does not mention this possibility, and from the fact that he only gives examples of continuative _II forms without =ku.
The passage cited in (106)-(107) above also nicely illustrates the extended use of the distant past; the form is used in the middle of a story which, as a whole, has been placed in the historical past (which becomes clear only in the last sentence of the narrative). This is incompatible with a reading in which the distant past form ękena is understood as referring to a past ‘not too long before yesterday’ (cf. 2.3.3.1).

As stated above, the posture verb can also be a durative verb in -ke. This is the case in (109) and (110) below, which differ only minimally from (104) and (105) above.

(109) bigio  si-di=k  bo-ke  
mattress  twine-SS=CON  sit-II-DUR[1SG]  
‘I am / was (sitting and) twining a mattress’ (Drabbe 1957:34a)

(110) fiko  a-de=k  iĩ-ke  
work  take-SS=CON  stand-II-DUR[1SG]  
‘I am / was (standing and) working’ (Drabbe 1957:34a)

Finally, consider (111) below. Although the sequence of verbs here would formally count as a ‘durative construction’, the context makes a durative reading impossible. The sentence is not about a durative going up, but about a going up and a subsequent sitting down. In my view, this example shows that the durative construction that has been described in this section is not a fully grammaticalized construction. The durative reading has not

75 Although the story has been placed in the historical past, like Drabbe I have chosen to translate with present tense. With this, I have wanted to express that the story, as it unfolds, can be seen as neutral between a ‘normal present’ reading and a historical present reading, cf. the introduction to the text corpus.
fully become part of the construction, but should rather be seen as a strong contextual implication. If we find a nonfinite V1, followed by a verb of posture V2, there is a strong implication of (1) overlap between V1 and V2, and (2) a durative reading of (V1+V2). Examples like (111) below, however, show that the question whether this reading really holds, is still dependent on the context.

(111) Osuduk baxe.
    osu-du=k ba-xe
    go.up-SS = CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘He goes up and sits down’ (6.041)

2.4.3.3.1 Alternating processes
The construction described above can also be used for the description of alternating processes like ‘coming and going’, or ‘going up and down’ (Drabbe 1957:35). As can be seen in (112), one uses subsequent nonfinite forms of two verbs that express movements in opposite directions, which then are followed by a semifinite or finite form of the posture verb.

(112) xo-do=k da-de=k e-d-oã
    go-SS = CON come-SS = CON stand-1.RLS-1PL
    ‘we were continuously walking there and back again’ (Drabbe 1957:35a)

An alternative way of expressing this kind of alternating processes is illustrated in (113), where we find semifinite forms of the motion verbs followed by the nonfinite form of eme ‘stop’, again followed by a semifinite motion verb.

(113) osu-d-oã musu-d-oã eme-de=k e-d-oã
    go.up-1.RLS-1PL come.down-1.RLS-1PL stop-SS = CON stand-1.RLS-1PL
    ‘we were continuously going up and coming down again’ (Drabbe 1957:35a)
Finally, and closely parallel to the construction shown in (113), speakers may use a compound verb formed from the primary stems of the two motion verbs, again followed by a posture verb (here a continuative stem of e ‘stand’, see following section). Drabbe remarks, however, that such compounds seem to be rare, and gives only the following clause to exemplify this type of compound and its use:

(114) \( \text{ogo-mada} \ eme-de =k \ meme-d-o\ddot{a} \)

\( \text{go.up-come.down} \ stop-SS = \text{CON} \ stay.\text{CONT}_{-1}.\text{RLS-1PL} \)

‘We were continuously going up and down’ (Drabbe 1957:35a)

2.4.3.4 Different degrees of longer duration, expressed by affixation

Drabbe 1957: sections 86-89, p. 34-36; section 99, p. 40-41

Drabbe explains how different degrees of duration can be expressed by the use of different stems that are derived from the stems \( ba(x) \) ‘sit’, \( i(g) \) ‘lie’, and \( e(k) \) ‘stand’. As presented in the table below, continuative_I forms are used to express longer duration than a normal durative, while continuative_II forms are used to portray an even longer duration. Note that the continuative meaning is part of the derived verb, both when it is used as an independent posture verb, and when it is used in a durative construction as described in the previous section and exemplified in (118) below.

Table 19: Durative and continuative; different degrees of duration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Continuative_I: longer duration</th>
<th>Continuative_II: very long duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( ba(x) ) ‘sit’, ( e(k) ) ‘stand’</td>
<td>( ba-me ) ( me-me ) ( only \ for \ animates )</td>
<td>( bam-bax ) ( me-bax )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( i(g) ) ‘lie’,</td>
<td>( i-mi )</td>
<td>( i-bax )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The continuative _I forms can be analyzed as composed of the positional verbs in the first column and the verbal affix -mV ‘do’, and are inflected in line with this, taking -oxe as the N1.RLS marker (cf. 2.3.1.1). Also in line with this, they have corresponding stems of type II in e (see Table 3, type c above), so that the stems of type II have the same form as those of type I. The continuative _II forms all contain the suffix -bax, which is, most probably, historically related to the verb ba (x) ‘sit’. The meaning ‘sit’ is bleached for the suffix -bax, but still part of the meaning of the verbal roots ba and bam, analogous to what we saw for the posture verbs discussed in the previous section; the use of the root ba and its derivatives implies that the subject is sitting, while e and i are used for standing and lying subjects, respectively. Thus, (115) refers to an activity of longer duration where the subject of the verb is in standing position, while (116) uses bam ‘sit.CONT’ as a main verb to refer to subjects in sitting position, or more specifically: to subjects that are conceptualized of as usually finding themselves in a sitting position (cf. 2.8.1 below).

(115)  
Sikunuk  memoxenā,  daxenā,  büsiū
siku- nu = k  mem- ox- enā  da- xe- nā  büsiū
place- SS = CON stay.CONT_I-N1.RLS-N1PL come-N1.RLS-N1PL house

daxenā.
da- xe- nā
come-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘They remain busy placing (the fish traps) for a while and then come, they come home.’ (1.005)

---

76 At first sight, one might even be inclined to analyze the forms as compounds, with the verb ba(x) ‘sit’ as second part, and x(e) as a realis marker, so that we would get bam-ba(x(e)) ‘sit.CONT-sit’. From a comparison of Table 20 (inflection of bambax etc.) with Table 32 (inflection of posture verbs) below, however, it is clear that the forms are inflected differently. Compare bo-de [sit-1.RLS[SG]] ‘I sit’ with bambax-o [sit.CONT_I-1SG] ‘I sit continuously, I stay’ (and not * bam-bo-de).
Example (117) contains a continuative_I form used as part of an analytic durative construction. Drabbe notes that the language has no distant past continuative_II forms, and that there is, therefore, no analogous analytic durative construction formed with continuative_II forms.77

\[(117) \quad \text{di} \quad \text{be-de=k} \quad \text{memā-ke-nā} \quad \text{bidī} \quad \text{xaxide}\]

\[\text{sago} \quad \text{pound-SS} = \text{CON} \quad \text{stand.CONT-I1.DIST-N1PL} \quad \text{moon} \quad \text{new}\]

\[\text{e-ke}\]

\[\text{stand-N1.RLS[SG]}\]

‘they kept pounding sago until the new moon’ (Drabbe 1957: 41a)

As can be seen in the table above, two of the three continuative_I forms, me-me and i-me, can only be used for animates: humans and animals. Drabbe remarks that for reference to objects one uses eba(x) and iba(x), of

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77 It is clear that the language lacks continuative_II distant past forms, so that it is also not possible to use these forms in the formation of analytic durative constructions. From Drabbe’s description is not clear, however, whether it is possible to form a durative construction with the use of other continuative_II forms.
which he does not give any examples. From Drabbe’s description it is not clear whether the restriction with regard to animateness for continuative_I forms also applies to continuative_II forms. He does not mention any restriction, but in all the examples that he gives we find exclusively human referents as subjects.

Coming to the form of the continuative_II verbs, Drabbe refers to them as ‘defective verbs’. Although the position of the subject (as sitting, standing or lying) is still part of the meaning, it is clear that the meaning is primarily aspectual. The verb has limited inflection, and is neutral with respect to the category of tense. The forms consist of the stem and a person-number marker, without any addition of tense or mood markers. Note that the final vowel of the stem in N1SG is a, while the other forms have o.

Table 20: Continuative_II forms, neutral with respect to tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bambax ~ bambox</th>
<th>mebax ~ mebox</th>
<th>ibax ~ ibox</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>bambox-o</td>
<td>mebox-o</td>
<td>ibox-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>bambax-e</td>
<td>mebax-e</td>
<td>ibax-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>bambox-oã</td>
<td>mebox-oã</td>
<td>ibox-oã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>bambox-enã</td>
<td>mebox-enã</td>
<td>ibox-enã</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the plural person-number suffixes are the same as those used in other verb paradigms (except that there e in N1PL is analyzed as part of the realis

---

78 From Drabbe’s description it is not clear whether the form iba(x) mentioned here should be distinguished from the continuative_II form ibax discussed below. Neither is clear whether there is any difference between the use or meaning of eba(x) and iba(x).

79 The restrictions with regard to animateness for these verbs seem specific to the use of these verbs in durative constructions; they do not hold when these verbs are used as independent lexical verbs, see 2.8.1, Table 34. Although animateness definitely plays a role there too, this role is remarkably different from the role of animateness in the continuative_I forms under discussion here.
marker rather than as part of the person number suffix), the singular suffixes are idiosyncratic for this paradigm, consisting of the corresponding plural suffix minus the final syllable (assuming that ā in -oā forms a syllable of its own).

As head of a predicate, the continuative_II forms are always followed by a corresponding form of ba(x), e(k), or i(g), or one of the continuative_I forms, as in the following examples. The translations are mine, based on Drabbe’s description of the meaning of these forms and constructions.

(118)a  mebox-o e-de
stand.CONT_II-1SG stand-1.RLS[SG]
‘I was / remained (present) standing (for a long time)’ (Drabbe 1957:35b)

b  mebax-e meme-n-e.80
stand.CONT_II-N1SG stand.CONT_II-N1SG-FUT
‘He will be / remain (present) standing (for a long time)’ (Drabbe 1957:35b)

It is also possible to form imperatives from the continuative_II stems. The forms are as follows:

Table 21: Continuative_II, imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bambax</th>
<th>mebax</th>
<th>ibax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘sit for a long time’</td>
<td>‘stand for a long time’</td>
<td>‘lie for a long time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>bamb-edã</td>
<td>meb-edã</td>
<td>ib-eda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>bamb-edaxani</td>
<td>meb-edaxani</td>
<td>ib-edaxani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only example of an imperative plus translation given by Drabbe is the following.

80 Note that for stems in -mV/, stems of type I and stems of type II are homophonous. See section 2.2, Table 3, stems of type c.
In the text corpus no examples of continuative_II forms were attested.

2.4.3.5 *Longer duration, expressed analytically*

According to Drabbe, longer duration can also be expressed analytically. The examples below are analyzed by Drabbe as a bare stem of a posture verb followed by the postposition *ni*, which is analyzed in 3.6.1.1 as a dative marker.

(120) \[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{baxe} & \ni & \text{bo-de} \\
\text{sit}_\text{II} & \text{DAT} & \text{sit-1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \\
\end{array}\]  
‘I was sitting for a long time’ (lit. ‘I sat in order to sit’; Drabbe 1957: 36a)

(121) \[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{bame} & \ni & \text{ba-xe} \\
\text{sit-CONT}_\text{II} & \text{DAT} & \text{sit-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \\
\end{array}\]  
‘he was sitting for a long time’ (Drabbe 1957: 36a)

(122) \[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{mebaxe} & \ni & \text{e-d-oã} \\
\text{stand-CONT}_\text{II} & \text{DAT} & \text{stand-1.RLS-1PL} \\
\end{array}\]  
‘we were standing for a long time’ (Drabbe 1957: 36a)

2.4.3.6 *Special paradigms for durative ‘future’ and imperative*

Drabbe 1957: sections 100-101, page 41

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81 From Drabbe’s description it appears that he considers the final e in *mebaxe* (etc.) as part of the stem. In 2.4.3.4, however, the stems were analyzed as consonant-final. The forms under consideration here may very well be grammaticalized forms of the N1SG continuative forms, see Table 20. They are not verbal nouns, as these end in a nasal vowel, also when followed by *ni*, cf. 2.3.2.2.3 above.
Drabbe gives a special paradigm for future durative forms. Interestingly, these are formed on the base of stems of type I, and not, as is the case for other future forms, on the basis of stems of type II. These future durative forms can only be used in combination with one of the formatives _bu_ ‘DUR’, or _okèmu_ ‘all the time’, or prefixed with the durative prefix _i-_ (for which Drabbe gives no examples). The paradigm is given in Table 22 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bē ‘pound sago’</th>
<th>ō ‘make spear’</th>
<th>tame ‘write’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>bē-kāk-u</td>
<td>ōŋ-kāk-u</td>
<td>tam-kāk-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>bē-kāk-ī</td>
<td>ōŋ-kāk-ī</td>
<td>tam-kāk-ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>bē-kāk-oā</td>
<td>ōŋ-kāk-oā</td>
<td>tam-kāk-oā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>bē-kāk-enā</td>
<td>ōŋ-kāk-enā</td>
<td>tam-kāk-enā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms are not attested in the text corpus, and Drabbe gives only five isolated examples, four of which are given in (123) through (126). In all cases the clause headed by the durative future form is followed by another clause, and in all cases Drabbe renders the relation between the two clauses with a temporal conjunction ‘until’ (Dutch: totdat), expressing that the two events take place in direct sequence.

(123) _bo xo-kāk-oā būsiī fē xai-d-oan-e_
_DUR go-DUR.FUT-1PL house 3SG come.close._II-1.RLS-1PL-FUT_
‘we will walk on until we get close to a house’ (Drabbe 1957:41a)

(124) _okem= ba-kāk-oā būo ki-n-e_
'all.the.time= sit-DUR.FUT-1PL afternoon become-N1SG-FUT_
‘we will remain sitting here until the afternoon’ (Drabbe 1957:41a)

(125) _dü bu bē-kāk-u napi dafi-n-e_
_sago DUR pound-DUR.FUT-1SG mother come._II-N1SG-FUT_
'I will keep on ponding sago until mother comes’ (Drabbe 1957:41a)
It should be noted that Drabbe describes the forms here as counterparts of the distant past forms when used with durative adverbs or prefixed with durative *i-* (see 2.3.3.1, examples (66) through (68)). Both in these examples and in (123) through (126) above we have to do with events of a certain duration, conceived of as extending until the inception of a following event.

For the formation of the imperative durative, the language uses the bare stem of type I suffixed with *(n)ak-i* (SG) or *(n)ak-enaxani* (PL), as shown in Table 23.

Table 23: Imperative durative forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘pound sago’</th>
<th>‘make spear’</th>
<th>‘write’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SG</strong></td>
<td>bē-nāk-i</td>
<td>o-nāk-i</td>
<td>tame-nāk-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PL</strong></td>
<td>bē-nāk-enaxani</td>
<td>o-nāk-enaxani</td>
<td>tame-nāk-enaxani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analogous to the durative future forms, in all the examples given by Drabbe the durative imperative clause is followed by a second imperative, with a relation of direct sequence between the two clauses, as in (127) and (128)

(127) sekolah xoxom-sume-nāk-enaxani\(^{82}\) xosübā ken-axani

school go.IT-IT-IMP.DUR-PL young.man become.IMP-PL

‘continue to go to school until you have become young men’ (Drabbe 1957:41a-b)

\(^{82}\) The original has *ioghomsumenakenaghani*, with initial *i* instead of *gh* [x]. I take this as a typo.
(128) \[ \text{düü bē-de=k e-nāk-i büsiü axi-n-e} \]
\[ \text{sago pound-SS=CON stand-IMP.DUR-SG house go}_{II-N1SG-FUT} \]
‘keep pounding sago and then go home’ (Drabbe 1957:41b)

### 2.5 Imperative
Drabbe sections 50-52, p. 19-21

In Aghu, imperative mood\(^{83}\) is expressed by the use of special stems, the form of which is largely unpredictable, although in most of the stems an element \(n\) can be discerned. Although the form of the imperative stem can generally not be predicted, certain patterns can be detected. The following two tables list the imperative forms given by Drabbe (1957:20) in a rearranged order.

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\(^{83}\) Following Timberlake (2007:26) I use the term mood for modality that is crystallized as morphology, or which, in a somewhat broader sense, is part of the system of grammatical oppositions in the language. In Aghu, the grammar codes an opposition by the use of different stems for three different moods: realis mood coded by stems of type I, irrealis mood coded by stems of type II and imperative coded by imperative stems.
Table 24: Imperatives compared to stems of type I and stems of type II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>IMP [SG]</th>
<th>IMP [PL]</th>
<th>Stem_I</th>
<th>Stem_II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#nV#</td>
<td>Based on stem_I of form V</td>
<td>ni ‘lie’</td>
<td>ni-oxone</td>
<td>i (g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ni ‘mention’</td>
<td>ni-oxone</td>
<td>i (k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no ‘speak’</td>
<td>n-oxone</td>
<td>o(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nü ‘fell’</td>
<td>nü-oxone</td>
<td>ü(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nü ‘stick’</td>
<td>nü-oxone</td>
<td>ü(g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other basis</td>
<td>do ‘come’</td>
<td>d-oxone</td>
<td>da(x)</td>
<td>dafi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#n 발표</td>
<td>Based on stem_I of form 발표</td>
<td>nā ‘eat’</td>
<td>na-xanī</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nī ‘twist’</td>
<td>ni-oxonē</td>
<td>ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nō ‘rub’</td>
<td>n-oxonē</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#nVCV#</td>
<td>Based on stem_I of form VCV</td>
<td>nada ‘hear’</td>
<td>nad-axani</td>
<td>da(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>negi ‘rub’</td>
<td>neg-oxone</td>
<td>gi(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>noxi ‘go’</td>
<td>noxone</td>
<td>xo(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nemi ‘drink’</td>
<td>nemi-oxone</td>
<td>mi(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Based on stem_I of form CV</td>
<td>nedi ‘take’</td>
<td>ned-oxone</td>
<td>a(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nV-initial patterns</td>
<td>Different bases</td>
<td>nomso ‘come in’</td>
<td>noms-oxone</td>
<td>mo(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(in all cases the vowel in nV- is o)</td>
<td></td>
<td>nomso ‘come up’</td>
<td>noms-oxone</td>
<td>moso(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nomodo ‘come from other side’</td>
<td>nomod-oxone</td>
<td>mono(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nodü ‘go across’</td>
<td>nodü-oxone</td>
<td>onu(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>notü ‘go up’</td>
<td>notü-oxone</td>
<td>osu(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>notü ‘go in’</td>
<td>notü-oxone</td>
<td>u(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nokü ‘die’</td>
<td>nokü-oxone</td>
<td>kū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nokü ‘dig’</td>
<td>nokü-oxone</td>
<td>kūo-x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nomio ‘come down’</td>
<td>nomi-oxone</td>
<td>mi(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern</td>
<td>IMP [SG]</td>
<td>IMP [PL]</td>
<td>Stem_I</td>
<td>Stem_I_I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(...)CV\textsubscript{n}V#</td>
<td>Based on CV-final stem_II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ab.gine} ‘laugh’</td>
<td>\textit{ab.gin-oxone}</td>
<td>\textit{ab gi(k)}</td>
<td>\textit{ab gi}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{adafena} ‘bind’</td>
<td>\textit{adefana-xani}</td>
<td>\textit{ada(k)}</td>
<td>\textit{adafe}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{agufuna} ‘seek’</td>
<td>\textit{agufuna-xani}</td>
<td>\textit{agu(k)}</td>
<td>\textit{agufe}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{bűdüna} ‘shut your eyes’</td>
<td>\textit{bűdüna-xani}</td>
<td>\textit{bű}</td>
<td>\textit{bűdü}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{dadena} ‘open your eyes’</td>
<td>\textit{dadena-xani}</td>
<td>\textit{dani(k)}</td>
<td>\textit{dade}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{mesena} ‘stand up’</td>
<td>\textit{mesen-axani}</td>
<td>\textit{mese}</td>
<td>\textit{mese}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{saxena} ‘shoot’ (pl. object)</td>
<td>\textit{saxen-axani}</td>
<td>\textit{saxa(k)}</td>
<td>\textit{saxe}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kena} ‘become’</td>
<td>\textit{ken-axani}</td>
<td>\textit{ki(k)}</td>
<td>\textit{ki}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ogüü} ‘go in’</td>
<td>\textit{ogüü-oxone}</td>
<td>\textit{ogü(k)}</td>
<td>\textit{ogüe}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{osüü} ‘go down’</td>
<td>\textit{osüü-oxone}</td>
<td>\textit{osü(k)}</td>
<td>\textit{osüe}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kiadena} ‘pass’</td>
<td>\textit{kiaden-axani}</td>
<td>\textit{kiani(k)}</td>
<td>\textit{kiadi}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The only stems for which the form of the imperative is fully predictable are those for which stem_I or stem_II ends in -mV ‘do’, compounds with xo(x) ‘go’ or compounds with fi(ox). Interestingly, Drabbe only mentions ame ‘make’ — which is not a compound but an independent lexical verb — as an example of a stem_I in -mV, with an imperative a-nu. Examples of verbs with a stem_II in -mV are kû, kume ‘put’, ifî, ifîme ‘bind’, or jo, jome ‘copulate with’, with imperative stems kunu, ifînu and jono, respectively. As verbs compounded with xo(x) ‘go’, Drabbe mentions oto(x) ‘go uphill’,

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84 Dutch: ‘aanheffen’, which is a verb used for beginning a speech, a song, or a cheering. We are not certain whether that is indeed the intended meaning here, as we have no examples of clauses in which this verb is used.
with imperative *otonoxi*, or *doto(x)* ‘get up’, with imperative *dotonoxi*. In cases like these, Drabbe writes, one could even say that the form of the imperative is the main indication that the verb is compounded (cf. Table 3 note 5). Examples of compounds in *fi(ox)* are *kifi(ox)* (stem_II *kifie*) ‘lay down’ with imperative *kifena* and *üfű(ox)* (stem_II *üfűe*) ‘hit’, with imperative *üfěna*.

Other forms tentatively analyzed by Drabbe as compounds — on the basis of the form of their imperative stems — are: *toni(k)* (stem_II *todi*) ‘hide (intr.)’ with imperative *tadena*; *dē(k)* (stem_II *demie*) ‘wait’ with imperative *demena*; and *bē(k)* (stem_II *beje*) ‘pound’ with imperative *bēna*. Most irregular of all imperatives is the imperative paradigm of *ede* ‘give’. Interestingly, this verb includes a reference to the object: *(fe/fu)neno* (sg) and *nenoxone* (pl) express giving to a first person (me or us), while *(fe/fu)nedo* (sg) and *nedoxone* express giving to a third party (him, her, them).

The imperative plural is formed by the addition of *-oxone* or *-xani* to the imperative stem; *-xani* is always used after a-final stems, as in *nada-xani* ‘hear.IMP-PL’, *mesena-xani* ‘stand.up.IMP-PL’, while *-oxone* is used in all other cases. Stem final back vowels *u* or *o* are always elided (as is *e*, in the single *e*-final imperative *ab.gine*), while *ü* never is. Stem final *i* may be elided or not, dependent on the stem. Examples of *i*-elision are *neg-oxone* and *ned-oxone*, while *nemi-oxone* is an example where the *i* is not elided. It should be noted that for those verbs with imperative in #nV# the

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85 Drabbe argues that the affix *n*- in these cases is a prefix of the second part of a compound, and that these verbs are composed of *to+ni*, *de+me/mi* (stem_II) and *bē+je*, respectively. His argument as to why these forms are composed, however, is not very clear. As he does not provide any additional arguments for the existence of the stems *ni*, *me/mi* and *je*, nor explains how the meaning of the compounds would follow from the meaning of their parts, I cannot follow Drabbe’s analysis at this point.
nasalisation in the plural is again on the final syllable, leading to the pairs nā ‘eat’ vs. naxănĩ, nĩ ‘turn’ vs. ni-oxonẽ and nō ‘rub’ vs. n-oxonẽ. Finally note that the imperative plural of xo(x) ‘go’: noxone is irregular.

It is not possible to negate an imperative form. Instead, Aghu speakers use an imperative form of mũ ‘not want’ with a verbal noun as complement. Some of the examples given by Drabbe are presented here (mafi-oxone is a shorter variant of manefi-oxone):

(129)  dugu simã manefi
      roof   twine_II.VN not.want.IMP[SG]
      ‘don’t twine a roof’ (Drabbe 1957: 16b)

(130)  tamã mafi-oxone
        write_II.VN not.want.IMP-PL
        ‘don’t write’ (Drabbe 1957:16b)

Instead of a verbal noun, the imperative may also combine with a future, as in (131) below

(131)  aﬁ-n-e manefi
      take_II-N1SG-FUT not.want.IMP[SG]
      ‘don’t take’ (Drabbe 1957:17b)

Drabbe remarks that the future suffix -e bears no stress, and therefore is often elided (‘cannot be heard’). We find an example of this in one of the texts, presented here as (132). Note, by the way, how the verb manefi takes the entire series of preceding verbs as it complement.
(132) osubu kūobu ku adin'\textsuperscript{86} manefi
osu-bu kūo-bu ku adi-n = e manefi
\textit{go.up-SS carve-SS palm.shoot eat}_{II-N1SG} = \textit{FUT not.want.IMP[SG]}
‘don’t go up and carve and eat the youngest shoot of the stem’ (3.050)

Although not mentioned explicitly by Drabbe, (133) below shows that \textit{mū} can combine not only with finite, but also with semifinite irrealis verbs (the future — finite by definition — would be \textit{oxenan(e)} instead of \textit{oxenā}).

(133) \textit{em' ob' oxenā mafioxone}
\textit{em= o-bu o-xe-nā mafi-oxone}
\textit{then speak-SS speak-N1.RLS-N1.PL not.want.IMP-PL}
‘then don’t speak about it’ (5.28)

2.6 Negation
Drabbe 1957: section 16, p. 8-9; section 29, p. 14; sections 42-44, p. 16-17

In 2.3.2.2 (example (48), repeated here as (134)), it was shown how verbal nouns are used in the negation of past and present events:

(134) \textit{joxo de baxe-n = de xo}
\textit{3PL LOC sit}_{II-VN} = \textit{NEG COP}
‘they are not here’ (Drabbe 1957:16a)

An alternative way of negating past and present events is by the use of semifinite or finite realis forms, again followed by \textit{de xo NEG COP}, with final stress of the verb shifting to the negator \textit{de}. The verbs are optionally preceded by \textit{fēde}. Consider the following example.

(135) (\textit{fēde}) \textit{da-de = dè xo}
\textit{(NEG) come-1SG.RLS = NEG COP}

\textsuperscript{86} Note that the form \textit{adin(e)} differs from the verbal noun \textit{adĩ} and from the (homophonous) semifinite irrealis N1SG form \textit{adĩ}.
'I didn’t come’ (Drabbe: 1957:17)

In cases like this, one could state that the entire clause is predicated over and negated. We have a complete verbal clause *dade* ‘I come’, which is embedded in a negative clause. The syntactic and semantic structure of this clause (not considering *fede*) could be rendered as follows:

**Syntactic structure**  
\[ [\text{[dade]} \text{VERBAL CLAUSE} = \text{dè} \text{ xo} ] \text{NEGATIVE CLAUSE} \]

**Semantic structure**  
\[ [\text{I come}] \text{ it is not} ] -> ‘It is not (the case that): I come’

Figure 7: verbal clause embedded in a negative clause

It should be noted that the negator is syntactically independent of the verb. Therefore this book deviates from Drabbe, in rendering the formative *=de* as a clitic instead of a suffix. The form of verb + clitic is fully regular, with autonomous nasals rendered as *n* before *=de*, as in (semifinite realis:) \( da-d-oan = \text{dè} \) \{come-1.RLS-1PL = NEG\} ‘we come’, so that we get the following paradigms:

Table 25: Negation of realis verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Semifinite realis</th>
<th>Distant past</th>
<th>Historical past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tame ‘write’</strong></td>
<td>( da(x) \text{‘come’} )</td>
<td>( da-de = \text{dè xo} )</td>
<td>( da-dia = \text{dè xo} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1SG</strong></td>
<td>( tame-de = \text{dè xo} )</td>
<td>( da-de = \text{dè xo} )</td>
<td>( da-dke = \text{dè xo} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N1SG</strong></td>
<td>( tam-oxo = \text{dè xo} )</td>
<td>( da-xe = \text{dè xo} )</td>
<td>( dâ-ki = \text{dè xo} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1PL</strong></td>
<td>( tame-dooan = \text{dè xo} )</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>( da-dk-oan = \text{dè xo} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N1PL</strong></td>
<td>( tam-oxe-nan = \text{dè xo} )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( dâ-ke-nan = \text{dè xo} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Turning to verbal clauses headed by irrealis verbs, we see that the same construction is used for the negation of a future event, but then with a verbal clause headed by a finite future verb. Thus, we get the following paradigm, again with autonomous nasals rendered as $n$ before $=de$. The future marker $e$ has been elided, more on which can be found in note 88 at Table 28 below.

Table 26: Negated finite future forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ade ‘hear_II’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fully finite (future)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ade-$O = dè xo$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>ade-$n-O = dè xo$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ad-oan-$O = dè xo$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>ad-enan-$O = dè xo$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now consider Table 27 below. This table shows that there is a certain asymmetry, within the domain of irrealis forms, between positive sentences and negative sentences when we consider their relation to mood. The relation between finiteness and mood in positive sentences was discussed in 2.3.1.4 above: finite future forms only allow for a declarative reading, while semifinite forms are used for optative modality, volitive modality (strong intention) or may even have a declarative-affirmative reading; see the second column in the table below.
Table 27: Irrealis verbs with positive and negative polarity and the relation to modality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Form used with positive polarity</th>
<th>Forms used with negative polarity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Declarative</strong></td>
<td>Finite future</td>
<td>Negated finite future forms, as shown in Table 28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Volitive</strong></td>
<td>Semifinite</td>
<td><em>mū</em> ‘not want’ plus complement clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Optative</strong></td>
<td>Semifinite, negated with = <em>kuoxo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In negative sentences, on the other hand, we find a somewhat different relation between form and mood or modality. As can be seen in the rightmost column of the table above, we have dedicated forms or constructions for declarative, volitive and optative readings. The rest of this section will first discuss form and function of the finite forms, then come to the form and function of the semifinite forms with = *kuoxo* and close off with some words on the construction with *mū* ‘not want’.

The form of negated fully finite forms was given in Table 26 above. In the table below, the (constructions with) negated fully finite forms are compared to (constructions with) negated semifinite forms.

---

Note that we have to do here with modality, more than with mood, which can be seen as grammaticalized modality that is morphologically expressed, cf. footnote 83 above. In Aghu, the core system of oppositions in mood is formed by a system of morphological oppositions between three types of stems: stems of type I, stems of type II and imperative stems. Here we have to do with other ways of — less grammaticalized — expressing oppositions in modality.
Considering the form of the negated semifinite forms, it is not hard to see that here we have to do with a formative ku and a formative oxo, where the latter can be functionally and formally equated to the predicator (o)xo that is also used in the other negative constructions. The formative ku, which given the analogy to the negator de in the other forms is synchronically analyzed as a negator, can probably be historically related to the emphatic marker ku 'EMP' that we find in emphatic pronouns, cf. section 3.2.1. This would make the development of ku analogous to what Wester describes for the negator de (Wester 2014: 131-32). Citing Croft (1991:5) on the sources of verbal negators, she convincingly argues that the negator de that is found in several Awyu languages has an emphatic marker de as its source (which

---

88 It is noteworthy that the verb forms in this column could, formally, also be analyzed as semifinite forms, with assimilation of the final autonomous nasal (in all forms except 1SG) to the following alveolar. Drabbe, however, analyzes the forms as finite forms in which the final e of the future marker is elided. I will follow Drabbe at this point for two reasons. First, analyzing the forms in = koxo as semifinites and those in the first column as finites makes sense from a paradigmatic point of view, and is in line with the function of the two forms. Both in positive sentences and in negative sentences we then have finite and semifinite forms, with the finite forms associated (primarily) with indicative-declarative mood, and the semifinites with other types of mood — see Table 27 above. Second, we find an analogous elision of final future e in the interrogative forms discussed in 2.7 (which are forms that cannot be analyzed as semifinite forms, see the discussion there). The forms should, therefore, be analyzed as ade-Ø = dë xo [hear_II[1SG]-FUT = NEG COP] ‘I will not hear’ etc.
has survived in Aghu as an emphatic marker *de* with copular function, as well as in the optional negator *fede*.)

Drabbe describes the negated semifinite forms as ‘negative optatives’ and gives the following examples. Unfortunately, no additional examples were attested.

(136)  
\[ \text{nu atosunu aküme} = ku \text{ ðxo} \]  
\[ 1\text{SG take.care.IMP[SG] die}_{II}[1\text{SG}] = \text{NEG COP} \]  
‘take care of me so that I may not die’ (Drabbe 1957:14b)

(137)  
\[ \text{amse xo büsiü axi-nàŋ = gu ðxo} \]  
\[ \text{children DST house go}_{II}-\text{N1PL = NEG COP} \]  
‘do not let the children go home’ (Drabbe 1957:14b)

Drabbe gives only few illustrations of negated finite future forms. With the following example he illustrates that negated future forms are also used for expressing “a not being allowed”:

(138)  
\[ \text{siü fed’ axij-e xo} \]  
\[ 1\text{SG NEG die}_{II}[1\text{SG}] = \text{NEG COP} \]  
‘I am not allowed to eat bananas’ (Drabbe 1957:17b)

He uses the examples below to illustrate that instead of the future forms “one likes to use, if this matches the meaning of the sentence”, a negative verbal noun plus *mû ‘not want’, so that (139) and (140) can be used in the same situation:

(139)  
\[ \text{axi=} \text{de xo} \]  
\[ \text{go}_{II}[1\text{SG}] = \text{NEG COP} \]  
‘I will not go’ (Drabbe 1957:17b)

(140)  
\[ \text{axi-n=} \text{de mu-ne / madüe} \]  
\[ \text{go}_{II}-\text{VN = NEG not.want-1.RLS[SG] / not.want}_{II}[1\text{SG}] \]  
‘I do not want to go / I shall not want to go’ (Drabbe 1957:17b)
Other examples of negative volitives are the following:

(141) \( \text{adi-n = de} \quad \text{mũŋ-ge-nã} \)
\( \text{eat}_{\text{II-VN}} = \text{NEG} \quad \text{not.want-N1.RLS-N1PL} \)
‘they do not want to eat’ (Drabbe 1957:16b)

(142) \( \text{efe} \quad \text{n-u} \quad \text{ade-n = de} \quad \text{madüe} \)
\( \text{3SG} \quad \text{LNK-sound} \quad \text{hear-VN = NEG} \quad \text{not.want}_{\text{II}[1\text{SG}]} \)
‘I do not want to obey him’ (lit. ‘I do not want to listen to his voice’; Drabbe 1957:16b)

Note that the examples above contain a negative marker \( \text{de} \), in spite of the fact that the verb \( \text{mũŋ} \) has a negative meaning in itself (cf. 2.3.2.2.10). Instead of a verbal noun, one may also use a negative future form. Thus, (143) below has the same meaning as (141) above:

(143) \( \text{adi-nan- Ø} = -\text{de} \quad \text{mũŋ-ge-nã} \)
\( \text{eat}_{\text{II-N1PL-FUT}} = \text{NEG} \quad \text{not.want-N1.RLS-N1PL} \)
‘they do not want to eat’ (Drabbe 1957:16b)

For the use of nonfinite \( \text{munuk} \) as an adverb, see section 5.7.

2.7 Verbs combined with polar question particles
\( \text{ka or a xajo} \)

Drabbe 1957: section 17, page 9; section 45, page 17-18

Parallel to what we saw for negative polarity in the previous section, polar questions are also formed by the use of elements that have a predicative function. The following table compares the strategies of forming polar questions in nominal, adjectival and verbal clauses.
Table 29: Verbs in polar questions compared to nominal (N), adjectival (A) and verbal (V) interrogative clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td><code>getto = ka</code> your.father = QST</td>
<td><code>jafi = ka</code> beautiful = QST</td>
<td>Regular verb form followed by <code>=ka</code> with stress shift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>‘Is it your father?’</code></td>
<td><code>‘Is it beautiful?’</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da xaxjo</td>
<td><code>getto da xajo</code> your.father COP QST</td>
<td><code>jafi o(xo) xajo</code> beautiful COP QST</td>
<td>Very rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>‘Is it your father?’</code></td>
<td><code>‘Is it beautiful?’</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o(xo) xajo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a xajo</td>
<td><code>xobasin a xajo</code> male COP QST</td>
<td></td>
<td>Regular verb form, followed by <code>(a)xajo</code>, with stress shift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>‘Is it male?’</code></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>bubugo a xajo</code> deep COP QST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><code>‘is it deep?’</code></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that in nominal and adjectival clauses `=ka` and `a xajo` do not just mark a polar question, but are at the same time predicators over the noun or over adjective. If we take this into account, the structure of the polar questions formed with verbs is strikingly similar to the structure of negative verbal clauses described in the previous section. Here too, the verbal clause is embedded in another clause; the structure and semantics of this construction could be rendered as in the following figure.
Syntactic structure  
[[dade]verbal clause  =ka / a xajo]interrogative clause

Semantic structure  
[[I come]  is it?] -> ‘Is it: I come?’

Figure 8: verbal clauses embedded in an interrogative clause

In the figure above, =ka has been rendered as a clitic and not — as is done by Drabbe — as a suffix. This is to express that the formative is syntactically independent from the verb that it follows, but probably phonologically dependent, in that it seems to need a host to lean to. It follows the verbal or nominal clause, and is in free variation with a xajo. Somewhat atypical for a clitic, however, it causes stress shift in the verb that it attaches to, making the stress shift from the verbal suffix to the final syllable of the root (cf. section 1.2.3). As can be seen in Table 30 below, for semifinites and distant past forms stress shifts to the syllable preceding the person-number marker; for historical past forms stress is on a in dia, while in future forms stress shifts to the person-number markers.

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89 In fact, the data provided by Drabbe are too limited to decide when we have to do with a phonologically dependent realization (a clitic) or a phonologically independent realization of ka. While Drabbe writes ka as a suffix in combination with a verbal clause, and as a separate word when following a nominal or adjectival clause, I have consistently written ka as a clitic.
Table 30: Verbs combined with polar question particle =ka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Semifinite realis</th>
<th>Distant past</th>
<th>Historical past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da ‘come’ / tame ‘write’</td>
<td>da ‘come’</td>
<td>da ‘come’</td>
<td>ade ‘hear II’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>dàde = ka / tamède = ka</td>
<td>dàdke = ka</td>
<td>dadià = ka</td>
<td>adèka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>dàxe = ka / tomòxo = ka</td>
<td>dàki = ka</td>
<td>dadià = ka</td>
<td>adèn = ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>dàdoanj = ga / tamèdoanj = ga</td>
<td>dàdkoanj = ga</td>
<td>dadiàonoanj = ga</td>
<td>adoàn = ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>dàxenaŋ = ga / tomòxenaŋ = ga</td>
<td>dàkenaŋ = ga</td>
<td>dadiànaŋ = ga</td>
<td>adenàn = ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. In the semifinite realis forms with N1 realis marker -ox(e) the N1SG ends in o instead of e (Drabbe 1957:17a). The form tomòxo rather than tamòxo might be a case of vowel harmonization, but could also be a typo; it is the only attestation of this form in our data.

It should be noted that Drabbe gives no examples of semifinite irrealis verbs combined with =ka. Although one might be inclined to analyze the future forms in the rightmost column as semifinite irrealis, there is a strong argument in favor of indeed analysing them as future forms. In case the forms were semifinites, we would expect the final autonomous nasal in all forms but 1SG to be realized as [ŋ] and not as [n]. An additional reason to consider the forms as future forms is the parallelism to the paradigm with a xajo shown in Table 31 below, where the forms are clearly finite future forms.

Finally consider Table 31, which shows verbs followed by the predicator-question particle combination a xajo. Note that a is usually elided after vowels, but merges with final e. Main stress is the same as for the construction with =ka in Table 30 above, except from the historical past forms, where stress is on the verb stem and not on -dia.
Table 31: Verbs combined with predicator and polar question particle *a xajo*. Cases where *a* merges with final *e* have been printed in bold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Semifinite</th>
<th>Distant past</th>
<th>Historical past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td><em>da</em> 'come’</td>
<td><em>da</em> ‘come’</td>
<td><em>da</em> ‘come’</td>
<td><em>ade</em> ‘hear II’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td><em>dàx</em> a xajo</td>
<td><em>dàki</em> xajo</td>
<td><em>dàdia</em> xajo</td>
<td><em>adèna</em> xajo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td><em>dàdoa</em> xajo</td>
<td><em>dàdkoa</em> xajo</td>
<td><em>dàdiaoa</em> xajo</td>
<td><em>adoàna</em> xajo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td><em>dàxenà</em> xajo</td>
<td><em>dàkenà</em> xajo</td>
<td><em>dàdianà</em> xajo</td>
<td><em>adenàna</em> xajo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sentence illustrates the use of *a xajo*:

(144)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>4SG</th>
<th>QST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gu</td>
<td>afi-na</td>
<td>xajo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take-N1SG-FUT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘do you want to have it (lit. ‘will you accept it?’; Drabbe 1957:18a)

In the text corpus only one example of a verbal interrogative clause is attested:

(145)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>4SG</th>
<th>QST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oxe:</td>
<td>Kiawi,</td>
<td>gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-xe</td>
<td>Kiawi</td>
<td>gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>Kiawi</td>
<td>2SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xajo num’oxe.

‘He says: “Kiawi, will you stay there?”’ (2.198)

In negative questions, the question particle *ka* or *xajo* follows the negative particle *de*. Note that in this context we find *xajo* as a surface form, not *a xajo*, and that the copula *xo* — which is used in analogous positive clauses — is not used. Drabbe gives the following two examples:
2.8 Posture verbs
Drabbe 1957: sections 78-88, p.31-36

Following Drabbe, who devotes 11 sections to the verbs \( ba(x) \) ‘sit’, \( c(k) \) ‘stand’, and \( i(g) \) ‘lie’, this book also devotes a separate section to the discussion of posture verbs. Following a brief introduction about irregular inflections, section 2.8.1 offers a discussion of the meaning and use of posture verbs as lexical verbs. Section 2.8.2 shows instances where posture verbs are developing into a copula, but where the meaning aspect of posture is still part of their lexical entry. Section 2.8.3, finally, considers several other types of verbs derived from posture verbs and their uses.

While \( c(k) \) ‘stand’ and \( i(g) \) ‘lie’, and their stem\_II counterparts \( ie \) and \( ai \), have fully regular paradigms, \( ba(x) \) ‘sit’ sometimes has \( o \) or \( u \) instead of \( a \) as final vowel of the stem. This is true for the following places in the paradigm:
Table 32: Irregular forms of *ba(x)* ‘sit’ (from Drabbe 1957:31-32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bo-de</strong> sít-1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td><strong>bu-du-ku</strong> sít-1.RLS[SG]-SS.SEQ</td>
<td><strong>bò-d-oa-ne</strong> sít-1.RLS-1PL-DS.SEQ</td>
<td><strong>bo-dke</strong> sít-1.DIST[SG]</td>
<td><strong>bo-ke</strong> sít-II[1SG]-DUR</td>
<td><strong>boxo-ne</strong> sít-II[1SG]-DS.SEQ</td>
<td><strong>boxo</strong> (wu)</td>
<td><strong>bà-x-e-na-ne</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàx-e-ne</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàx-e-ne</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàx-e-ne</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bo-d-oä sít-1.RLS-1PL</strong></td>
<td><strong>bu-d-oañ-gu</strong> 1.RLS-1PL-SS.SEQ</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bo-dk-oä sít-1.DIST-1PL</strong></td>
<td><strong>box-oañ-gu</strong> sít-II-1PL-SS.SEQ</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàx-e</strong>-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàme</strong>-ñe</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàme</strong>-ñe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bu-du-ku</strong> sít-1.RLS[SG]-SS.SEQ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-o</strong> (wu)</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-o</strong>a-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-o</strong>a-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bò-d-oañ-gu</strong> 1.RLS-1PL-SS.SEQ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-ø</strong>a-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-ø</strong>a-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-ø</strong>a-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bò-d-oañ-gu</strong> 1.RLS-1PL-SS.SEQ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-en</strong>a-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-en</strong>a-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-en</strong>a-ne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

90 Elsewhere, Drabbe gives the forms not only for the normal stem of type I, but also for continuative_I, continuative_II stems (both realis and irrealis) plus -*ne* (Drabbe 1957:39). For the sake of completeness, they are given here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>Buildings</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
<th>Buildings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semifinite, stem_I</strong></td>
<td><strong>Semifinite CONT_I</strong></td>
<td><strong>Semifinite CONT_II</strong></td>
<td><strong>Semifinite, stem_II</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1SG</strong></td>
<td><strong>bà-du(wu)</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàmu-du(wu)</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàme</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N1SG</strong></td>
<td><strong>bà-x-e-ne</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàm-oxo-ne</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàme</strong>-ñe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1PL</strong></td>
<td><strong>bò-doa-ne</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàm-odoa-ne</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-øa-ne</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N1PL</strong></td>
<td><strong>bà-x-e-na-ne</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàm-oxe-na-ne</strong></td>
<td><strong>bàmbox-øa-ne</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

90 Elsewhere, Drabbe gives the forms not only for the normal stem of type I, but also for continuative_I, continuative_II stems (both realis and irrealis) plus -ne (Drabbe 1957:39). For the sake of completeness, they are given here:
The stem-II forms of the posture verbs are *baxe* ‘sit-II’ (but see the table above for deviating forms), *ie* ‘stand-II’, and *ai* ‘lie-II’. The imperative forms of the posture verbs are given in Table 33.

Table 33 Imperative forms of posture verbs
(from Drabbe 1957:31-32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ba</em></td>
<td><em>bunu</em></td>
<td><em>bunoxone</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td><em>ena</em></td>
<td><em>enaxani</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td><em>nioxone</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.8.1 Posture verbs as lexical verbs

Drabbe 1957: section 79, p. 32

In their most basic sense, posture verbs are used to express the posture of their main argument as standing, lying or sitting. They are also used, however, to express a ‘being present (at a certain place)’, but only if directly preceded by the formative *de* ‘LOC’ or another reference to location. According to Drabbe, the meaning of the formative *de* can be captured in Dutch by the formative ‘er’, which is comparable to English ‘there’ in constructions like ‘there are many trees in the garden’. ⁹¹ Examples of other references to location, which can be used instead of *de*, will be discussed below. It is important to note that when posture verbs are used to express a presence, the meaning aspect of posture is still relevant: When the focus is on expressing the subject’s presence instead of its posture, it is the posture in which subject usually finds itself that determines

---

⁹¹ Whereas English ‘there’ is used predominantly in combination with indefinite subjects, Dutch ‘er’ and Aghu ‘de’ are also used in combination with definite subjects, as in *mama is er* ‘mum is present’.
which of the three verbs is chosen. Consider the overview given in Table 34, where the numbers in the third column refer to the examples below.

Table 34: Posture verbs used to refer to a subject’s being present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of object</th>
<th>Posture verb used</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birds</td>
<td>ba(x) ‘sit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living humans</td>
<td>ba(x) ‘sit’ or e(k) ‘stand’</td>
<td>(148)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals that do not usually creep</td>
<td>e(k) ‘stand’</td>
<td>(150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Standing things like houses, trees”</td>
<td>e(k) ‘stand’</td>
<td>(149)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creeping animals, like snakes and lizards</td>
<td>i(g) ‘lie’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Things that are usually in a more or less lying position, so all small things”</td>
<td>i(g) ‘lie’</td>
<td>(151), (152)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits on a tree</td>
<td>i(g) ‘lie’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead humans or dead animals</td>
<td>i(g) ‘lie’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb ba(x) ‘sit’ can only refer to living humans or birds. Of the animals, only birds are conceptualized of as usually sitting (when not flying), while the other animals are thought of as lying or standing, dependent on whether they are considered as creeping animals or not. An analogous division between lying and standing applies to objects, and more research would be needed to find out more about the criteria that make objects belong to either of these two classes. Fruits on a tree are conceptualized of as lying, which is also true for dead animals or dead humans.  

---

92 Whereas animateness also plays a role in the use of continuative stems derived from posture verbs, discussed in 2.4.3.4 above, this role is remarkably different. In these derived stems, inanimates can only combine with ba-me, and not with me-me and i-me. The use of these latter two derived verbs is, in other words, restricted to animates.
Examples (148) through (152) illustrate some of the uses discussed here. Although nouns referring to ‘masses’ are not discussed explicitly by Drabbe, one might conclude from examples like (151) and (152) that these are considered as lying (and possibly should, according to Drabbe, be classified as ‘things that are usually in a more or less lying position’).

(148) \textit{napi \ de \ ba-\textit{xe}}
\begin{tabular}{l}
mother \ LOC \ sit-N1.RLS[SG] \\
‘mother is present’ (Drabbe 1957:32b)
\end{tabular}

(149) \textit{kesaxe \ weaxa \ de \ e-dia-n\textit{ä}}
\begin{tabular}{l}
tree \ much \ LOC \ stand-HIST-N1PL \\
‘there used to be many trees’ (Drabbe 1957:32b)
\end{tabular}

(150) \textit{w\textit{i} \ de \ i-e-nan-\textit{e}}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{pig} \ LOC \ stand_{II}-N1PL-FUT \\
‘there will be pigs’ (Drabbe 1957:32b)
\end{tabular}

(151) \textit{d\textit{üi} \ de \ i-ge}
\begin{tabular}{l}
sago \ LOC \ lie-N1.RLS[SG] \\
‘there is sago’ (Drabbe 1957:32b)
\end{tabular}

(152) \textit{amu \ weaxa \ de \ ai-n-\textit{e}}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{meat} \ much \ LOC \ lie_{II}-N1SG-FUT \\
‘there will be a lot of meat’ (Drabbe 1957:32b)
\end{tabular}

We now come back to the function of \textit{de} and the relation to other expressions of location. I follow Drabbe in analyzing \textit{de} as referring to location, because \textit{de} can only be left out, optionally, in case there is (also) another reference to location preceding the verb.\footnote{See 3.11 for the relation between the locative marker \textit{de} and the copula \textit{de}.} Consider (153) and (154) below, where one could say that \textit{de} is optional because of the presence of
the spatial expression *baxu womu* ‘the inside of the house’ and *soxo* ‘ground’, respectively.

(153)  
\begin{align*}
\text{būsi}u & \quad \text{womu} & \quad (de) & \quad \text{ba-xe} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{inside} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS}[SG] \\
& \quad \text{‘he is inside the house’ (Drabbe 1957:33b)}
\end{align*}

(154)  
\begin{align*}
\text{soxo} & \quad (de) & \quad i-ge \\
\text{ground} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{lie-N1.RLS}[SG] \\
& \quad \text{‘it lies on the ground’ (Drabbe 1957:33b)}
\end{align*}

It is interesting to note that although *de* can usually be combined with expressions of location, it cannot follow the case marker *kèmu* or *ke*, as illustrated in (155) and (156) below. The reason for this is not clear. 94 Drabbe remarks that (in the sentences under discussion here) *kèmu* or *kem* = is used after nouns, as in (155), while *ke* or *k’* is used after pronouns, as in (156). 95

(155)  
\begin{align*}
\text{būsi}u & \quad \text{womu} & \quad \text{kem} = & \quad (*de) & \quad \text{ba-xe} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{inside} & \quad \text{ACC} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS}[SG] \\
& \quad \text{‘he is inside the house’ (Drabbe 1957:33b)}
\end{align*}

(156)  
\begin{align*}
\text{būsi}u & \quad \text{womu} & \quad \text{xo} = & \quad \text{k’} & \quad (*de) & \quad \text{ba-xe} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{inside} & \quad \text{DST} & \quad \text{ACC} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS}[SG] \\
& \quad \text{‘he is inside the house over there’ (Drabbe 1957:33b)}
\end{align*}

94 There might, however, be a relation to focus. One might hypothesize that *de* expresses focus on the predicate as a whole (cf. note 101) while *ke* ‘ACC’ may be thought of as implying focus on the location; see the discussion on the markers *te* and *ke* in 3.1.7 and 4.4. Compare also section 2.8.3.1, where we see that *de* is also mutually exclusive with the use of demonstratives, which can be considered as focal by definition.

95 It is not entirely clear how this tendency (or — if this distribution is absolute — complementary distribution) relates to the distribution between *ke*, *kèmu* and *kumu* discussed in 3.6.2.
Drabbe points out that posture verbs are also used to express the concept of ‘possession’. In order to state that a ‘pronominal possessor’ possesses a ‘possessed’, a speaker of Aghu will use a possessive noun phrase as discussed in 3.1.2, followed by a posture verb, as illustrated in (157) through (159) below.

(157) na namse de ba-xe-nā
1SG.POS LNK-child LOC sit-NL.RLS-N1PL
‘my children are (sitting) there  -->  I have children’ (Drabbe 1957:32b)

(158) efè tetebagó de ige
3SG thing LOC lie-N1.RLS[SG]
‘his things are (lying) there  -->  he has possessions’ (Drabbe 1957:32b)

(159) ga büsiü de e-ke
2SG.POS house LOC stand-N1.RLS[SG]
‘your house is (standing) there  -->  you have a house’ (Drabbe 1957:32b)

Posture verbs can have both stative and inchoative readings, and can be contrasted with a number of verbs that are intrinsically inchoative: xuba(x) ‘sit down’, doto(x) ‘get up from lying position’; (sange-de=k) musu-du=k e(k) [(raise-SS = CON) come.up-SS = CON stand] ‘get up from sitting into standing position’ and diiko(x) ‘lie down’. To this may also be added the form mese(k) ‘get up from sitting position’, a form that is cited in section 2.2 and 2.5.

As discussed in 2.4.3.3 above, posture verbs are also used in the formation of analytic durative constructions, two examples of which are repeated here:

96 Drabbe speaks of ‘statisch’ and ‘metastatisch’, where metastatisch refers to ‘entering into a state’.
97 To specify whether the getting up leads to a sitting or a standing position, one may use expressions like doto-do=k ba(x) [get.up -SS = CON sit ] ‘get up into sitting position’ vs. doto-do=k e(k) ‘get up into standing position’. 
2.8.2 Posture verbs grammaticalized into copula verbs

As is not uncommon cross-linguistically, posture verbs have developed from verbs indicating the subject’s presence into copula verbs. They can be used to predicate over nouns, adjectives or numerals. This is exemplified in (162) through (165) below.

(162) būsiu si-ke  nisi  ba-xe / e-ke
    ‘he is a house builder’ (Drabbe 1957:34a)

(163) kesaxe  siaxa  e-ke
    wood  high  stand-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘the tree is high’ (Drabbe 1957:34a)

(164) dī  buto  i-ge
    bow  strong  lie-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘the bow is strong’ (Drabbe 1957:34a)

(165) sigiane  ba-xe-nā
    four  sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

---

98 See e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2002 on ‘stand’ and ‘sit’, or Dixon 2010b:182 on stance verbs.
99 For the use of nisi ‘owner’ see 3.1.3.
‘they are four’ (Drabbe 1957:34a)

The last example can be contrasted with the example below, which differs only in the addition of locative de:

(166) sigiane de ba-xe-nā
fo=ur LOC sit-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘the four are there / there are four people’ (Drabbe 1957:34a)

It should be noted that in all the examples above, the choice out of the three possible posture verbs still seems to correlate to the properties of the subject as illustrated in Table 34 above.

2.8.3 Verbs derived from posture verbs and their use

2.8.3.1 Durative verbs combined with demonstratives: deictic locative verbs
Drabbe 1957: section 80, p. 32-33

If we recall the use of posture verbs to indicate a presence as described in 2.8.1, it should be noted that posture verbs are only interpreted as such if preceded by a spatial expression. This spatial expression may have the following form:

(i) a locative marker de;
(ii) a spatial expression followed by either locative de or the accusative case marker ke / kèmu.

The locative marker de seems, therefore, mutually exclusive with focus on the location. The same principle might explain why the locative marker is
also lacking when posture verbs are combined with demonstratives, which is the topic of this section.  

Drabbe writes that the notion of ‘being present’ can be expressed by combining a demonstrative element (nego ‘THIS’, xo ‘DST’ or ü ‘there’) with the durative form of posture verbs. The demonstrative element directly precedes the verb, and for a number of demonstrative-verb combinations the language has developed contracted forms. Table 35 shows the forms for combinations of posture verbs with nego ‘THIS’, where it should be noted that nigi is used instead of nego.  

---

100 This explanation is based on the assumption that there is a positive correlation between demonstrative deixis and focus: demonstratives will usually be focused and therefore not be followed by de. By frequency of association, what starts off as a tendency: demonstratives are usually not followed by de, may grow into a grammatical restriction: demonstratives cannot be followed by de, but directly precede the verb. That demonstratives frequently precede the verb is proven by the existence of the contracted forms under discussion here.  

101 It should be noted that locative verbs may easily bring along a focus on the clause as a whole, which Lambrecht describes as ‘presentational’ or ‘thetic’ focus (1994: 141, 168, 233). An example of a thetic focus in this context would be a sentence like ‘there’s mother sitting there’, where the whole sentence is an assertion, or ‘new information’. In order to decide whether the verbs under discussion here bring along this reading, however, we would need examples of the use of these sentences in daily conversation.  

102 Although Drabbe might be right in his suggestion that nigi is a contracted form of nego and the durative prefix -i, it is remarkable that except from here, durative i- and durative -ke are never used simultaneously.
The following table gives combinations of posture verbs with a demonstrative element ü ‘there’ which is only used in this position, while Table 37 gives combinations of verbs with xo ‘over there’. Drabbe notes that forms of 1st person with ü ‘there’ or xo ‘over there’ ‘are not attested of course’ [boldface mine, WvdH]. Apparently, the durative verbs under discussion only allow for a present reading, or at least enforce that the deictic center coincides with the present location of the speaker. If the deictic center necessarily coincides with the position of the speaker, it is inherently contradictory to state that ‘I am / (or: was?) (over) there’.  

Table 36: Demonstrative ü ‘there’ combined with durative form of posture verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sit there</th>
<th>Stand there</th>
<th>Lie there</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ñigi-baxeke</td>
<td>ñig-ieke</td>
<td>ñig-aike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>ñigi-boke</td>
<td>ñig-iäke</td>
<td>ñig-ääke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ñigi-boxoange</td>
<td>ñig-ioange</td>
<td>ñig-aionange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>ñigi-boxenange</td>
<td>ñig-ienange</td>
<td>ñig-ainange</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the forms discussed so far, one also finds combinations of posture verbs with the more complex demonstratives like xoto ‘uphill over there’, xosü ‘down over there’, or xosu ‘up over there’ (see 3.2.4.1 for a

---

103 Cf. the end of 2.4.3.1, where we find a comparable for other durative forms in -ke, in the sense that also there the durative seems to imply a present reading.
complete overview of complex demonstratives). The final vowel of the demonstrative may be elided when followed by one of the vowel-initial verbs e(k) ‘stand’ or i(g) ‘lie’, leading to contracted forms like xosiāke (< xosu įāke [up.over.there stand.DUR.N1SG] ‘he is (standing) up over there’ or xotāke (xoto āke [uphill.over.there lie.DUR.N1SG] ‘it is (lying) uphill over there’.

### 2.8.3.2 Defective io(x) in constructions referring to a ‘being present’
Drabbe section 81, p. 33

The verb io(x) ‘be present’ is attested only as a N1SG semifinite realis form io-xe ‘be-N1.RLS[SG]’, which is described by Drabbe as a “defective” form. It is dealt with here, because of its functional similarity to the posture verbs as expressing a presence. According to Drabbe, the first vowel is probably a reflex of the durative prefix i- (see section 2.4.3.1). It is used only in the following construction, where the noun or pronoun is followed by ke ‘ACC’, ni ‘DAT’ or fini ‘INSTR’ (cf. also 3.6.3).

(167)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  nu & \quad k = \quad ioxe // \\
  nu & \quad ke \quad io-\text{xe} \\
  1SG & \quad \text{ACC} \quad \text{be-N1.RLS}\text{[SG]} \\
  nu & \quad n = \quad ioxe // \\
  nu & \quad ni \quad io-\text{xe} \\
  1SG & \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{be-N1.RLS}\text{[SG]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
  nu & \quad \text{fin} = \quad ioxe \\
  nu & \quad \text{fini} \quad io-\text{xe} \\
  1SG & \quad \text{INSTR} \quad \text{be-N1.RLS}\text{[SG]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(for / with) me there is’ - > ‘I am present’ (Drabbe 1957:33a)

(168)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  joxo & \quad xo-su \quad n = \quad io-\text{xe} \\
  3PL & \quad \text{over.there-up} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{be-N1.RLS}\text{[SG]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘they are up over there’ (Drabbe 1957:33b)
The expression with *io xe is also used in an interrogative sense, as in (169).

\[
\begin{align*}
(169) & \quad gu \quad k = \quad i-oxe \\
& \quad 2\text{SG} \quad \text{ACC} = \quad \text{be-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \\
& \quad \text{‘where are you?’ (Drabbe 1957:33b)}
\end{align*}
\]

2.8.3.3 *With ged or gid ‘spend the night’*

Drabbe 1957: section 85, p. 34

The roots of posture verbs may be used to form a new verb by combining with the element *gid* ‘spend the night’, which is a formative that is only used in this combination. The complex verb inflects like a normal verb, but has only a limited number of forms, which are presented here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>ba</em> ‘sit’ + <em>gid</em></th>
<th><em>e</em> ‘stand’ + <em>gid</em></th>
<th><em>i</em> + <em>gid</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SG</strong></td>
<td>ba gid-i</td>
<td>e gid-i</td>
<td>i gid-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1PL</strong></td>
<td>ba gid-oā</td>
<td>e gid-oā</td>
<td>i gid-oā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N1PL</strong></td>
<td>ba gid-enā</td>
<td>e gid-enā</td>
<td>i gid-enā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Instead of *gid* we also find *ged*.

The forms are neutral with respect to mood and tense. Singular forms can be used both in combination with singular and with plural predicates, as illustrated by *bagidi xode* and *bagidi xodoā* in (171) and (170), respectively. The use of plural in combination with singular predicates, however, is ungrammatical, as is illustrated by *bagidoā xode* in (171).

\[
\begin{align*}
(170) & \quad ba-gidi \quad xo-d-oā \quad // \quad ba-ged-oā \quad xo-d-oā \\
& \quad \text{sit-next.day} \quad \text{go-1.RLS-1PL} \quad \text{sit-next.day-1PL} \quad \text{go-1.RLS-1PL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[104\] Drabbe remarks that *io xe* as used here ‘seems to be related to the questioning *ioxē* ‘who is that’, used e.g. when one hears someone whom one does not see.
'we spent the night and went’ (Drabbe 1957:34b)

(171)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ba-gidi</strong></td>
<td>sit-next.day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>xo-de</strong></td>
<td>go-1.RLS[SG]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*I spent the night and went’ (WvdH)*

The choice which of the three verbs is used is determined by the position in which the referent of the subject spends the night, or by the position(s) in which the referent is conceptualized as usually finding itself. Thus, when reference is made to people spending the night, one frequently uses *ba-gid* ‘sit-spend.the.night’.\(^{105}\) This is because human beings are conceptualized of as usually sitting (or standing, cf. Table 34 above), and does not imply that the people spend all night in a sitting position. One of the many examples from the text corpus is presented here:

(172)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Daxenā</strong></td>
<td>come-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bagidi</strong></td>
<td>sit-next.day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mungenā</strong></td>
<td>not.want-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*‘They come home, and the following day they do not want (to go out).’ (1.016)*

The use of *igid*, however — when referring to a person — does imply that the respective person indeed spends the night in a lying position. To further characterize the function of *bagidi*, I cannot do better than cite Drabbe, who explains that Aghu speakers uses it when “we” would use temporal expressions like tomorrow, the following day or even yesterday:

“*Bagidi* at the beginning of a sentence means ‘tomorrow’ when it is followed by a future [semifinite or finite irrealis, WvdH], and the ‘following day’ when it is followed by preterite [semifinite or finite realis, WvdH]. At the beginning of a sentence it can never

\(^{105}\) In the text corpus, the stem *bagid* is attested over 100 times, in the great majority referring to human beings, while the stem *igid* is attested only twice: in 2.169 and 2.171.
indicate ‘yesterday’; *dadoã bagidi* means ‘we came and spent the night’, so: ‘we came yesterday.’” (Drabbe 1957:34b)

2.8.3.4 *With -mV: long duration*

Drabbe 1957: section 86, p. 34-35

Posture verbs can be combined with a suffix *-mV* ‘do’ or *-bambax* to express a long or very long duration, respectively. These forms were given in 2.4.3.4, part of a section that offers an elaborate discussion of the use of posture verbs in different types of durative constructions.

2.9 *Numeral verbs*

Drabbe 1957: section 73, p. 29

Those numerals that end in *-mV* can be used as verbs, while other numerals can be turned into verbs by affixation with *-mV* ‘do’. More on the form, distribution and function of numeral verbs can be found in section 3.10.2.

2.10 *Copula verb ki*

The copula verb *ki* ‘become’ is used not only to predicate over nominals, adjectives or numerals, but also in the formation of verbal expressions that refer to events in which the sole participant has no control over the event. This copula verb is discussed in section 4.2.6.

2.11 *Mũ ‘not want’*

Drabbe 1957: section 90, p. 36a-b

The verb *mũ* ‘not want’ has been mentioned at several places in this chapter. In 2.3.2.2 it was introduced as heading a verbal noun. In the same section, as well as in 2.5, we saw the imperative forms of *mũ* used in the expression
of negative commands. The form was also mentioned in section 2.6 on negation. Here we want to focus on the nonfinite form *munuk*, a form about which Drabbe writes that “in Dutch one very often translates as ‘after’, and which often does not mean more than that.”¹⁰⁶ Consider the following examples:

(173)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soxo</th>
<th>kunuk</th>
<th>munuk</th>
<th>büsiü</th>
<th>daxenä.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soxo</td>
<td>kū-nu-k</td>
<td>mū-nu = k</td>
<td>büsiü</td>
<td>da-xe-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground</td>
<td>put-SS-CON</td>
<td>not.want-SS = CON</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>come-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘After having hidden the blood in the ground, they come home.’ (1.015)

(174)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edoxe,</th>
<th>adek</th>
<th>efê</th>
<th>nagā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ed-oxe</td>
<td>a-de = k</td>
<td>efê</td>
<td>n-agā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>take-SS = CON</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>LNK-wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>munuk</th>
<th>bū</th>
<th>xoxe.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mū-nu = k</td>
<td>bū</td>
<td>xo-xe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not.want-SS = CON</td>
<td>fly</td>
<td>go-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He gives them [the valuables], his wife takes them and after this flies away.’ (6.129)

In the examples above, the sense of ‘not wanting (anymore)’ fades into a ‘not continuing with’. Although Drabbe’s remark might be taken as an indication that the form has grammaticalized into an adverb, there are insufficient reasons to analyze the form as such. In all the examples, the form can still be analyzed as a same-subject nonfinite verb form, as it is virtually always followed by a verb with the same subject as the subject of *mū*. This suggests that this is still a grammatical requirement, which directly follows from the analysis of *munuk* as a nonfinite SS-form.

---

¹⁰⁶ “Heel dikwijls kan men de deelw. vormen van mū (...) niet anders vertalen, en betekenen ze ook niet meer dan „na” of „daarna.”” (Drabbe 1957:36b)
3 Other word classes

3.1 Nouns and noun phrases

Aghu has very few morphological processes operating on nouns. The only ones are: (1) plural suffixation, on a very restricted set of kinship terms and nouns denoting humans (3.1.5.1), and (2) suffixation with a possessive linker, on vowel-initial nouns in possessive constructions (3.1.2; 3.2.2). There are no productive processes of noun formation, except from compounding, which is the topic of the following section.¹⁰⁷

3.1.1 Compounding
Drabbe 1957: section 7, p. 4a-b

The Aghu language has two types of nominal compounds, illustrated in the following figure. In both constructions, the modifying noun has main stress.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Cf., however, section 2.3.2.2 on verbal nouns, formed on the basis of irrealis stems and exhibiting certain nominal properties.
¹⁰⁸ Drabbe speaks of woordaccent ‘word accent’. He also remarks that compounds of type 1 are found in “all Papuan languages”, and that they are also found in the Germanic languages.
Compounds of type 1

\[ [N_1 + N_2]_N \]

Modifier | Head

Compounds of type 2

\[ [N_1 + N_2]_N \]

Head | Modifier

Figure 9: two types of compounds; in both cases main stress is on the modifier-noun

Cross-linguistically, in compounds the exact semantic relation between the constituents is often a matter of interpretation by the language user (Booij 2005:75). Language users have to interpret the relationship on the basis of the meaning of the composing parts, their knowledge of the world, and sometimes on the basis of the context. At the same time, one may think of certain types of compounds as imposing a ‘semantic scheme’ on the composing parts and or on the resultant meaning. This scheme may be rather loose, and put only few restrictions on the possible range of constituents, or rather strict, allowing only for certain constituents, and specifying the semantic relation between the parts as well as the meaning of the whole. If we compare the two types of compounds in Aghu, it seems that those of type 2 are more specific or answer to a stricter scheme than those of type 1. For compounds of type 2, Drabbe gives the following three subtypes, with a strictly defined range of possible constituents — fillers of the N1 and N2 positions in the figure below — and a strictly defined relation between the two composing parts. Drabbe is not explicit about the question whether the modifying elements in these compounds are also attested as separate words.
N1 (head)  N2 (modifier)

General name for a kind of fruit, e.g. ‘banana’ + name for ‘subtypes’ of fruit

General name for a kind of animal, e.g. ‘mouse’ + names for ‘subtypes’ of animal

The general name for ‘foot’ and ‘hand’ + Names for the toes and fingers or parts of arm / leg

Figure 10: subtypes of compounds of type 2

Some examples of type 2 compounds are the following. Siü is the general name for ‘banana’, while the compound siü-mĩ refers to a ‘mĩ-banana’. Wisi is a general name for snakes, lizards and crocodiles, and is used in compounds like wisi-anũ ‘anũ-lizard’; wisi-kũnũ ‘kũnũ-snake’. The general name for marsupials, little bears, rats and mice is kuso, and is used in compounds like kuso-baxĩ ‘kangaroo’; kuso-kamà ‘cuscus’; kuso-maxikò ‘field mouse’. The noun ũ is found in virtually all bird names, e.g. in i-wiã ‘owl’; i-skamiàxà ‘duck’; i-soxũ ‘hornbill’ (Dutch: neushoornvogel).\(^{109}\)

Several types of fish are referred to by the noun axe ‘fish’ and a following constituent that specifies the kind of fish, as in axe-fifũ ‘fisio-fish’; axe-mũ ‘mũ-fish’. Coming to the names for parts of the arm and leg, we find bedo ‘hand’ or kito ‘foot’ plus specifications, as in bedo-butũ ‘finger’; bedo-wodũ ‘thumb’; bedo-gũ ‘wrist’; kito-babũ ‘sole’; kito-baxamgũ ‘lower leg’; kito-sigũ ‘small toe’.

As stated above, the semantic relation between the composing parts in compounds of type 1 seems less specifically defined. Drabbe gives the

\(^{109}\) Like other long vowels, ũ is short in non-final position, cf. section 1.1.1.

While in compounds of type I stress is usually on the modifying part, compounds with a location as modifying element seem to exhibit a less consistent behavior at this point. Thus we find Eba-xù ‘a man from the Eba river’, xoxi-xù ‘male spirit’ or xoxi-siū ‘female spirit’ with stress on the head, 110 but Ebà-būsiī ‘house or village at the Eba river’, with stress on the modifying part. For reference to rivers we find both compounds of type I of the form name.of.river + axa ‘water’ and compounds of type II of the form oxo ‘water’ + name.of.river. Sometimes we even find the two types used for reference to the same river, as in the alternation between oxo-Ebà and Ebè-axa ‘Eba-river’. It should be noted that axa ‘river’ is found only as part of these compounds, and, unlike oxo ‘water, river’, not attested as a separate word.

In addition to the endocentric compounds described so far, the text corpus contains at least one example of an exocentric compound: ā-sē ‘unmarried woman’, composed of ā ‘woman’ and sē ‘husband’ The near-absence of exocentric compounds is in line with other Awyu-Dumut languages. 111

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110 Whereas Drabbe is not explicit about this, the stress pattern in compounds with siū ‘female person’ as the head is most probably analogous to those formed with xù as the head. The fact that Drabbe does not indicate final stress on compounds in siū most probably has to do with a technical limitation: it seems not to have been possible for the publisher to write an accent grave above a diaeresis.

111 Wester (2014:50-52) gives endocentric compounds for all Awyu-Dumut languages, and coordinate compounds — which are juxtaposed nouns which refer to a unitary concept and
In this book nominal compounds will generally be written as one word, with the different parts separated by a hyphen.\textsuperscript{112} This helps to delineate compounds from the possessive constructions discussed in the following section, which are phrasal constructions, not words.

### 3.1.2 Possessive construction

Drabbe 1957: section 8, p. 4b/5a

The structure of an Aghu possessive construction is shown in Figure 11, which shows a possessive construction in which both the possessor position and the position referring to the possessed are filled by a full NP. For cases where the possessor is expressed by a pronoun only, the reader is referred to section 3.2.2. For possessive affixes on kinship terms see section 3.1.4.

In the construction shown here, main stress is on the noun corresponding to the possessed. We will first confine ourselves to cases where the NP consists of a noun only. Cases where NP\textsubscript{1} and NP\textsubscript{2} are more complex will be illustrated further below, when we come to the discussion of nested possessive constructions.

which can be considered as a special type of exocentric compounds — for Yonggom Wambon, Mandobo and Kombai. In the Aghu data available to us, no coordinate compounds were attested.

\textsuperscript{112} In certain cases, however, nominal compounds have been written without a hyphen (or blank space) separating the parts. In those cases it has always been made clear, either in the glossing or in additional explanation, that the word is a compound. An example is \textit{mubigi} [mu.bigi] ‘keel’ in 4.58, where the running text has \textit{mubigi}, the first line of the gloss has \textit{mu.bigi}, the second line has ‘keel, and where a note is added that the word is considered by Drabbe as a compound.
The optional pronoun can be either *efe* ‘3SG’ or *joxo* ‘3PL’, as in *neto efe būsīuī* [father 3SG house] ‘father’s house’ or *Ma joxo būsīuī* [Ma 3PL house] ‘the village of the Ma clan’. Examples without a pronoun are *neto xasi* [father spear] ‘father’s spear’; *būsīuī tò* [house opening] ‘the doors and windows of the house’. It should be noted that in possessive constructions the use of the pronoun *efe* is not restricted to humans and larger animals, as is the case when it is used in other positions (cf. 3.2.1).

If the possessed noun starts with a vowel, it is obligatorily prefixed with *n-* which will be referred to as a possessive linker and which will be glossed as *LNK.* The prefix serves to avoid a vowel clash at word boundaries, and

---

113 It should be noted that Drabbe’s description contains several examples where vowel-initial kinship nouns alternate with forms in *n*, without any apparent difference in meaning. Thus, *eto* ‘father’ alternates with *neto*; *api* ‘mother’ with *napi*. The origin of vowel-initial *n* is unclear. It could either be a grammaticalized form of the first person possessive prefix *n*-described in 3.3, with the meaning of ‘my father’ bleached into ‘father’, or be the possessive linker described later on in this section, with an unexpressed possessor.

114 Drabbe compares this linker to the marker *na* in Pisa. About this *na*, Wester remarks the following: “Pisa (...) frequently makes use of a possessive marker *na*, ‘of’. This *na* appears between the two nouns that stand in a possessive relation to each other, for example *nabo na xāy*, literally ‘father of house’, which means ‘father’s house’. The possessive marker *na* is also found in Mandobo. (...) There are no occurrences of a possessive marker *na* in Yonggom Wambon, Digul Wambon or Kombai.” (Wester 2014:53) Wester sees the
is used within the possessive construction only. Its function is not purely phonological, as we do find clashes of vowels at word boundaries in other positions, but morpho-phonological or ‘construction-phonological’: confined to this specific construction. Examples given by Drabbe are neto n-amu ['father LNK-meat'] ‘father’s meat’; napi n-ù ['mother LNK-voice'] ‘mother’s voice’.

Possessive constructions can be nested, which means that they can be used as part of another possessive construction. The following two examples have been taken from the text corpus; P-er stands for Possessor, while P-ed stands for Possessed.

(175) \[Joxo_{P-er} \quad napi_{P-ed} \quad nato_{P-ed}\]

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{joxo} & \text{n-api} & \text{n-ato} \\
3\text{PL} & \text{LNK-mother} & \text{LNK-vagina}
\end{array}\]

marker n- in Aghu, however, as unrelated to this na, and analyzes it as a transitional nasal. As explained below, this is also the line taken in this book.

115 This is clear from the following two sentences; in (a), axe ‘fish’ is part of a possessive construction and apparently needs to be preceded by a possessive linker. In (b), however, no linker is used, even though the word is preceded by a word ending in a vowel.

(a) \[\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{efe} & \text{n-ēxo} & \text{eke} & \text{ta} & \text{efe} & \text{n-axe} \\
\text{efe} & \text{n-ēxo} & \text{eke} & \text{ta} & \text{efe} & \text{n-axe} \\
\text{3SG} & \text{LNK-elder.brother} & \text{3SG.FOC} & \text{IN.TURN} & \text{3SG} & \text{LNK-fish}
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{efe} & \text{küda} & \text{toxopōmu} & \text{edoxe}.
\text{efe} & \text{küda} & \text{toxopōmu} & \text{edoxe}
\text{3SG} & \text{younger.sibling} & \text{some} & \text{give-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}]
\end{array}\]

‘The elder brother in turn gives his younger brother some of his fishes.’ (6.012)

(b) \[\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Osuduk} & \text{efe} & \text{n-eni} & \text{axe} & \text{toxopōmu} & \text{edoxe} \\
\text{osu-du-k} & \text{efe} & \text{n-eni} & \text{axe} & \text{toxopōmu} & \text{edoxe} \\
\text{go.up-SS=CON} & \text{3SG} & \text{LNK-elder.sister} & \text{fish} & \text{some} & \text{give-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}]
\end{array}\]

‘She comes up and gives her eldest sister some fish’ (1.059).
The following overview helps to delineate the possessive construction from the compounds discussed above. It can be seen that we need a combination of morphological, (morpho)phonological and semantic criteria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound type 1</th>
<th>Compound type 2</th>
<th>Possessive construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>ging-e-bigi</td>
<td>wisi-anu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sand-corn</td>
<td>lizard-kind.of.lizard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sand-corn’</td>
<td>‘anu-lizard’</td>
<td>napi n-ù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mother LNK-voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘mother’s voice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantics</td>
<td>Modifier-Head</td>
<td>Head-Modifier;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>restricted set of relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Possessor-Possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main stress</td>
<td>Modifier-Head</td>
<td>Head-Modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Possessor-Possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-initial</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prefixation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table above, the following becomes clear.

1) Compounds of type 1 are uniquely distinguished both from the other type of compound and from the possessive construction by having the main stress on the first member. Initial stress is, in other words,
both a necessary and a sufficient criterion for classifying a compound as type 1.

2) Possessive constructions are distinguished from type 2 compounds by the fact that vowel-initial second members are obligatorily prefixed with n-. This criterion applies only, however, in case the second member begins with a vowel. In other cases, there are only semantic criteria, and no formal criteria to delineate the two.

Like the compounds of type 1 that were discussed in 3.1.1 above, the semantics of the ‘possessive construction’ are rather unspecified, and also include cases like *makā n-ifo* [ground LNK-hut] ‘hut on the ground’ and *si n-ifo* [bird LNK-hut] ‘hut for spying birds’. Somewhat exceptional are combinations of geographical names with nouns denoting a person. Formally, they have characteristics both of a type 1 compound, in that main stress is on the first member, and of a possessive construction, in that vowel-initial nouns are prefixed with n-, as in *Ebà n-axu* [Eba LNK-human] ‘someone from the Eba river; *Ebà n-amgisi* [Eba LNK-girl] ‘girl from the Eba river’.

Finally, it is instructive to consider Drabbe’s discussion of the meaning of *toxu* (1957:29a), which happens to give some further insight into the differences between compounds and possessive constructions. The compound *amù-toxu* ‘a piece of pork’ is compared to possessive *amu toxù* ‘a piece of the pork’; while the compound *siù- toxu* ‘a piece of banana’ is compared to possessive *siù toxù* ‘a piece of the banana’ (Drabbe 1957:29a). These examples show that reference to the modifying (‘possessor’) parts of the possessive constructions is specific, while reference to the modifying parts in compounds is not.

Even though I have found a number of criteria to distinguish compounds and possessive constructions, in transposing Drabbe’s text edition it has not
always been possible to decide whether a (group of) word(s) should be considered a compound (written with a hyphen separating the word parts) or a possessive construction (written with blank spaces between the words). In certain cases, therefore, the decision between the two analyses has been rather intuitive or even arbitrary. Given the limited amount of data and the impossibility to check data with speakers of the language, this limitation is unavoidable.

3.1.3 ‘Possessive’ constructions with nisi

Drabbe describes the meaning of nisi as ‘owner’. In its semantic structure, a construction with nisi is similar to a compound of type 1 in that the modifying part precedes the head. It is different from this type of compounds, however, in that the modifier can also be an entire clause. While an example like (177) below shows that the modifier may be a noun, in most of the examples provided by Drabbe and in all the examples attested in the text corpus, the modifier is a clause.

\[
(177) \quad \text{büsium nisi bo-de}^{116}
\]

\begin{tabular}{lll}
house & owner & sit-1.RLS[SG] \\
‘I am the owner of the house’ & (Drabbe 1957:11b) \\
\end{tabular}

In case nisi is preceded directly by a verb, it causes word stress to shift from the ultimate to the penultimate syllable of the word, see e.g. sìke in (179) below. Example (178) represents a case where the position of the possessed is filled by a nonverbal clause. In all other examples that follow, the position is filled by verbal clauses.

\[^{116}\text{For the use of posture verbs as copula see 2.8.2.}\]
Most of the times when the position of the possessed is filled by a verbal clause, nisi can be translated as ‘the one who’ or ‘someone who’. Of the examples below, (179) through (181) have been taken from Drabbe’s discussion of the term.

(179) xofè te büssiü sì-ke nisi ke de
3SG NOM house build-N1.RLS[SG] owner FOC COP
‘he is the one who built the house’ (Drabbe 1957:11b)

(180) nügu te büssiü sì-dk-oā nisi bo-d-oā
1PL NOM house build-1.DST-1PL owner sit-1.RLS-1PL
‘we are the ones who built the house’ (Drabbe 1957:11b)

In (181) we have to do with a habitual verb, formed on the basis of an iterative stem plus iterative affix sumu, cf. section 2.4.2:

(181) wi saxa~saxa-sum-oxo nisi ke de
pig RED-kill.IT-IT-N1.RLS[SG] owner FOC COP
‘he is a person who regularly kills pigs, a hunter’ (Drabbe 1957:11b)

The examples (182) through (185) present all five attestations of nisi in the text corpus.

(182) Efè küda wi tinge nisi,
efe küda wi ti-ge nisi
3SG younger.sibling pig shoot-N1.RLS[SG] owner

efè joxo axe tinge nisi.
efe joxo axe ti-nge nisi
3sg elder.brother fish shoot-N1.RLS[SG] owner
‘The younger brother is a pig hunter, the elder brother is a fisher.’ (3.002,
6.002)

(183)  
`axu  `jobu  `nisi  `joxo  `xoxenä.  
`axu  `jobu  `nisi  `joxo  `xo-xe-nä  
human  sharp.object  owner  3PL  go-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘the owner of the sharp object and his helpers go out.’ (8.014)

(184)  
`oxodü  `xaxide  `ènge  `nisi  `womu  
`oxodü  `xaxide  `è-ge  `nisi  `womu  
edible.animal  raw  eat-N1.RLS[SG]  owner  inside

`badek  `baxe  
ba-de-k  ba-xe  
sit-SS-CON  sit-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘The being that eats raw animals stays inside the tree.’ (9.03)

(185)  
`womĩ  `abu  `daxe  `nisi  `xadĩg  `giñe,  
`womĩ  `a-bu  `da-xe  `nisi  `xadĩ  `gi-ke  
night  take-SS  come-N1.RLS[SG]  owner  angry  become-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘The one who has brought the night gets angry.’ (5.30)

3.1.4 Inalienable possession: kinship terms
Drabbe 1957: section 14, p. 7b-8a

The kinship terms given by Drabbe or attested in the text corpus are given below. Note the symmetry implied in the words `anisi`, `itime` and `imo`: if you are someone’s `anisi` etc., (s)he is your `anisi` etc. too.

`anisi` ‘grandfather’, ‘grandson’
`itime` ‘grandmother’, ‘granddaughter’
`eto` ‘father’
`api` ‘mother’
`joxo / ēxo` ‘elder brother’
`eni` ‘elder sister’
`küda` ‘younger sibling’
toxu ‘younger sister’
amoko ‘son’, ‘child’
subã ‘daughter’
agï ‘sister’s son’
mõ ‘mother’s brother’
agâ ‘wife’
amo / ë ‘husband’
imo ‘son in law’, ‘father in law’

With regard to the expression of possession, kinship nouns behave slightly differently from other nouns. First, they are the only nouns that have a morphological plural, more on which can be found in the following section. Second, kinship nouns tend to be marked as possessed\textsuperscript{117,118} Third, 1SG or 2SG possession may be expressed by prefixes rather than free possessive pronouns, where the form and use of these prefixes are somewhat different for vowel-initial compared to consonant-initial kinship nouns. Vowel initial nouns may all combine with the prefixes n- and k-, respectively (as in n-eto 1SG-father ‘my father’; g-api ‘your mother’; g-omô 2SG-uncle ‘your uncle’, or n-itimi 1SG-grandmother)\textsuperscript{119}, while at least some of the consonant-initial

\textsuperscript{117} In fact, of the kinship terms listed, those that were attested in the text corpus occur exclusively in combination with a possessive pronoun or a possessive prefix. An exception is formed by amoko ‘boy, son’, which is usually attested with, but sometimes without, a possessive pronoun. This shows that it is used both as a kinship term: ‘son’, implying a relation of kinship with a parent, or as a term for indicating a ‘young male person’, in which case it does not imply a kinship relation with a parent. The terms anisi and itimi were given by Drabbe but not attested in the text corpus and could, therefore, not be checked with respect to their distribution. Finally, even though ā ‘woman’ and xu ‘man’ may be used to refer to married persons — or even to couples, as in an go xu ‘man and woman’ in text 2 — they are never attested in combination with a possessive pronoun.

\textsuperscript{118} It could very well be that the meaning of the possessive pronoun in this context tends to be bleached, cf. note at 2.118.

\textsuperscript{119} The tendency to occur with possessive pronouns as well as the existence of merged forms is also noted by Wester (2014:54-57). She points out that the tendency for certain
kinship nouns allow for special affixal forms of 1SG and 2SG pronouns. With *küda* ‘younger sibling’, *subā* ‘daughter’ and *toxu* ‘younger sister’ we find *no-* 1SG.POS and *go-* 2SG.POS, and with “certain other forms” we find *ni* and *gi*, as in *ni-sē* ‘1SG-husband’. Drabbe’s few examples suggest that the pronominal prefixes harmonize in rounding with the first vowel of the noun, but more examples are needed to validate this hypothesis.

The same nouns that can combine with possessive prefixes can also be used with the free possessive pronouns *na* and *ga* discussed in 3.2.2, or with the independent pronouns *nu* and *gu*. This means, for example, that *n-eto* ‘1SG-father’, *na n-eto* ‘1SG.POS LNK-father’ and *nu n-eto* ‘1SG LNK-father’ are all acceptable ways of expressing ‘my father’.

Reference to dyadic kinship pairs is made by what I will call a dyadic construction. The form of this construction is as follows, where *efe* is the 3SG pronoun described in 3.2.1.

Form: *efe* N1 *efe* N2

Meaning: N1 and N2

Figure 12: A dyadic construction

Papuan languages to have personal or possessive pronouns that are tightly interwoven with kinship terms was already noted by Drabbe (1950:101), and gives an anthropological explanation: “in Awyu-Dumut languages, kinship terms express a dyadic relationship. They do not refer to one person, as such, but to the relationship in which that person stands to the speaker or another person (Stasch 2009:72). Awyu-Dumut kinship terms are not inherently possessed, but it is rare for a kinship term to occur without the ‘possessor’ of that particular kin being named” (Wester 2014: 56-57).

From Drabbe’s description it is not clear whether contracted forms exist for all kinship nouns, or only for a subset.
Examples of this dyadic construction are given in (186) through (188) below:

(186)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{efe} & n\text{-eto} & \text{efe} \\
3SG & LNK\text{-father} & 3SG & LNK\text{-son} \\
\end{array}
\]
\text{‘father and son’ (Drabbe 1957:8a)}

(187)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{efe} & n\text{-amo} & \text{efe} \\
3SG & LNK\text{-husband} & 3SG & LNK\text{-wife} \\
\end{array}
\]
\text{‘husband and wife’ (Drabbe 1957:8a; 4.003)}

(188)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{efe} & k\text{üda} & \text{efe} \\
3SG & younger\text{-sibling} & 3SG & LNK\text{-elder.brother} \\
\end{array}
\]
\text{‘younger and elder brother’ (Drabbe 1957:8a; 3.001)}

It is important to note that the dyadic construction can be used for dyadic relations only, not for reference to pairs in a non-dyadic relation. In that respect, it can be contrasted to the use of *ko*, as in (189) below, where the phrase can refer either to a married couple (dyadic) or to a non-married ‘man and woman’:

(189)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{āg} & \text{go} & \text{ku} \\
\text{woman} & \text{and} & \text{man} \\
\end{array}
\]
\text{‘man and woman’ (Drabbe 1957:8a)}

### 3.1.5 Number
Drabbe 1957: section 9, p. 5a-b; section 14, p. 7b-8a

The famous linguistic scholar Roman Jakobson once stated that ‘languages differ essentially in what they must convey and not in what they may convey’ (Jakobson 1959). Every linguistic system, in other words, has grammaticalized other aspects of reality, and every linguistic system should, therefore, be described in its own terms. In this section, I would like to
make clear that Aghu differs with respect to a language like English in what it must say about number. This is also true for definiteness, which will be the topic of 3.1.6 below. speakers of English must specify each Noun Phrase for number and definiteness: Noun Phrases are either singular or plural, and either definite or indefinite. This is not true for speakers of Aghu. Noun Phrases are generally not specified for number, and there is no requirement in Aghu grammar to specify Noun Phrases for definiteness. In the words of Drabbe:

“axu k’etede [human ACC see-1.RLS[SG] may mean: ‘I saw the man, a man, the men, men.””\(^{121}\)

Thus, while Aghu differs from English in what it must convey, speakers of Aghu may choose to specify nouns for the categories expressed by number and definiteness: they may choose to express whether a Noun Phrase refers to single or multiple entities, and may choose to specify whether Noun Phrases refer to entities known to the addressee or not. In the remainder of this section we will consider number, while we will have a look at the category of definiteness in section 3.1.6 below.

As stated above, nouns and noun phrases are generally not specified for number. In line with Jakobson’s wording we may say that Aghu speakers do not have to specify nouns and noun phrases for number. In these cases, it is the linguistic or extralinguistic context which guides the interpretation. Thus, in (190) and (191) it is knowledge of the world (that is: the extralinguistic context) which makes that reference is made to a single river, and to multiple fish traps.

\(^{121}\)“agh k’etede kan beteken „ik zag de man, een man, de mensen, mensen.”” (Drabbe 1957:5b)
(190) *Kūtoxenā*.

kūto-xe-nā  widi

go.downhill-N1.RLS-N1PL  river

‘They go downhill, to the river.’ (1.003)

(191) *Jobo sikugenā*.

 jobo  sikū-ge-nā

fish.trap  place-N1.RLS-N1PL

They place ‘fish traps’. (1.004)

In other contexts, it is not so much the extralinguistic but (also) the linguistic context that guides the interpretation. In 3.1.5.2 below, we will first consider cases where Noun Phrases are used as a subject, while 3.1.5.3 deals with cases where they have a different function in the clause. Before we proceed on this, however, we first present a category of nouns with dedicated plural forms.

### 3.1.5.1 Kinship nouns and other nouns with dedicated plural forms

Only kinship nouns and certain nouns referring to human beings have dedicated plural forms; other nouns have no morphological expression of plurality. Of the nouns with dedicated plural forms, the kinship nouns have a regular plural suffix *-gi*, while the other have irregular plural formations. The following table exemplifies both regular and irregular plural formations.
Table 40: Regular and irregular plural formation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regular; kinship nouns</th>
<th>eto-gi [father-PL] ‘fathers’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>api-gi [mother-PL] ‘mothers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kii-da-gi [younger.sibling-PL] ‘younger siblings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular; mainly certain nouns referring to human beings</td>
<td>axaxu ‘humans’ cf. axu ‘human’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amgiaxamo ‘women’ cf. ä ‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amse ‘children; boys’ cf. amoko ‘child; boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kio ‘eye’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though kinship terms have a morphological plural, the absence of plural marking does not indicate singular number. This is apparent from the following example, where it is the number inflection on the verb that makes clear that efe napi — which is unmarked for number — should be interpreted as referring to more than one mother (while it is the extralinguistic context which makes clear that we have to do with not more than two mothers).

(192) Xodok efe napi dū bikenaXodok efe napi dū bikena.
go-SS = CON 3SG LNK-mother sago pound-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘They go and the (two) mothers pound sago.’ (1.083)

### 3.1.5.2 Nouns as subject

In this and the following subsection, we exclude the kinship and other nouns with morphological plurals; instead of ‘nouns’ one should actually read: ‘all nouns except the kinship nouns discussed in 3.1.5.1’.

When nouns are used as subject of a verb, we find an interesting discrepancy between more animate and less animate nouns. For more animate nouns, referring to bigger animals and human beings, subject inflection on the verb is either singular or plural. This means that for these
more animate nouns the interpretation of the NP as referring to a singular entity or more entities is guided by the inflection on the verb (optionally supported by the use of *joxo* ‘3PL’ directly following the noun, see 3.1.5.5). Compare the following two examples, where the verb of the first example exhibits singular inflection, and the verb of the second example plural inflection.

(193)  
\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{Amoko} & \text{gu} & \text{bono} & \text{xodok} & \text{osüke.} \\
\text{amoko} & \text{gu} & \text{bono} & \text{xo-do-k} & \text{osü-ke} \\
\text{child} & \text{umbilical.cord} & \text{soul} & \text{go-SS-CON} & \text{go.down-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Then the soul of an afterbirth goes, and goes downstream.’ (7.072)

(194)  
\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{Efe} & \text{wusoxo} & \text{ioxoxoa} & \text{ifügenā} \\
\text{efe} & \text{wusoxo} & \text{i-oxoxoa} & \text{ifī-ge-nā} \\
\text{3SG} & \text{body} & \text{bird-kind.of.bird} & \text{bind-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Oxoxoa-birds bind his body’ (7.006)

For less animate nouns, however, subject inflection is singular also when reference is made to more than one entity. Consider (195) and (196) below, with semantically plural subjects and singular inflection on the verb.

(195)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{dü} & \text{pupe} & \text{osüke,} \\
\text{dü} & \text{pupe} & \text{osü-ke} \\
\text{sago} & \text{crumb} & \text{go.down-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(some) sago crumbs have gone down (through the floor),’ (2.146)

(196)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Güśaxamoxe} & \text{mike.} \\
\text{güśaxam-oxe} & \text{mi-ke} \\
\text{pick.IT-N1.RLS[SG]} & \text{come.down-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He picks (the fruits) and they come down.’ (3.163)

The language also has a category of nouns where we find alternation. Especially for nouns referring to larger objects and trees, reference to
multiple entities may but need not be expressed by plural inflection. The situation can be visualized as follows:

**Humans; larger animals; smaller animals; trees; larger objects; smaller objects; mass nouns**

---

**plural subject inflection on verb**

---

**singular subject inflection on verb**

---

Figure 13: Animacy and the use of plural subject inflection on the verb

In the figure above, the question mark indicates that the precise behavior of the respective category is not clear. The use of dashed instead of closed lines indicates that the borders between the categories are not clear. In sentence 10 below, for example, we find two nouns that refer to smaller objects, which nevertheless combine with plural inflection. I would hypothesize that here plural inflection is used because of the strong association with animacy; it might even be that here the genitals, as it were, represent or stand for the persons themselves.

(197)  

\[
\begin{align*}
Joxo & \quad napi & \quad nato, \\
joxo & \quad n-api & \quad n-ato \\
3PL & \quad LNK-mother & \quad LNK-vagina \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Joxo} & \quad \text{n-api} & \quad \text{n-ato} \\
\text{3PL} & \quad \text{LNK-mother} & \quad \text{LNK-vagina} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Joxo} & \quad \text{n-neto} & \quad \text{sigi} & \quad \text{igenã}. \\
\text{Joxo} & \quad \text{n-eto} & \quad \text{sigi} & \quad \text{i-ge-nã} \\
\text{3PL} & \quad \text{LNK-father} & \quad \text{penis} & \quad \text{lie.down-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Their mother's vagina, their father's penis are (lying down [in the water quiver]).’

(2.133)

---

The choice for singular inflection in (195) and (196) above could be explained on the assumption that the sago crumbs and the fruits are conceived of not as multiple individual objects, but as a collective whole. This might be taken as an argument in favor of an analysis in which it is ‘individuation’ rather than animacy that underlies the hierarchy; for a discussion of individuation, and a hierarchy based on this concept cf. Audring 2009:123f.
3.1.5.3 Nouns in non-subject function

We now come to cases where nouns or NP’s are used in other than subject position. Here, singular number may be specified by the use of ْفَ (3SG), while plurality may be expressed by the use of a 3PL pronoun following the noun. Of the latter the text corpus contains only one example, however.123 In my view, ْفَ functions as a marker of singular number, which expresses that reference is made to one token out of a set of tokens of the same type. This makes my analysis somewhat different from Drabbe, who states that ْفَ “actually means ‘other’”:

“Where we use an indefinite pronoun, we sometimes find ْفَ, used both in combination with things and with persons. The actual meaning is ‘other’; ِْبَيْسَيْيَ فَ ْفَ may mean ‘the other house’, ‘another house’ but also ‘a house’.”124

123 Other than in this book, Drabbe does not make a systematic distinction between nouns used as subject and nouns in other functions. On the basis of Drabbe’s discussion, one might conclude that nouns can be specified for plural number by the use of ِْؤْخَ (3PL) irrespective of their syntactic or semantic function. NP’s in ْفَ, however, are attested in non-subject position only. In the data available to us, we have only one example of a non-subject modified by ِْؤْخَ:

(…) ْفَ ِْنَأِْپِْجِ ِْؤْخَ ِْؤْدْوَنِْنِْعِ ِْؤْگِْنَأِْثَمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْيِْلِْلِْمِْرِبِْy:

3SG | LNK-mother-PL | 3PL | give-N1.RLS -DS | eat-N1.RLS -N1PL

‘He gives his mothers and the two of them eat.’ (1.095)

More on ِْؤْخَ, especially its use in subject NP’s can be found in 3.1.5.5 below.

124 “Waar wij een onbep. lidw. gebruiken vinden we bij zaken zowel als bij personen wel eens ْفَ, dat eigenlijk „andere” betekent; ِْبَيْسَيْيَ ْفَ kan betekenen „het andere huis”, „een ander huis”, maar ook „‘n huis.” ” (Drabbe 1957:5b)
The different ‘meanings’ described by Drabbe are, in my view, all contextual implications of the use of *fe* ‘3SG’ and have to do more with the translation into Dutch than with actual meaning differences. The formative is often used in series of references to several tokens of the same type. In these contexts it often refers to ‘another one’ of the same token, or — when the series is restricted to two tokens — ‘the other one’, cf. the examples from (198) onwards.

The formative is used both independently, and in combination with a noun, but attested in non-subject position only.125 This latter fact can be seen as a confirmation of my analysis of *fe* as a marker of singular number; it is only as a non-subject that number marking makes sense. The number of the subject is already clear from inflection on the verb, so that marking of number on the subject-NP is often redundant.126

In (198) we find an example of an independently used *fe*:

(198) Emu osū équip *fe* üge.
emu osū-dū = k *fe* ü-ge
then go.down-SS = CON 3SG stab-N1.RLS[SG]
Then he goes down [out of the tree] and stabs one. (1.184)

In (200), on the other hand, *fe* is used attributively, modifying the noun *wi*. Note that the pig was introduced in the preceding sentence, given here as (199).

125 The following is a list of all occurrences of *fe* in the text corpus: 1.138, 1.184, 1.198, 1.248-251, 2.060, 2.063, 2.064, 2.079, 2.083-84, 2.090, 2.099, 2.127, 2.163-66, 5.25.
126 This argument holds as long as it is clear which NP is the subject. In the case of multiple candidates for subjecthood, number might, in principle, be used to make clear which of the NP’s agrees with the verb and therefore is the subject.
(199) Ùbùsùmoxenà bagidi emu wi kukùgenà.
übùsùm-oxe-nâ ba-gidi emu wi kukù-ge-nâ
tie.up.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day then pig put-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘They [the two orphans] tie [the bag] up and the following day they put a pig into it’ ((1.247)

(200) Kukùgenà bagidi xati wi ìe
kukù-ge-nâ ba-gidi xati wi ìe
put-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again pig 3SG

kukùgenà.
kukù-ge-nâ
put-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘They put it in and the following day they put another pig into it.’ (1.248)

Sentence (199) forms the first of a series of four identical sentences (1.248 through 1.251). Although ìe is used here only from the second occurrence of a ‘token’ onwards — which is rendered in English by the translation ‘another’ — the text corpus also contains examples where it is used already for the first occurrence. This is the case, for example, in (201) below, which forms the first of three identical sentences, the first of which is represented below as (203).

(201) Bî pùsiaxa ìe xabâ di ìe
bî pùsiaxa ìe xabâ di ìe
kind.of.tree big 3SG stem buttress.root 3SG

cìefokokîke.
cìefokoki-ke
pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]
‘He passes the roots of (the stem of) a big bi-tree.’ (2.163b)

(202) Xati di ìe cìefokokîke.
xati di ìe cìefokoki-ke
again buttress.root 3SG pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]
‘He passes the roots of another tree’ (lit. ‘he passes by another buttress
In (203) and (204) we find *fe* used in the first and second reference to a set of two.

(203)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
    Fe & dü & fe & ab' & otodok \\
    fe & dü & fe & a-bu & oto-do = k \\
    3SG & sago & 3SG & take-SS & go.uphill-SS = CON \\
\end{array}
\]

\textit{joxo neto posii edoxenā.}  
\textit{joxo neto posii ed-oxe-nā}  
\text{3PL LNK-father old give-N1.RLS-N1PL}  
\text{‘One, they take one sack of sago uphill and give it to their old father.’ (2.063)}

(204)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
    Dü & fe & adek & joxo & büsiij & xoxenā. \\
    dü & fe & a-de = k & joxo & büsiij & xo-xe-nā \\
    sago & 3SG & take-SS = CON & 3PL & house & go-N1.RLS-N1PL \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{‘They take the other (sack of) sago and go to their house.’ (2.064)}

In the examples cited so far, *fe* is generally combined with entities that can be counted. In (203) and (204) the use of *fe* with a mass noun indicates a well-defined, well-bound — and therefore countable — quantity of the mass, in this case: a sack of sago. According to Drabbe, *fe* can also be used in the following cases. Apart of these two examples, no occurrences of this use were attested.

(205)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
    dü & fi & baxē & gme-je \\
    sago & 3SG & sit-II-N1SG & buyII[1SG]-FUT \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{‘if there is some sago, I will buy it’ (Drabbe 1957:5b)}

(206)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
    axe & fe & ai-e & gme-je \\
    fish & 3SG & lie-II-N1SG & buyII[1SG]-FUT \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{‘if there is fish, I will buy it’ (Drabbe 1957:5b)}
As we do not know the contexts in which these clauses were uttered, and as we lack minimally differing clauses where *fe* is not used, we can only speculate about the function of *fe* here. Our data are too limited, therefore, to explain the use of *fe* in contexts like these.

### 3.1.5.4 Distributive

According to Drabbe, repetition of nouns serves to indicate a big quantity. He gives the following examples:

(207)  
\[ \text{Ef\text{\textperiodcentered} f}\text{\textperiodcentered} \text{tadixa soxo soxo nam= xo-xe} \]  
\[ 3\text{SG name big place place only go-N1.RLS[SG]} \]  
‘he had a big name in many places’ (Drabbe 1957:5a)

(208)  
\[ \text{b\text{\textperiodcentered}usi\text{\textperiodcentered} b\text{\textperiodcentered}usi\text{\textperiodcentered} xodomo-xe} \]  
house house go.through-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘he goes through the villages’ (Drabbe 1957:5a)

(209)  
\[ \text{kesaxe kesaxe de e-ke-n\=a} \]  
tree tree LOC stand-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘there’s a multitude of trees’ (Drabbe 1957:5a)

(210)  
\[ \text{k\text{\textperiodcentered}uto-do=k misige misige a-de=k da-xe-n\=a} \]  
go.downhill-SS = CON stone stone bring-SS = CON come-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘they went downhill and brought stones’ (Drabbe 1957:5a)

(211)  
\[ \text{nu peso peso ki-ke} \]  
1SG wound wound become-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘I had many wounds’ (Drabbe 1957:5a)

On the basis of the examples above, I would hypothesize that it is also possible to analyze this repetition as having a distributive function. In all cases, the referents of the repeated nouns can be thought of as distributed over time or place: a name found ‘all over the place’, going ‘from village to
village’, trees ‘covering a large area’, carrying ‘stone after stone’, and being covered with wounds all over. As the text corpus contains no further examples of repetition of nouns, it is not possible to further validate this hypothesis.

### 3.1.5.5 Associative plural

Nouns referring to larger animals and human beings are often followed by a 3\textsuperscript{rd} person free pronoun, which indicates not only the number of the noun phrase, but, according to Drabbe, also implies definiteness, to which we will come back below. He gives the following examples:

\begin{align*}
(212) & \quad \text{xobasĩ} \quad \text{joxo} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{da-xe-nā} \\
& \quad \text{men} \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{come-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
& \quad \text{‘the men have come’ (Drabbe 1957:5b)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(213) & \quad \text{kuso-kama} \quad \text{joxo} \quad \text{si} \\
& \quad \text{marsupial-kind.of.animal} \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{above} \\
& \quad \text{ongowim-oxe-nā} \\
& \quad \text{jump.from.brach.to.branch-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
& \quad \text{‘the cuscus animals jumped from branch to branch’ (Drabbe 1957:5b)}
\end{align*}

In addition to the single example of \textit{joxo} modifying a non-subject NP, given in note 123 above, and in addition to the cases where it is used as part of a possessive construction (see 3.1.2 above), the text corpus contains ten examples of \textit{joxo} modifying or following a subject NP.\footnote{These are 1.092, 1.137, 1.183, 1.271, 2.162, 6.055, 7.003, 8.014, 8.020, 8.022.} In some of these cases, the NP plus pronoun refer to ‘a person and others associated with this person’, so that we have to do with an ‘associative plural’.
3.1.5.6 Verbs implying plurality of subject or object

Plurality can also be implied by the verb, in the sense that iterative verbs (see 2.4.1) often imply a plural object. Examples given by Drabbe are \textit{wi saxa} [shoot.IT pig] ‘shoot pigs’ and \textit{büsiü sigumùdu} [house build.IT] ‘build houses’, which refer to repetitive shooting and building, respectively, and therefore (in most contexts) imply plural objects. In at least two cases we have a suppletive iterative verb implying a plural subject: \textit{kû} is the neutral word for ‘die’, which may have a singular or a plural subject (e.g. 1.300 and 2.149, respectively), while suppletive iterative \textit{xani} ‘die.IT’ implies a plural subject (e.g. 2.105). Analogously, we find \textit{kunum’ i(g)} ‘sleep’ with either singular or plural subject, and \textit{kunû xanda(x)} ‘sleep.IT’ implying a plural subject.\footnote{The form is attested in 2.2, where Drabbe adds that it combines with a plural subject, and in sentence 5.28 of the tekst corpus.}
3.1.6 Definiteness
Drabbe 1957: section 62, p. 24b; section 9, p. 5a-b

As stated in the introductory part of 3.1.5, Aghu NP’s do not need to be specified for definiteness. However, Drabbe mentions two formatives that imply a definite reading. First, when dealing with demonstrative pronouns, he writes that the demonstrative pronoun xo ‘DST’.

“often has no other function than that of a definite article, e.g. amoko xo da-xe [boy DST come-N1.RLS[SG]]‘the boy has come’, and is also used as such with proper names, e.g. Pemagha gho bagidi dafine P will come tomorrow.”

In the text corpus, demonstrative xo is attested once in text 1, repeatedly in text 2, and repeatedly in text 6; in all cases the demonstrative is indeed glossed by Drabbe as a definite article. In my opinion, Drabbe’s discussion of the demonstrative and the examples attested in the texts — which will be shown below — may indeed be taken as an indication that the demonstrative xo is developing into a definiteness marker, a development which is cross-linguistically very common (cf. Diesel 1999:128). The example from text 1 is given here as (216).

---

129 More on demonstrative pronouns, including their use as independent demonstratives, can be found in 3.2.4.
130 “Gho heeft vaak geen andere functie dan die van bepaald lidw. bv. amoko gho daghe de jongen is gekomen en wordt aldus ook bij eigennamen gebruikt.” (Drabbe 1957:24b)
131 Or stated more moderately: it tends to convey the same function as do definiteness markers in other languages. It would be incorrect, however, to suggest that the category of definiteness has really become part of Aghu grammar. Contrary to language systems where definiteness is an integral part of grammar, the expression of definiteness is not obligatory and not part of a well-defined paradigm of formal oppositions. Coming back to Jakobson’s statement above, the language may express the functions that are expressed by definiteness markers in other languages, but there is not requirement from the grammatical system to do so.
PART I: GRAMMAR. Chapter 3: Other word classes

(216)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Abu} & \text{dadek} & \text{ab}' & \text{suduk} & \text{to} & \text{xo} \\
\text{a-bu} & \text{da-de=k} & \text{a-b=} & \text{osu-du-k} & \text{to} & \text{xo} \\
\text{take-SS} & \text{come-SS=CON} & \text{take-SS} & \text{go.up-SS=CON} & \text{opening} & \text{DST} \\
\end{array}
\]

sibumoxenä.
sibum-oxe-nä
close-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘They bring him, take him up and close the door. ‘(1.047)

In text 2, the string namse xo ‘children DST’ is attested six times; four times as part of the NP joxo namse xo ‘their children’, twice as part of the NP efe namse xo ‘his children’. The children are introduced as joxo namoko okuomä ‘their two children’ in 2.003, and then referred to repeatedly as joxo namse. Then, in 2.034, we have the first occurrence of joxo namse xo:

(217)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{laxajo} & \text{dū} & \text{abu} & \text{dadek} \\
\text{laxajo} & \text{dū} & \text{a-bu} & \text{da-de=k} \\
\text{white.parrot} & \text{sago} & \text{take-SS} & \text{come-SS=CON} \\
\end{array}
\]

joxo  namse  xo  edoxe,
joxo  n-amse  xo  ed-oxe
3PL  LNK-children  DST  give-N1.RLS[SG]

‘A / the white parrot takes sago and comes and gives it to their children, they secretly eat.’ (2.034)

Following this we find the same joxo namse xo ‘their children’ used repeatedly, alternated with references where xo is lacking. At a certain point in the story, after they have visited Apupüsimo, the children are referred to as efe namse xo ‘his (Apupüsimo’s) children’: in 2.097, and later on in 2.132.

---

132 In 2.010, 2.012, 2.014, 2.019, 2.026, 2.030a, 2.030b, all in subject position.
133 The demonstrative xo is used in 2.067, 2.097, 2.125, 2.132. It is lacking in 2.040, 2.041, 2.073.
In text 6, finally, the NP ā-sē xo ‘the unmarried women’ is used four times, at several places in the text. One example is given below. After the women have been introduced as ā sē ‘unmarried women’ in (218), two sentences later, in (219), they are referred to as ā sē joxo. In a following passage, when the unmarried women come to the scene again, they are, for the first time, referred to as. ā sē xo, illustrated in (220)

(218) **Fidik**

ți-di = k
bear.fruit-SS = CON

ĉe-ke
stand-N1.RLS[SG]

ā-sē
unmarried.woman

dadek

do=b'
engenā

da-de = k
b = ē-ge-nā

come-SS = CON
DUR
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘It is bearing fruit, and unmarried women have come and are eating’ (6.053)

(219) **Xodok**

ixo-do = k
come-SS = CON

et-oxe
see-N1.RLS[SG]

ko
mase
tomun ĝike,
ko
mase
domū gi-ke
kind.of.tree
already
ripe
become-N1.RLS[SG]

ā-sē
joxo
b'
engenā.
ā.sē
joxo
b = ē-ge-nā
unmarried.woman
3PL
DUR
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘He goes and sees that the ko fruit has ripened already, and that the unmarried women are eating’ (6.055)

(220) **Āsē**

ā.sē
unmarried.woman
3PL

do=daxenā.
ā.sē
joxo
da-xe-nā
unmarried.woman
3PL
come-N1.RLS-N1PL.

---

134 In 6.062, 6.076 and 6.121.
'The unmarried women come'.

The second formative associated with definiteness is the 3PL pronoun *joxo*, which, in NP-final position, according to Drabbe “expresses not only plurality, but also definiteness” (Drabbe 1057:5b). An overview of occurrences was given in 3.1.5.5 above, footnote 127.

### 3.1.7 Optional non-inflectional case markers *te* and *ke*

Drabbe 1957: section 103c, p. 42a; section 103p, p. 43b

This section discusses the case markers *te* and *ke* as attested in verbal clauses. For a discussion that includes the marking of pronouns and NP’s, in non-verbal clauses the reader is referred to section 4.4.

In verbal clauses, pronouns and noun phrases can be followed by one of the case markers *te* or *ke* (or *kèmu / kumu*, see 3.6.2 below). *Te* ‘NOM’ is optionally used to mark a subject, while *ke* ‘ACC’ may be used to mark the object. In this book I will use the term object for those constituents that can be marked with *ke* and which bear the semantic role of patient, beneficiary or target. In addition, *ke* may be used to mark a location or a temporal expression, although we hardly have any examples of the latter use. Although *te* and *ke* belong to the class of postpositional case markers that will be discussed in 3.6, the fact that they mark the central syntactic functions of subject and object justifies an additional discussion here. *Te* and *ke* may be seen as having a disambiguating function, as they can easily be left out when the context makes clear what is intended. Compare the following examples, where the interpretation of (221a) is dependent on the context and allows for different readings out of context, but (b) and (c)...

---

135 In fact, the only example is the expression *womin ge / gèmu* ‘in the night’ provided by Drabbe in his discussion on *kèmu, kumu* and *ke* (Drabbe 1957:42a). Cf. 3.6.2 below.
allow for one reading only, with *n-amse* as a subject or an (indirect) object, respectively.

\[(221a) \quad na \quad n\text{-amse} \quad ed\text{-oxe-}n\text{ā} \]
\[\text{1SG.POS LNK-child give-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]
\[\text{‘my children gave it / they gave it to my children’ (Drabbe 1957:43b)} \]

\[(b) \quad na \quad n\text{-amse} \quad t= \quad ed\text{-oxe-}n\text{ā} \]
\[\text{1SG.POS LNK-child NOM give-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]
\[\text{‘my children gave it’ (Drabbe 1957:43b)} \]

\[(c) \quad na \quad n\text{-amse} \quad k= \quad ed\text{-oxe-}n\text{ā} \]
\[\text{1SG.POS LNK-child ACC give-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]
\[\text{‘they gave it to my children’ (Drabbe 1957:43b)} \]

While in transitive sentences like (b) the use of *te* may be seen as disambiguating, this cannot explain the use of *te* in intransitive sentences, as in (222) below.

\[(222) \quad na \quad n\text{-amse} \quad te \quad da\text{-xe-}n\text{ā} \]
\[\text{1SG.POS LNK-child NOM come-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]
\[\text{‘my children have come’ (Drabbe 1957:43b)} \]

Most probably, the case marker *ke* is historically related to the homophonous marker *ke* that is used to mark focused subjects and complements in nominal clauses, cf. section 4.4.
3.2 Pronouns

3.2.1 Independent pronouns and emphatic pronouns: form

Drabbe 1957: section 11-12, p. 6a-7a

The forms of the free pronouns are as follows. Their function will be discussed in detail below, but it is relevant to note here that the use of efe and joxo is restricted to humans and animals, except when the former is used as possessive pronoun in the construction described in 3.1.2.

Table 41: Aghu independent pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nügu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>gu</td>
<td>gügu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>efe / eke</td>
<td>joxo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Drabbe discusses various ways in which pronouns can be modified, many of which, however, are not attested in the text corpus. What needs to be

---

136 According to Drabbe, the basic form of the 3SG pronoun is efe, while eke is analyzed as a contracted form of efe + ke. Wester (2014:71) gives both efe and eke as Aghu 3SG pronouns, and derives the latter form from pA *eke. She also writes that the form efe (or ewe in Shiaxa and Yenimu) “could well have originated in an Awyu-Dumut deictic element ep or e ‘there’.” Irrespective of the question whether these reconstructions are correct, it is clear that efe and eke synchronically have different functions. More on this can be found in 3.2.3.2.

137 Drabbe (1957:7a) mentions the following. (1) ku ‘EMP’ (discussed in the text above) can be followed by gedeme, which further emphasizes the concept of ‘self’: nu ku gedeme ‘1SG-EMP EMP’. (2) Emphatic pronouns can also be followed by a pronoun of same person plus namu, which has the same meaning as the construction with gedeme: nu-ku nu-namu ‘1SG-EMP 1SG-EMP’. (3) Instead of emphatic oku following the pronoun, speakers may also use okagi or okagimu. (4) Drabbe points to the use of emphatic pronouns in certain nominal clauses: ok’ iman e-ke [3SG.EMP EMP stand-N1.RLS[SG]] or ok’ iman ba-xe [EMP EMP sit-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘that’s how he is’. In these examples, the posture verbs e ‘stand’ and
mentioned here, however, is the use of the emphatic suffix -\textit{ku} ‘\textit{EMP}’, which may follow the 1SG, 2SG or 3PL pronouns. In 3SG the form \textit{oku} is used, which Drabbe tentatively analyzes as a contracted form of \textit{efe} and \textit{ku}.\textsuperscript{138} The forms of 1SG and 2SG plus -\textit{ku} are also used for reference to plural speakers and addressees, so that we get the following paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>\textit{nuku}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>\textit{guku}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>\textit{oku}</td>
<td>\textit{joxoku}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The emphatic pronouns from Table 42 alternate with \textit{oku} followed by the independent pronouns of Table 41. In other words, \textit{oku nu ‘EMP 1SG’} has the same distribution and meaning as \textit{nu-ku ‘1SG-EMP’}; \textit{oku gu ‘EMP 2SG’} is identical in meaning and distribution to \textit{gu-ku ‘2SG-EMP’}, and \textit{ok’ eke} alternates with \textit{oku}. The form \textit{oku} therefore seems to show traces of a diachronic development from ‘3SG-EMP’ to a grammatical formative unspecified for person, to be glossed as ‘EMP’.\textsuperscript{139} In this book, the form is glossed either as 3SG-EMP or as EMP, dependent on its position.

\textit{ba ‘sit’} function as a copulas, cf. 2.8.2. (5) In possessive phrases we find \textit{nu namu na b\textit{ü}si\textit{ü} [1SG only 1SG.POS house ‘my own house, a house belonging to me only’]; eke namu \textit{efe b\textit{ü}si\textit{ü} [3SG.FOC only 3SG house ‘his own house’, or \textit{oku ga b\textit{ü}si\textit{ü} ke de [EMP 2SG.POS house FOC COP] ‘it is your own house’}.}

\textsuperscript{138} I have used the term ‘tentatively’ here to make clear that Drabbe notes the ambiguity between 3SG reading of \textit{oku}, and one in which it is used to strengthen other than 3\textsuperscript{rd} person pronouns; see the discussion below.

\textsuperscript{139} Alternatively, one might hypothesize that *\textit{oku} is the basic form, which, in a position after pronouns — which are all vowel-final — developed into a suffix -\textit{ku}. In third person singular, the form \textit{oku} might either be suppletive for the 3SG pronoun + \textit{oku}, or be the result of a contraction between *\textit{oku} and a 3SG proto pronoun (which has now become lost).
In combination with the word *nikiaxamu* ‘back’, the emphatic pronoun gets a reflexive reading, as in the following example:

(223) *oku nikiaxamu mū kō ku-nu-k kūng-ge*

3SG.EMP back oblique neck put-SS-CON kill-N1.RLS[SG]

‘he put his neck through the rope and killed himself’ (Drabbe 1957:7a)

(224) *nu ku nikiaxamu ügeme-de*

1SG EMP back chop-1.RLS[SG]

‘I wounded myself while chopping’ (Drabbe 1957:7a)

### 3.2.2 Possessive pronouns: form

Drabbe 1957: section 13, p. 7a/b

The language has dedicated possessive pronouns for 1SG and 2SG only: *na* and *ga*, respectively. In all other cases, the ‘normal’ independent pronouns of Table 41 above are used. Possessive constructions formed with pronouns are parallel in structure to the possessive constructions described in Figure 10 above: possessive pronouns directly precede the nouns they modify. This is indicated in Figure 14:

![Figure 14: Possessive construction with pronoun in possessor position; main stress is on N2](image-url)
PART I: GRAMMAR. Chapter 3: Other word classes

Here too vowel-initial nouns combine with a possessive linker \( n = \). Interestingly, it is only before these vowel-initial nouns that the possessive pronouns \( na \) and \( ga \) alternate with the free pronouns \( nu \) and \( gu \).

(225a) \( na \) \( n-amu \) / (b) \( nu \) \( n-amu \)
1SG.POS LNK-meat 1SG LNK-meat
‘my meat’ (Drabbe 1957:7a) ‘my meat’ (Drabbe 1957:7a)

(226a) \( ga \) \( n-eto \) / (b) \( gu \) \( n-eto \)
2SG.POS LNK-father 2SG LNK-father
‘your father’ (Drabbe 1957:7b) ‘your father’ (Drabbe 1957:7b)

With consonant-initial nouns, however, only the possessive pronouns can be used, so that (227a) is ungrammatical:

(227a) \( na \) \( xasi \) / (b) *\( nu \) \( xasi \)
1SG.POS spear 1SG spear
‘my spear’ (Drabbe 1957:7a) ‘my spear’ (concluded from Drabbe 1957:7a)

Nouns referring to kinship may, in 1SG and 2SG, take possessive prefixes. These were described in 3.1.4 above.

3.2.3 Free (and possessive) pronouns: distribution

If we want to discuss the use of free pronouns and possessive pronouns, the first thing to be noted is that the great majority of verbal clauses in Aghu lack overt free pronouns; they are used only for special rhetorical purposes. Second it should be noted that Drabbe’s text corpus is highly biased in that it contains very few examples of direct speech. This makes it very hard to make a comparison between the use of 3rd person pronouns and the use of 1st and 2nd person pronouns. At this point it suffices to follow Drabbe’s description, who states:
“Nu and nugu [1st person, WvdH] are not often used as subject of a verbal clause, as in such sentences the person is clear from subject inflection on the verb. The 2nd and 3rd person pronouns are attested more frequently, as verb inflection does not distinguish between 2nd and 3rd person, but when it is clear from the context which person is intended they are often left out. Efe never appears without ke or te, neither as subject, nor as object, nor as predicate in nominal clauses. When te is used one says efe te. With ke the two are contracted into eke. Eke is sometimes also used as subject.”

The following subsection will discuss the use of ke and te, while the other subsections will go deeper into the distribution of 3SG pronouns efe and eke.

### 3.2.3.1 Te and ke as case markers and focus markers

Drabbe 1957: section 11-12, p. 6a-7a

Consider the following table, which summarizes Drabbe’s exposition on pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun use</th>
<th>1 + 2, 3PL + optional ke or te</th>
<th>3SG + obligatory te or ke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject of verbal predicate</td>
<td>Pronoun (+ te)</td>
<td>efe + te / ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(In)direct object</td>
<td>Pronoun (+ ke)</td>
<td>eke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal predicate</td>
<td>Pronoun (+ ke / te)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The story for all pronouns except 3SG, as presented by Drabbe, is rather straightforward. Like nouns, discussed in 3.1.7, in verbal subject position they may be accompanied by an optional nominative marker te, while as a direct or indirect object they may combine with an accusative marker ke. In nonverbal clauses, discussed in 4.2.1 and 4.4, they may combine with the nominative case marker te or with the focus marker ke. As stated above,
however, Drabbe’s claims about free personal pronouns in other than 3\textsuperscript{rd} person can hardly be checked, due to lack of data. We now turn to the use and distribution of the 3\textsubscript{SG} pronouns \textit{efe} and \textit{eke}, which deserve a more elaborate discussion.

### 3.2.3.2 3\textsuperscript{rd} person pronouns \textit{efe} and \textit{eke}

Drabbe 1957: section 12, p. 6b-7a

This section take the use of 3\textsuperscript{rd} person pronouns as attested in the text corpus as a starting point, and then returns to what Drabbe writes about them. Although I will not go deeply into the definition of focus, I believe that the overview of contexts in which \textit{eke} and \textit{efe} are used justifies my analysis of \textit{eke} as a contracted form of \textit{efe} plus \textit{ke} and as a focused form of \textit{efe}.

We first consider the use of \textit{efe} 3\textsubscript{SG}. In over ninety percent of all attestations, \textit{efe} is used as part of the possessive construction illustrated in 3.2.2 above. If we consider these possessive constructions more closely, it becomes apparent that in the majority of cases we have to do with reference to one out of two persons in a dyadic kinship relation (see Figure 12 in 3.1.4). The following two sentences illustrate this typical use of \textit{efe}. We find the expressions \textit{efe küda} ‘her younger sibling’ and \textit{efe n-eni} ‘her elder sister’ throughout the story to refer to either one of the two sisters.

(228) \begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{Taftaxa} & \textit{büsii} & \textit{baxe}nä, & \textit{bagidi} & \textit{efe} & \textit{küda} \\
\textit{taftaxa} & \textit{büsii} & \text{ba-xe-nä} & \text{ba-gidi} & \text{efe} & \text{küda} \\
\text{again} & \text{house} & \text{sit-N1.RLS-N1PL} & \text{sit-next.day} & \text{3SG} & \text{younger.sibling} \\
\hline
\textit{de} & \textit{büsii} & \textit{baxe}. & & & \\
\textit{de} & \textit{büsii} & \textit{ba-xe} & & & \\
\text{OPP} & \text{house} & \text{sit-N1.RLS[SG]} & & & \\
\text{‘They stay home again, and the following day only the younger sister (lit. her younger sibling) stays home.’} & (1.050)
\end{tabular}
If we exclude the use of *efe* in possessive constructions, we are left with only four attestations of *efe* in the entire corpus. In only one case, the pronoun *efe* is followed by *te*, which is the nominative marker that is also optionally used after other pronouns or nouns in subject position (see above). The sentence is part of narrative 2; father and mother have just put their penis gourd and their skirt in a water quiver. They tell the children to watch these objects; if they start to perish, then they know that Apupüsimo has killed them:

(230)  *Boasĩ, Apupüsimo efe te nügu xomüge.*

wear.down II.N1SG Apupüsimo 3SG NOM 1PL fight-N1.RLS[SG]

‘(If) they wear down, then (you know that) Apupüsimo he has killed us.’ (2.074)

The sentence above is the only example in the entire corpus where we find *efe* combined with *te*. In all other cases, three in total, we find *efe* preceded by a NP and followed by *ke ta* FOC IN.TURN. The context of use of *efe ke ta* is identical to that of the far more frequent *eke ta*, which will be discussed below.140

Turning to the use of *eke*, its distribution as attested in the text corpus can be summarized as follows:

---

140 We will come back to the use of NP *efe ke ta* in note 141 below.
(1) It is attested in subject function only, despite of the fact that Drabbe describes eke as a 3sg “oblique” form (which roughly corresponds to what I call an accusative marker; see Drabbe’s note to 6.155).

(2) In 20 out of a total of 24 attestations, eke is preceded by a subject NP (once consisting of a free pronoun only) and followed by ta ‘IN.TURN’.

(3) In the other 3 cases, eke is neither preceded by a subject NP nor followed by ta

We will first consider those cases where eke is combined with a subject NP and ta. The contexts where this construction is used can be clearly defined. The construction is attested in three different texts, all of which narrate about persons in a dyadic relationship: a younger and an elder brother in texts 3 and 6, and a younger and an elder sister in text 1. In all contexts of use, we first find narrated how one of the two persons participates as ‘subject’ (corresponding to syntactic S or A) in a certain event. Then we find the sentence where eke ta is used, which always expresses that the other person of the dyadic relation has, in turn, participated as subject (again, corresponding to S or A) in a similar event. Consider (231) through (233) below. In the preceding sentences, it has been narrated how the younger and the elder brother both leave the house to go hunting and fishing, respectively. The younger brother shoots a cassowary, and brings it home. The following sentences narrate how the younger brother comes first, or ‘participates as subject in the event of coming’ and waits for his brother. Sentence (233) then tells how the elder brother comes up too, or ‘participates as a subject in a similar event of coming’.

\[(\text{231})\] Abu da\text{de}k büsiü ab’süke.
a-bu da-de-k büsiü a-b=su-ke
take-ss come-ss-CON house take-ss-go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He takes it [the cassowary] up and comes, and takes it up into the house.’ (3.019)
(232) *Ab’suduk*  
_kifidik_  
*efe*  
_joxo*  

\[
a-b = su-du-k  \quad \text{kifi-di-k}  \quad \text{efe}  \quad \text{joxo}  
\]

\[
take-SS = go.up-SS-CON  \quad \text{lay.down-SS-CON}  \quad 3SG  \quad \text{elder.brother}  
\]

*dokunuk*  
*baxe,*  

dokū-nu-k  
*ba-xe*  

wait-SS-CON  
*sit-N1.RLS[SG]*  

‘He takes it up, lays it down and sits down waiting for his brother.’ (3.020)

(233) *Efe*  
_joxo*  
*eke*  
*ta*  
*mataxe.*  

\[
efe  \quad \text{joxo}  \quad \text{eke}  \quad \text{ta}  \quad \text{mata-xe}  
\]

\[
3SG  \quad \text{elder.brother}  \quad 3SG.FOC  \quad \text{IN.TURN}  \quad \text{come.up-N1.RLS[SG]}  
\]

‘The elder brother in turn comes up.’ (3.021)

As indicated above, the use of NP *eke ta* is far more frequent than that of NP *efe ke ta*. The meaning and distribution of the two constructions, however, seem identical.\(^{141}\)

---

\(^{141}\) This is clear from a discussion of the only three examples that are attested. First, we find *efe ke ta* used twice in text 6, a text that exhibits a pattern similar to that found in text 3, from which the examples above were taken. Here we also have a dyadic relationship between an elder brother-fisherman, and a younger brother-hunter, with one of the two participating in an event, who then is followed by the other. Consider (a) below.

(a) *Osuduk*  
*baxe,*  

\[
osu-du = k  \quad \text{ba-xe}  
\]

\[
go.up-SS = CON  \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS[SG]}  
\]

\[
efe  \quad \text{nêxo}  \quad \text{efe}  \quad \text{ke}  \quad \text{ta}  \quad \text{mataxe.}  
\]

\[
efe  \quad \text{n-êxo}  \quad \text{efe}  \quad \text{ke}  \quad \text{ta}  \quad \text{mata-xe}  
\]

\[
3SG  \quad \text{LNK-elder.brother}  \quad 3SG  \quad \text{FOC}  \quad \text{IN.TURN}  \quad \text{come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]}  
\]

‘He goes up and sits, (then) his older brother in turn comes up.’ (6.028).

The context is fully analogous to the context a few sentences further down, where the shorter expression *efe nêxo eke ta* is used:
The text corpus contains only three attestations of *eke* used on itself, not part of a construction with a preceding NP and followed by *eke ta*. These

(b)  

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
Efe & nēxo & eke & ta \\
efe & n-ēxo & eke & ta \\
3SG & LNK-elder.brother & 3SG.FOC & IN.TURN \\
on \end{array}\]

\[\text{mataxe.} \]

‘His older brother in turn comes up.’ (6.042)

The other example from the same text is found at the beginning of the text, with the elder brother referred to as *efē joxo efe ke ta*:

(c)  

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
Efe & joxo & efe & ke \\
efe & joxo & efe & ke \\
3SG & elder.brother & 3SG & FOC \\
on \end{array}\]

\[\text{xoxe.} \]

‘The elder brother goes in turn.’ (6.004)

Again, the sentence is paralleled by a similar sentence which uses *eke ta* instead, in a similar situation later on in the text:

(d)  

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
Efe & n’ & ēxo & eke \\
xati & efe & n-ēxo & e.ke \\
again & 3SG & LNK-elder.brother & 3SG.FOC \\
on \end{array}\]

\[\text{midik} \]

\[\text{xoxe.} \]

‘The elder brother in turn comes down and goes.’ (6.037)

A final example of the use of *efē ke ta* is found in text 2, where the expression again alternates with *eke ta* (for which see the entire text as presented in the text edition):

(e)  

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
Joxo & n-eto & posiü & efe \\
joxo & n-eto & posiü & efe \\
3PL & LNK-father & old & 3SG \\
on \end{array}\]

\[\text{ta mo-ke} \]

‘Their old father in turn comes out,’ (2.172)
examples are all part of the same text and are listed below. In two nearly identical cases, (236) and (238), the use of eke can be explained as a re-topicalization or reactivation of the less topical or less activated referent. Consider the following passage, which is about a man, the ‘younger brother’ who passes a house belonging to the Osueko clan. He accidentally treads on a twig (234), after which one of the Osueko people says: “who is there” (235). In the following sentence (236), eke is used to make clear that the sentence is not about the member of the Osueko clan (who is the most active or most topical referent at that point in the narrative), but that it is the younger brother, who is — as it were — reactivated as the topic, in the sense of the entity that the sentence is about. The form is repeated in (237)

(234) \textit{Kuto kesaxe isixaxi\textit{linge}.} \\
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textit{kuto} & \textit{kesaxe} & isi-axaf\textnum{u}-ge \\
\textit{foot} & \textit{wood} & tread.on-break-N1.RLS[SG] \\
\end{tabular} \\
‘His foot treads on and breaks a twig.’ (6.153)

(235) \textit{Os\textae ko fe oxe: oxē num\textit{oxe}.} \\
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{Os\textae ko} & \textit{fe} & \textit{o-axe} & oxē & num = o-axe \\
\textit{3SG} & \textit{who.is.there} & \textit{such=speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{tabular} \\
‘One of the Osueko people says: who is there?, so he says.’ (6.154)

(236) \textit{Num\textit{oxe}, eke axine moxe,} \\
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{num = o-axe} & \textit{eke} & \textit{axi-n-e} & \textit{m-oxe} \\
\textit{such=speak-N1.RLS[SG]} & \textit{3SG.FOC} & \textit{go_II-N1SG-FUT} & \textit{do-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{idi} & \textit{oman} & \textit{gike}. \\
\textit{path} & \textit{ignorant} & \textit{become-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{tabular} \\
‘So he says, and he wants to walk on, but he does not know the way anymore (lit. he has become ignorant about the path).’ (6.155)

(237) \textit{Munuk eke sauna sike.} \\
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{m\textae nu-k} & \textit{eke} & \textit{sauna} & \textit{si-ke} \\
\textit{not.want-SS = CON} & \textit{3SG.FOC} & \textit{hut} & \textit{twine-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{tabular}
'After this he makes a hut.' (6.156)

Comparable to (236) is (238) below, somewhat later in the same narrative.

(238) \( \text{Ek} = \ axi\,\,moxone \, \text{id} \, \text{om} \, \text{gike.} \)
\( \text{eke} \, \text{axin\,-}\text{m}\text{oxo-ne} \, \text{id} \, \text{omā} \, \text{gi-ke} \)
\( 3\text{SG}.\text{FOC} \, \text{go}\_\text{II} \, \text{do-N1.RLS[SG]-DS} \, \text{path} \, \text{ignorant} \, \text{become-N1.RLS[SG]} \)

‘He wants to go but the path has become unknown to him.’ (6.176)

Finally there is an example from a different narrative. In the preceding passage, the father and the son in law were both narrative topics. The son goes out to shoot a cassowary and gives it to his father in law. Then the old man goes out and gets to fight with some other person or persons. Then it is narrated how the son in law, who needs to be reactivated, goes up behind him. Note that this is one of the very few cases where we have a nonfinite form followed by a verb with a different subject. The use of focal eke, in other words, breaks the expected chain of events and — somewhat unexpectedly — reintroduces the son in law as a subject.

(239) \( \text{Ükūdük} \, \text{eke} \)
\( \text{ükū-dū}=k \, \text{eke} \)
\( \text{fight-SS}=\text{CON} \, \text{3SG}.\text{FOC} \)
\( \text{efe} \, \text{n-imo} \, \text{mo} \, \text{otoxe.} \)
\( \text{efe} \, \text{n-imo} \, \text{mo} \, \text{oto-xe} \)
\( 3\text{SG} \, \text{LNK-male.in.law} \, \text{behind} \, \text{go.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]} \)

‘He fights and his son in law goes up behind him.’ (6.253)

Coming back to Drabbe, it is interesting to note that whenever we find a 3SG form combined with a postpositional case marker or another postnominal element (like namu ‘only’ or gedeme ‘alone’, bukumu ‘too’, ko ‘AND’) we find eke used instead of efè. With the postpositional case marker ni ‘DAT’, however, we find both efè ni and eke ni.
The text corpus contains no examples of *efe* or *eke* as (in)direct object or used in a nominal clause, although these uses are mentioned by Drabbe (cf. Table 43 in 3.2.3.1 above). This may, therefore, very well be due to lack of data.

Conclusively, we can state that *efe* and *eke* differ in their distribution. *Efe* is used mainly to refer to the possessor in a possessive construction. In addition, it is attested only four times in subject position: once followed by the nominative marker *te*, and three times followed by *ke ta* **FOC IN.TURN**, in which case the expression seems equivalent to *eke ta*. *Eke*, on the other hand, is used in combination with *ta* **IN.TURN** in the majority of cases, and attested in the text corpus exclusively in subject position. Also in cases without *ta* we have to do with events where one out of two topical participants is reintroduced, reactivated, or contrasted with the other one, which is the reason why I have glossed *eke* as a focused form of *efe*.

### 3.2.3.3 Recapitulation: pronouns, animacy and possession

Drabbe 1957: section 13, p. 7a-b

As was noted briefly in 3.2.1, the pronouns *efe* **3SG** and *joxo* **3PL** can only be used as free pronouns when referring to human beings or to animals. As part of a possessive construction of the form described in 3.1.2, however, *efe* can also be used in combination with other nouns. Drabbe gives the following examples:

(240) \[ \text{kito efe womu} \]
    \[ \text{foot 3SG middle} \]
    \[ \text{‘the middle toe / thirteen’ (Drabbe 1957: 7b)} \]

(241) \[ \text{büsiü efe to} \]
    \[ \text{house 3SG opening} \]
    \[ \text{‘house door’ (Drabbe 1957: 7b)} \]
Instead of *efè*, one may also use one of the pronouns *wofè(ne)* or *xofè(ne)*, which are formed from *wo* ‘THAT’ and *xo* ‘DIST’ plus *è*, but which I have glossed simply as 3SG forms. The only example of these forms given by Drabbe is the following, where we find the vowel *e* assimilated to the *i* of the following noun. Assimilation to a following *i* is also not uncommon for *efè*, as can be seen in example b.

(242a)  xofini  fi  
   3SG  name

b)  iﬁ  fi
   3SG  name

‘his name’ (Drabbe 1957: 7b)  ‘his name’ (Drabbe 1957: 7b)

### 3.2.4 Demonstrative pronouns

In order to talk meaningfully about demonstrative pronouns and (other) expressions of space, I will make use of the term deictic center (DC) to refer to the ‘point in space’ from where a situation is viewed. This section will first focus on the form of demonstrative pronouns, and then go deeper into their meaning and distribution.
Aghu has three basic demonstrative pronouns. These can be used both pronominally and adnominally, which is the reason that I will also refer to them briefly as ‘demonstratives’. The form *nego* ‘THIS’ is used for reference to entities close by, *wo* ‘THAT’ or *wüo* ‘THAT’ for entities somewhat further away, at short distance, and *xo* ‘DST’ for entities far away. The basic demonstrative pronoun *xo* ‘DST’ is also used as basis for complex forms (in Drabbe’s analysis: compounds), in which the second member indicates a position relative to the deictic center, like ‘upwards’, ‘downhill’, ‘upstream’. Like the demonstrative pronoun *xo* ‘DST’ that they are based on, these complex forms can only be used to refer to entities at a distance from the deictic center, and not to entities located in the deictic center:

“The compounds can, therefore, never mean ‘this’, but only ‘that’, e.g. ‘that one up there, that one down there, etc.’”¹⁴²

An overview of the complex demonstratives is given in the table below. Note that the element *go*, which indicates short distance, is probably related to *nego* ‘THIS’.

---

¹⁴² De samenst. kunnen daarom nooit „deze” betekenen, maar alleen „die”, bv. „die daar boven, die daar beneden enz.” en niet „deze hier boven enz.” (Drabbe 1957:24a,b)
Table 44: Complex demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xo-go</td>
<td>That one close by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo-su</td>
<td>That one up there, e.g. in the sky, in a tree, in a treehouse¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo-go-su</td>
<td>That one close by and up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo-sü</td>
<td>That one down there on the floor (paradigmatic opposite of xosu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo-go-sü</td>
<td>That one down there at close distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo-to</td>
<td>That one up on top of the hill of slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xü-ko</td>
<td>That one down at the end of the hill or slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo-soxo</td>
<td>That one upstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xü-oxo</td>
<td>That one downstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo-nu</td>
<td>That one across the river or other water or depth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The form xo-su ‘up there’ is used by extension for reference to entities in a house even if it is not a treehouse, cf. 3.5.1.1 for the verb osu.

The formatives used to form the complex demonstratives given in the table above are also used in the formation of directional verbs. These verbs are very frequent, and will be discussed in 3.5 below.

3.2.4.2 Use (distribution)
Drabbe 1957: section 62, p. 24b, 25a

Demonstrative pronouns can be used both pronominally and adnominally. Adnominal use can be observed in (243) through (248), where the first four sentences have basic demonstratives, and the final two have compound demonstratives. Adnominal demonstrative pronouns follow the noun that they modify.

(243) soxo nego jafì oxo
     soil THIS good COP
     ‘This soil is good’ (Drabbe 1957:24b)

(244) axu wo k = oxe-je
     human THAT ACC = speak II[1SG]-FUT
‘I will tell it to that man’ (Drabbe 1957:24b)

(245) amoko wo axi-n-e
boy THAT go_II-N1SG-FUT
‘That boy will go’ (Drabbe 1957:24b)

(246) büsiü xo xaxide ke de
house DST new FOC COP
‘That house over there is new’ (Drabbe 1957:24b)

(247) kesaxe xo-to mase xaxa-de=k mi-ke
tree DST-uphill already break-SS=CON come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
‘That tree uphill has broken and has come down’ (Drabbe 1957:24b)

(248) axu xo-no neto te de
human DST-ACROSS my.father NOM COP
‘That man across is my father’ (Drabbe 1957:24b)

Drabbe remarks that xo often has no other function than a definite article, more on which can be found in 3.1.6.

In addition to the adnominal cases of xo discussed above, we find only one case of another demonstrative pronoun that is used adnominally:

(249) Bū dadek Soxo-Kangō-Bujíu nego manumusuke.
bū da-de=k Soxo-Kangō-Bujíu nego manumusu-ke
fly come-SS=CON Tanah Merah THIS go.up.close-N1.RLS[SG]
‘He comes flying to Soxo-Kangō-Bujíu144 here and comes up a little.’ (1.295)

Examples of pronominal use are manifold. Drabbe exemplifies the following four uses, not meant to be exhaustive. The different uses will be illustrated below, in reverse order.

143 For the analysis of ke as a focus marker, see 4.4.
144 Drabbe uses the name ‘Tanah Merah’ as a translation into Indonesian of this place, which is the name that is still commonly used.
1. Referring to a location, optionally marked with *ke* or *kèmu*.
2. As copula subject in a nominal clause.
3. As subject or object in a verbal clause, optionally marked with *te* or *ke*, respectively.\(^{145}\)
4. Occupying the position of possessor in a possessive construction.

In (250) below, the demonstrative pronoun takes the position of the possessor, which is an illustration of number 4 in the list above. The use of the possessive linker shows that we have to do here with a possessive construction (cf. 3.1.2).

\[
\text{(250) } xo-to \quad n-axu \quad ñè \quad datekè \quad kùj-ge
\]
\[
\text{DST-} \quad \text{LNK-human} \quad 3SG \quad \text{just} \quad \text{die-} \quad \text{N1.RLS[SG]}
\]

‘a man from uphill over there has just died’ (Drabbe 1957:25a)

Drabbe writes that in cases where the demonstrative is used independently, it often functions as a personal pronoun. He gives three examples with the demonstrative *xo*, which are all instances of number 3 in the list above. Note that the demonstratives are translated here as personal pronouns.

\[
\text{(251) } xo \quad te \quad o-xe
\]
\[
\text{DST} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{Speak-} \quad \text{N1.RLS[SG]}
\]

‘he said it’ (Drabbe 1957:24b)

\[
\text{(252) } xo \quad k = \quad ùñù-oxe-nā
\]
\[
\text{DST} \quad \text{ACC} \quad \text{hit-} \quad \text{N1.RLS-N1PL}
\]

‘they hit him’ (adapted from Drabbe 1957:24b)\(^{146}\)

---

\(^{145}\) See 3.1.7 for my definition of ‘object’.

\(^{146}\) Drabbe gives a somewhat different example: *xo k = ùñù-oxe* that *ACC = hit- N1.RLS[SG]* and mistakenly translates this as ‘I have hit him’, instead of ‘he has hit him’.
(253)  xo  te  nu  üfi-oxe
       DST   NOM   1SG  hit-N1.RLS[SG]

‘he hit me’ (Drabbe 1957:24b)

An example from the text corpus is given with (254), where the demonstrative pronoun functions as an argument of ioxe (see section 2.8.3.2).

(254)  Ogüdük  joxo  neto  posiü  oxe:
       ogü-dük=k  joxo  n-eto  posiü  o-xe
       go.down.close-SS=CON   3PL   LNK-father   old   speak-N1.RLS[SG]

maketa  nego  k’  ioxe  num’oxe.
maketa  nego  ke  i-oxe  num = o-xe
where   THIS   ACC   be-N1.RLS[SG]   such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]

‘They go in and the old father says: ’where is this from?’ so he says.’ (6.237)

Sentence (255) below is an example where the demonstrative pronoun is used as copula subject (number 2 in the list above), while (256) is best analyzed as an example of number 1 in the list above, where the demonstrative refers to a location.

(255)  xo  te /ke  de  //  xo  te/ke  n-eto  de
       DST   NOM /FOC   COP   //   DST   NOM /FOC   1SG-father   COP

‘it’s him over there’147 / ‘he over there is my father’ (Drabbe 1957:25a)148

---

147 Dutch: ‘Hij daar is het’ (Drabbe 1957:25a). Here I consider xo te/ke as the complement of the nominal clause, not as the subject. For the term complement cf. my reference to Dixon in 4.2.1.

148 Dutch: ‘Hij daar is mijn vader’ (Drabbe 1957:8a). Here I consider xo te /ke as the subject of the nominal clause, and therefore analyze ke as a focus marker, see 4.4.
Most extensively illustrated are cases of (1) above, where we find the demonstratives indicating a location, optionally combining with *ke* or *kèmu*.

```
(257) nego / wo / xo (ke–kèmu) ba-xe
    THIS/THAT/DST   ACC       sit-N1.RLS[SG]
    'he is here / there / over there' (Drabbe 1957:24b)
```

In this use, the pronouns are fully analogous to nouns referring to a location. It is for this reason, that they should be considered as pronouns rather than as adverbs. It is in this light that we should interpret Drabbe’s remark when he writes:

“*[nego baghe, wo baghe and xo baghe]* can correctly, but not literally, be translated as „he is here” and „he is there”; literally translated it is „he is at this” and „he is at that over there”, which is apparent from the fact that one more often says *nego k’ baghe, wo k’ baghe, xo k’baghe*, in which *k’* is an abbreviation

---

149 Dutch: ‘hij is daar aan de overkant’ (Drabbe 1957:25a). Here *xonu* is a locative expression, corresponding to ‘across over there’ in the free translation. I take *te/ke* as markers on *agi*, which together form the complement of *de* (see my reference to Dixon in 4.2.1) and correspond to ‘there’ in the free translation. The copula clause has an implicit subject. For *agi* cf. further below in this section.

150 For the use of *ke* and *kèmu* in combination with locative expressions, see 3.1.7 above and 3.6.2 below.
Analogous to (257) we find (259), while (260) contains another example with a demonstrative used pronominally: \( xüko \ k = \) ‘at that place at the bottom of the hill’.

(259) \( xo-su \ k = i\text{-}ge\text{-}nā \)
\( \text{DST-UP ACC = lie-N1.RLS-N1PL} \)
‘they are (lying) up there’ (Drabbe 1957:25a)

(260) \( jā \ xüko \ k = abukuŋ\text{-}ge \)
\( \text{fire THAT.DOWNHILL ACC = make.fire-N1.RLS[SG]} \)
‘he made a fire there downhill’ (Drabbe 1957:25a)

It is in line with these examples that we should analyze the examples below. Those are the only examples where \( agi \) is used, and Drabbe writes that \( agi \) means ‘there’ in a very general sense. In all the examples provided by Drabbe, the formative is followed by one of the markers \( ke \ ‘FOC’, ke \ ‘ACC’ or \( te \ ‘NOM’.152 Like in (256) - (260) above, the formative \( k(e) \) that follows the demonstratives (\( xo \) or \( xonu \) ) is analyzed as an accusative marker, which in these examples combines with a demonstrative \( xo \) to indicate a (more specific) location.

(261) \( neto \ xo \ k = agi \ te / ke \ de \)
\( \text{my.father DST ACC LOC NOM/FOC COP} \)

\footnote{151 \text{“nego baghe, wo baghe, gho baghe, wat wel juist, maar niet letterlijk vertaald kan worden door „hij is hier” en „hij is daar”; lett. vertaald is het „hij is ten deze” en „hij is te gindse”, wat ook hieruit blijkt dat men vaker zegt nego \( k’ \) baghe, wo, \( k’ \) baghe, gho \( k’ \) baghe, waarin \( k’ \) een afkorting is van \( ke’. \)” (Drabbe 1957:24b)}

\footnote{152 We have insufficient data to determine the word class of \( agi \). It should be noted that not only nouns, but also adjectives and numerals can followed by the markers \( te \ ‘NOM’ or \( ke \ ‘FOC’.}
‘my father is there’ (lit. ‘my father is there at that over there’; Drabbe 1957:25a)

(262)  bùsìù xo k= agi ke de	house DST ACC LOC FOC COP
‘the house is over there’ (lit. the house is there at that over there’; Drabbe 1957:25a)

An instance of (1) attested in the text corpus is given with (263):

(263) Panidik oxe: Kiawi,
pani-di=k o-xe Kiawi
come.up-SS =CON speak-N1.RLS[SG] Kiawi

nego k’ ioxe num’ oxe.
nego ke i-oxe num= o-xe
THIS ACC be-N1.RLS[SG] such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He comes up and says: "Kiawi, here I am."’ (2.196)

3.2.5 Interrogative pronouns and other interrogative forms

3.2.5.1 Interrogative pronouns meoxo ‘who’ and makeaxe ‘what’
Drabbe 1957: section 66, p. 27

The two interrogative pronouns described by Drabbe are meoxo ‘who’ and makeaxe ‘what’. In my view, these might very well be fossilized forms of a hypothetical older form *me/*ma ‘what’ + copula oxo and ma* plus ke

153 In Dutch: ‘mijn vader is daar’ (Drabbe 1957:25a). Here neto is the subject, agi te/ke is considered the complement of de (see my reference to Dixon in 4.2.1), analogous to e.g. adjectival clauses, which can also be marked either with te or ke, see 4.2.2 above. Xo k= forms a more specific indication of the location. For the use of ke and kemu in combination with locative expressions, see 3.1.7 above and 3.6.2 below
‘FOC’ plus copula *axa* (a form that we also find after adjectives, see below). From the translations of these forms, we may conclude that *meoxo* is used for reference to human beings and *makeaxe* for reference to all other entities. This is, however, not stated explicitly by Drabbe, so that it might also be that *meoxo* has a wider scope, including also ‘larger animals’. We will first discuss *meoxo* ‘who’ and then come back to *makeaxe* ‘what’.

When used as arguments in verbal clauses, the interrogative pronouns behave the same as nouns. They optionally combine with the nominative or accusative cases markers *te* NOM or *ke* ACC, as can be seen in (264) and (265)a-c below. Note that, parallel to what we saw for full NP’s in 3.1.7, *te* is used to mark either an intransitive subject (as in (264)) or a transitive subject (as in (265)a and b), while *ke* is used to mark an object. As is clear from (265)a-c, the function of the case marker is to disambiguate between different syntactic roles. The fact, however, that it is also possible to use a case marker in (264) — where the syntactic role of *meoxo* is not ambiguous — shows that it must also have a pragmatic function.\(^\text{154}\)

(264)  
*meoxo  (te)  da-xe*  
who  (NOM)  come-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘Who has come?’ (Drabbe 1957:27a)

(265)a  
*meoxo  üi-ge*  
who  stab-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘Who has stabbed (someone)?’ / ‘Whom has he stabbed?’ (Drabbe 1957:27a)

b  
*meoxo  te  üi-ge*  
who  NOM  stab-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘Who has stabbed (someone)?’ / ‘* Whom has he stabbed?’ (Drabbe 1957:27a)

\(^\text{154}\) Cf. the discussion of *te* in 3.1.7, especially example (222).
PART I: GRAMMAR. Chapter 3: Other word classes

As can be seen in (266)a - c below, in nominal predicates, interrogative pronouns obligatorily combine with *te or *ke. In this respect, they differ from nouns, where the use of *te or *ke is optional. The difference between the use of *te and *ke is not clear, but their function is clearly not to differentiate between different syntactic roles. It is more likely that their use has to do with the type of focus, but we have insufficient data to say anything more about the respective roles of *ke and *te with any certainty.155

(266)a  *meoxo  de
who  COP
* ‘who is it’ (Drabbe 1957:27a)

b  meoxo  te  de
who  NOM  COP
‘who is it’ (Drabbe 1957:27a)

c  meoxo  ke  de
who  FOC  COP
‘who is it’ (Drabbe 1957:27a)

155 Interrogative pronouns are focused in the sense that they represent the ‘component of (...) the proposition whereby the assertion [WvdH: in this case expressed by the question word] differs from the presupposition [WvdH: the fact that there is someone]’ (cf. Lambrecht 1994:213). This may explain the use of *ke. Whereas *te is not a focus marker, it is not incompatible with focus, and it is not unthinkable that *te would represent a different type of focus than *ke, like presentational or thetic focus, with the focus on the predicate as a whole. With the little data that we have, however, we can only speculate about this difference.
Drabbe also gives a number of examples where the interrogative pronoun meoxo is used to refer to the possessor in a possessive construction. First consider (267) and (268), where the latter gives two possible answers to the former.

(267) gu meoxo n-axu de^{156}  
2SG who LNK-human COP  
‘what clan do you belong to or where are you from?’  
(lit. ‘whose person are you?’; Drabbe 1957:27a)

(268) Eba n-axu de / Xoxonasàfo n-axu de  
name.of.river LNK-human COP Xoxonasàfo LNK-human COP  
‘I am from the area of the Eba-river’ /  
‘I am someone from the Xoxonasàfo clan (Drabbe 1957:27a)

Two other question-answer pairs are the following:

(269) gu meoxo xu de / gu meoxo siü de  
2SG who man COP 2SG who woman COP  
‘whose man are you?’ / ‘whose woman are you?’ (Drabbe 1957:27a)

(270) Mā xu de / Magubo siü de  
Ma man COP Magubo woman COP  
‘I am a man from the Mā clan’  
/ ‘I am a woman from (the place) Magubo’(Drabbe 1957:27a)

Examples (271) through (273) form two final examples of interrogatives referring to possessors. Note that (273) is an example of a possessive construction embedded in another expression.

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^{156} Drabbe writes, in brackets: “(not: te de).” It is not entirely clear whether this means that the use of te would imply a different meaning, or whether the use of te would be ungrammatical.
(271) \( wo \ meoxo \ büsiü \ de \)

\( \text{THAT who house COP} \)

‘whose house is that?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

(272) \( meoxo \ n-amse \ de \)

\( \text{who LNK-child COP} \)

‘whose children are they?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

(273) \( gu \ [(büsiü)_{\text{possessed}} \ [meoxo]_{\text{possessor}} \ ]^{n-axu}_{\text{possessed}} \ de \)

\( 2\text{SG house who LNK-human COP} \)

‘which village are you from?’

(lit. ‘whose houses’ person are you’; Drabbe 1957:27a)

Analogous to nouns — whose behavior with respect to number was described above — the interrogative pronouns \( meoxo \) may but need not be specified for number. The only example of a specified form that Drabbe gives is the following:

(274) \( meoxo \ joxo \ te \ de \)

\( \text{who 3\text{PL NOM COP}} \)

‘who are they’ (Drabbe 1957:27a)

Drabbe points out that \( meoxo \) cannot express ‘what kind of’. From this and from the fact that he does not give any examples of adnominal (or: attributive) use of \( meoxo \), we may conclude that \( meoxo \) can only be used independently. In this respect it differs from \( makeaxe \ ‘what’, which may be used both pronominally and adnominally and to which we now turn.

First consider the following examples, which exemplify the use of \( makeaxe \) in a nominal clause. It is important to note that here we do not find the focus markers \( te \) or \( ke \), which are obligatory in analogous sentences with \( meoxo \), like (266)a-c above. The examples below are sufficient evidence to show that the particles are not obligatory. Drabbe nowhere states, however,
that the markers cannot be used, so we must remain ignorant with regard to
the question whether it is indeed impossible to use them.

(275)  
\[
\text{makeaxe de} \\
\text{what COP}
\]  
‘what is it?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

(276)  
\[
\text{Dotodok makeaxe de num’ oxenā.} \\
doto-do =k makeaxe de num = o-xe-nā \\
\text{get.up-SS = CON what COP such = speak-N1.RLS-N1PL}
\]  
‘They get up and ask “what was that?” ’ (5.29)

Sentences (277) and (278) illustrate the use of \textit{makeaxe} as arguments in
verbal clauses: either object or subject.

(277)  
\[
\text{makeaxe ū-ge} \\
\text{what eat-N1.RLS[SG]}
\]  
‘what did he eat’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

(278)  
\[
\text{makeaxe de i-ge} \\
\text{what LOC^157 lie-N1.RLS[SG]}
\]  
‘what is lying there?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

The combination of \textit{makeaxe} and postpositional case marker \textit{ni} is used in
the sense of ‘what for’ or ‘why’, as can be seen in (279) through (281):

(279)  
\[
\text{makeaxe ni de} \\
\text{what DAT COP}
\]  
‘what is it meant for’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

---

^157 It is not unthinkable that \textit{de} should be analyzed as a copula or emphasis marker here, so
that the sentence should be read as ‘what is it - it lies?’ . Cf. section 3.11, esp. example
(437) \textit{napi de baxe} ‘mother is sitting there’, where I argue that locative \textit{de} may have
developed out of the copula marker \textit{de} or emphatic *\textit{de}.
(280) \textit{makeaxe} \textit{ni} \textit{fede} \textit{da-xe=de} \textit{xo}  \\
what \textit{DAT} \textit{NEG} \textit{come-N1.RLS[SG]} = \textit{NEG \ COP}  \\
‘Why didn’t he come?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

(281) \textit{na} \textit{dü} \textit{makeaxe} \textit{ni} \textit{bu} \textit{bēkenā}  \\
\textit{1SG.POS sago what DAT DUR pound-N1.RLS-N1PL}  \\
‘ “Why are you (pl.) pounding my sago?” ’(2.059)

Unlike \textit{meoxo} ‘who’, \textit{makeaxe} can also be used adnominally in the sense of ‘what sort of’, or ‘what kind of’.\footnote{Note that adnominal \textit{makeaxe} is not translated by Drabbe as ‘which’. For this, the language uses \textit{makumā} or \textit{mamā}, for which the reader is referred to the following section, examples (290) through (293).} An illustration is given here:

(282) \textit{büsiū} \textit{makeaxe} \textit{kèmu} \textit{ba-xe}  \\
\textit{house what ACC sit-N1.RLS[SG]}  \\
‘What kind of house do you live in?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

To close with, a remarkable use of \textit{makeaxe} attested in the text corpus is the following:

(283) \textit{Oxe,} \textit{joxo} \textit{neto} \textit{posiū} \textit{oxe:}  \\
\textit{o-xe} \textit{joxo} \textit{n-eto} \textit{posiū} \textit{o-xe}  \\
\textit{speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \textit{3PL} \textit{LNK-father} \textit{old speak-N1.RLS[SG]}  \\
\textit{makeaxe} \textit{wi} \textit{kotomu} \textit{xomügenā} \textit{num’} \textit{oxe.}  \\
\textit{makeaxe} \textit{wi} \textit{kotomu} \textit{xomü-ge-nā} \textit{num =} \textit{o-xe}  \\
\textit{what pig RECIPR fight-N1.RLS-N1PL such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]}  \\
‘Their old father says: ”what are the pigs fighting?” ’(2.145)

\subsection*{3.2.5.2 Other interrogative forms}
\textit{Drabbe 1957: section 67, p. 27-28}
Two other interrogative forms discussed by Drabbe are makumu, and makumā, which according to Drabbe mean ‘how, how many, where, when’. To generalize over all these contextual inferences, I will use the gloss ‘how/where/when’. To these two forms Drabbe adds a third one, mamā, which is another form that can be used to inform after someone’s place of living. Finally, we find the form maketa ‘what’, to which we will come back at the end of this section. Drabbe analyzes the form makumu as an adverb, in line with the adverbs in mu discussed in 3.4.2, and makumā as a verbal noun. Following Drabbe at this point we would expect makumā to exhibit more nominal properties than makumu. We will see that this is indeed seems to be the case. Unlike makumu, both makumā and mamā may be marked for accusative case (see (287)), are used as part of a possessive construction (see (288) and (289)), and as a copula complement ((297)a, b).

All the interrogative forms can be used either independently, or — analogous to makeaxe above — adnominally.

Some examples of their being used independently are given with (284) through (286). Note that the difference between (286) and (287), with accusative ke used only in the latter, is an indication of the nominal nature of mamay compared to makum. Unfortunately Drabbe gives no example of the verbal noun makumay, so that we do not know whether it would indeed behave as a noun here.

(284) makum = axi-n-e
     how/where/when   go_II-N1SG-FUT
     ‘where will he go?’ (Drabbe 1957:28a)

159 Although Drabbe presents the form mamā as if it is restricted to this use, he also gives the example presented here as (297)a, where the form clearly does not refer to a location.
makum = o-xe-nā
how/where/when speak-N1.RLS.N1PL
‘what did they say?’ (lit. ‘how did they say’; Drabbe 1957:27b)

büsiü makum = e-ke
house how/where/when = stand-N1.RLS[SG]
‘where is the house?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b-28a)

büsiü maman g = e-ke
house how/where ACC = stand-N1.RLS[SG]
‘where is the house? (Drabbe 1957:28a)

They are also used in the same position as a possessor noun in a possessive construction:

gu maman axu de
2SG how/where human COP
‘where are you from?’ (lit. ‘you are a person of where?’; Drabbe 1957:27b)

A possible example of adnominal use is given with (290), although in both (290) and (291) makumu could probably also be analyzed as an independent adverb.

fiko makum = a-xe
work how/where/when = take-N1.RLS[SG]
‘where is he working?’ (lit. ‘which place of work is he taking?’; Drabbe 1957:28a)

makumu fiko a-xe
how/where/when work take-N1.RLS[SG]
‘where is he working’ (lit. ‘work of which place is he taking?’; Drabbe 1957:28a)
A more convincing example of adnominal interrogative forms can be found in (292) and (293), where *mamã* and *makumã* are also analyzed as adnominal by Drabbe.

(292) *go-küda büsiï mamã ba-xe*
2SG-younger.sibling house how/where sit-N1.RLS[SG]
‘in which house does your younger brother live?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

(293) *go-küda büsiï makumã ba-xe*
2SG-younger.sibling house how/where/when sit-N1.RLS[SG]
‘in which house does your younger brother live?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

Somewhat complicated to analyze are the following sentences. (Here the posture verbs should probably be analyzed as copulas, cf. 2.8.2).

(294) *ga fi makum= aĩ ba-xe*
2SG.POS name how/where/when mention.VN sit-N1.RLS[SG]
‘what’s your name?’ (lit. ‘your name how is it to mention / its mentioning?’; Drabbe 1957:28a)

(295) *gügu fi makum= aĩ ba-xe-nã*
2SG.PL name how/where/when mention.VN sit-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘what are your names?’ (Drabbe 1957:28a)

(296) *kesaxe wo efe fi makum= ain e-ke*
wood THAT 3SG name how/where/when mention.VN stand-N1.RLS[SG]
‘what’s the name of that tree?’ (lit. ‘that tree its name, how is its mentioning?’; Drabbe 1957:27b)

In my view, *ga fi*, *gügu fi* and *kesaxe wo efe fi* are all possessive constructions that translate as ‘your name’, ‘your names’ and ‘that tree’s name’. In the case of (294a) we have independent evidence of this in the form of the 2SG pronoun, which is the possessive counterpart of the personal pronoun *gu* (cf. 3.2.2 above). It is somewhat surprising, therefore,
that Drabbe writes that “baxe and baxenã have gu (sic!) and gügu, respectively, as subject.”

In the following two sentences, makumã and manman are used as copula complements. Drabbe gives no example of makumu here, which might again be seen as a confirmation of the more adverbial nature of makumu (as the language has no other examples of adverbial copula complements) and the more nominal nature of makumã and manman.

(297)a geto fi mamang ge de
  your.father name how/where FOC COP
  ‘what’s your father’s name?’ (Drabbe 1957:28a)

b geto fi makumang ge de
  your.father name how/where/when FOC COP
  ‘what’s your father’s name?’ (Drabbe 1957:28a)

In addition to the verbal noun makumã, Drabbe also points at the existence of a question verb makumu ‘do what’. To illustrate its use, Drabbe contrasts the verb makumoxenã to the homophonous makum = oxenã, as illustrated in (298) and (299) below.

(298) makum = o-xe-nã
  what/where/when = speak-N1.RLS-N1PL
  ‘what did they say?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

(299) makum-oxe-nã
  do.what-N1.RLS-N1PL
  ‘what did they do?’ (Drabbe 1957:27b)

The following example has been taken from the text corpus:
Twice we find the form *maketa*, a form which is not further discussed by Drabbe, and which he glosses as ‘where’, and ‘whence’, without any further comments. The two occasions where they are attested have been rendered here as (301) and (302).

(301) *Ogūdūk*  
\[\text{oğū-ðū-k, go.down.close-SS = CON}  \]
\[\text{joxo, speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
\[\text{neto, 3PL} \]
\[\text{posiũ, LNK-father} \]
\[\text{oxe: speak-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]
\[\text{o-xe, o-xe} \]
\[\text{ki-fe, name.of.person} \]
\[\text{k, 1SG.POS} \]
\[\text{ke = i-oxe, be-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
\[\text{num, such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
\[\text{oxe, such = speak-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]

‘They go in and the old father says: ”where is this from?”, so he says.’ (6.237)

(302) *Oxe, Kiawi*  
\[\text{ki-fe, name.of.person} \]
\[\text{oxe, such = speak-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]
\[\text{o-xe, o-xe} \]
\[\text{ki-fe, name.of.person} \]
\[\text{k, 1SG.POS} \]
\[\text{ke = i-oxe, be-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
\[\text{num, such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \]

‘He asks Kiawi: ”where are my enemies?”’ (2.185)

---

160 For the use of *ioxe* and the analysis of *ke* as an accusative marker, see 2.8.3.2 and e.g. example (254).
3.3 Adjectives
Drabbe 1957: section 6, p. 6a

The Aghu language has a class of adjectives, which can be recognized on the basis of their distributional properties. They are similar to numerals and different from nouns in that they can be predicated over not only by the use of *de* (used for the predication of nouns), but also by the use of *oxo*. An example of predication by *de* is given in (303), while (304) illustrates the use of predicative *oxo*.

\[(303) \quad \text{na} \quad \text{būsiū} \quad \text{jafe} \quad \text{de} \]
\[1\text{SG.POS} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{beautiful} \quad \text{COP} \]
\[\text{‘my house is beautiful’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)}\]

\[(304) \quad \text{na} \quad \text{būsiū} \quad \text{jafe} \quad \text{oxo} \]
\[1\text{SG.POS} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{beautiful} \quad \text{COP} \]
\[\text{‘my house is beautiful’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)}\]

In attributive position, they follow the noun that they modify.\(^{161}\)

\[^{161}\text{An interesting exception to this is found in 3.175, where we find the adjective pūsiaxa ‘big’ modifying io. Its special position may have to do with emphasis; it is this big stone that the elder brother bumps into and it is this big stone that causes his death.}\]

\[\text{Sisibumud’} \quad \text{emoxe,} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{pūsiaxa} \]
\[\text{sisibumu-d} \quad \text{em-oxe} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{pūsiaxa} \]
\[\text{close.off.IT-SS} \quad \text{finish -N1.RLS[SG]} \quad \text{opening} \quad \text{big} \]
\[\text{ikèmu} \quad \text{io} \quad \text{tākunge} \quad \text{ige.} \]
\[\text{ikèmu} \quad \text{io} \quad \text{tākū-ge} \quad \text{i-ge} \]
\[\text{there} \quad \text{stone} \quad \text{hang.up -N1.RLS[SG]} \quad \text{hang -N1.RLS[SG]} \]
\[\text{‘When he [the young brother] has closed off the house, he hangs a big stone at the entrance.’ (3.175)}\]
Some adjectives have alternating forms in -axa, so that we find both pi and piæxa ‘high’; tadi, tadixa and tadıaxa ‘big’; piściü and piściüaxa ‘big’; bodü and bodıxa ‘heavy’; botu and boteaxa ‘strong’. It should be noted that the suffix -axa is formally very similar to predicative oxo. It is quite likely, therefore, that the longer adjectival stems are fossilized forms of former predicative adjectival constructions.¹⁶²

3.4 Adverbs
Drabbe 1957: sections 75-77, p. 30a-31a

Adverbs can be defined as modifiers of other constituents than nouns (Schachter and Shopen 2007:20). The following table gives an overview of all the adverbs described by Drabbe (1957:30a-31b), and also shows their distribution.

---

¹⁶² The hypothesis that we have to do with grammaticalized forms which are no longer in a productive relation to the shorter form is reinforced by the fact that the longer forms are no longer fully predictable from the shorter forms, e.g. botu corresponds to boteaxa not *botuaxa, and bodü corresponds to bodıxa not *bodiüaxa. We find the same axV and oxo in the question words meoxo ‘who’ and makeaxe ‘what’, discussed in 3.2.5.1.
### Table 45: Adverbs and their distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form + gloss</th>
<th>Also used as</th>
<th>Attested as modifier of:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xajä ‘very’</td>
<td>Adjective 'real'</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>püsiü ‘very’</td>
<td>Adjective 'big'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isiomu / isiòmu ‘very / all’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di ‘rather’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mase ‘already’</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awu ‘already’ / ‘immediately’</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akiã ‘close by’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De-adjectival forms in -mu</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De-verbal forms in -mu</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da ‘only’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tafeaxa ‘again’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xati ‘again’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Drabbe makes a distinction between adverbs that modify adjectives and adverbs that modify verbs. That certain adverbs may also serve to modify an other adverb, a clause / sentence or another noun, has been added by Wilco van den Heuvel, on the basis of the data attested in the corpus. The adverbs da, tafeaxa and xati are not mentioned by Drabbe in his discussion of adverbs. 2. Drabbe is not consistent in rendering stress for this word, which may indicate that it alternates. In this book, the form is consistently rendered as isiomu, except when citing examples provided by Drabbe. 3. Xati seems to indicate the repetition of an earlier event. It is also used in cases where the same event is performed on a different object, e.g. in 2.094, where first some moldered wood is brought up, and now (again / also) a stick. In such cases, we would use 'also' in English, instead of 'again'. This might be seen as an indication that xati (in these cases) modifies the verb (only the bringing up is modified), and not the entire clause (which includes the object).
3.4.1 Modifiers of adjectives

As intensifiers of adjectives we find *xajä* ‘really’, *püsiü* ‘very’ or *püsiüaxa* ‘very’ and *isiomu* ‘very/all’, all of which Drabbe proposes to gloss as ‘very’. In all the examples provided by Drabbe, the adjectives are used predicatively. *Xajä* ‘very’ and *püsiü* ‘very’ are also attested as adjectives: *xajä* ‘real’ and *püsiü* ‘big’. *Isiomu* is placed before the adjective that it modifies, while the other forms follow the adjective. As can be seen in (307), the pre-adjectival and post-adjectival adverbs can also be combined.

(306)  
\[ jafi \quad xajä \quad / \quad jafi \quad püsiü \quad / \quad isiom = \quad jafi \]

\begin{verbatim}
beautiful very beautiful very very / all beautiful
\end{verbatim}

‘very beautiful’ (Drabbe 1957:30a)

(307)  
\[ Enge \quad isiom’ \quad jafi \quad püsiü \quad oxo. \]

\begin{verbatim}
ë-ge isiom = jafi püsiü oxo
\end{verbatim}

eat-N1.RLS[SG] very/all beautiful very COP

‘She eats and it is very good.’ (6.225)

*Isiom* = has a wider distribution than the other intensifiers, and can also be used to modify a verb (or another adverb).\(^{163}\) In order to catch all these adverbial uses, I have chosen to consistently gloss it as ‘very/all’.

(308)  
\[ isiòmu \quad da-xe-nā \]

\begin{verbatim}
very/all come-N1.RLS-N1PL
\end{verbatim}

‘they all came’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)

(309)  
\[ nu \quad isiom = \quad üfū-oxe \]

\begin{verbatim}
1SG very/all hit-N1.RLS[SG]
\end{verbatim}

‘he hit me very hard’ (Drabbe 1957:30a)

\(^{163}\) Drabbe writes that *isiomu* can also be used in combination with adverbs, but does not give an example.
(310)  \( isiom = \text{tadixa ke de} \)
very/all big FOC COP
‘it is very big’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)

(311)  \( isiom = \text{kisièmu kūŋ-ge} \)
very/all real die-N1.RLS[SG]
‘he really really died’ (Drabbe 1957:30a)

One could also argue that in cases like (308) \( isiomu \) is not so much modifying the verb, but rather the covert subject of the verb. This could be taken as an argument to analyze the forms in cases like these as indefinite numerals (modifying the covert subject) rather than as adverbs. In this context it is relevant to compare (308) above to (312) below. In both cases, the gloss is a literal translation of the gloss given by Drabbe, where the gloss in (312) shows that Drabbe sees the form as an indefinite numeral. This is in line with Drabbe’s earlier section on numerals, where he describes \( isiomu \) as an indefinite numeral, used — like other numerals — in postnominal position. Although Drabbe may very well be right, I believe that — given the analogy to (308) — it is still possible to analyze \( isiomu \) as an adverb. This is expressed by the second gloss.

(312)  \( axu isiom = \text{da-xe-nā} \)
human very/all come-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘all people came’ (Drabbe 1957:29b) / ‘the people all came’ (my alternative interpretation)

We find something of the same ambiguity between an analysis as an adverb or as indefinite numeral in the two following examples, which are part of one and the same narrative. As Drabbe does not give a sentence-by-sentence translation in his textual corpus, the translations are more guided by my own interpretation than in (308) and (312) above. The sentences are part of a passage where a younger brother is located in a house. His older brother comes flying to this house, and bumps into it when trying to get in.
In (313) it is worded how, because of this, his head gets crushed entirely. Here, the position of *isiom =* does not allow for an analysis as an indefinite numeral, as it is not in a postnominal position.

\[
(313) \quad Úfüoxe \quad isiom’ \quad xabā \quad po \quad kike.
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{üfū-oxe} & \quad isiom = \quad xabā \quad po \quad ki-ke \\
\text{hit-N1.RLS[SG] all/very head crushed become-N1.RLS[SG]} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He bumps and his head gets wholly crushed.’ (3.186)

The head falls down (see (314)), the brother goes down to see the head, and sees: ‘his brother’s head is wholly crushed’. Here the position of *isiom =* would allow both for an interpretation as an indefinite numeral, and as an adverb. Again, I believe that an analysis as numeral is possible, but even more than in (312) an analysis as an adverb accounts for the facts as well.

\[
(314) \quad Osūke.
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{osū-ke} & \\
\text{go.down-N1.RLS[SG]} & \\
\text{‘It [the head] goes down.’ (3.187)} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
(315). \quad Efe \quad küda \quad midik \quad etoxe
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{efe} & \quad kūda & \text{mi-di=k} & \text{et-oxe} \\
\text{3SG younger.sibling come.down-SS = CON see-N1.RLS[SG]} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{efe} & \quad joxo \quad xabā \quad isiom’ \quad po \quad kike. \\
\text{efe} & \quad joxo \quad xabā \quad isiom = \quad po \quad ki-ke \\
\text{3sg elder.brother head all/very crushed become-N1.SG[RLS]} & \\
\text{‘The younger brother comes down and sees that his elder brother’s head has totally been crushed’ / ‘that all of his elder brother’s head has been crushed.’} & (3.188)
\end{align*}
\]

Another illustration from the text corpus is the following, where *isiom =* can only be analyzed as an adverb:
Another adverb modifying adjectives is *di* ‘rather’, illustrated in (317)

(317)  
**wa**  **di**  **oxo**  
bad    rather    COP  
‘it is rather bad’ (Drabbe 1957:30a)

### 3.4.2 Modifiers of verbs (and / or sometimes: nouns)

Drabbe 1957: sections 75-77, p. 30a-31a; section 29, p.23b

(318)  
**Midik**  **nu**  **mase**  **tingenā**  
mi-di=k  nu  mase  tĩ-ge-nā  
come.down/SS=CON  1SG  already  shoot-N1.RLS-N1PL  

**num’**  **oxe.**  
num=  o-xe  
such=  speak-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘He came down, and said: "They have shot me!"’ (1.280)

(319)  
**Mase**  **xoxene**  **ige**  
mase  xo-xe-ne  i-ge  
already  go-N1.RLS[SG]-DS  lie-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘He has gone already and it is lying’ -> ‘his footsteps are there’ (6.303)
Awu is attested in the text corpus only four times: three times in the same myth, preceding okuomu ‘two’, as in (320), and once in combination with a future tense, as illustrated in (321).

(320)  
gügu namu awu okuomu tine  
gügu namu awu okuomu ū-ne  
2PL LNK-meat already two shoot-1.RLS[SG]  
‘I have shot two of your pigs’ (6.180)

(321)  
Oxenā: bejoane  
oxe-nā bej-oā-e  
speak-N1.RLS-N1PL pound.sago_I-1PL-FUT  

geto aw’ edoxoā num’ oxenā.  
geto awu edox-oā num = oxe-nā  
your.father immediately give _II-1PL such = speak-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘They say: “we will pound sago and we will instantly give (also) to your father!” ’  
(2.055)

Aghu has a high number of adverbs in -mu, some of which are derived from adjectives. A number of these adverbs plus illustrations have been listed here. For those adverbs with an asterisk further examples are given below the table. Participial adverbs in -mu, derived from verbs and modifying verbs, were discussed in 2.4.1.
Table 46: Adverbs in -mu and the adjectives they are derived from; forms with an asterisk are explained further below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adj.</th>
<th>Adv.</th>
<th>Example /remark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akiã, akiamu</td>
<td>‘closely’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ħafî</td>
<td>ħafimu</td>
<td>‘well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wàmu</td>
<td>‘badly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pâtoxo</td>
<td>pâtoxomu</td>
<td>‘softly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*u pâtoxomu o(x) [sound softly speak] ‘speak softly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâdixa</td>
<td>tâdixamu</td>
<td>‘bigly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*u tâdixamu o(x) [sound big speak] ‘speak loudly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâgo</td>
<td>bâgomu</td>
<td>‘shortly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*u bâgomu o(x) [sound shortly speak] ‘speak briefly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buto</td>
<td>bütomu</td>
<td>‘strongly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*bütomu a(x) [strongly take] ‘hold strongly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>digî</td>
<td>digimu</td>
<td>‘other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*ā digim a-xe [woman other take-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘he took another wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fikitimu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘on the way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokitimu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘on the way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òkùmu*</td>
<td>‘just’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màgumu</td>
<td>‘firmly’</td>
<td>*magum a-de [firmly take-1.RLS[SG]] ‘I held it firmly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisiêmù</td>
<td>‘firm, really’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mòdikimu</td>
<td>‘angrily’</td>
<td>mòdikimu o-x [angrily speak] ‘speak angrily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abimu / anumù*</td>
<td>‘instead’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikiaxamu</td>
<td>‘back, again’</td>
<td>(cf. section 3.2.1 for its possible invocation of a reflexive reading.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mùmu</td>
<td>‘in the front, first’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de, dêmù*</td>
<td>‘in opposition’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akumù</td>
<td>‘together’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fasikèmù*</td>
<td>‘truly’</td>
<td>derived from the numeral fasike ‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotomù* RECIPR</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emù</td>
<td>‘then’</td>
<td>derived from eme ‘finish’ cf. section 5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okude, okêmù, okâge</td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. Aghu-English wordlist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Drabbe shows the opposition between the adjectival *digĩ* and adverbial *digimu* with the following contrast. The contrast is hard to render in Dutch or English, but could possibly best be rendered as ‘he took another wife’ vs. ‘he changed wife’ (Dutch: *hij veranderde van vrouw*):

(322)a  
\[ \text{woman other take-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
\[ \text{‘he took another wife’ (Drabbe 1957:30b)} \]

(b)  
\[ \text{woman other = take-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
\[ \text{‘he took another wife’ or ‘he changed wife’ (Drabbe 1957:30b)} \]

For the meaning of *ðkumu* and *àbimu* or *ànumu* consider (323) and (324):

(323)  
\[ \text{ðkomu noxi} \]
\[ \text{just go.IMP[SG]} \]
\[ \text{‘you can just go, no need to warn’ (Drabbe 1957:30b)} \]

(324)  
\[ \text{nu ni ànumu sumke ni o-xe} \]
\[ \text{1SG DAT instead tobacco DAT speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
\[ \text{‘On behalf of me he asked for tobacco’ (Drabbe 1957:30b)} \]

Akumu ‘together’ is illustrated in (325) and (326).

(325)  
\[ \text{akumu a-xe-nà} \]
\[ \text{together take-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]
\[ \text{‘he worked together with them’ (lit. ‘they worked together’; Drabbe 1957:42b-43a)} \]

(326)  
\[ \text{nu te akumu ax-oà} \]
\[ \text{1SG NOM together go.II-1PL} \]
\[ \text{‘Let me go with you’ (Drabbe 1957:43a)} \]

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164 Dutch ‘voor’, related to English ‘for’ is polysemous, and can mean either ‘for’, ‘to the benefit of’, or ‘instead of’, ‘on behalf of’. It is not entirely clear which of these two is meant in Drabbe’s translation: *hij vroeg voor mij om tabak* ‘he asked for me for tobacco’.
The use of *dèmu* or *de* is illustrated in (327) and (328).

**(327)**  

dèmu / dèmu  būsiū  ba-xe  

OPP  house  sit-N1.RLS[SG]  

‘he stayed in the house, in opposition to others’ - > ‘he stayed behind’  

(Drabbe 1957:31a)

**(328)**  

fiko  dèmu  a-de=k  mem-xe  

work  OPP  take-SS=CON  stand.CONT.I-N1.RLS[SG]  

‘he kept on working, while the others stopped’ (Drabbe 1957:31a)

Example (327) should not be confused with (329), where *de* is a locative marker.

**(329)**  

būsiū  de  ba-xe  

house  LOC  sit-N1.RLS[SG]  

‘he stayed in the house’ (Drabbe 1957:31a)

Like in the case of *isiomu ‘very / all’* discussed above, when considering an adverb like *dèmu* or *de* it is not so clear what exactly is modified: is it the entire predicate (so that we have to do with an ‘oppositional staying’, or an ‘oppositional working’), or is it rather the subject (‘he contrary to others’)? We find the same ambiguity with a number of other adverbs — or possibly better: nominal adjuncts — *namu ‘only’, gedeme ‘alone’, bukumu ‘too’, and xamèmu ‘too’. All that Drabbe gives as illustrations are a number of noun phrases: *nu namu ‘only me’; nu gedeme ‘only me’; eke bukumu ‘he too’ and eke xamèmu ‘he too’* (Drabbe 1957:6).

More elaborately discussed is the adverb or nominal adjunct *da*, in that Drabbe gives quite a few examples to illustrate its use. In the majority of cases, the formative is used as a nominal adjunct, following the NP to which it belongs. This is the case in the following examples:
In line with this, Drabbe writes that bagi da ‘only bones’ is the common expression for ‘lean’ or ‘thin (of persons)’, for which there is no other word. Another fixed expression is the following:

(334)  efe  n-u  da  oxo  
3SG  LNK-voice only COP  
‘He has all power; he is in charge’ (lit. ‘it is only his voice’; Drabbe 1957:30b)

(335)  gu  ga  n-u  da  fède  xo
2SG  2SG.POS LNK-voice only NEG COP  
‘you don’t have anything to tell here’  
(lit. your voice only is non-existent’; Drabbe 1957:30b)

(336)  efe  n-u  da  oxo  da-gom-sumu-oxe-nã  
3SG LNK-voice only COP hear-IT-IT-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘he is their leader’ (lit. ‘it is only his voice they always listen’; Drabbe 1957:30b)

165 For the use of fède xo see section 4.2.4.
An interesting case is the following, where, in my view, *da* modifies the entire predicate:

(337) *siü xo kaxi da oxo*

banana THAT unripe only COP

‘it is only unripe bananas’ (lit. ‘those bananas are unripe (ones) only’; Drabbe 1957:30b)

The meaning of the adverb *fāsikēmu*, historically related to the numeral one, is described by Drabbe as ‘truly, really, once and for all’, where the latter meaning is probably to be seen as a contextual implication following from a *Grundbedeutung* ‘truly’. Its meaning is illustrated by Drabbe by the following four examples:

(338) *nu fāsikem = üfü-oxe*

1SG truly hit-N1.RLS[SG]

‘he hit me hard’ (Drabbe 1957:28b)

(339) *fāsikem = xo-xe*

truly go-N1.RLS[SG]

‘he left once and for all’ (Drabbe 1957:28b)

(340) *fāsikem = o-xe*

truly speak-N1.RLS[SG]

‘he spoke the truth’ (Drabbe 1957:28b)

(341) *u fāsikem = o-sum-sum-oxe*

sound truly speak.IT.IT-N1.RLS[SG]

‘he always speaks the truth’ (Drabbe 1957:28b)

It is attested in the text corpus only once, at the end of the myth on the origin of night and tobacco:
(342) \( E\text{fe~büs\text{\textperiodcentered}ü~fasikem} = badek~badia. \)
\[ \text{efe~büs\text{\textperiodcentered}ü~fasikemu~ba-de=k~ba-dia} \]
3SG house truly sit-SS = CON sit-HIST[SG]
‘His house stayed there once and for all.’ (5.42)

(343) \( Tamajõ \)
\[ \text{tamajõ~end} \]
‘The end.’ (5.40)

\textit{Kotomu} (or: \textit{kòtomu}), finally, is a reciprocal marker, used in examples like the following:

(344) \( kotomu~ü-ge-nā~/o-xe-nā \)
\[ \text{RECIPR stab-N1.RLS-N1PL~/say-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]
‘they stabbed each other / they said to each other’ (Drabbe 1957:23b)

(345) \( kotom’~ede-d-oā \)
\[ \text{RECIPR give-1.RLS-1PL} \]
‘we gave each other something’ (Drabbe 1957:23b)

The following examples have been taken from text 1 and text 7, respectively.

(346) \( E\text{fe~napi~kotomu~xomūgenā.} \)
\[ \text{efe~n-api~kotomu~xomū-ge-nā} \]
3SG LNK-mother RECIPR fight/kill-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘His mothers fight with each other.’ (1.303)

(347) \( Ag~go~xu~kotom’~emoxenā. \)
\[ \text{ā~go~xu~kotomu~em-oxe-nā} \]
woman AND man RECIPR copulate-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘The woman and the man have sex’ (7.043)
3.4.3 De-adverbial verbs
Drabbe 1957: section 77, p. 31a

Drabbe gives a list of verbs that are derived from adverbs. Note that word stress is either on the penultimate or on the ante-penultimate syllable. As Drabbe does not give any examples of their inflection, we can only hypothesize that they behave as other verbs in -mV.166

Màkumu ‘do how’, from makumu ‘how’
Takème ‘do / be such’, from takèmu ‘such’
Omumu ‘do / be wrong’, from omumu ‘mistake’
Ikème ‘do / be there’, from ikemu (or iku) ‘there’
Xamème ‘do / be in the same way’, from xamèmu ‘in the same way’

Drabbe also provides an example of a de-adjectival adverb used as verb. In the following sentence the de-adjectival adverb patoxomu ‘softly’ (from patoxo ‘soft’) is used as a verbal stem in patoxomo-do=k nesi [be.soft-SS = CON take ] ‘take a little’.

3.5 More on movement and spatial relations: directional verbs and spatial nouns

3.5.1 Complex verbs of directional movement

3.5.1.1 Form and meaning
Drabbe 1957: section 65, p.26b-27a

166 For the behavior of verbs in -mV see the references in the index at the end of this book. The only inflected form of the verbs under discussion attested in the corpus is the form ikeme-de =k ‘be.there-SS = CON’.
The basic verbs of movement are *xo*(x) ‘go’ and *da*(x) ‘come’. While the latter implies a movement towards a deictic center (see 3.2.4 for a definition), the former is used for all other movements.\textsuperscript{167} In addition to these two basic verbs of movement, the Aghu language has a number of complex verbs (historically) based on these forms, combined with formatives that express a position (or direction) with respect to the deictic center. These formatives are also used in the formation of complex demonstratives, an overview of which was given in 3.2.4.1 above. The following two tables give an overview of verbs of going and verbs of coming, respectively. We first consider Table 47. Here the first column gives the demonstratives, all formed on the basis of *xo* ‘DST’ plus a directional, while the second column presents complex verbs of going formed on the basis of the related verb *xo*(x) ‘go’. The third column gives verbs that also contain or have absorbed an affix -\textit{g}, which is probably related to *nego* ‘THIS’. These verbs express movements to places not too far from the deictic center. The fourth column, finally, presents verb complexes based on a reduced nonfinite form of *a* ‘take’, plus a reduced form of the verb of going under consideration. About these, Drabbe notes that ‘the combination [of the verbs] with these nonfinite forms appears so often that they often form a tighter connection than is the case with other verbs’ (Drabbe 1957:26b).

\textsuperscript{167} Drabbe remarks that *xo* and *da* are often used for a ‘going away from home’ or a ‘coming home’, respectively (Drabbe 1957:84, note 10, at 1.018). In my view, this relates to the fact that in many narratives (and probably also in daily conversation) the deictic center is the house (or more specifically: the area below the house, cf. section 5.9).
Table 47: Complex demonstratives and directional verbs of going; <n.d.> indicates that Drabbe provides no data at this point. Shaded forms are syncretisms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Go to: stem_I; stem_II; imperative</th>
<th>Go to close by: stem_I; stem_II; imperative</th>
<th>Take (away) to: stem_I; take to close by: stem_I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Neutral’</td>
<td>xo</td>
<td>xo(x); axi; noxi</td>
<td>ogo(x); ogaxi; ogonoxi</td>
<td>&lt;n.d.&gt;; a-d = ogo(x), a-b = ogo(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up</td>
<td>xosu</td>
<td>osu(k); atü; notü</td>
<td>ogsu(k); ogatü; ogonotü</td>
<td>a-bsu(k); a-d = ~ab = ogsu(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down</td>
<td>xosü</td>
<td>osüü(k); osüüe; osünü</td>
<td>ogüü(k); ogüüe; ogünü</td>
<td>a-b = süü(k); a-b = güü(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uphill</td>
<td>xoto</td>
<td>oto(x); otaxi;otonoxi</td>
<td>No data provided</td>
<td>a-b = to(x); &lt;n.d.&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downhill</td>
<td>xüko</td>
<td>üko(x); ükaxi;ükonoxi</td>
<td>küto(x); kütaxi;kütönoxi</td>
<td>a-b = (ü)ko(x); &lt;n.d.&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstream</td>
<td>xosoxo</td>
<td>osoxo(x); osaxi;osonoxi</td>
<td>a-b = soxo(x); &lt;n.d.&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downstream</td>
<td>xüoxo</td>
<td>wüoxo(x); wüaxi;wüonoxi</td>
<td>a-b = wüoxo(x); &lt;n.d.&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Across</td>
<td>xonu</td>
<td>onu(k); atü; notü</td>
<td>a-d = ~a-b = onu(k); &lt;n.d.&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In / out</td>
<td>(xosu)</td>
<td>u(k); atü; notü</td>
<td>a-d = ~a-b = uk; &lt;n.d.&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Drabbe also presents a series of serial verbs that are even more complex, and which can be derived from the verbs in the rightmost column by adding fi(ox) directly after the stem, so that we get ab = ogo-fi(ox), ab = su-fi(ox)
etc. For this series, Drabbe only gives variants with $ab=,$ not with $ad=.$ Their general meaning is described by Drabbe as ‘lead away to’.

The forms that express a ‘going to close by’ are composed of $xo$ ‘go’ plus an element $ogo$ ‘close by’, of which we also see a reflex in the demonstrative $negò$ ‘THIS’. This composite structure is clear when we compare the stem II and imperative $ogaxì$ and $ogonaxì$ to the stem II and imperative forms of $xo$: $axì$ and $noxi$ (the only difference being the use of $a$ instead of $o$ in $naxì$).

**Osu(k)** etc. ‘go up’ is used for going up, climbing up, e.g. in the sky, on a ladder, or in a tree. The expression $bùsìì $osu(k)$ is used not only for going up into a tree house, but has been extended to also include going into a house at ground level.$^{168}$ **Ogsu(k)** etc. ‘go close’ is used for going up on a small elevation, like going up along the river bank, or climbing a tree stump.

**Osù(k)** etc. ‘go down’ can be considered the paradigmatic opposite of $osu(k).$ It is also used, however, for going downriver, for which the more specific term$^{169}$ is $wùoxo(x)$ ‘go downstream’. The form $ogù$ etc. ‘go down from a light elevation’ is also used for going in, e.g. into a cave or cavity. According to Drabbe, the ‘correct’ term, however, is $u(k)$ etc., dealt with below.

**Oto(x)** etc. ‘go uphill’ is formed out of $oto$ and $xo(x)$ ‘go’, and means something like ‘go up along a hill or slope’. When someone’s house is built on a hill, the standard way of referring to this person’s ‘going home’ is $efe$

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$^{168}$ Drabbe remarks that the — related — demonstrative $xosu$ is used both for ‘inside’ and for ‘outside’, also for buildings at ground level. As he does not provide any examples at this point, however, it is not clear in which contexts this demonstrative is used.

$^{169}$ Drabbe speaks about ‘de juiste term’: ‘the correct term’.
būsiu oto-xe [3SG house go.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘he went home (uphill)’, instead of efe būsiu o-xe [3SG house go-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘he went home’. The form oto(x) is also used in combination with the verb pem ‘cast’ in a clause chain as in (348)a and b below. This illustrates that the meaning of oto(x) etc. seems to have to do not so much with movement uphill, but more with the conceptualization of a movement as taking place along a slope-like track.

(348)a  peme-d-oā  oto-xe  b  penu  otaxī
cast-N1.RLS-1PL  go.up-N1.RLS[SG]  cast.IMP[SG]  go.up-II.N1SG
‘we cast it away’ (lit. ‘we cast it goes uphill’; Drabbe 1957:25b)  ‘cast it away’ (lit. ‘cast may it go.up’; Drabbe 1957:25b)

Interestingly, the verb oto(x) is also attested in a context where someone walks or swims into the middle of a swamp and goes deeper and deeper into the water. It is not so hard to conceive of the movement of such a person as ‘slopewise’, even though the slope is ‘upside down’ compared to the movement of an object that is cast away ( instead of ).

An illustration of this use can be found in 2.187 and 2.188.

The opposite of oto(x) etc. ‘go uphill’ is formed by ūko(x) etc. and kūto(x) etc., which according to Drabbe are equivalent forms.

The forms osoxo(x) etc. ‘go upstream’ and wūoxo(x) etc. ‘go downstream’ are paradigmatic opposites. In most of the stems one can still recognize the element oxo ‘water’. This element is most clearly visible in the demonstrative xosoxo, which is a complex of xosu ‘up’ followed by oxo ‘water’, but eroded forms of the morpheme can also be seen in the other stems.

Onu(k) etc. ‘go across’ is used for crossing a water or other depth. It optionally combines with afi ‘half’, which may be interpreted as ‘the other
side’ or ‘this side’ (where the deictic center is located),\textsuperscript{170} dependent on the use of a verb of going or a verb of coming (see below). Thus, for going across one may use both onu(k) or afi onu(k). The following sentence illustrates both.

\begin{align*}
(349) & \text{Onuduk} \quad \text{afi} \quad \text{ab'} \quad \text{onuduk} \quad \text{tinge.} \\
& \text{onu-du} = \text{k} \quad \text{afi} \quad \text{a-b} = \quad \text{onu-du} = \text{k} \quad \text{ti-ge} \\
& \text{go.across-SS} = \text{CON} \quad \text{half} \quad \text{take-SS} = \quad \text{go.across-SS} = \text{CON} \quad \text{moor-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
& \text{‘He goes across, he takes them across (to the other half of the swamp) and moors.’} \ (2.182)
\end{align*}

The verbs u(k) etc. refer to a ‘going in or out’, the meaning of which could, in my view, possibly be captured by something like ‘go through an entrance’. It should be noted that the stem II and imperative are the same as those for osu(k) ‘go up’ and onu(k) ‘go across’. While osu(k) ‘go up’ can be used for going into a house, and ogü ‘go down from a light elevation’ or going into a cave or cavity (as was set out above), u(k) can be used for both, as there is no difference in height implied. While Drabbe does not give any examples, the following passage from the text corpus forms a nice illustration of the use of the verb, which in this case refers to a going out of

\begin{align*}
(349) & \text{Osuduk} \quad \text{düi} \quad \text{afi} \quad \text{efe} \quad \text{küda} \quad \text{edoxe.} \\
& \text{osu-du} = \text{k} \quad \text{düi} \quad \text{afi} \quad \text{efe} \quad \text{küda} \quad \text{ed-oxe} \\
& \text{go.up-SS} = \text{CON} \quad \text{sago} \quad \text{half} \quad \text{3SG} \quad \text{younger.sibling} \quad \text{give-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
& \text{‘She goes up and gives half of the sago to her younger sister.’} \ (1.064)
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{170} While afi usually refers to the sides of a swamp or river, there is one case where afi is used to refer to one out of two parts of food. This is in the narrative where one sister gives half of the food to her sister, as illustrated in the example below. We also find the morpheme afi in the word afitama, which is also translated by Drabbe as ‘half’, and is attested in the text corpus in the possessive construction afitama xabā ‘half of the head’, referring to half of the skull (3.009, 3.025, 3.035, 3.047) and as a reference to half of a pig (6.011, 6.031, 6.051, 6.099, 6.110, 6.139), all in a context where the whole is divided into two halves and shared between two persons.

Apart of this, afi is also used in counting, for the numbers 16 through 19, see 3.10.
and into a hiding place. In the preceding sentences, it has been described how a boy has been hiding and waiting for his two mothers to come. When they come, he shoots one of them. The following sentences form the continuation of the narrative, where the forms of the verb \( u(k) \) have been rendered in bold script. In (350) the verb is used for going out of the hiding place, while in (353) the same verb is used for going back into the hiding place.

(350) \( Tink \) \( uduk \) \( axe. \)
\( ti=ni = k \) \( u-du = k \) \( a-xe \)
\( \text{shoot-SS} = \text{CON} \) \( \text{go.in/out-SS} = \text{CON} \) \( \text{take-N1.RLS}[SG] \)
‘He shoots, goes out (of his hiding place) and takes hold of her.’ (6.065)

(351) \( Adek \) \( wofünge. \)
\( a-de = k \) \( wofü-ge \)
\( \text{take-SS} = \text{CON} \) \( \text{kiss-N1.RLS}[SG] \)
‘He takes hold of her and kisses her.’ (6.066)

(352) \( Wofunük \) \( büomaxe. \)
\( wofü-nü = k \) \( büoma-xe \)
\( \text{kiss-SS} = \text{CON} \) \( \text{stop-N1.RLS}[SG] \)
‘He stops kissing her.’ (6.067)

(353) \( Nikiaxamu \) \( ifo \) \( womu \) \( uduk \) \( piüonike. \)
\( nikiiaxamu \) \( ifo \) \( womu \) \( u-du = k \) \( piüoni-ke \)
\( \text{back} \) \( \text{hut} \) \( \text{inside} \) \( \text{go.in/out-SS} = \text{CON} \) \( \text{bow-N1.RLS}[SG] \)
‘He goes back into the hut and bows.’ (6.068)

A comparable passage is found later in the story, in 6.123 and further, where we also find the verb \( mo \) ‘come.in/out’ discussed below.
We now turn to verbs of coming, an overview of which is given in Table 48. Note that they stand in a paradigmatic relation to the verbs of going, in that Drabbe gives verbs for exactly the same directional meanings.\(^\text{171}\)

Table 48: Directional verbs of coming; \(<\text{n.d.}>\) indicates that Drabbe provides no data at this point. Shaded forms are syncretisms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th><strong>Come to:</strong> stem_I; stem_II; imperative</th>
<th><strong>Come from close by:</strong> stem_I; stem_II; imperative</th>
<th><strong>Bring along to:</strong> stem_I; <strong>bring along from close by:</strong> stem_I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Neutral’</td>
<td>da(x);dafi;do</td>
<td>mada(x);madafi; mado</td>
<td>a-mda(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up</td>
<td>moso(k);mose; nomso</td>
<td>manomoso(k); manumusu(k); n.d.; n.d.</td>
<td>a-mso(k)~a-msu(k); a-manomoso(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down</td>
<td>mi(k);mie; nomio</td>
<td>manimi(k); manimie; (&lt;\text{n.d.}&gt;)</td>
<td>a-mi(k);a-manimi(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uphill</td>
<td>mata(x);matafi;mato</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-mta(x); (&lt;\text{n.d.}&gt;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downhill</td>
<td>mida(x);midafi;mido</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-mida(x); (&lt;\text{n.d.}&gt;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstream</td>
<td>moda(x);modafi;modo</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-moda(x); (&lt;\text{n.d.}&gt;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downstream</td>
<td>mida(x);midafi;mido</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-mida(x); (&lt;\text{n.d.}&gt;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Across</td>
<td>mono(k);mode;nomodo</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-mono(x); (&lt;\text{n.d.}&gt;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In / out</td>
<td>mo(k);mose;nomso</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-mo(k); (&lt;\text{n.d.}&gt;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Mada(x) ‘come from close by’ is formed out of a prefix \(m(a/o)-\) — that we find in all forms of coming — and the verb \(da(x)\) ‘come’. That \(da(x)\) is the second member is clear by the forms of stem_II and the imperative (cf. section 2.2. and 2.5, respectively).

\(^{171}\) In addition to the forms exemplified in Table 48, Drabbe also gives a series of verbs consisting of the stems in the fourth column plus *fi ‘put’, e.g. *amda(ox*, translated by Drabbe as ‘lead towards’. These verbs are not attested in the text corpus, however, nor does Drabbe provide examples of their use.
Moso(k) (~musu(k)) etc. ‘come up’ is, as counterpart of osu, used for coming (up) into a house, probably also when the house is not a tree house (Drabbe is not so clear at this point). Unlike osu(k), it is also used for the movement (in this case: a movement of coming) out of a house. This must be a case of what I will loosely call ‘analogous extension’: because stem II and the imperative of mo(k) ‘go in / out’ are homophonous with those of moso ‘come up’, language users have extended the meaning of moso to include also the meaning of mo(k). For upward movements not too far away one uses manomoso(k) or manumusu(k), in which we can recognize the morphemes ma ‘come’, the form moso (~musu) discussed above, and an element nV, which apparently expresses that the movement is from close by. The element nV is attested also in the verbs manimi(k) and manimie, and possibly also in nego ‘THIS’.

Mi etc. ‘come down’ is used for coming down from the sky, while manimi etc ‘come down from close’ is used for movements from closer by. The four verbs that follow in the four following rows of the table are all composed of da(x) ‘come’ and one or two other morphemes. Mata reflects ma ‘come’, while ta might be a contracted form of da and the morpheme t(V) that is also used in oto(x) etc. above. Mi-da is a combination of mi ‘come down’ and da(x) ‘come’, and used both for coming downhill and coming downstream; mo-da ‘come.upstream-come’ combines da with an element mo that apparently expresses a coming upstream. It is not clear whether this mo is related to mo ‘come.in/out’ discussed below.

Parallel to onu(k) etc. ‘go across’, the verb mono(k) etc. ‘come across’ can also be combined with afi ‘part’ as in afi mono(k) ‘come to this side’. Again parallel to the verb of going, u(k), here the verb mo(k) expresses a movement in or a movement out. It is striking that here, just as in the case of u(k), all the contexts where we find the verb are those of a movement in
or (in these cases:) out of a hiding place. The first example is of two sisters who have been waiting for a boy and come out to grasp him when he is there.

(354) \[\text{Emu} \quad \text{modok} \quad \text{emu} \quad \text{axenā}.\]

Then come.in/out-SS = CON then take-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘Then they come out (of their hiding place) and take him.’ (1.041)

The following example is from the second narrative, where the old Apupūsisimo has been sleeping in between the roots and the two boys see him coming out.

(355) \[\text{Joxo} \quad \text{neto} \quad \text{posiü} \quad \text{efè} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{moke}.\]

3PL LNK-father old 3SG FOC IN.TURN come.in/out-N1.RLS[SG]

\[\text{modok} \quad \text{doxodok} \quad \text{efèkoki}k\]

mo-do = k doxo-do = k efekoki-ke

come.in/out-SS = CON pass.by-SS = CON pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]

\[jā \quad di.\]

jā di

tree buttress.root

‘Their old father in turn also comes out, he comes out and passes by, he passes by, (away from) the roots.’ (2.172)

A final series of appearances of the form is found in the narrative of the hunter and the fisher, in a passage where it clearly stands in opposition to the verb \(u(k)\) discussed above. The younger brother waits in his hiding place (in a tree) for the women to come by and shoots. Then the story continues (all occurrences of \(u\) and \(mo\) have been printed in bold):
(356)  
\textit{Tinik} \quad \textit{uke.}  
\text{tī-}\text{nī=}k \quad \text{u-ke}  
\text{shoot-SS=} \text{CON} \quad \text{go.in/out-N1.RLS}[SG]  
‘He shoots and goes out.’ (6.123)  

(357)  
\textit{Uduk} \quad \textit{wofūinge.}  
\text{u-}\text{dū=}k \quad \text{wofū-}\text{ge}  
\text{go.in/out-SS-CON} \quad \text{kiss-N1.RLS}[SG]  
‘He goes out and kisses her.’ (6.124)  

(358)  
\textit{Wofūnd=} \quad \textit{emedek} \quad \textit{uke.}  
\text{wofū-}\text{d=} \quad \text{eme-}\text{de=}k \quad \text{u-ke}  
\text{kiss-SS} \quad \text{finish-SS=} \text{CON} \quad \text{go.in/out-N1.RLS}[SG]  
‘After he has kissed her he goes into his hut.’ (6.125)  

(359)  
\textit{Uduk} \quad \textit{piūonike.}  
\text{u-}\text{dū=}k \quad \text{piūoni-}\text{ke}  
\text{go.in/out-SS=} \text{CON} \quad \text{bow-N1.RLS}[SG]  
‘He goes in and bows.’ (6.126)  

(360)  
\textit{Etoxe} \quad \textit{peso} \quad \textit{fedē} \quad \textit{xo.}  
\text{et-}\text{oxe} \quad \text{peso} \quad \text{fedē} \quad \text{xo}  
\text{see-N1.RLS}[SG] \quad \text{wound} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{COP}  
‘She sees that there is no wound.’ (on his bottom; 6.127)  

It is after this description of the woman observing the man that the perspective shifts. While \textit{uduk} in (361) repeats the former \textit{uduk} from (359) and presents the story from the perspective of the man, the use of \textit{modo} shows that the deictic center has moved to outside the man’s hiding place, as the narrator presents the man as coming rather than as going:  

(361)  
\textit{Uduk} \quad \textit{tetebago} \quad \textit{adek}  
\text{u-}\text{dū=}k \quad \text{tetebago} \quad \text{a-}\text{de=}k  
\text{go.in/out-SS-CON} \quad \text{valuables} \quad \text{take-SS=} \text{CON}
modo efe nagã edoxe.
mo-do efe n-agã ed-oxe
come.in/out-SS 3SG LNK-wife give-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He goes in and takes valuable and comes out and gives them to his wife.’ (6.128)

### 3.5.1.2 Expression of the target

Generally the target of directional verbs may be expressed by a bare noun, optionally followed by the accusative marker *ke* or *kèmu*. More on the meaning and use of *ke* and *kèmu* can be found in 3.1.7 and 3.6.2.

### 3.5.2 Spatial nouns

Drabbe 1957: section 102a, c, d, j

Spatial nouns refer to a location, and are used to describe the position of a person or object, often with regard to another person or object. We first present an overview of spatial nouns, and then discuss their meaning and distribution.

An overview of spatial nouns is given below. The translations here have been chosen to make clear that we have to do with nouns, not with adverbs or adpositions.

- womu ‘space inside’, used e.g. for inside of a house
- fü ‘space below’, used e.g. for place below a house, a mat etc.
- gesi ‘space close by’
- mo ‘backside’, e.g. back of a person, underside of a dish
- betaxa ‘space outside’
- mübã ‘back (of a person)’, ‘bottom’
- sama ‘front’, e.g. front of a person, upper part of dish
- todo ‘space upside’
- musuto ‘space on top’
- baga ‘ridge’ ‘space alongside’, e.g. idi / widi / büsiü baga: ‘along the road / river / house’
That these words are nouns is clear from their distribution. Consider the following three examples:

(362) \textit{kesaxe} \textit{gesi} \textit{ige}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
  tree & space.close & lie-N1.RLS[SG] \\
\end{tabular}
\lq it is (lying) close to the tree\rq (Drabbe 1957:41b)

(363) \textit{kesaxe} \textit{gesi} \textit{kèmu-kem} = (/kumu)\textsuperscript{72} \textit{ige}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
  tree & space.close & ACC \texttt{lie-N1.RLS}[SG] \\
\end{tabular}
\lq it is (lying) close to the tree\rq (Drabbe 1957:41b)

Taking into consideration that \textit{kèmu} is a postpositional case marker (see 3.1.7 and 3.6.2), and thus follows a noun phrase, we must analyze \textit{kesaxe gesi} as a noun phrase. This means that \textit{gesi} cannot be a postposition or postpositional case marker. An analysis as adverb is very unlikely too, as \textit{gesi} does not modify the verb, but the tree: reference is made to a space close to the tree, rather than to one lying close by. I follow Drabbe, therefore, in analyzing \textit{gesi} — and the other morphemes listed above — as nouns, which form a possessive construction with the preceding noun. This means that the sentences would translate literally as ‘it is lying in the tree’s closeness’. That the morphemes are not postpositions is confirmed by the fact that they can also be used independently, as in (364) below.

(364) \textit{gesi} \textit{i-ge}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
  space.close & lie-N1.RLS[SG] \\
\end{tabular}
\lq it is lying close\rq\textsuperscript{173,174} (Drabbe 1957:41b)

\textsuperscript{72} For the use of \textit{kumu} see 3.6.2.

\textsuperscript{173} It must be admitted that here the semantic argument that was used above as evidence that \textit{gesi} is not an adverb at first sight does not seem to hold. Here reference is made to a lying close, which could possibly be taken as being a modification of the verb. I believe, however, that an analysis of \textit{gesi} as a noun is still to be preferred. First and most importantly, \textit{gesi} is used in a position in which one can also use nouns. If we consider \textit{gesi}
Below we find another series of illustrations of the use of spatial nouns, which have all been taken from the text corpus. Again, while some of these seem to be developing into adverbs, or seem to be used adverbially, they are generally used in positions where one also finds other nouns. In (365), we find *mo* as indicating the location of the predicate *baxe* ‘he sits’:

\[(365)\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{efe} & \text{sē} & \text{mo} & \text{baxe}, \\
3\text{SG} & \text{husband} & \text{backside} & \text{sit-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}]
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{efe} & \text{nagā} & \text{mügünük} & \text{baxe}. \\
3\text{SG} & \text{LNK-wife} & \text{be.in.front-SS = CON} & \text{sit-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}]
\end{array}
\]

‘The husband sits in the back, the wife sits in the front.’ (4.69)

In the example below, *womu* ‘inside’ is used in a possessive construction with *axafī* ‘women’s house’, referring to the house’s inside. Since the grammatical role of object, in our definition, includes the semantic role of

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as a noun also here, we have a more economic analysis than if we consider it an adverb, as this would lead to an extra set of adverbs. Second, one could think of *gesi* etc. as expressing a place close to \textit{another point in space}, rather than as a modification of the predicate. In cases like (362) and (363), the point in space is provided by the noun. In a case like (364), it is provided by the deictic center, which defines as the perspective from where the narrative is described, cf. 3.2.4.

\text{174 Even stronger evidence in favor of their analysis as nouns would be provided by examples where the forms are used as subject (as in English ‘the inside was clean’), or in other positions where they could not in any way be analyzed as adverbs, e.g. in a role of patient or instrument, (e.g. ‘I saw the backside’). Unfortunately, no such examples are provided by Drabbe. Also missing are examples where we find independent forms followed by nominative *te* or accusative *ke*.}
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target (see 3.1.7), this possessive NP can be analyzed as object of the directional verb *ogüke*.\(^{175}\)

\[(366)\]  
\[\begin{array}{llll}
Ogsuduk & kusumoxe \\
ogsu-du = k & kusum-oxe \\
go.up.close-SS = CON & cast-N1.RLS[SG]
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{llll}
midik & afaxī & womu & ogüke.
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{llll}
mi-di = k & afaxī & womu & ogü-ke \\
come.down-SS = CON & house & inside & go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]
\end{array}\]

‘He comes close and casts the head and it comes down and goes into the women’s house.’ (1.144)

In (367) *betaxa* indicates the location of the event expressed by the complex predicate *dadek ekenā* ‘they stand listening’.\(^{176}\)

\[(367)\]  
\[\begin{array}{lllll}
Dadek & betaxa & dadek & ekenā. \\
da-de = k & betaxa & da-de = k & e-ke-nā \\
come-SS = CON & outside & hear-SS = CON & stand-N1.RLS-N1PL
\end{array}\]

‘They come and stand listening outside.’ (8.017)

Finally consider the following cases of spatial nouns used in combination with the verb *mi* ‘come down’. Example (368) forms the continuation of (366) above. It is part of a passage where a boy shoots a person, cuts off his head, and flies back with the head to the ridge of the women’s house. From there he casts the head into the house, (366), and — seen from within the house — comes down behind this stone, or ‘at the back of this stone’.

\(^{175}\) One of the tests to check whether his indeed is an object would be to check whether it can be marked by *ke*.

\(^{176}\) This is one of the few cases where I cannot come up with an analogous example where the position of the morpheme is taken by a noun. This might be taken as an argument that *betaxa* is developing or has developed into an adverb.
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(368) Axu mo mike.
axu mo mi-ke
human backside come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
‘The person comes down from the back.’ (1.145)

Another example of the use of mike is the following. The context is similar to that in (366) above, the difference being that now the event is described from an inside perspective, using büsiü womu as a target of mi ‘come down’ (so that the person is perceived of as coming down into the house’) rather than as target of ogü ‘go into’ (where we have a deictic center outside the house).

(369) Adek badek kufè xabā pemoxo büsiü
a-de = k ba-de = k kufè xabā pem-ox-o büsiü
take-SS = CON sit-SS = CON enemy head cast-N1.RLS[SG] house

womu mike.
womu mi-ke
inside come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
‘He sits down and casts the enemy's head and it comes down into the house.’
(1.203)

For the noun mo ‘backside, behind’, the spatial meaning has been metaphorically extended to the category of time. Here the noun is clearly used adverbially, or may be said to have developed into an adverb. This is probably also the case in (368) above.

(370) Ā mo künük xoxe
ā mo kii-nü-k xo-xe
woman backside die-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]
‘Some time later a woman dies and goes’ (7.074)
(371) \[ Xati \quad xodok \quad okagi \quad bŭsiĭĭ \quad mo \quad i\text{-}genā. \]
\[ xati \quad xo\text{-}do\text{=}k \quad okagi \quad bŭsiĭĭ \quad mo \quad i\text{-}ge\text{-}nā \]
again \quad go\text{-}SS \text{=} CON \quad permanently \quad house \quad backside \quad lie\text{-}N1.RLS\text{-}N1PL

‘Again they go, and then lie down to stay in a village for a few days.’ (5.12)

3.6 Postpositional case markers

Drabbe 1957: sections 102-103, p. 41-43

In analyzing Aghu postpositions as case markers, this book follows Dixon’s terminology, who writes that “case systems are used to mark the function of a core argument (S, A, or O) and/or to mark spatial, temporal, and other relations on peripheral arguments” (Dixon 2010:224). The table below gives an overview of the postpositional case markers attested in Aghu, accompanied by a gloss and a brief explanation of their function.

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177 Dixon stresses that case may be expressed in different ways: either as affixes (ideally and typically called case inflection, or as clitics (ideally called case clitics, typically called case or apposition), or — as is the case in Aghu — as grammatical words, in which case they are ideally called case words, and typically called adpositions. This book uses the term postpositional case marker, to express both its realization as a grammatical word that directly follows the NP and to express its function as a case marker.
Table 49: Postpositional case markers and their function\(^{178}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Marker</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>te</code> <code>NOM</code></td>
<td>Nominative case marker, used to mark a subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ke(mu)</code> <code>ACC</code></td>
<td>Accusative case marker, used to mark a patient, recipient, target, location or (certain) temporal expressions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ni</code> <code>DAT</code></td>
<td>Dative case marker, used e.g. to mark a beneficiary, a purpose, an addressee (but see below), or a non-patient-like complement of certain verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>fini / namu</code> <code>INSTR</code></td>
<td>Instrumental case marker, used to mark an instrument or source material. Also used in certain temporal expressions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kumu</code> <code>COM</code></td>
<td>Comitative case marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before coming to a one by one discussion, it is helpful to first give some general properties of the postpositional case markers listed above, to delineate them from members of other word classes. The defining properties of the markers above are the following:

- They appear in final position of the phrase.
- They mark the syntactic or semantic relation between the noun phrase and the verbal predicate.
- Their use is generally optional, at least in certain contexts.\(^{179}\)

\(^{178}\) In his discussion of “schakelelementen” Drabbe also mentions `maga`, used only in combination with `to` ‘opening’ (Drabbe 1957:43a). To `maga`, then, is translated by Drabbe as ‘in the opening’ or ‘at the door’. This `maga` is probably better analyzed as spatial noun (3.5.2), rather than as a postpositional case marker.

\(^{179}\) Here we are limited because of a lack of data, and suffer especially from the lack of data obtained from independent fieldwork. One of the most straightforward ways to find out whether a morpheme is optional, is to present an informant with both options, and ask for the acceptability and meaning of both cases. Given that we lack this type of data, we may conclude that the use of a morpheme is optional only in those cases where Drabbe’s corpus happens to provide contrasting examples. And even then we do not know whether there might be a subtle meaning difference going along with the use or non-use of the morpheme in question.
The case markers \textit{te} and \textit{ke} were dealt with in 3.1.7, where it was shown that they answer all three criteria mentioned here: they are used postnominally, they mark the (semantic or) syntactic relation between the predicate and the noun, and their use is optional. We now turn to a discussion of the other postpositional case markers.

3.6.1.1 \textbf{Ni ‘dative’}

Drabbe 1957: section 103n, p. 43a

Drabbe writes that the predominant meaning of \textit{ni} is ‘to the benefit of’ (Dutch: \textit{ten behoeve van}), but that is also used in the following contexts:

a) In the expression: \textit{nu ni de} [1SG DAT COP] ‘it is about me’ or \textit{nu ni da xajo} [1SG DAT COP QST] ‘is it about me?’;
b) In the expression ‘speak about’ or ‘speak to’, as in \textit{efè ni o(x)} [3SG DAT speak] ‘speak about’;
c) With certain verbs \textit{ni} is always used to indicate the non-subject complement, e.g. \textit{nu ni kùŋ-ge} [1SG DAT love-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘he loves me’ or \textit{efè ni mo ki-de} [3SG DAT scared become-1.RLS[SG]] ‘I am afraid of him’.

Elsewhere, Drabbe writes that \textit{ni} is used in combination with a verbal noun to indicate the purpose of an event (cf. 2.3.2.2.3):

(372) \texttt{fiko afĩ ni da-d-oā}
work take\_II.VN DAT come\_1.RLS\_1PL
‘we have come to work’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)

(373) \texttt{da-d-oā fiko afĩ ni de}
come\_1.RLS\_1PL work take\_II.VN DAT COP
‘we have come to work’ (Drabbe 1957:15a)
In my view, the meaning of the particle is best captured by considering it a dative marker. The term ‘dative’ expresses the fact that the marker is used for what one might call a-typical Patients. On the one hand, they are like (typical) Patients, in that they are neither instigators of the event, nor is their involvement in the event defined by by their being volitional or sentient. On the other hand, they are atypical, because they are not affected by the event.\(^{180}\) This is true for the verbs given by Drabbe (‘love’ and ‘be afraid of’), and confirmed by the distribution of \(ni\) in the text corpus. There we find \(ni\) used to mark the complement of \(agu\) ‘seek’ (8 attestations), to mark the complement of \(dokū\) ‘wait for’ (4 attestations), once to mark the complement of \(ogo\) ‘go close to’ and once to mark the complement of \(o(x)\) ‘speak’; examples will be given below.

In line with the criteria given above, the use of the marker in the contexts above seems optional, as we also find examples where the ‘atypical patients’ are not marked by \(ni\). Only in the case of \(agu\) ‘seek’ are such examples lacking. All we have there is eight clauses where the complement is marked with \(ni\) (in addition to a few contexts where a complement is lacking altogether), one of which is given here:

\[
\begin{align*}
(375) & \quad joxo \quad namoko \quad okuomā \quad būsiiū \quad baxēnā, \\
& \quad joxo \quad n-amoko \quad okuomā \quad būsiiū \quad ba-xe-nā \\
& \quad 3PL \quad LNK-child \quad two \quad house \quad sit-N1.RLS-N1PL
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{180}\) In this characterization I have been inspired by Naess, who defines a typical agent as +volitional, non-instigating and non-affected, and a typical Patient as the opposite: nonvolitional; instigating and affected (Naess 2007:44). For Naess’ definition of volitionality see \textit{ibid.} 77.
For the verb *dokū* ‘wait for’ we have four cases where the complement is marked with *ni*, as in (376), and one where it is lacking, as in (377).

(376) *Efē joxo ni dokunuk baxe.*  
 *efe joxo ni dokū-nu=k ba-xe*  
 3SG elder.brother DAT wait-SS = CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]  
 ‘He sits waiting for his elder brother’ (3.006)

(377) *Ab’suduk kifidik*  
 *a-b=su-du=k kifi-di=k*  
 take-SS = go.up-SS = CON lay.down-SS = CON

    *efe joxo dokunuk baxe.*  
    *efe joxo dokū-nu=k ba-xe*  
    3SG elder. brother wait-SS = CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]  
 ‘He takes it up, lays it down and sits down waiting for his elder brother.’ (3.020)

The single attestation in combination with *ogo* ‘go to close by’ is presented in (378) below. As we do not have any other examples of *ogo* plus complement in the text corpus, and do not have access to speaker’s intuitions, we do not know whether the use of *ni* is optional here. It is noteworthy that the meaning of *ogo* in this context comes close to that of *agu* ‘seek’, in that the coming close here clearly involves an element of seeking. The sentence below is part of a passage where the elder brother gets stuck in a tree because his younger brother has taken away the ladder. Time and time again the younger brother refuses to free his elder brother, despite his older brother’s repeated cry for help, every time when the younger brother comes by. At a certain point it is described how the elder
brother does not cry anymore. The younger brother comes down from his house, goes to see whether he is still there (378), but sees that the boy has disappeared:

(378)  
Xodok  
xo-do = k  
go-SS-N1.RLS[SG]

efe  joxo  ni  ogodok  etoxe.  
efe  joxo  ni  ogo-do = k  et-oxe  
3SG  elder.brother  DAT  go.close-SS = CON  see-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He goes close to the place where his brother was, seeking to see him (lit. ‘he goes to a place close by for his brother and watches’; 3.101)

(379)  
Etoxene  ani  gike.  
et-oxe-ne  ani  gi-ke  
see-N1.RLS[SG]-DS  lost  become-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He sees (however) that he has disappeared.’ (3.102)

Finally, the text corpus contains two cases where *ni* should be taken as marking a beneficiary. The clearest case is given with (380).

(380)  
Wi  afitamu  efe  nêxo  ni  kifioxe.  
wi  afitamu  efe  nê-êxo  ni  kifi-oxe  
pig  half  3SG  LNK-elder.brother  DAT  lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He lays down half a pig for his elder brother.’ (6.139)

A beneficial reading might also be intended below. The verb *o* ‘speak’ usually combines with an addressee without any additional marking (1.031; 2.050;2.057;2.070 etc.). It might be that the speaker uses *ni* here to express that the following words are intended as a warning, for the addressee’s benefit. I am ready to admit, however, that this explanation is somewhat tentative; it could also be that *ni* simply functions as an optional marker of the addressee here — which is the reason that this function is mentioned in
Table 49 above — or that we should remain ignorant about the additional semantic or pragmatic functions that it may have.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(381)</th>
<th>Eŋgenä</th>
<th>bagidi</th>
<th>efe</th>
<th>kūda</th>
<th>oxe:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ē-ge-nā</td>
<td>ba-gidi</td>
<td>efe</td>
<td>kūda</td>
<td>oxe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
<td>sit-next.day</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>younger.sibling</td>
<td>speak-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>efe</th>
<th>joxo</th>
<th>ni</th>
<th>oxe:</th>
<th>dū</th>
<th>bo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>efe</td>
<td>joxo</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>o-xe</td>
<td>dū</td>
<td>bo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3SG</th>
<th>elder.brother</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>speak-N1.RLS[SG]</th>
<th>sago</th>
<th>well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>womu</th>
<th>eke</th>
<th>osubu</th>
<th>kūobu</th>
<th>ku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>stand-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>go.up-SS</td>
<td>carve-SS</td>
<td>palm.shoot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adin’</th>
<th>manefi</th>
<th>num’</th>
<th>oxe.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adi-n-c&lt;sup&gt;181&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>manefi</td>
<td>num=</td>
<td>o-xe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| eat-II-N1SG-FUT | not.want | such= | speak-N1.RLS[SG] |

‘They eat and the next day his younger brother says; he says to his elder brother:
"there is a sago tree close to the well; don't go up and carve and eat the youngest shoot of the stem," so he says’ (3.050)

It is important to note that in Aghu recipients do not count as beneficiaries, but receive the same morphosyntactic treatment as patients, targets or locations: they are optionally marked with ke ACC, not with ni DAT, as was illustrated in (221a) to (c) above.

The combination makeaxe ni ‘for what’ or ‘why’ is a way to ask for the reason or purpose of an event. An example was given in (281) above and is repeated here as (382):

---
<sup>181</sup> This is an elided form of the future, cf. section 2.5.
3.6.1.2 **Fini and namu ‘instr’**

Drabbe 1957: section 103a, p. 42a; section 103k, p. 43a

According to Drabbe, *fini INSTR* and *namu INSTR* are equivalents, except that only *namu* is used in a number of temporal expressions like *womĩ*, ‘night’, *mimĩ* ‘morning’. The forms are used to mark the instrument that is used to effect a certain result, or the material that is used to make something. Drabbe points out that *namu* should be distinguished from *nàmu* ‘only’, which, however, often loses its accent and then cannot be distinguished from *namu* ‘INSTR’, as both of them are used in postnominal position. These are the illustrations given by Drabbe:

(383)  

\[
\text{xoja gisi fini / namu onge}  
\text{shield shell.knife INSTR cut-N1.RLS[SG]}  
\]

‘he cut the shield with a shell knife’ (Drabbe 1957:42a,43a)

(384)  

\[
\text{xoja kusu di fini / namu onge}  
\text{shield kind.of.tree buttress.root INSTR cut-N1.RLS[SG]}  
\]

‘he cut the shield from [i.e. using] a root of the kusu-tree’ (Drabbe 1957:42a,43a)

---

182 The only examples are the following:

(a)  

\[
\text{asũ toxu namu doto-de}  
\text{darkness end WITH get.up-1.RLS[SG]}  
\]

‘I got up by the end of the darkness’ (Drabbe 1957:43a)

(b)  

\[
\text{mimĩ namu xoxe}  
\text{morning WITH go-N1.RLS[SG]}  
\]

‘he went in the morning’ (Drabbe 1957:43a; also 6.058, 6.150)
In the following two cases, provided by Drabbe, the formative is used as part of a temporal expression; note that the expression mimĩ namu is also attested twice in the text corpus.

(385)  
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
  asū & toxu & namu & doto-de \\
  darkness & end & INSTR & get.up-1.RLS[SG] \\
\end{tabular}

‘I got up by the end of the darkness’ (Drabbe 1957:43a)

(386)  
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
  mimĩ & namu & xoxe \\
  morning & INSTR & go-N1.RLS[SG] \\
\end{tabular}

‘he went in the morning’ (Drabbe 1957:43a; 6.058; 6.150)

3.6.1.3 Kumu ‘comitative’

Drabbe 1957: section 103i, p. 42b

Drabbe writes that this postpositional case marker means ‘together with’, and provides only the following sentence to illustrate this use:

(387)  
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
  efe & nagaŋ & gumu & fom-oxe-nā \\
  3SG & wife & WITH & search-N1.RLS-N1PL \\
\end{tabular}

‘he was searching together with his wife’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

The form kumu ‘WITH’ is not attested in the text corpus. The formative is homophonous, however, to kumu ‘ACC’, which is an allomorph of ke and kēmu. More on the relation between ke, kēmu and kumu can be found in the following section.

3.6.2 A note on ke, kēmu and kumu.

Drabbe 1957: section 103c-d, p. 42a-b; section 103i, p. 42b-43a

If one follows Drabbe’s description closely, ke, kēmu and kumu are best described as near-equivalents. In most contexts they can be used interchangeably, without any apparent meaning difference. In other
contexts, there is a strong preference for either of the forms, while there might also be some contexts in which only one or two out of the three forms are acceptable. The following table gives an overview of different contexts in which the different forms are attested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic role</th>
<th>ke ACC</th>
<th>këmu ACC</th>
<th>kumu ACC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patient or Beneficiary</td>
<td>✓, optional (see 3.1.7)</td>
<td>✓, optional</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location, except after spatial noun</td>
<td>✓, optional, see below</td>
<td>✓, optional, see below</td>
<td>✓, but few examples, see below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After a spatial noun (see 3.5.2)</td>
<td>✓, less common than kumu</td>
<td>✓, less common than kumu</td>
<td>✓, most common form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples (388) through (391) illustrate ke and këmu.

(388) xosu k = ba-xe
up ACC sit-N1.RLs[SG]
‘he is sitting up there’ (Drabbe 1957:42a)

(389) büsiü xo k = xo-xe
house DST ACC go-N1.RLs[SG]
‘he went to the village’ (Drabbe 1957:42a)

(390) xü ke~këmu xo-xe
garden ACC go-N1.RLs[SG]
‘he went to the garden’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

---

183 It is not entirely clear how the distribution given here relates to the complementary distribution between ke and këmu described for locative expressions in combination with posture verbs, discussed in 2.8.1.

184 An example where këmu is used for a Patient is given by Drabbe in section 103d, with the example neto kem = üfi-xoe-ną my.father ACC hit-N1.RLs-N1PL ‘they hit my father’ (Drabbe 1957:42b).
As pointed out in 3.1.7, *ke* or *kèmu* can also be used in temporal expressions, although we do not have any examples of this in the text corpus, except from the single expression provided by Drabbe: *womiŋge*/*gèmu* ‘in the night’.

Drabbe provides the examples (392) to (395) to illustrate the use of *kumu*. Note that, in all examples except the first, *kumu* modifies a spatial noun. I have added *kèmu* as an alternative form only in those cases where Drabbe mentions explicitly that alternation with *kèmu* is possible.

(392) *idi kèmu~kumu xo-xe*
road        ACC        go-N1.RLS[SG]
‘he is going along the road’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

(393) *idi baga kum= xo-xe*
road        side        ACC        go-N1.RLS[SG]
‘he was walking by the side of the road’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

(394) *gesi kum= axi-je*
space.close ACC        go-II[1SG]-FUT
‘I will go closely along’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

(395) *gesi kum= e-ke*
space.close ACC        stand-N1.RLS[SG]
‘he was standing close by’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

A final example is the following, where we do not find a spatial noun. While the object of *tĩ* usually refers to an entire animal that is (deadly)
wounded (cf. 1.158, 1.211, 1.217 etc.), here it is only one body part that is affected.

\[(396)\]
\[efè\ bodo\ kumu\ ti-ne\]
3SG\ arm\ ACC\ shoot-1.RLS[SG]
‘I shot his arm’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

In the text corpus, *kumu* ‘ACC’ is attested only three times, in 3.184, 6.078 and 8.008. While the second is analogous to (396) above (describing the shooting of an arm), in the other two cases *kumu* can be said to modify a spatial noun. One of these cases is presented here:

\[(397)\]
\[Emu\ to\ kumu\ pemoxo\]
emu\ to\ kumu\ pem-oxo
then\ opening\ ACC\ cast-N1.RLS[SG]

Then he casts his body up against the opening.

\[mataxe.\]
\[mata-xe\]
\[come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]\]
\[(3.184)\]

### 3.6.3 A brief note on *ke, ni, and fini.*

*Drabbe 1957: section 81, p. 33*

In combination with the *i-oxe* ‘’ be present’, cf. 2.8.3.2, personal pronouns need to be marked by *ke, ni* or *fini*, usually in their cliticized form. From Drabbe’s description it is not clear whether there’s a meaning difference between the three:

\[(398)\]
\[nu\ k=/>=/>fin= i-oxe\]
1SG\ ACC=/>DAT=/>INSTR= be-N1.RLS[SG]
‘I am present’ (Drabbe 1957:33a)
Although *ni* usually may combine either with *efe* or with *eke*, in this construction only *eke* is acceptable.

### 3.7 Non-adjectival nominal markers

#### 3.7.1 The marker *ta*

*Drabbe 1957: section 103o, p. 43a*

Drabbe refers to *ta* as a postposition, which is the term that he also uses for what this book describes as postpositional case markers (see 3.6 above). Although it is true that the marker is always used postnominally, its function is different from that of the postpositional case markers described above. While case markers mark the semantic or syntactic role of an argument or adjunct with regard to the predicate, the marker *ta* has a pragmatic function. It seems to mark the shift to or reactivation of the other topic out of two entities (where the entity can also be a group), and can best be rendered in English by the expression ‘in turn’. In addition to a sentence from the text corpus (see (401) below), Drabbe gives the following two examples:

(399) \[ \begin{array}{llllllllllll} & nu & mumu & kiomogo & wa & ki-ke & na & n-axu \\ & 1SG & first & eye & bad & become-N1.RLS[SG] & 1SG & LNK-human & \\ \end{array} \]

\[ joxo \ k e \ t a \ kiomogo \ wa \ ki-ke-nā \]

3PL FOC IN.TURN eye bad become-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘I got an eye infection first, and then my relatives got it in turn’ (Drabbe 1957:43a)

(400) \[ \begin{array}{llllllllllll} & nu & ke & ta & siü & adi-je \\ & 1SG & FOC & IN.TURN & banana & eat_{II}[1SG]-FUT & \\ \end{array} \]

‘I will eat from the bananas in turn too’ (Drabbe 1957:43a)
In the text corpus, the marker has a very limited distribution, and is attested almost exclusively\(^{185}\) in the following context:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
Efe & (n) & [...NP] & eke & ta \\
3SG & LNK & & 3SG.FOC & IN.TURN \\
\end{array}
\]

possessor & possessed

In all cases the marker \textit{ta} directly follows the emphatic 3SG pronoun \textit{eke} (once \textit{efe ke}), and Drabbe writes explicitly that \textit{ta} cannot follow the possessive phrase directly.\(^{186}\) Note that also in (399) and (400) above we find \textit{ta} preceded by a pronoun plus \textit{ke}. The sequence \textit{eke ta}, in turn, follows a possessive expression (again, this is also what we find in (399) and (400)), in which the possessor corresponds to one out of two narrative topics, and the possessor corresponds to the other one. In all contexts, the two topics are relatives in a dyadic relation. The use of \textit{eke ta} was discussed extensively in 3.2.3.2, so that we can limit ourselves here to giving some additional examples.

Consider (401) below. The sentence is part of a story about two sisters, a younger and an older one. In 1.050 and 1.051 it is narrated how the older sister goes out, while the younger stays at home. The elder goes out, collects sago grubs, comes up, they roast the grubs and eat. Then follows (401), in which it is told that it is now the oldest sister’s turn to stay at

\(^{185}\) In one case we have a 3PL pronoun \textit{joxo} instead of a 3SG pronoun \textit{efe}, and once we find \textit{efe ke ta} instead of \textit{eke ta}. see (402) below.

\(^{186}\) To be more precise, he states that in (401) it is not possible to say \textit{efe nen} ta (Drabbe 1957:43a).
home. In the sentence below, then, efè refers to the younger sister (as the ‘possessor’), while the possessed eni eke ta refers to the older sister.

(401)  Eŋgenā  
| bagidi | efe  | neni  | eke  | ta |
| ē-ge-nā | ba-gidi | efe  | n-enī | eke  | ta  |
| eat-N1.RLS-N1PL | sit-next.day | 3SG | LNK-elder.sister | 3SG.FOC | IN.TURN |

būsiū  baxe.
būsiū  ba-xe
house  sit-N1.RLS[SG]
‘They eat and the following day the elder sister in turn stays at home.’ (1.055)

Finally consider the following example, which is the only case where we have a 3PL possessor pronoun joxo instead of 3SG efe. Here joxo refers to Aidu and Xaidu, while eto posiü ‘old father’ and efè ke ta refer to Apupüsimo. In the preceding passage it has been narrated how Apupūsimo has hidden among the buttress roots. The boys, looking for him, hear him farting, and pass along the roots where he is hiding. They pass and go away from the roots. After this, it is their old father’s turn to come out:

(402)  Joxo  neto  posiü  efe  ke  ta  moke,
| joxo | n-eto | posiü | efe | ke | ta | moke |
| 3PL | LNK-father | old | 3SG | FOC | IN.TURN | come.in/out-N1.RLS[SG] |

modok  doxodok  efekoki keke,  jā  di.
mo-do=k | doxo-do=k | efekoki-ke | jā | di
come.in/out-SS = CON | pass.by-SS = CON | pass.by-N1.RLS[SG] | tree | buttress.root
‘Their old father in turn also comes out, he comes out and passes by, he passes by, (away from) the roots.’ (2.172)

The other examples of the use of ta are found in 1.060; 3.021; 3.024; 3.035; 3.045; 3.047; 3.137; 6.004; 6.009; 6.012; 6.028; 6.037; 6.042; 6.046; 6.100; 6.108; 6.111; 6.228; 6.229; 6.246; 6.257.

3.7.2  Namu and gedeme ‘alone’; buku and xamèmu ‘too’
Drabbe 1957: section 12, p. 6b
In addition to *ta* ‘IN TURN’, *de(mu)* ‘in opposition’ and the case markers discussed elsewhere, the language has a number of nominal adjuncts that cannot be subsumed elsewhere. These are listed here.

| *nàmu* ‘alone’ | *nu nàmu* ‘only me’, cf. *nu gedeme* ‘only me’. |
| *bukumu* ‘too’ | *eke bukumu* ‘he too’ (Drabbe 1957:6b) |
| *xamèmu* ‘too’ | *eke xamèmu* ‘he too’ (Drabbe 1957:6b) |

### 3.8 Conjunctions

As will be set out in the chapter on clause combinations, clauses are generally linked asyndetically. This means that the use of conjunctions to connect clauses is rare. Whether this is also true for noun phrases is hard to say, as the text corpus does not contain examples of conjoined noun phrases, neither asyndetically, nor syndetically. In Drabbe’s description, however, we find a presentation of both NP conjoining and clause conjoining conjunctions. These are presented in 3.8.1 and 3.8.2, respectively.

#### 3.8.1 Conjunctions conjoining noun phrases

*Drabbe 1957: section 103f, p. 42b*

The two conjunctions used to conjoin (nouns or) noun phrases are *kini* ‘or’ and *ko* ‘and’. In a series of conjoined elements, both *kini* and *ko* follow each of the conjoined elements, as indicated in the following figure:

---

187 The form is, most probably, historically related to *amu* ‘flesh’ or ‘meat’. Although it should be distinguished from *namu* ‘WITH’, in many contexts stress on *nàmu* is not realized, so that the two forms are formally undistinguishable (cf. 3.6.1.2 above).
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In (403) through (405) we see the sentences given by Drabbe to illustrate their use. First consider *kini* ‘or’, in (403). 

(403) siū kini, fi kini, dü kini adin-a xajo
banana or tuber or sago or eat.II[N1SG]-FUT QST
‘will you eat bananas, or tuber, or sago?’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

The use of *ko* can be observed in (404), while (405) illustrates that *ko* is also used to connect pronouns.

(404) efe xasi ko, efe dibisi ko, efe tetabago ko
3SG spear and 3SG arrow and 3SG valuable and

\[ a-de=k \quad xo-xe \]
\[ \text{take-ss=CON} \quad \text{go-N1.RLS[SG]} \]
‘he took his spear, his arrows and his valuables and left’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

(405) nu ko eke ko
1SG and 3SG.FOC and
‘I and he’ (Drabbe 1957:6b)

Drabbe writes that Noun Phrases are sometimes also conjoined asynodetically, but does not give any examples. As stated above, the text

\[ ^{188} \text{From Drabbe’s description, it is not clear whether *kini* should be taken as disjunctive (‘and/or’, so that the question reads as: bananas, and/or tuber, and/or sago) or exclusive (‘or’, so that the parts are mutually exclusive: either bananas, or tuber, or sago).} \]
corpus likewise lacks examples of conjoined Noun Phrases. As an alternative to conjoined noun phrase, we find examples like (406) below. There we can observe an asyndetic repetition of the same verb axe ‘he takes’ with a different object: first *xabū* ‘stone axe’, and then *motū* ‘sack’. This example is in line with a general tendency in Papuan languages to limit the number of NP’s per clause, and to distribute nominals over different clauses (cf. de Vries 2006:813).

(406)  *Enge*  
č-ge  bagidi  xati  midik
  eat-N1.RLS[SG]  sit-next.day  again  come.down-SS = CON

  *xabū*  axe,  *motū*  axe.

  *xabū*  a-xe  *motū*  a-xe

  stone.axe  take-N1.RLS[SG]  sack  take-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He eats and the following day he comes down again and takes a stone axe, and a sack.’ (3.110)

Drabbe briefly remarks, finally, that it is sometimes possible to use *ko* only between the two conjoined elements (and not also after the second noun), as in *an-го- xu* ‘man and woman’ (which refers to a man and a woman who may form a couple or not).

### 3.8.2 Conjunctions conjoining clauses

Ignoring the marker =k that is used after nonfinites (which may be considered a conjunction, cf. 2.3.2.1), clauses are generally conjoined asyndetically. This section presents a number of conjunctions that can be used, but are not attested in the text corpus, or attested only very rarely.
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3.8.2.1 kue ‘ss’
Drabbe 1957: section 103h, p. 42b

Aghu semifinite verbs may be followed by a marker -ku ‘SS.SEQ’ or a marker -ne ‘DS.SEQ’ to indicate that the subject of the following verb is the same or different, respectively. These suffixal markers are discussed in 5.4.2. Possibly related to -ku is the marker kue, which is used in expressions like the following, which are the only cases where the conjunction is attested. Note that here the structure of conjoined clauses is parallel to that of conjoined Noun Phrases, in that each of the constituents is followed by a conjunction:

(407) ifidọŋ-ge kue ab = gike kue
weep-N1.RLS[SG] SS laugh = become-N1.RLS[SG] SS
‘he alternatingly laughed and cried’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

(408) dá-d-oaŋ kue xọ-d-oaŋ gue emo-d-oa
come-1.RLS-1PL SS go-1.RLS-1PL SS finish-1.RLS-1PL
‘we time and time again came here and went again’ (Drabbe 1957:42b)

3.8.2.2 iki ‘or’
Drabbe 1957: section 103b, p. 42a

Iki ‘or’ is the only conjunction that is used in preclausal rather than postclausal position. Its use can be observed in (409) (for the interpretation of fe see section 3.1.5.2).

(409) iki gu te dafìn-a xajo
or 2SG NOM come-II-N1SG-FUT QST

iki axu fe dafìn-a xajo
or human 3SG come-II-N1SG-FUT QST
‘are you coming, or is someone else coming?’ (Drabbe 1957:42a)
3.9 Non-numeral quantifiers
Drabbe 1957: section 74, p. 29-30

The table below gives an overview of non-numeral quantifiers. While most of the quantifiers can be combined with both count nouns and mass nouns, some of them — as noted by Drabbe — combine with only one of the two.

Table 51: Non-numeral quantifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Combining with count nouns</th>
<th>Combining with mass nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Several</td>
<td>toxopòmu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>toxogèmu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much / many</td>
<td>dükûmâ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>weaxa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>afâbi(axa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little / few</td>
<td>dükûmâ de</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>weaxa de</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>afâbi(axa) de</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>age de</td>
<td>patoxo¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>(isiomu)</td>
<td>adiaxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How much / many</td>
<td>makumu / makumâ / mamâ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Described as an adjective in 3.4.2.

The distribution of the non-numeral quantifiers is not discussed by Drabbe, and the few examples that he gives plus the examples in the text corpus are certainly not sufficient to describe their distribution in any detail. Nevertheless, it is still worth to observe the distribution of the only two non-numeral quantifiers that are attested in the text corpus: toxopòmu and isiomu. While the latter was dealt with before, we here discuss the use of toxopòmu. A search on the string “toxop” yields 16 results, and leads to a
list of sentences that can be divided into three types. First, we find a number of cases where toxopòmu is used adnominally. Two such cases are presented here:

\[(410)\]  
\text{Siaxajo toxopòmu efe nimo posiü edoxe.}  
apportionment some 3SG LNK-male.in.law old give-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘He gives his father in law some adornments.’ (6.245)  

\[(411)\]  
\text{Amu toxopòmu jã kungenã.}  
meat some fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘They put some (of the) pork on the fire.’ (4.16)  

Second, we find two cases (6.160 and 6.211) where toxopòmu is used independently, and could be analyzed as the object. Here toxopòmu refers to sago that has just been roasted, as described in the preceding sentences.

\[(412)\]  
\text{Kemededek toxopòmu adek osüke.}  
share-SS = CON some take-SS = CON go.down-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘She shares and takes the rest (of the roasted sago) and goes down.’ (6.211)  

Finally, we have a series of examples where toxopòmu is used semi-independently, in that it quantifies a noun mentioned earlier in the sentence with which it does not form a syntactic constituent, see (413) below.  

\[\text{Other examples of such ‘floating quantifiers’ can be found in 3.010 and 6.032.}\]

\[\text{189 In fact, I get the strong impression that in most of the cases attested in the text corpus, the function of the ‘quantifier’ is not to quantify or modify the noun. It seems rather the case that the first noun presents the entire set, after which the quantifier specifies a subset. Thus, in many cases the rendering of the logical structure of the expression should be something like ‘some of N’ or ‘all of N’, rather than ‘some N’ or ‘all N’.}\]
Aghu has no word for ‘few’ that can be combined with count nouns. Instead, one uses negated forms of words denoting ‘many’. In combination with mass nouns, however, one may use *patoxo*. The word means ‘small’ in combination with count nouns, and is used in combination with mass nouns in order to denote a small quantity.

The quantifier *isiomu* was dealt with in 3.4.1 above. There it was argued that *isiomu* is better analyzed as an adverb rather than as a quantifier.

The interrogatives *makumã* ‘how/where/when’ etc. were discussed in 3.2.5.2. To the examples given there we may add a number of examples where the use of the interrogative implies reference to a quantity:

(415)  
*xasi*  *makum*  *on-ge*  
spear  how/where/when  carve-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘how many spears did he carve?’ (Drabbe 1957:30a)

(416)  
*axu*  *makum = xo-xe-nã*  
human  how/where/when  go-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘how many people left?’ (Drabbe 1957:30a)
In (417) and (418) we find the related verb *makume*, used in the same way as the numeral verbs discussed in 3.10.2 below.

(417) *bidõ makume-de=k nikiaxamu dafi-n-e*
month do.how/where/when-SS =CON back come-II-N1.RLS[SG]-FUT
‘after how many months is he going to come back?’ (Drabbe 1957:30a)

(418) *fiko a-de=k womõ makum-oxe-nã*
work take-SS =CON month do.how/where/when-N1.RLS-NLPL
‘how many months have they been working?’ (Drabbe 1957:30a)

Two other words given by Drabbe in his discussion of non-numeral quantifiers (or, in Drabbe’s words, indefinite quantifiers) are *tamajõ* ‘it is enough’ and *dage*. The former is used at the end of a story, to state that the story is over. The latter is exemplified by Drabbe by a number of examples where it forms the complement of a copulative posture verb (cf. 2.8.2):

(419) *(mase) dage i-ge*
already much lie-N1.RLS[SG]
‘it is sufficient / enough’ (lit. ‘it is already much’; Drabbe 1957:30a)

(420) *dage e-ke-nã*
much stand-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘there is enough of them’ (Drabbe 1957:30a)

### 3.10 Numerals
Drabbe 1957: sections 68–74, p. 28a–30a

According to de Vries (1994:556), the Aghu number system can be characterized as “a curious mixture of a body-part and a binary / quinary / vigesimal system.” The system is presented in Table 52, where the presentation largely follows de Vries (1994).
### Table 52: Aghu numbers and corresponding body parts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Corresponding body part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fasike</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okuomu / okuomã</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okuom = asike</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sigiane / sigianému</td>
<td>little finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidi(f)kimu / bidi(f)kumã</td>
<td>(one) hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidikumã fasike</td>
<td>hand (plus) one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidikuman okuomã</td>
<td>hand (plus) two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidikuman okuom = asike</td>
<td>hand (plus) three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidikumã sigiane</td>
<td>hand (plus) four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidikumã bidikumã</td>
<td>hand (plus) hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kito wodo</td>
<td>big toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kito wodo womu</td>
<td>toe next to big toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kito efè womu</td>
<td>middle toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kito sigiã womu</td>
<td>toe next to little toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kito sigiã</td>
<td>little toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiti(f)kumu / kiti(f)kumã</td>
<td>(one) foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aﬁ kito wodo</td>
<td>the other big toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aﬁ kito wodo womu</td>
<td>the other big toe next to big toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aﬁ kito efè womu</td>
<td>the other middle toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aﬁ kito sigiã womu</td>
<td>the other toe next to little toe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axù bigi</td>
<td>person bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axù bigi fasike</td>
<td>person bone (plus) one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axù bigi okuomã</td>
<td>person bone (plus) two and so on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axù bigi bidikumã bidikumã</td>
<td>person bone hand hand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First note the formal relation between some of the numerals and words for body parts. For 4 and 5, the numerals are slightly different from the
corresponding body parts, in that the word for ‘little finger’ is sigiã, while the word for ‘hand’ is bedo or bodo.\textsuperscript{190} For 11 through 19, however, the numerals and the corresponding body parts have exactly the same form. In \textit{kito wodo}, \textit{kito} means ‘foot’ and \textit{wodo} ‘thumb’. The words for 12 and 13, where \textit{womu} means ‘middle’ should thus be understood as ‘the middle of the (three) big toes’, and ‘the foot its middle’, respectively. Analogously, 14 reads as ‘the middle of the (three) small toes.’\textsuperscript{191} Coming to the word for 20, Drabbe notes that the word \textit{bigi} is often used to denote something in its full length, e.g. \textit{kesaxe bigi} [wood bone] ‘the (entire) three’, while \textit{kesaxe} on its own may also refer to ‘wood’.

The highest number in the Aghu numeral system is 30. Although the numerals 1 through 3 do not synchronically correspond to body parts, 4 and 5 and all numbers from 10 through 20 do. The numerals 6 through 9, and the numerals 21 through 29 — with the exception of 25 — are combinations of body part based numerals and numerals that are not body part based. However, in practical counting all numerals from 1 to 20 are associated with body parts: “when counting from 1 upwards, the Aghu bend the fingers of the left hand first, starting with the thumb. When the ring finger is bent, they say sigiane ‘little finger’, because that is the only finger that then still remains straight. Thus the little finger corresponds to 4. Interestingly, the Aghu then continue with the big toe of the left foot (‘eleven’), counting to ‘fifteen’ on the toes of this foot. They then proceed to the foot on the other side, using a word for ‘side’ to indicate this switch,

\textsuperscript{190} The meaning of \textit{ku} in \textit{bidifikimu} / \textit{bidifikumã} is not clear. The elements \textit{mu} or \textit{mã} that are found in several numerals are, according to Drabbe, “elements of forms of the verb \textit{mV}, with which the numerals form verbs.” For numeral verbs see section 3.10.2. For verbs in \textit{-mV} and for other words ending in \textit{-mu} see the references in the index.

\textsuperscript{191} I am not entirely certain whether my explanation here is the same as Drabbe’s, who writes that the word for 12 reads as “the middle one of the big toe, with which is meant: that one of the middle toes that is next to the big toe.” For 14 he writes that \textit{kito sigiã womu} denotes “that one of the middle toes that lies next to the small one.”
just like so many body-part systems in New Guinea” (De Vries 1994: 556). This system of counting with the use of body parts is called a body part tally system.

As stated above, Aghu exhibits a mixture of different systems. The word for three is formed from 2 and 1, which betrays a binary system. The numbers for 6 through 10 are based on the word for 5, and thus quinary. The numbers for 20 upwards are based on the word for 20, and can therefore be analyzed as a vigesimal system. Interestingly, these binary, quinary and vigesimal systems are interrupted by a body part system for the series from 10 to 19.

### 3.10.1 Distribution

Drabbe 1957: section 70-71 p. 29

Numerals follow the noun that they modify, as can be seen in the following examples.

(421) *kesaxe bidikimu de e-ke-nā*

wood five LOC stand-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘there are five trees’ (Drabbe 1957:29a)

(422) *axu okuomā da-xe-nā*

human two come-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘two persons have come’ (Drabbe 1957:29a)

(423) *siū sigiane ē-ge*

banana four eat-N1.RLS[SG]

‘he ate four bananas’ (Drabbe 1957:29a)

(424) *axu okuomā ba-xe-nā*

human two sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘the people are two; there are two people’ (Drabbe 1957:29a)
As discussed in 4.2.3, when used as predicate, numerals always combine with *oxo ‘COP’, not with *de ‘COP’. Interestingly, whenever there is an alternation between a *mā-final and a *mu-final numeral, it is only the *mā-final one that can be used:

(425) kesaxe okuoman (*okuomu) oxo  
      wood two COP  
      ‘the trees are two’ (Drabbe 1957:29a)

The language has no ordinal numbers, but when listing siblings according to age, one mentions the fingers, so that in a story about five orphan girls the girls are denoted as listed below. Note that the structure of this ‘paradigm’ is analogous to the paradigm for the numerals 11-15 in Table 52 above.

Table 53: Denotations for sisters in case of a total of five

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ā wodo woman thumb</td>
<td>‘thumb or oldest sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā wodo womu woman thumb middle</td>
<td>‘finger from thumb to middle or sister from oldest to middle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā womu woman middle</td>
<td>‘middle finger or middle sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā sigiā womu woman little.finger middle</td>
<td>‘finger from little finger to middle or sister from youngest to middle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā sigiā woman little.finger</td>
<td>‘little finger’ or ‘youngest sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In case the total number of referents is three, one would use *wodo ‘thumb’, *modu ‘middle’ and *sigiā ‘little finger’, while in case the total is two, the referents are called *wodo ‘thumb’ and *sigiā ‘little finger’.
3.10.2 Numeral verbs
Drabbe 1957: section 73, p. 29a-b

Numeral verbs are derived from numerals by the addition of the suffix -mV ‘do’. Verbs based on numerals in -mu do not get an additional suffix -mV, but are inflected like the other -mV final (numeral) verbs, with -oxe as the N1.RLS marker, cf. section 2.3.1.1. Numeral verbs are used for the expression of duration in terms of nights, months or hours, or in combination with gongō ‘time(s)’. As Drabbe only gives examples for the numerals 1 through 5, it is not clear whether verbalization is also possible for numbers higher than 5.

(426) xodok womĩ okuom-oxe-nā
    go-SS = CON night do two-N1.RLS-N1PL
    ‘they are walking for two days’ (Drabbe 1957:29a)\(^\text{192}\)  

(427) büsiü sī-di=k bidī bidikumo-dk-oā
    house build-SS = CON month do five-DIST 1-1PL
    ‘we were building the house during five months’ (Drabbe 1957:29a,b)  

(428) womĩ sigianeme-de=k xo-de
    night do four-SS = CON go 1.RLS[SG]
    ‘I left after four days’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)  

(429) bidī bidikume-de=k büsiü sī-di=k büom-oxe-nā
    month do five-SS = CON house build-SS = CON stop-N1.RLS-N1PL
    ‘after five months they stopped building the house’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)  

(430) womĩ okuome-de=k dafi-n-e
    night do two-SS = CON come II-N1SG-FUT
    ‘he will come in two days’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)  

An example from the text corpus is the following:

---

\(^\text{192}\) Drabbe remarks that one counts in nights, not in days (Drabbe 1957:29).
PART I: GRAMMAR. Chapter 3: Other word classes

(431) Xobu asū bidikimoñ num’ odok xoxenā.
    xo-bu asū bidikim-oā num = o-do = k xo-xe-nā
    go-SS darkness do.five-1PL such = speak-SS = CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

"We go for five days", they say and go.’ (2.072)

Note the contrast between the following two examples:

(432a) womĩ sigianeme-de = k kūŋ-ge
    night do.four-SS = CON die-N1.RLS[SG]
‘after four days he died’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)

b) kū-nū = k womĩ sigianem-oxe
    die-SS = CON night do.four-N1.RLS[SG]
‘he died four days ago’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)

While (426) and (427) above have been formed with the use of a nonfinite realis verb, we find analogous constructions with a nonfinite irrealis verb, or — in other words — a verbal noun (cf. 2.3.2.2):

(433) agufẽ womĩ okuom-oxe-nā
    seek_II.VN night do.two-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘they sought for two days’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)

(434) büsiũ asī bidī sigianem-oxe-nā
    house build_II.VN month do.four-N1.RLS-N1PL
‘they were building the house during four months’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)

The combination with göngō ‘time(s)’ expresses how many times a certain event is taking place. Note that here too speakers may use both a nonfinite realis form (as in (435)), or a verbal noun (which is a nonfinite irrealis form, cf. 2.3.2.2.)
PART I: GRAMMAR. Chapter 3: Other word classes

(435) müfi-di = k  gon gö okuomasikem-oxe
fall-SS = CON  time  do.three-N1.RLS[SG]
‘he fell three times’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)

(436) dafĩ  gon gö sigianeme-de
come-II.VN  time  do.four-1.RLS[SG]
‘I came four times’ (Drabbe 1957:29b)

3.11 Copulas de and oxo

As will be set out in Chapter 4, Aghu has two copulas: de is used as a copula in nominal, adjectival or numeral clauses, while the use of oxo is restricted to adjectival and numeral clauses. De is homophonous with the negation particle de, discussed in 2.6, and with a locative particle de, mentioned briefly in 3.4.2. I will follow up on Wester’s suggestion that the negator de and the copula de both derive from an emphatic marker de (Wester 2014: 127-128), and would like to suggest that also locative de derives from the use of de as an emphatic copula. The development from a copula into a locative may have taken place via a cleft construction, along a path illustrated in the examples below:

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193 Wester speaks of ‘an emphatic marker de with copula function in Aghu’, but does not make explicit why she considers it as emphatic; Drabbe refers to de in these cases as a predicative element, and never speaks about emphasis. That de used to have an emphatic function, however, is rather likely. First, the element is found as an emphatic marker with copular function in the related Awyu languages Pisa and Shiaxa. In addition, both the development from emphatic markers into negative markers and from negative markers into copulas have been described in the literature. The first development is mentioned by Croft 1991:5 (as cited in Wester 2014:128), while the development from emphatic markers to copula markers is suggested by Pustet (2003:59), who writes that “another hint at the origin of copulas lies in the fact that copulas are sometimes homonymous with elements conveying certain pragmatic notions, such as emphasis.”
PART I: GRAMMAR. Chapter 3: Other word classes

(437) napi de ba-xe
    mother (COP)/LOC sit-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘my mother is there’ (Drabbe 1957:32b)

(438) de ba-xe
    LOC sit-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘(s)he is sitting (there)’ (based on Drabbe 1957:32b)

It should be noted that Drabbe describes de in both cases as a locative marker. I would like to suggest, however, that examples like (437) above may have originally started out as cleft constructions with an emphatic-copula de, and would originally better have been translated as ‘it is mother who is sitting there’, with napi ‘mother’ as a ‘focused subject’, or — more strictly formulated: a focused NP coreferent with the implicit subject of baxe. In the course of time, the emphatic function of de bleached, after which it was reinterpreted as an adverbial locative marker, and could also be used in contexts without a ‘focused subject’, as in (438).\(^\text{194,195}\)

The copula oxo is found not only in adjectival or numeral clauses, but also in the following contexts:

- In negative sentences, following a verbal noun or a semifinite form, described in 2.3.2.2.2 and 2.6, respectively;
- In combination with a verbal noun in \(\tilde{a}\), described in 2.3.2.3;
- In counterfactual conditional sentences, described in 5.2.

\(^{194}\) It should be noted that data are scarce at this point, however: Drabbe gives only one example of a clause without an explicit ‘subject’. This example is similar to (, but has a 1SG verb form: de bade ‘I am sitting (there)’.

\(^{195}\) The copula de may also be used with embedded verbal clauses, cf. 4.3.
4 Clause structure

This chapter discusses the structure of clauses. The focus of the chapter is on main independent clauses: those clauses that can stand on their own, and need not be followed by another clause in order to be grammatical; in Aghu this category is formed by clauses headed by semifinite and finite verbs (and nonverbal clauses). Some attention will also be given, however, to clauses headed by nonfinite verbs. These clauses cannot stand on their own and need to be followed by another clause in order to form a grammatical sentence.

A clause can be defined as “the linguistic expression of a proposition” (Payne 1997:71). In the present study, a verbal clause may contain maximally one inflected verb: a nonfinite, semifinite or fully finite verb. Sequences of verbs within one sentence are referred to as ‘clause chains’ or even sequences of clause chains, more on which can be found in Chapter 5. The first section of this chapter discusses verbal clauses (with the exception of those headed by the copula verb *ki(k) ‘become’*), while the second section deals with nonverbal clauses: nominal, adjectival and numeral clauses. The second section closes with a section on clauses headed by the copula verb *ki(k)*. The remainder of the chapter will deal with a number of other phenomena that operate at clause level. Section 4.6, finally, will summarize the similarities and differences between the types of clauses that were discussed: verbal and non-verbal positive, negative and question clauses.

4.1 Verbal clauses

Drabbe 1957: section 103c, p 42; section 103p-104, p. 43

As could be seen in chapter 2, verbal clauses may be headed by nonfinite, semifinite or finite verbs. I refer to clauses headed by these verbs as
nonfinite, semifinite and finite clauses, respectively. Only semifinite and finite clauses may be sentence-final; nonfinite clauses can never be used on their own, but always need to be followed by another clause.

Following Wester (2014:173) we may define the subject in Aghu as “that element of reality that is referred to by the person-number marking on the semifinite or finite verb.” In intransitive clauses, person-number marking refers to the sole, intransitive, subject-argument (S), as is true for the inflection on *fomengenā* in (439). In transitive clauses, person-number marking refers to the transitive subject or “the most Agent-like argument (A)” (cf. Payne 1997:133), as is the case for the inflection on *bēkenā* in (440).

(439)  *Xodok*  *fomengenā.*

xo-do = k  fomē-ge-nā  
go-SS = CON  search.food-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘They go and search food’ (1.022)

(440)  *Xodūk*  *dū*  *bēkenā.*

xo-dū = k  dū  bē-ke-nā  
go-SS = CON  sago  pound-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘They go and pound sago.’ (1.020)

While in many cases the identity of the subject can be deduced from the linguistic or extralinguistic context, it may also be left unspecified, as in the following cases, all taken from the text corpus. In (440) and (441) we find an unspecified singular, while (443) presents an unspecified plural.

(441)  *Oxē*  *num’oxe.*

oxē  num = o-xe  
who.is.there  such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

‘“who is there?”’, someone says’ (6.166)
While most sentences in Aghu lack an overt subject (cf. below), the subject is also frequently expressed by a coreferent NP preceding the verb, to which we will refer as the subject-NP or — briefly — the (overt) subject. An example of such an overt subject is *gõ* ‘blood’ in the example below. Although Drabbe writes that it is also possible to use overt free pronouns as subjects, he does not give any examples for verbal clauses.  

Clauses may be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. Analogous to what we saw for subjects above, objects may be left out if their identity is clear from the context. This is in line with a general distributive tendency in many Papuan languages for the verb to occur without any associated nominals at all (cf. Foley 1986:70, cited in de Vries 2005:813), and with the observation by de Vries that many Papuan languages “have little room for nouns and pronouns to track given, active referents” (2006:183). Consider the following passage. In (446) we first find the intransitive clause *xodok,*

---

196 In the text corpus, the only examples of free pronouns in subject position are pronouns followed by *ke ta* ‘FOC IN.TURN’; focused 3SG pronouns were described 3.2.3.2
where the identity of the subject is clear from the preceding clause with an explicit *efê namoko* as its subject. Then follows a transitive *wi tînge* with *wi* ‘pig’ as the object. In (447) we find the same verb *tî*, but now without an explicit object, as the identity of the object is clear from the preceding sentence. As the identity of the object is clear, it also does not need to be made explicit in the clauses *abu* ‘he took it’ and *toxonge* ‘he cut it in big pieces’.

(445)  
\[ \begin{align*}
Jā & \quad kungenā & \quad bagidi & \quad emu & \quad efê & \quad namoko \\
\text{jā} & \quad kū-ge-nā & \quad ba-gidi & \quad emu & \quad efe & \quad n-amoko \\
\text{fire} & \quad \text{put-N1.RLS-N1PL} & \quad \text{sit-next.day} & \quad \text{then} & \quad \text{3SG} & \quad \text{LNK-child}
\end{align*} \]

*midik*  \quad *xoce.*  
*mi-di-k*  \quad *xo-xe*  
*come.down-SS = CON*  \quad *go-N1.RLS[SG]*  
‘They roast it and the following day the boy (lit. her child) comes down and goes.’  
(1.209)

(446)  
\[ \begin{align*}
Xodok & \quad wi & \quad tînge. \\
xo-do = k & \quad wi & \quad tî-ge \\
go-SS = CON & \quad \text{pig} & \quad \text{shoot-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{align*} \]

‘He goes and shoots a pig.’  
(1.210)

(447)  
\[ \begin{align*}
Tinik & \quad abu & \quad dadek & \quad ab' & \quad suduk \\
tî-ni = k & \quad a-bu & \quad da-de = k & \quad a-bu & \quad osu-du = k \\
\text{shoot-SS = CON} & \quad \text{take-SS} & \quad \text{come-SS = CON} & \quad \text{take-SS} & \quad \text{go.up-SS = CON}
\end{align*} \]

*toxonge.*  
*toxô-ge*  
*cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]*  
‘He shoots it, brings it (home), takes it up and cuts it into big pieces.’  
(1.211)

---

197 It is clear from their meaning that these clauses, which lack overt objects, should nevertheless be considered transitive. It is outside the scope of this book, however, to discuss the precise conditions under which sentences which lack an overt object may be called transitive.
The text corpus contains a few examples of ditransitive clauses, two of which are presented here. Note that both of them lack an overt subject.

(448)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Xoxome } & \text{dù kunge.} \\
\text{xoxome } & \text{dù kū-ge} \\
\text{bark } & \text{sago put-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\text{‘He puts sago in the bark’ (2.114)} 
\end{align*}

(449)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Osuduk } & \text{efe kūda wo toxopòmu ededek} \\
\text{osu-du = k efe kūda wo toxopòmu ede-de = k} \\
\text{go.up-SS-CON 3SG younger.sibling sago.grub some give-SS = CON} \\
\text{kimidik } & \text{engenā.} \\
\text{kimi-di = k ō-ge-nā} \\
\text{roast-SS = CON eat-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
\text{‘She goes up and gives her younger sister some (of the) sago grubs, and they roast them and they eat.’ (1.054)} 
\end{align*}

Drabbe writes that the normal order in clauses is subject, object, verb. Expressions of time usually come in first position, while expressions of place follow the subject. If we have two non-subject arguments, their mutual order is free. According to Drabbe, the NP directly preceding the verb receives more emphasis. Thus, in (450) below, it is emphasized that it is ‘to my wife’ that the taro are given, more than what is given. Following traditional terminology, Drabbe describes the recipient as the indirect object and the gift as the direct object. We will follow Drabbe at this point.\footnote{It should be noted that the terms subject, direct object and indirect object are generally taken as indications of grammatical roles, which intermediate between semantic roles (like Agent, Recipient) and pragmatic roles (like topic, focus, pragmatic pivot; cf. Andrews 2007). One should, therefore, have formal grammatical criteria to distinguish between grammatical roles like direct object and indirect object, and not semantic criteria like ‘referring to a recipient’ versus ‘referring to the undergoer’. We have insufficient data,
In addition to order, the syntactic function of noun phrases (including pronouns) may be indicated by case markers: the nominative marker te or the accusative marker ke; That they should be analyzed as case markers is further explained in 4.4. These markers are optional, and do not need to be used when the function of the NP is clear from the context. Their precise pragmatic function remains unclear. It is important to note, however, that the use of te seems to be restricted to humans and larger animals: this is stated explicitly by Drabbe for its use in non-verbal clauses, but might be true for its use in verbal clauses too.199

however, to find these grammatical criteria. Moreover, many of these criteria, like coreference relations in clause linking, can only be found out in fieldwork experiments, by asking informants for grammaticality judgments etc. As this is not possible, it seems most practical to follow Drabbe’s terminology, and use a loose semantic criterion to distinguish between the two roles.

199 Because Drabbe does not state this for verbal clauses, however, this is not more than an assumption. The text corpus contains only two examples of nominative te (2.074 and 7.065), which happen to be cases of reference to humans.
A very good illustration of the optionality of case marking, taken from the text corpus, is given in (452) below. In the first clause we find two overt NP’s, neither of them marked for syntactic function (although eke ta has exclusively been attested in subject position, cf. 3.2.3); apparently, their function is clear from the context. In clause 2, we find only one overt NP, in object function, not overtly marked as oblique. In clause 3 we again find two overt NP’s, an indirect object: efè joxo ‘his brother’ and a direct object: afitamä xabai ‘half a head’. In clause 4, finally, the non-subject role of efè joxo is marked by the oblique marker ke, for unclear pragmatic reasons.

(452)  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{efè} & \text{küda} & \text{ eke} & \text{ta} \\
efe & küda & eke & ta \\
3\text{SG} & \text{younger.sibling} & 3\text{SG.FOC} & \text{IN.TURN} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{efè} & \text{namu} & \text{toxonge}\text{[clause 1]} \\
efe & n-amu & toxô-ge \\
3\text{SG} & \text{LNK-meat} & \text{cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{woküe} & \text{toxonok}\text{[clause 2]} & \text{efè} & \text{joxo} \\
woküe & toxô-no=k & efe & joxo \\
cassowary & \text{cut.in.big.pieces-SS=} & \text{CON} & 3\text{SG} & \text{elder.brother} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{afitamä} & \text{xabä} & \text{emu} & \text{edoxe}\text{[clause 3]} \\
afitamä & xabä & \text{emu} & ed-oxe \\
\text{half} & \text{head} & \text{then} & \text{give-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{efè} & \text{joxo} & \text{k=} & \text{edoxe}\text{[clause 4]} \\
efe & \text{joxo} & \text{k=} & \text{ed-oxe} \\
3\text{SG} & \text{elder.brother} & \text{ACC} & \text{give-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The younger sibling in turn cuts his cassowary meat in big pieces, he cuts the cassowary in big pieces and then gives his elder brother half plus the head, to his older brother he gives it.’ (3.024).

Coming back to the tendency in Papuan languages to avoid a stacking of (pro)nouns for referent tracking, it should be pointed out that Aghu has
developed an effective way of referent tracking: In addition to the inflection of person and number on the verb, the language has developed a switch reference system, with nonfinites indicating same subject (SS), and semifinites implying different subject (DS). More on this can be found in chapter 5, especially 5.4.

To conclude, it should be noted that the word order as described by Drabbe is not without exception. The text corpus does contain a number of examples where the object precedes the subject. One of these cases is presented below. Although the number of examples is too small to draw any rigid conclusions on factors influencing word order, it is not unlikely that in a case like (453) the initial position of the indirect object has to do with its topicality. The sentence is about the two boys who have received food (from a parrot), even though the two are not framed here as a subject (which is the grammatical role that usually coincides with the pragmatic role of topic (cf. footnote 202)).

(453)  
\[\text{Abu} \quad \text{dadek} \quad \text{būsiū} \quad \text{etoxenā},\]
\[\text{a-bu} \quad \text{da-de=k} \quad \text{būsiū} \quad \text{et-oxe-nā}\]
\[\text{take-SS} \quad \text{come-SS = CON} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{see-N1.RLS-N1PL}\]

\[\text{joxo} \quad \text{n-amoko} \quad \text{okuomā} \quad \text{iaxajo} \quad \text{dū} \quad \text{abu} \quad \text{da-xe;}\]
\[\text{joxo} \quad \text{n-amoko} \quad \text{okuomā} \quad \text{iaxajo} \quad \text{dū} \quad \text{a-bu} \quad \text{da-xe}\]
\[\text{3PL} \quad \text{LNK-child} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{white.parrot} \quad \text{sago} \quad \text{take-SS} \quad \text{come-N1.RLS[SG]}\]

\[\text{abu} \quad \text{da-xe} \quad \text{joxo} \quad \text{n-amoko} \quad \text{fāki} \quad \text{edoxene}\]
\[\text{a-bu} \quad \text{da-xe} \quad \text{joxo} \quad \text{n-amoko} \quad \text{fāki} \quad \text{ed-oxe-ne}\]
\[\text{take-SS} \quad \text{come-N1.RLS[SG]} \quad \text{3PL} \quad \text{LNK-child} \quad \text{secretly} \quad \text{give-N1.RLS[SG]-DS}\]

\[\text{engenā.}\]
\[\text{ē-ge-nā}\]
\[\text{eat-N1.RLS-N1PL}\]

‘They take them, come and see the house, to their two children a white parrot brings sago; he brings sago and secretly gives to their children and they eat.’
Another example of a deviating word order is the following. Here Drabbe adds a footnote stating that this is not the normal word order and that the translation should be as given below.\(^{200}\) His translation can be seen as a clear indication that also here the deviating word order has to do with the topicality of the object.

(454) \( \text{Kiasid’emedek tetebago efe nagā axe.} \)

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{kiasi-d = eme-de = k} & \text{tetebago} & \text{efe} & \text{n-agā} & \text{a-axe} \\
\text{chat-ss-finish-ss} & \text{valuables} & 3\text{SG} & \text{LNK-wife} & \text{take-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘After they have chatted, the valuables, the wife takes them from the husband.’

(6.202)

4.1.1 Experiential clauses

Drabbe 1957: section 60, p. 23b-24a

Like many Papuan languages,\(^{201}\) Aghu has a number of ‘experiential verbs’, which are listed below. Semantically, these verbs have at least one

\(^{200}\) ‘En de spullen, die neemt de vrouw over’ (Drabbe 1957:87, note 127).

\(^{201}\) It is Drabbe (1957:23b) who points out that most Papuan languages have a class of verbs that are used ‘eventively’, where the logical subject functions as grammatical object. Foley (1986:121f) points out that many Papuan languages have impersonal constructions in which the animate participant functions as a passive, non-controlling undergoer. Although Foley focuses on languages where these impersonal constructions function to distinguish between controlled and uncontrolled events, these impersonal constructions are formally very similar to the experiential constructions that we find in Aghu. De Vries (2006:814) discusses experiential constructions in the light of ‘thematizing preferences in Papuan languages’. He argues that the impersonal constructions involving experiential topics in Kombai and Inanwatan may have developed out of expressions in which the experiencer-topic formed a syntactically non-integrated part of the sentence, which became intonationally and syntactically integrated into a conventional clause structure. For experiential verbs in Kombai see de Vries and Wiersma (1992:16).
argument, which can best be characterized as (subtype of the category of) experiencer: it is sentient, not instigating the event, and affected by the event. Pragmatically, this experiencer is the topic, representing what the sentence is about. On the basis of its pragmatics, therefore, one would expect it to be realized as a subject, as there is a strong association between ‘being the subject’ and ‘being the (sentential) topic’.

Semantically, however, the experiencer deviates from the prototypical semantic properties associated with subjects (sentient, but instigating and not affected), and is actually closer to the semantic prototype of objects. This section describes the solution developed in the Aghu language to deal with this tension.

In Aghu, there is a split in behavior between singular and 1PL experiencer-arguments on the one hand, and N1 plural arguments on the other hand. When the relevant argument belongs to the first category, the language uses an ‘experiential construction’, which reflects the semantic nature of the experiencer as being more closely associated with objects than with subjects. The verb has (impersonal) 3SG inflection, while the argument is optionally marked as accusative, by the use of the postpositional case marker ke ‘ACC’. This is illustrated in (455) below. When the argument is N1 plural, however, it behaves as a normal subject in a normal verbal clause: the subject is optionally marked as nominative by the use of te, while verbal inflection is N1PL, showing agreement with the subject. This is illustrated in (456).

---

202 Cf. the discussion by Andrews (2007:198f) on the status of a-subjects and p-subjects. I assume that in Aghu subjects are prototypically both p-subjects, that is: topical or ‘pivotal’, and a-subjects: that is bearing Agent-like semantic properties.

203 Cf. Naess (2007), who argues that the most prototypical subject role is that of Agent, which she defines as volitional, instigating, and not affected. From her explanation it is clear that volitional includes the sentient participants under discussion here.
(455) \( \text{nu} / \text{nügu} \ (\text{ke}) \text{xaxa-ke} \)
\(1\text{SG} / 1\text{PL} \quad \text{ACC} \quad \text{swell-\text{N}.\text{RLS}[\text{SG}]} \)
‘I / we have a swelling’ (lit. ‘it swells me / us’; Drabbe 1957:24a)

(456) \( \text{joxo} / \text{gügu} \ (\text{te}) \text{xaxa-ke-nā} \)
\(3\text{PL} / 2\text{PL} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{swell-\text{N}.\text{RLS-N1PL}} \)
‘They / you have a swelling’ (Drabbe 1957:24a)

Other experiential verbs or verbal expressions are the following:

- \( Xaimi \) ‘pain’, e.g. \( \text{nu} \ (\text{ke}) \text{xaim-oxe} \) [1\text{SG} \text{ACC pain-\text{N}.\text{RLS}[\text{SG}]}] ‘it pains me’ -> ‘I am in pain’.
- \( Ode \text{ ki(k)} \) ‘hunger’, e.g. \( \text{nügu ke ode ki-ke} \) [1\text{PL} \text{ACC hunger become-\text{N1}.\text{RLS}[\text{SG}]}] ‘it becomes hunger to us’ -> ‘we are hungry’.
- \( Oxo \text{ ja ki(k)} \) ‘thirst’, e.g. \( \text{gu ke oxo ja ki-ka xajo} \) [2\text{SG} \text{ACC water longing become-\text{N1}.\text{RLS}[\text{SG}] \text{QST}}] ‘is thirst becoming to you’ -> ‘are you thirsty?’.
- \( Kinoxo \text{ mi(k)} \) ‘tears come.down’, e.g. \( \text{nu ke kinoxo mi-ke} \) [1\text{SG} \text{ACC tear come.down-\text{N1}.\text{RLS}[\text{SG}]}] ‘tears come down to me’ -> ‘I get tears in my eyes’.
- \( Kokū \text{ ba ki(k)} \) ‘belly get big’, e.g. \( \text{nügu ke kokū ba ki-ke} \) [1\text{PL} \text{ACC belly big become-\text{N1}.\text{RLS}[\text{SG}]}] ‘to us the belly gets big’ -> ‘we are satisfied’.
- \( kiomogo \text{ wa ki(k)} \) ‘eye get bad’, e.g. \( \text{nu kiomogo wa ki-ke} \) [1\text{SG eye bad become-\text{N1}.\text{RLS}[\text{SG}]}] -> ‘to me the eye gets bad’ -> ‘I have an eye infection’.

\(^{204}\) In this case Drabbe only gives examples where \( ke \) is included. From his description and from other examples that he gives, however, we may safely conclude that \( ke \) can be elided.

\(^{205}\) In this case Drabbe only gives examples where \( te \) is included. From his description and from other examples that he gives, however, we may safely conclude that \( te \) can be elided.
Note that most of the verbs listed above have, in addition to the experiencer, an additional argument that may seem to function as a subject. In this respect, it is interesting to compare the following pairs:

(457) a  
\[ nu \quad ke \quad kinoxo \quad mi-ke \]  
1SG ACC tear come.down-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘I got tears in my eyes’ (Drabbe 1957:24a)

b  
\[ joxo \quad te \quad kinoxo \quad mi-ke-nā \]  
3PL NOM tear come.down-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘They go tears in their eyes (Drabbe 1957:24a)

It is very well possible to think of \textit{kinoxo} in (457) a as the subject. Its status in the b-form example, however, is harder to define. If we consider \textit{joxo te} as the subject — which is what I would propose, given its marking as nominative and the agreement with the verb — what then is the status of \textit{kinoxo}? I will leave this question for further research.

While the verbs described so far obligatorily behave as experiential verbs, the language also has a number of verbs where the use of an experiential construction is optional. Drabbe gives only one expression as an illustration, presenting the following alternation:

(458) a  
\[ nūgu \quad kunuŋ \quad gi-d-oā \]  
1PL fatigue become-1.RLS-1PL  
\[ / nīgu \quad kunuŋ \quad gi-ke \]  
1PL fatigue become-n1.RLS[SG]  
‘we are sleepy’ (Drabbe 1957:24a)

In the text corpus no examples of experiential constructions were found.

4.1.2 Negative clauses and question clauses

For negative verbal clauses and verbal question clauses the reader is referred to 2.6 and 2.7, respectively. In 4.6 below, we will compare the
structure of these clauses to some of the nonverbal clauses discussed in 4.2 below.

4.2 Nonverbal clauses and clauses formed with *ki(k) ‘become’*

Drabbe 1957: sections 15-17, p. 8-9

Just as in verbal clauses, the predicate in nonverbal clauses is always clause-final. The general clause structure could be described as subject followed by predicate, where the subject is not necessarily overt, and — if overt — consists of a noun phrase or a free pronoun. Predicates consist of a noun phrase, adjectival phrase or numeral phrase, followed by a copula *de* or *oxo*, the latter of which is used only in the formation of adjectival and numeral predicates. Subjects are optionally cliticized either with a focus marker *ke* or a nominative marker *te*, with the latter marker being restricted to humans and larger animals. In nominal predicates formed with *de*, the predicator noun can be marked by the case markers *te* ‘NOM’ or by the focus marker *ke* ‘FOC’, with the same restriction that *te* is restricted to larger animals and humans (see 4.4 for the analysis of *ke* as a focus marker in this context). The rest of this section will consider the different types of predicates one by one. Before we continue, however, it should be noted that the nonverbal clauses under discussion here may only have a past or a present interpretation. For reference to future one has to use a clause formed with a semifinite or finite irreals form of *ki(k) ‘become’*, discussed in 4.2.6, or to use a copulative posture verb, as discussed in 2.8.2.

4.2.1 Nominal clauses, formed with copula *de*

Drabbe 1957: section 15, p. 8a-b

Nominal clauses are always formed with the copula *de*. Semantically, they can express either equality (‘X is Y’), as in (459) to (463) below, or proper
inclusion (‘X belongs to the category of Y’), as, for example, in (464) and (467).

(459)  
\[
\text{xo\ n-eto\ de}  
\]  
\text{DST\ 1SG-father\ COP}  
\text{‘that one over there is my father’ (Drabbe 1957:8a)}

(460)  
\[
\text{xo\ te\ n-eto\ de}  
\]  
\text{DST\ NOM\ 1SG-father\ COP}  
\text{‘that one over there is my father’ (Drabbe 1957:8a)}

(461)  
\[
\text{xo\ ke\ n-eto\ de}  
\]  
\text{DST\ FOC\ 1SG-father\ COP}  
\text{‘that one over there is my father’ (Drabbe 1957:8a)}

(462)  
\[
\text{na\ büsiü\ de}  
\]  
\text{1SG\ house\ COP}  
\text{‘it is my house’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)}

(463)  
\[
\text{wo\ (ke)\ na\ büsiü\ de}  
\]  
\text{THAT\ FOC\ 1SG\ house\ COP}  
\text{‘that there is my house’ (Drabbe 1957:8a)}

All of the examples except (462) have an overt subject. In (460) and (461), the human subject is marked by the case marker te or by the focus maker ke, respectively. In (463), where reference is made to an inanimate object, we find the focus marker ke; the use of te would be ungrammatical. In the examples (464), (466), and (467) below, we find the same markers te or ke not as modification of the subject, but as part of the nominal predicate, or — to follow the terminology used in Dixon (2010b:159f.) — as modifying the copula complement.

(464)  
\[
\text{Efè\ namo\ te\ de}  
\]  
\text{efe\ n-amo\ te\ de}  
\text{3SG\ LNK-husband\ NOM\ COP}
‘it’s her husband’ (6.200c)

(465)  
\[ Wi \quad de \]
\[ pig \quad COP \]
‘it’s a pig’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

(466)  
\[ Wi \quad te \quad de \]
\[ pig \quad NOM \quad COP \]
‘it’s a pig’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

(467)  
\[ Wi \quad ke \quad de \]
\[ pig \quad FOC \quad COP \]
‘it’s a pig’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

Note that in the examples above, the predicate noun \( wi \) ‘pig’, referring to a large animal can combine with either \( te \) or \( ke \). A noun referring to an inanimate, however, can only combine with \( ke \), so that (469) below is ungrammatical.

(468)  
\[ büsiü \quad (ke) \quad de \]
\[ house \quad FOC \quad COP \]
‘it’s a house’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

(469)  
\[ *büsiü \quad te \quad de \]
\[ house \quad NOM \quad COP \]
‘It’s a house’ (deduced from Drabbe 1957:8b)

The following example shows the use of a free pronoun as a subject.

(470)  
\[ nu \quad (ke \quad te) \quad de \]
\[ 1sg \quad (FOC \quad /NOM) \quad COP \]
‘It’s me’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

An interesting example from the text corpus is the following, where we find the copula clause followed directly by a verbal clause. It is part of a passage where a woman attempts to get a fish trap that is far away, using a
long stick. A man comes out of his hiding place, and takes hold of the outer end of the long stick. The woman feels this, looks behind her, and sees a person who appears to be her husband, taking the outer end of the stick.\footnote{In a note to this verse it is noted that the she does not immediately recognize the man as her husband, even though the addressees (those who listen to the story) are informed that it is her husband that she sees. First she gets afraid, and does not recognize him yet, and only in 6.200c she really recognizes that it is her husband.}

\begin{verbatim}
(471)  Abum’ etoxe, abum et-oxe look.back see-N1.RLS[SG]

efe namo te de kesaxe toxu axe, efe n-am o te de kesaxe toxu a-xe
3SG LNK-husband NOM COP tree outer.end take-N1.RLS[SG]

mo kike. mo ki-ke afraid become-N1.RLS[SG]

‘She looks back, it is her husband who is taking hold of the outer end of the stick, and she gets afraid.’ (6.200a)
\end{verbatim}

4.2.2 Adjectival clauses, formed with copula de or oxo
Drabbe 1957: section 15, p. 8

Adjectival clauses can be formed either with the copula de or with the copula oxo. In predicates formed with de, the adjective is optionally modified by the focus marker ke.\footnote{Although it may be strange at first sight to see focus markers combined with adjectives, I believe constructions like these can be thought of as having an incomplete or headless NP as a predicate, so that a sentence like (473) could also be translated as ‘that man there is a strong one’. This is confirmed by the fact that it is also possible to have an NP plus adjective as a predicate, as in the example below (which is analogous to (477), where we have a similar construction with the copula oxo):} Some examples of adjectival clauses
formed with *de* are given here, where (473) contains an example of an adjective marked by *ke*.

(472) \[ na \ būsūi \ jafì \ de \]

1SG house beautiful COP

‘my house is beautiful’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

(473) \[ axu \ xo \ koaŋ \ (ge) \ de \]

human DST strong FOC COP

‘that man there is strong’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

Interestingly, Drabbe seems to contradict himself when he points out that adjectives can only be modified marked with *ke* and not with *te*. In spite of Drabbe’s claim that adjectives do not combine with *te*, he gives several examples where this is the case, like (474) below.

(474) \[ axu \ xo \ koaŋ \ te \ de \]

human DST strong NOM COP

‘that man there is strong’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

Adjectival clauses can also be formed with copula *oxo*. Unlike clauses formed with copula *de*, in these clauses adjectives cannot be marked for case. Two examples of adjectival predicates are given with (475) and (476) below, the first of which is fully analogous to (472) above.

(475) \[ na \ būsūi \ jafì \ oxo \]

1SG house beautiful COP

‘my house is beautiful’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

\[ xofè \ te \ axu \ koaŋ \ ge \ de \]

3SG NOM human strong FOC COP

‘that one there is a strong man’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)
Drabbe points out that the copula *oxo* can not only be used for the formation of adjectival clauses (and numeral clauses, see below), but also for nominal clauses in which the predicate nominal is modified by an adjective. An example of such a construction is the following.

(477) \(xofe\)208 te axu koan oxo
\(3SG\ \text{NOM}\ \text{human} \ \text{strong} \ \text{COP}
\)
‘that one there is strong man’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

The remainder of this section presents some of the adjectival clauses with *oxo* that were attested in the text corpus. First consider (478). The subject of the clause is formed by the noun phrase headed by *kokü* ‘belly’. As we do not have access to the intonational pattern of the language, it is not clear whether we have to do with one complex possessive NP running from *Atumio* through *kokü* (‘the bellies of the clan mates of Atumio’) or with a construction in which *Atumio* through *naxu* is extra-clausal, setting the theme for the rest of the clause, so that the clause should be read as ‘as for Atumio’s clan mates, the bellies were very big’. The predicate is formed by *isiom= tadixa oxo*, where *isiom=* serves as an adverbial modifier of *tadixa*.

(478) \(Atumio\ efe\ naxu\ kokü\ isiom=\ tadixa\ oxo.\)
\(Atumio\ efe\ n-axu\ kokü\ isiom=\ tadixa\ oxo\)
\(Atumio\ 3SG\ \text{LNK-human}\ \text{belly} \ \text{very/all} \ \text{big} \ \text{COP}\)
‘Atumio’s clan mates’ bellies are very big’ (5.04)

\(^{208}\) For *xofe)ne*’ and *wofe)ne*’ see 3.2.3.3.
Example (480) has been taken from another text. In the passage preceding the sentences below, it has been narrated how the father’s daughter Okudukake has put pieces of sago cake all over the place. When the father comes home, he concludes — as narrated in (479) — that his daughter must have been eating sago, and that, see (480), the sago must be very good. The adjective is modified twice, both by isiom(u) and by püsiü.

(479)  
Oxe  
efe  
subā  
Okudukāke  
dü  
enge.

o-xe  
efe  
subā  
Okudukāke  
dü  
ē-ge

speak-N1.RLS[SG]  
3SG daughter  
Okudukāke  
sago  
eat-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He thinks that his daughter Okudukake has eaten sago.’ (6.224)

(480)  
Enge  
isiom’  
jafi  
püsiü  
oxo.

ē-ge  
isiom=  
jafi  
püsiü  
oxo

eat-N1.RLS[SG]  
very/all good  
very  
COP

‘She has eaten and it is very good.’ (6.225)

4.2.3 Numeral clauses, formed with copula oxo or de
Drabbe 1957: section 15, p. 8

Numeral clauses are formed fully analogous to adjectival clauses, with either oxo or de as a copula. Here too, in case the copula is de, the predicative numeral can be marked for focus (by ke) or for nominative case (by te), the latter only in case the subject is a larger animal or human. Thus, in (481) the predicate can only be marked for focus, while in also the nominative marker te can be used, in case reference is made to humans or larger animals.

(481)  
kesaxe  
okuaman  
(ge / *te)  
de  
tree  
two  
FOC / *NOM  
COP

‘the trees are two’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)
(482) sigiane (ge /te) de
four (FOC/NOM) COP
‘they are four’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

4.2.4 Negation of nonverbal clauses and the expression of nonexistence
Drabbe 1957: section 16, p. 8–9

Nonverbal clauses are negated by the use of clause final de xo ‘NEG COP’, as in (483) and (484) below.

(483) nu de xo
1SG NEG COP
‘it was not me’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

(484) na n-eto (ke / te) de xo
1SG LNK-father (FOC/NOM) NEG COP
‘it is not my father’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

Note that the negative particle de is homophonous with the copula de discussed above; as set out in 3.6, both have developed from an emphatic marker *de. Adjectival clauses are negated in the same way as nominal clauses; an example is given in (485). Drabbe does not discuss the negation of numeral clauses.

(485) na n-api koan de xo
1SG LNK-mother strong NEG COP
‘my mother is not strong’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

Non-existence or a non-being present in a certain location is expressed by fedexo. Consider (486) and (487) below, the former of which forms a minimal pair with (483).

(486) nu de xo
1SG NEG COP
‘it was not me’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

(487) na n-eto (ke / te) de xo
1SG LNK-father (FOC/NOM) NEG COP
‘it is not my father’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)
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(486)  
\[\text{nu fede xo}\]  
1SG NEG COP  
‘I was not there’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

(487)  
\[\text{dü fede xo}\]  
sago NEG COP  
‘there is no sago’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

The example below has been taken from the text corpus.

(488)  
\[\text{etoxe peso fede xo}\]  
et-oxe peso fede xo  
see-N1.RLS[SG] wound NEG COP  
‘She sees that he has no wound’ (lit. ‘she sees: there is no wound’, 6.127)

Negative existentials are also used to express a ‘not having’ and can as such be seen as the negative counterpart of the expressions with positive possessive interpretation discussed in 2.8.1.

(489)  
\[\text{na xoja fede xo}\]  
1SG.POS spear NEG COP  
‘my shield does not exist / isn’t there’ -> ‘I don’t have a spear’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

(490)  
\[\text{na n-amse fede xo}\]  
1SG.POS LNK-children NEG COP  
‘my children do not exist / aren’t there’ -> ‘I don’t have children’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

A typical way to close off a story is the following:

(491)  
\[\text{fede xo. Tamajõ}\]  
fede xo tamajõ  
NEG COP end  
‘there is no more’ (6.323-4)
Drabbe closes his section on negative nonverbal clauses with some related uses of *fede*. The expression *fede ki* is used for ‘cease to exist’. In some expressions we find *de* instead of *fede*: *u de ki(*k*)* [voice NEG become] ‘be dumb’; *suketo de ki(*k*)* [ear NEG become] ‘be deaf’ and *kiokone de ki(*k*)* [eye NEG become] ‘be blind’.

### 4.2.5 Questions

Drabbe 1957: section 17, p. 9

Interrogative nominal clauses are formed by means of the question particle *ka*, as in (492), or by means of sentence final *da xajo*, where *da* is analyzed as a copula, and *xajo* as a question particle, as in (493) and (494).

\[(492)\]  
g-eto  
2SG-father QST  
‘Is it your father’? (Drabbe 1957:9a)

\[(493)\]  
g-eto  (ke/te)  da  xajo  
2SG-father (FOC/NOM) COP QST  
‘Is it your father?’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

\[(494)\]  
amgiobü  da  xajo  
girl COP QST  
‘Is it a girl?’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

Interrogative adjectival clauses are formed by the use of the copula *o(xo)* or *a*, followed by the question particle *xajo*. The copula *o(xo)* is most

---

209 For the analysis of *ka, da* and *xajo*, see also section 2.7.

210 Drabbe remarks that ‘we do not find *de (da)* very often with adjectives’. This suggests that it is possible, though rare, to form adjectival question clauses in the same way as
commonly used after adjectives in -a, while the copula a is most common after other adjectives.211

(495) tadixa o(xo) xajo
    big   COP   QST
    ‘is it big?’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

(496) jafī o(xo) xajo
    beautiful  COP   QST
    ‘is it beautiful?’ (Drabbe 1957:9a)

(497) bubugo a xajo
    deep     COP   QST
    ‘is it deep?’ (Drabbe 1957:9b)

4.2.6 Clauses formed with ki ‘become’
Drabbe 1957: section 18, p. 9; section 97, p. 40a.

Very similar to the nonverbal clauses discussed in the previous session are those which are formed with the use of the copula verb ki(k) ‘become’. Following Dixon’s analysis of copula clauses, one could consider these clauses as headed by a copula verb ki(k) which takes two complements: a copula subject and a copula complement (Dixon 2010b:159f). This copula can be a noun, an adjective or a numeral. Unlike the copula clauses discussed above, the verb can be inflected not also for person and number of the subject, but also for tense and mood, which makes that the clauses under discussion here can also be used to invoke a future interpretation. When combined with adjectives or numerals, the copula may be interpreted

nominal question clauses, namely by means of da xajo. Drabbe’s description contains no examples, however.

211 Drabbe does not refer to a as a copula, but as “possibly not more than a ligature”, and refers to the use of a in questioning verbs (see 2.7).
either as a ‘being’ or as ‘becoming’, as can be seen in the different translations of the examples given below.

(498) \textit{na xū tadīxa ki-ke}  
\textit{1SG garden big become-N1.RLS[SG]}  
‘my garden is (becoming) big’ (Drabbe 1957:9b)

(499) \textit{Mo kikenā. mo ki-ke-nā}  
afraid become-N1.RLS-N1PL  
‘They get afraid.’ (1.310)

(500) \textit{(…)} \textit{ko mase jomūj gike,}  
\textit{kind.of.tree already ripe become-N1.RLS[SG]}  
‘the ko-fruit has become ripe already’ (6.055)

(501) \textit{ga nangi xadiŋ gi-n-e}  
\textit{2SG dog brave become-II-N1SG-FUT}  
‘your dog will be brave’ / ‘your dog will become brave’ (Drabbe 1957:9b)

(502) \textit{isinigi weaxa ki-ke}  
\textit{musquito many become-N1.RLS[SG]}  
‘the musquitoes are many’ / (the musquitoes have become many)’ (Drabbe 1957:9b)

With a nominal complement, the only possible interpretation of \textit{ki(k)} is ‘become’; for the notion of being, one uses the verb positional verbs \textit{ba(x)} ‘sit’ etc., more on which can be found in section 2.8.2. The following two examples exemplify the contrast between the use of \textit{ki(k)} and the use of \textit{ba(x)}.

(503) \textit{aki= ̣ō-xo-nisi ki-ke}  
\textit{tradition speak-N1.RLS[SG]-owner become-N1.RLS[SG]}  
‘he has become an interpreter of tradition’ (Drabbe 1957:9b)
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The verb *ki(k)* is also used in combination with nonfinite realis forms. Drabbe gives the following three examples, and writes that “one should note that in all cases it is about a totality” (Drabbe 1957:40a).

\[(504)\] \[aki = \dot{\sigma}-xo-nisi = (ki-di = k) \text{ ba-xe}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{tradition} & \text{speak-N1.RLS[SG]-owner become-SS = CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘he is an interpreter of tradition’ (Drabbe 1957:9b)

\[(505)\] \[efe \ gõ \ isiom = mi-di \ kike\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3\text{SG} & \text{blood very/all = come.down-SS become-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘his blood has all flown away’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

\[(506)\] \[kesaxe \ isiom = xaxa-de \ ki-ke\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{wood} & \text{very/all break-SS become-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘the trees have all broken’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

\[(507)\] \[xanimi-de \ ki-ke-nā\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{die.IT-SS} & \text{become-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘they have (all) died’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

### 4.3 Verbal clauses embedded in copula clauses ending in *de*

Drabbe 1957: section 97, p39b-40a

In sections 2.6 and 2.7, it was shown how verbal clauses may be embedded in an interrogative or negative non-verbal clause, by the use of a copulative *xo* \((a)xajo\) ‘QST’ or *ka* ‘QST’. Here I would like to discuss another example of embedded clauses, namely those embedded in copula clauses ending in *de*.\(^{212}\) Consider the following example:

\(^{212}\) Drabbe explicitly states that “predicative *de*” can only be used after semifinite (realis and irrealis) forms, not after future forms. An example like \((513)\) below, however, seems to contradict his claim, as we do find an embedded future there.
Drabbe contrasts the sentence above to (509) below, where one uses the different-subject marker -ne. Compared to (509), sentence (508) stresses the reason or the ground for coming: it is because he asked me that I came.

\[
\begin{align*}
(508) & \quad o-xo & \text{de} & \text{da-de} \\
& \quad \text{speak-N1.RLS[SG]} & \text{COP} & \text{come-1.RLS[SG]} \\
& \quad \text{‘I came because he asked me’ (Drabbe 1957:39b)}
\end{align*}
\]

I follow Drabbe in analyzing \textit{de} as a copula.\footnote{Drabbe states literally that these sentences should be analyzed as verbal clauses that are “predicated again” by the use of \textit{de} (Drabbe 1957:40)} As the number of examples given by Drabbe is limited, and as we have only few examples of this construction in the text corpus, it is hard to characterize the precise function of this construction. It can at least be said that speakers may embed verbal clauses of different moods, including content questions. In (510)-(512) and (515) we find realis verbal clauses (serving as an assertion), while (513) is an example of an embedded irrealis. In (514) we have to do with a (realis) content question (more on which will be said below). Example (516) and (517), finally, are examples of embedded imperative clauses. In order to clarify the structure of the clauses, I have given both a translation that follows the Aghu structure quite closely, and a more liberal rendering.

\[
\begin{align*}
(509) & \quad o-xo-ne & \text{da-de} \\
& \quad \text{speak-N1.RLS[SG]-DS} & \text{come-1.RLS[SG]} \\
& \quad \text{‘he asked me and I came’ (Drabbe 1957:39b)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(510) & \quad üfű-du & \text{de} & \text{efe} & \text{wuso} & \text{xaimenag} & \text{gi-ke} \\
& \quad \text{hit-1.RLS[SG]} & \text{COP} & \text{3SG} & \text{body} & \text{pain} & \text{become-1.RLS[SG]} \\
& \quad \text{‘it is (because): I hit him and his body became painful’} \Rightarrow \text{‘his body is painful because I hit him’ (Drabbe 1957:39b)}
\end{align*}
\]
(511) gu te nego k da-xe de
2SG NOM THIS ACC come-N1.RLS[SG] COP
Bana-büsiu  ba-dke
Bana-büsiu sit-1.DST[SG]
‘it is (when): you came here, I lived in Bana-büsiu’ ⇒ ‘when you came here, I lived in B.B.’ (Drabbe 1957: 40a)

(512) xaifi-oxo de Magubu bo-dk-oã
be.born-N1.RLS[SG] COP Magubu sit-1.DST-1PL
‘it is (when): he was born, we lived in Magubu’ ⇒ ‘when he was born, we lived in Magubu’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

(513) ad-oân-e de
eat_II-1PL-FUT COP
‘it is: ‘we will eat’ -> ‘we are about to eat’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

(514) meoxo te büsiü si-ke de
who NOM house build-N1.RLS[SG] COP
‘it is (important to note): who built the house?’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

(515) nu te si-du de
1SG NOM build-N1.RLS[SG] COP
‘It is: I built [the house]’ ⇒ ‘I built the house’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

(516) noxi de
go.IMP[SG] COP
‘it is (important to note): go away!’ ⇒ ‘go away!’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

(517) deskumã bun-oxone de
?a.while sit.IMP-PL COP
‘it is (important to note): wait for a while’ ⇒ ‘wait for a while’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)
In the text corpus, verbal clauses embedded in a clause ending in *de* are few. A clear example is found in the myth on the two brothers, where the younger brother commands his brother twice to let loose of his scrotum.

(518)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ně}x\text{o}, & \text{mi}d\text{ǐ}k & \text{ena} & \text{de} \\
n-\text{ē}x\text{o} & \text{mi}-\text{di}=\text{k} & \text{ena} & \text{de} \\
1\text{SG-elder.brother} & \text{come.down-SS}=\text{CON} & \text{stand.IMP}[\text{SG}] & \text{COP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘my elder brother, you [let loose and] come down and stand’ (3.140, repeated in 3.158)

In order to better grasp the function of embedding verbal clauses in copula clauses ending in *de*, it is important to note that the copula here stands in a paradigmatic relation with negative *de xo* ‘NEG COP’; with interrogative *ka* / (*a)xajo* ‘QST’, and with counterfactual *fini oxo* ‘CFT COP’, more on which can be found in 5.5.2. Especially informative is the contrast between open questions and polar questions. Open questions begin with a question word, and are optionally embedded in a copula clause ending in *de*, as illustrated in (514) above, and (519) below. Closed or polar questions, however, are embedded in clauses ending in *ka* or (*a)xajo, as can be seen in (520)

(519)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{makum} & \text{axi}-\text{n-c} & \text{de} \\
\text{how/where/when} & \text{go.II-N1SG-FUT} & \text{COP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(it is:) where will you go?’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

(520)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{dà-xe}=\text{ka} \\
\text{come-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}]=\text{QST} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(is it:) ‘he is coming’ ⇒ ‘is he going to come?’ (Drabbe 1957:17a)

Compared to polar questions, in which the entire state of affairs is questioned, here we have a given state of affairs, in which it is one information gap that is emphasized.\(^{214}\) Two further examples of verbal

\(^{214}\) It should be noted that there is a fundamental difference between these two types of predicatives. The use of *de* implies that the event has taken place, is taking place, or is
clauses embedded in *de*-copula clauses are the following. Note the use of the focus marker *ke* in (522), which might be here taken as implying a contrast.

(521)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{sowo} & \text{makum’} & \text{bà-xe} & \text{de} \\
\text{sun} & \text{where/when/how} & \text{sit-N1.RLS[N1]} & \text{COP}
\end{array}
\]

‘it is: they hit him (and) where was the sun’ ⇒ ‘where was the sun when they hit him?’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

(522)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{nu} & \text{mumu} & \text{dà-de} & \text{ke} & \text{de} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{first} & \text{come-1.RLS[S1]} & \text{FOC} & \text{COP}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{efe} & \text{te} & \text{mo} & \text{dà-xe} & \text{ke} & \text{de} \\
\text{3SG} & \text{NOM} & \text{backside} & \text{come} & \text{FOC} & \text{COP}
\end{array}
\]

‘I came first, then he came’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

### 4.4 A note on *ke* and *te*: case or focus?

As was stated in 3.1.7 and 3.6, there are good reasons to analyze *te* and *ke* as case markers. Here I will defend this analysis, but show that they also have a pragmatic function, which I tentatively describe as ‘focused’. I will also explain why I analyze *ke* in certain contexts as a focus marker rather than a case marker.

expected to take place. The use of *ka* or *axajo* puts in question whether the event has taken place, is taking place or will take place. One might say that the use of *de* implies a high degree of authority from the side of the speaker for the truth of the proposition, while polar questions hand the authority for the truth of the proposition over to the addressee. Cf. Timberlake (2007: 315f.).

\[215\] This is the only case where I have analyzed *eke* as an accusative; in all other cases it has been analyzed as a 3SG pronoun plus focus, and glossed as 3SG.FOC; cf. 3.2.3.1.
The most convincing arguments in favor of *ke* and *te* as case markers are the following. First, Drabbe gives some contrastive examples in which the markers serve to disambiguate between the syntactic roles of subject and object. A very convincing example, which was given in 3.1.5 and is repeated here, is the following:

(523)a  na  n-amse  t = ed-oxide-nā
     1SG.POS  LNK-child  NOM  give-N1.RLS-N1PL
     ‘my children gave it’ (Drabbe 1957:43b)

b  na  n-amse  k = ed-oxide-nā
     1SG.POS  LNK-child  ACC  give-N1.RLS-N1PL
     ‘they gave it to my children’ (Drabbe 1957:43b)

Second, the case markers are in complementary distribution with other case markers, discussed in 3.6.

Nevertheless, the case markers are somewhat atypical. First, they are optional, so that the following sentence, minimally differing from (523)a and b, is also grammatical.

c  na  n-amse  ed-oxide-nā
     1SG.POS  LNK-child  give-N1.RLS-N1PL
     ‘my children gave it / they gave it to my children’ (Drabbe 1957:43b)

Their optional nature raises the question about the precise motivation for their use. One might hypothesize that they are used only when an NP’s function is not clear from the context. This cannot explain, however, why it is also possible to use these markers in case the verb has only one argument, whose role can only be that of a subject, as in the following example:
This example shows that the use of *te* cannot fully be explained from its function as disambiguator between the syntactic roles of subject and object; it must also have a pragmatic function. As our data are too limited — we especially lack minimally contrastive examples and descriptions of their meaning differences — we have to remain ignorant about the nature of this pragmatic function. In verbal clauses, therefore, we analyze *te* and *ke* as case markers, the use of which is also guided by pragmatic factors that remain to be investigated.\(^{216}\)

In nonverbal clauses, the use of *te* and *ke* again is optional, except in clauses with *meoxo* ‘who’ as a subject, where it is obligatory.\(^{217}\) As was shown in 4.2, both *te* and *ke* may be used either in subject position or as marker of the copula complement. *Te* is consistently analyzed as a nominative marker. *Ke*, however, is analyzed as a a focus marker. This shown in the following table:

Table 54: Analysis of *ke* and *te* in nonverbal clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>te</em>, analyzed as</th>
<th><em>ke</em> analyzed as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>In subject position</strong></td>
<td>Nominative case marker</td>
<td>Focus marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>As a complement</strong></td>
<td>Nominative case marker</td>
<td>Focus marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering *ke* in subject position, my main argument to analyze it as a focus marker is of a negative nature, in that it is hard to think of *ke* as an accusative marker:

---

\(^{216}\) An interesting example of the use of *ke* is found in 3.024, which was cited in 4.1 above, example (452).

\(^{217}\) Nominal clauses with *meoxo* as a subject were discussed in 3.2.5.1.
(525)  xo  ke  n-eto  de  
    DST  FOC/*ACC  1SG-father  COP  
    ‘that one over there is my father’ (Drabbe 1957:8a)

Turning to the use of *ke* with a complement, its analysis as a focus marker again makes more sense than the analysis as a case marker. This is mainly because in non-verbal clauses we cannot find a grammatical opposition between the use of *ke* and the use of *te* as we found in verbal clauses. Examples of the use of *ke* marking a complement are found in (464)-(467) above, the last of which has been copied here as (526).\(^{218}\)

(526)  Wi  ke  de  
    pig  FOC  COP  
    ‘it’s a pig’ (Drabbe 1957:8b)

The analysis of *ke* as a focus marker is supported by other contexts where *ke* is best analyzed as such. We also find *ke* in the subject position of verbal clauses, always in combination with a free pronoun, and often followed by *ta*. This was discussed extensively in Chapter 3; the use of *eke*, a cliticized form *efe* ‘3SG’ plus *ke* ‘FOC’, was discussed in 3.2.3.2, while the use of *ke* ‘FOC’ in combination with other pronouns came along in the

\(^{218}\) Dixon (2010b:159 f.) refers to copula as copula verbs and to the predicate as the copula complement. He writes that cross-linguistically copula complements are often not case-marked at all. He also points out, however, that we find other possibilities, like some Eastern European languages where copula complements can be marked either with nominative, or with oblique case, dependent on the nature of the relation: permanent or temporary (ibid: 170). From a functional point of view, it is not so surprising that a copula complement can be marked either way: it has the same referent as the subject-topic, but generally refers to an object that is affected, which is typical for objects. In Aghu we find all three possibilities: no marking, marking with a a nominative marker *te* (which usually marks subjects), and marking with a focus marker *ke*, possibly historically related to an accusative marker *ke* (which usually marks objects).
discussion of the marker *ta* (3.7.1 and 3.2.3.2). The following examples, presented in Chapter 3 as (233) and (400), respectively, illustrate this use.

(527) *Efe joxo eke ta mataxe.*
      efe joxo eke ta mata-xe
      3SG elder.brother 3SG.FOC IN.TURN come.up-N1.RLS[SG]
      ‘The elder brother in turn comes up.’ (3.021)

(528) *nu ke ta siũ adi-je.*
      1SG FOC IN.TURN banana eat_II[1SG]-FUT
      ‘I will eat from the bananas in turn too’ (Drabbe 1957:43a)

4.5 **Predication by means of moxo de**


In the section where Drabbe describes the use of predicative *de* after verbs he also points to the use of *mV* ‘do’ as a predicator. The verb can be used to predicate over adjectives and nouns. This is illustrated in (529) and (530). Compared to ‘normal’ predication with *de* or *oxo* described in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 above, the use of *m-oxo* plus copulative *de* emphasizes a causative relation between the respective clause and the following:

(529) *oxo tadixa m-oxo de onu-d-oan=de xo.*
      water high do-N1.RLS[SG] COP cross-1.RLS-1PL=NEG COP
      ‘because the water was high we did not cross’ (Drabbe 1957:39b)

(530) *na nagā m-oxo de!*
      1SG wife do-N1.RLS[SG] COP
      ‘(The reason is that) she is my wife!’ (Drabe 1957a: 39b-40a)

In line with what was described for *de* in 4.3, here too it is possible to embed a verbal clause. This is illustrated in (531) and (532).
(531) nu te ò-du m-oxo de da-xe
1SG NOM speak-1.RLS[SG] do-N1.RLS[SG] COP come-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He came because I said so’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

(532) a ki-ke m-oxo de mosode
rain become-N1.RLS[SG] do-N1.RLS[SG] COP come.up-1.RLS[SG]

‘I came in (into the house) because it was raining’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

Moxo de can also take the position of xo in a negative construction, as is clear from a comparison between the following two clauses:

(533)a nu etosume-n=de xo
1SG see.IT-II-VN=NEG COP

kia asi-n=de mu-ne
story build II-VN=NEG not.want-1.RLS[SG]

‘I hadn’t seen him often, and did not want to speak to him’ (Deduced from Drabbe 1957:40a)

b nu etosume-n=de m-oxo de
1SG see.IT-II-VN=NEG do-N1.RLS[SG] COP

kia asi-n=de mu-ne
story build II-VN=NEG not.want-1.RLS[SG]

‘I hadn’t seen him often, so I did not want to speak to him’ (Drabbe 1957:40a)

4.6 A comparison between verbal and non-verbal clauses

To close off this chapter, this section compares the clauses discussed in 4.2 with those discussed in 4.3. The following two tables compare verbal and non-verbal question clauses, negative clauses and positive clauses.
First consider question clauses, formed either by a combination of copula \textit{a} and question maker \textit{xajo} or by a single question copula \textit{ka}. Note that — analogous to what we saw for the use of \textit{moxo de} in 4.4 above — the verbal \textbf{clause} fills the same structural slot as a nominal or adjectival \textbf{phrase}.

Table 55: Verbal and nonverbal closed question clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause, NP or AP</th>
<th>COP</th>
<th>QST</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Cf. section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbal clause</strong></td>
<td>( Da-de )</td>
<td>( a )</td>
<td>( xajo )</td>
<td>Will I come?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominal clause</strong></td>
<td>( geto )</td>
<td>( da )</td>
<td>( xajo )</td>
<td>Is it your father?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ajectival clause</strong></td>
<td>( tadixa )</td>
<td>( o xo )</td>
<td></td>
<td>Is (he) big?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In negative clauses, again the verbal takes the same structural slot as a noun phrase or adjectival phrase.

Table 56: Verbal and nonverbal negative clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause, NP or AP</th>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>COP</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Cf. section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbal clause</strong></td>
<td>( Da-de )</td>
<td>( de )</td>
<td>( xo )</td>
<td>I will not come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominal clause</strong></td>
<td>( nu )</td>
<td>( de )</td>
<td>( xo )</td>
<td>It is not me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clause with verbal noun as head</strong></td>
<td>( (joxo \ de) \ baxen )</td>
<td>( de )</td>
<td>( xo )</td>
<td>They do not stay here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ajectival clause</strong></td>
<td>( koan )</td>
<td>( de )</td>
<td>( xo )</td>
<td>(s)he is not strong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 4.3 we have seen that also positive sentences may be embedded in a copula clause. This is shown in the following table:
Table 57: Verbal and nonverbal positive clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NP, AP or clause</th>
<th>COP</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Cf. section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal clause</td>
<td>neto</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>It is my father</td>
<td>4.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>jafi</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>It is beautiful</td>
<td>4.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xamiki</td>
<td>oxo</td>
<td>It is true</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>oxo</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>(It is that) he asked me</td>
<td>4.3, ex. (508)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adoane</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>(Is is that) we will come</td>
<td>4.3, ex.(513)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>noxi</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>(Note:) come!</td>
<td>4.3, ex.(516)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal content</td>
<td>makum axine</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>Who is going to come?</td>
<td>4.3, ex.(519)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Clause combinations

5.1 Sentences as combinations of clauses or clause chains

If we study the text corpus as published in Drabbe (1957), it is clear that for Drabbe, Aghu clauses generally combine into larger units: A sentence, marked by a capital at the beginning and a full stop in the end, often comprises more than one clause. Some sentences are subdivided orthographically into smaller units by the use of semicolons or comma’s. Although Drabbe’s (1957) description lacks an explanation of the use of diacritic signs, I assume that semicolons and commas generally refer to the presence of a pause in the spoken text, probably going along with a certain intonational pattern. We do not have any information, however, on the type of intonational pattern(s) going with these pauses, and neither do we know what motivated Drabbe’s choice between a full stop, a comma, or a semicolon. For reasons to be explained below, we will refer to the units demarcated by Drabbe that consist of more than one clause as clause chains. This can be represented as follows:

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219 I admit, however, that one cannot exclude the possibility that Drabbe was led (also) by the logical relations holding between sentence parts, rather than by intonational patterns.
As can be seen in the figure above, clause chains may also be demarcated by certain ‘temporal expressions’ (like ba-gidi sit-next.day), which will be relevant to our discussion in 5.4.3 below. Clause chains are, therefore, units that consist of minimally two clauses, which are preceded or followed by a pause or temporal expression. A clause chain may form a sentence on its own, or combine with other clauses or clause chains to form a larger sentence. A sentence consists minimally of just one clause (not presented in the picture above, which focuses on clause combinations), but usually contains one or more clauses or clause chains.\footnote{For sentences consisting of sequences of clauses that do not form a clause chain as defined here, see 5.4.3.}

The remainder of this chapter will describe the patterns of clause combining in Aghu. In this description, it will become clear that both the concept of clause chain and the concept of sentence are useful: switch reference operates within the domain of the clause chain, while the sentence is a relevant domain for the interpretation of sequences of semifinite verbs. As set out in 5.4.3, these sequences should generally be interpreted as SS forms in slow speech or when separated by a pause, but in all other cases function as DS forms. This interpretational ‘rule of thumb’ only holds, however, within the domain of the sentence.
5.2 Basic observations

(1) Nonfinite verbs are virtually always followed by a clause with same subject;\textsuperscript{221} they never form the final verb of a clause chain or sentence. The use of nonfinite verbs was briefly explained in 2.3.2.1, and will be discussed in more detail in 5.4.1.1.

(2) Within a clause chain, an asyndetic sequence of bare semifinite verbs with same subject is very rare. Stated differently, an asyndetic sequence of bare semifinite verbs has the strong implication that the following clause has a different subject. If we combine observation (1) and (2), we may state that clause chains are the domain of a rudimentary switch reference system (further explained in 5.4 below).

(3) Within a clause chain, -ne and -ku are used as markers of sequentiality and switch reference. They combine with semifinites or imperatives.

   a. According to Drabbe, the use of -ku implies that the following clause has the same subject. The use of -ku seems very rare or restricted to specific genres, as the text corpus contains no examples of the use of -ku. The use of -ku is further explained in 5.4.2.1.

   b. According to Drabbe, the use of -ne implies that the following clause has a different subject. This is confirmed in our corpus, as will be shown in 5.4.2.2.

\textsuperscript{221} There are a few exceptions, however, see note 46.
5.3 Intermezzo: Is Aghu a clause-chaining language?

Longacre (2007: 399) gives the following as most basic and diagnostic feature of medial-final clause chaining:

“There is a final clause that has a verb of distinctive structure that occurs but once in the entire chain, while the other non-final clauses have verbs of different and more restricted features (Elson (1964). The final clause is like an engine that pulls a string of cars.”

If we follow this definition, it is immediately clear that Aghu ‘clause chains’ as defined in 5.1 do not always answer the definition given by Longacre. On the one hand, most Aghu ‘clause chains’ do fit the definition, namely those which consist of a final semifinite verb and one or more preceding nonfinite SS forms. They fit the definition because nonfinite SS forms have ‘more restricted features’, lacking the inflection for person and number of the subject that is found on semifinites. On the other hand, quite a few Aghu ‘clause chains’ contain more than one semifinite verb, and these clearly fall outside Longacre’s definition. For Longacre, it is impossible for verbs of the same unrestricted type to be used in sequence within one and the same chain (2007:375). That this is perfectly possible in Aghu, however, is clearly illustrated in the following example. Here we first find a sequence of SS forms (adek badek), then a clause headed by the semifinite form pemoxe, which is followed by another semifinite form: mike

(534) Adek badek kufè xabā pemoxe
    a-de = k ba-de = k kufe xabā pem-oxe
    take-SS = CON sit-SS = CON enemy head cast-N1.RLS[SG]
According to Longacre’s definition, only those Aghu ‘clause chains’ with one, final, semifinite (or finite) verb and preceded by one or more nonfinite verbs would qualify as clause chains. Interestingly, however, Aghu ‘clause chains’ share two additional features that — according to Longacre — are frequently found in and characterize clause chaining languages (cf. Longacre 2007:399)\textsuperscript{222}:

- Clause chaining languages often have a switch reference system; Aghu can be analyzed as having a rudimentary switch reference system.
- A further characteristic of clause chaining can be the marking of clauses for temporality: the question whether two events overlap or take place in chronological succession. In Aghu this marking for temporality is found in the type of clause chains that are discussed in 5.4.2. This type of clause chains is rather rare, however.

Before we come to the end of this section, we should have a brief look at the status of clauses in a clause chain as subordinate or coordinate. There has been a lot of discussion about this topic (Foley 2000, Foley 2010). I

\textsuperscript{222} Strictly spoken, Longacre confines himself to languages of South America and Papuan New Guinea, when he writes that “the (…) two features [of medial-final clause chaining, mentioned above in the present text] are frequently found and characterize the languages of Papua New Guinea and South America that are discussed here.”
believe that the following quote from de Vries (2010:329) states best what is relevant for our understanding of Aghu clause chains.

“Clause chaining in Awyu-Dumut languages is based on the combination of two things. First, on distinctions between less and fully inflected forms in verbs, on degrees of finiteness. Second, on the non-embeddedness of clauses headed by less inflected verb forms. (...) Such clauses depend, in their interpretation, on the next fully inflected verb to their right but are at the same time not a constituent of the clause with the fully inflected verb.”

The quote above summarizes the main point: clauses headed by less inflected verbs depend for their interpretation on the next fully inflected verb to their right, but are at the same time not a constituent of the clause containing the fully inflected verb. Following Foley (2010), these clauses are probably better characterized as coordinate rather than subordinate.\textsuperscript{223}

\textsuperscript{223} It is not so easy to prove, however, that the dependent clauses in Aghu are coordinate rather than subordinate. According to Foley (2010), subordinate clauses are always constituents of the main clause: either as a core argument, in which case they are complement clauses; or as oblique arguments, in which case they are adverbial subordinate clauses, or as modifier of a nominal constituent, in which case they are relative clauses. One could state, therefore, that subordinate clauses, are ‘nominalized’, or — generally — formally marked as noun phrases.

While in certain other Awyu-Dumut languages dependent clauses can be contrasted with subordinate structures in which the clause is nominalized (cf. Wester 2014: 158 f.; de Vries 2005:372-377), this is not the case in Aghu; it is impossible to use language-internal criteria to contrast the dependent clauses under discussion here with subordinate clauses. Still, it makes more sense to consider them coordinate rather than subordinate. The main reasons for this are the following: (1) There is simply no evidence that the clauses are embedded in the following clause with fully inflected verb, and there is no evidence that the clauses are nominalized (unless we follow Drabbe’s analysis of ke, see below); (2) Drabbe never translates the dependent clauses in Aghu as complement clauses or relative clauses, which — as stated by Foley 2010:32 — are typical functions of subordinate clauses in Papuan languages. Although it is true that translations can never be taken as evidence for the existence or non-existence of a certain grammatical construction, I nevertheless believe that the total lack of relative and complement clauses in the Dutch translation is telling; (3) although Drabbe refers to the nonfinite forms as \textit{deelwoorden}
5.4 Aghu and switch reference

As stated in the previous section, switch reference systems typically appear in clause-chaining languages. As argued in de Vries (2010), who modifies a theory set out in in Haiman and Munro (1983), clause chaining structures are the result of coordination reduction in thematic continuity conditions, where the basic principle is that those operators that are consistent over the clauses are marked only on the verb of the final clause. De Vries shows how, for Dumut languages, reduction took place in a diachronic process, in cases where the operators of tense, mood and subject of a series of clauses were continuous. In this process, verbs in SS conditions were the first to be reduced and to become part of a chaining structure. Present Dumut languages show the traces of this diachronic process: All Dumut languages have dedicated nonfinite SS forms, which lack a specification for tense, mood and person, while only some have dedicated DS forms. These DS forms have grown from the non-reduced forms when used as non-final verb in a series of clauses; as the use of reduced forms was restricted to SS conditions, the non-reduced forms came to be associated with DS conditions. In Dumut languages, then, we find (apart from the tensed forms which

(‘participles’), he places the words in apostrophes to show that they are different from participles. The difference may very well be that participles are embedded while nonfinites are not; (4) There are very clear cases where nonfinite clauses present foreground information, e.g. in the durative constructions discussed in Durative aspect expressed by constructions with posture verbs and at the end of 5.4.1.1. This is very unusual for subordinate structures (cf. Dooley 2010). With regard to the first point, it should be noted that the connective =k that is optionally used after nonfinites is considered by Drabbe the same as the oblique marker ke used after nouns. Although it cannot be excluded that there is a diachronic connection between the two particles, I believe that the two particles synchronically have very different functions. The use of =k after nonfinite verbs cannot be used, therefore, as an argument that the nonfinite clause would have been nominalized, and that it would, therefore, be in a subordinate relation to the final clause.
largely function at discourse level, as in Aghu) reduced SS forms, and less reduced semifinite verbs functioning in DS conditions.224

Coming back to Aghu, we find a somewhat paradoxical situation. On the one hand, we find switch reference expressed in a way that is very much in line with the patterns described above. We find a very frequent use of reduced nonfinite forms in SS conditions, described in 5.4.1.1, while the less reduced semifinite forms are used predominantly in DS conditions, as described in 5.4.1.2. This system is very similar to the situation in South Wambon, which de Vries characterizes as representing the first stage of a development towards dedicated switch reference systems (de Vries 2010:345). On the other hand, switch reference can also be expressed by the addition of suffixes to the less-reduced semifinite forms, a system that is described in 5.4.2. Although this system is discussed by Drabbe rather extensively, the text corpus contains very few examples of the use of the respective affixes. The affixes express both switch reference and sequentiality. The system is very different from the system discussed above, because neither the SS nor the DS forms are reduced forms. On the contrary, switch reference forms are more complex than ‘normal’ verbs, as they result from the addition of suffixes.

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224 Languages differ in the extent to which the semifinite forms have developed into verbs that can be used in DS — and, therefore, medial — conditions only. Mandobo is a language where this is not the case: here ‘the presence of an independent semifinite verb form in medial position signals switch-reference, with no formal differentiation between DS forms and independent or final verbs’ (de Vries 2010: 345). North Wambon, on the other hand, is a language that did develop dedicated DS forms, which can only be used in medial position and signal DS.
5.4.1 Switch reference as attested in the text corpus

5.4.1.1 Nonfinite same-subject forms
Drabbe (1957): section 49, p. 19

A brief look at one of the Aghu texts will convince the reader that nonfinite SS forms are very common. As was stated in 2.3.2.1:

1. Nonfinite verb forms never form the final verb of a clause chain;
2. The subject of the nonfinite verb is the same as the subject of the following verb.\(^{225}\)

Sequences of clauses with the same subject are typically expressed by a sequence of nonfinite SS forms, with the final verb of the sentence formed by a semifinite (or more rarely: finite) verb. Consider the following sentence, where all nonfinite SS forms have been written in bold:

\[(535)\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
Wo & xonok & abu & dadek & büsiü \\
\text{sago.grub} & \text{take.out-SS = CON} & \text{take-SS} & \text{come-SS = CON} & \text{house} \\
\hline
Wo & xō-no = k & a-bu & da-de = k & büsiü \\
\text{sago.grub} & \text{take.out-SS = CON} & \text{take-SS} & \text{come-SS = CON} & \text{house} \\
\hline
ab'\text{sduduk} & \text{engenā,} & \text{ē-ge-nā} & \text{eat-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
\text{a-b = su-du = k} & \text{take-SS-go.up-SS = CON} & \text{eat-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
\text{bagidi} & \text{efe} & \text{n-api} & \text{joxo} & \text{de} & \text{baxenā,} \\
\text{ba-gidi} & \text{efe} & \text{n-api-gi} & \text{joxo} & \text{de} & \text{ba-xe-nā} \\
\text{sit-next.day} & \text{3SG} & \text{LNK-mother-PL} & \text{3PL} & \text{OPP} & \text{sit-N1.RLS-N1PL} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^{225}\) Cf. note 46.
They collect sago grubs and bring them, take the sago grubs upwards to the house and eat (them), and the following day his mothers in turn stay, they stay at home.’ (1.092)

After a series of nonfinite forms, sharing the same subject, we find the semifinite form *ëngena* ‘they eat’. This semifinite form here closes off the first clause chain. It is followed by a second clause within the same sentence, in which we find a semifinite verb with a different subject: *efë napigi* ‘his mothers’. This clause, finally, is followed by the final clause of the sentence, which functions to specify the penultimate clause.\(^\text{226}\)

Drabbe points out that SS forms can also be used when the (referent of the) subject of the first clause is part of the (referents of the) subject of the following clause. Drabbe gives the following example:

\[(536)\]  
\begin{align*}
\text{Dü} & \quad \text{afì} & \quad \text{efë} & \quad \text{küda} & \quad \text{ede-de} = k & \quad \text{ë-ge-nà}. \\
\text{sago} & \quad \text{half} & \quad \text{3SG} & \quad \text{younger.sibling} & \quad \text{give-SS} = \text{CON} & \quad \text{eat-N1.RLS-N1PL}
\end{align*}

‘She gave half of the sago to her younger sister and they ate.’ (Drabbe 1957:19a)

Comparable examples from the text corpus are given in (537) and (538)-(539).\(^\text{227}\) In (537) we see that the subject of *edëdek*, the older sister, also

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\(^{226}\) This type of clause sequences will be the topic of section 5.4.3.

\(^{227}\) The text corpus also contains an example, however, where we find an explicit DS-form in such a situation, illustrated below:

\begin{align*}
\text{Axene} & \quad \text{büsiü} & \quad \text{xoxenà}. \\
\text{a-xe-ne} & \quad \text{büsiü} & \quad \text{xo-xe -nà} \\
\text{take-N1.RLS[SG]-DS_SEQ} & \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{go -N1.RLS-N1PL}
\end{align*}

‘She [the wife] takes them [from the husband] and they [wife + husband] go towards the house’ (6.203).
participates in the roasting and the eating. In (538) we see that the one who
takes up the shot animal also participates in the cutting of the meat.

(537) Osuduk eñe küda wo toxopōmu ede dek
osu-du = k eñe küda wo toxopomu ede-de = k
go.up-SS = CON 3SG younger.sibling sago.grub some give-SS = CON

kimidik engenā.
kimi-di = k ē-ge-nā
roast-SS = CON eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
'She comes up and gives her younger sister some (of the) sago grubs, and they roast them and they eat.' (1.054)

(538) Tinik abu dadek ab’uke.
ti-ni = k a-bu da-de = k a-b = su-ke
shoot-SS = CON take-SS come-SS = CON take-SS-go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
'He shoots it and brings and takes it up in the house.' (1.218)

(539) Ab’suduk toxōgenā.
a-b-su-du = k toxō-ge-nā
take-SS-go.up-SS = CON cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS-N1PL
'He takes it up and they cut it into big pieces.' (1.220)

Nonfinite forms are also used in the formation of durative constructions,
which were discussed in 2.4.3.3. One example is repeated here:

(540) Bigio si-di = k ba-dia
mattress twine-SS = CON sit-HIST[SG]
'he was (sitting and) twining a mattress (in the far past)' (Drabbe 1957:34a)

It is worth noting here that the final finite verb — as part of this
construction — modifies the nonfinite verb: The main point of the sentence
is that the person was twining a matrass, and the fact that this had a certain
duration and in a sitting position are modifications of this main event. At a
semantic-pragmatic level, therefore, the nonfinite verb is definitely not
embedded. This can be seen as an argument for considering the nonfinite verb (*sidik*) as coordinated rather than subordinated to the final finite verb, which confirms our conclusion stated at the end of section 5.3.

### 5.4.1.2 Semifinites within one clause chain imply DS

Drabbe (1957): section 93, p. 38b, 39a

Consider the following quote by Drabbe:

“When describing sequential processes with different subjects, the first semifinite verb is simply followed by a second verb that indicates the tense in which both processes take place, as in the following example: üfioxenä, efe gō isiom’midi kike kūŋki ‘in a past before yesterday they hit him, his blood fled, and he died’; or in kibu ikenä sowo kike ‘they sang and the sun rose (today)’, with which is meant ‘they sang until the sun rose’” (Drabbe 1957:37b).

It should be noted that Drabbe, when he speaks of ‘a second verb that indicates the tense in which both processes take place’ includes semifinite verbs, which is clear from the fact that several of the examples that he gives to illustrate his point include semifinites.229 One of the examples given by Drabbe is the following:

(541)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bigio</th>
<th>si-d=</th>
<th>cm-oxe</th>
<th>da-de</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mattress</td>
<td>twine-SS</td>
<td>finish-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>come-1.RLS[SG]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

228 “Bij het beschrijven van opeenvolgende processen met verschillende subj. wordt het ww. voor het eerste proces in zero-form eenvoudig gevolgd door een vorm van het tweede ww., waardoor de tijd wordt aangegeven waarin de beide processen plaats hebben, zoals bv. in het voorb. van 24: üfioxenä, efe gō isiom’ midi kike kūŋki in een verleden vóór gisteren sloegen ze hem, zijn bloed vloeide weg, en hij stierf; of in kibu ikenä sowo kike ze zongen en de zon ging op (vandaag), waarmee bedoeld wordt: ze zongen tot de zon opkwam.”

229 As was explained in 2.1, Drabbe analyzes realis semifinite forms as past tense forms, whereas I follow Wester (2014) in analyzing semifinites as unmarked for tense.
The example above cannot be used, however, to illustrate that a sequence of semifinites implies DS. This is because the subject marking on the verb — switching from 3SG into 1SG — does not leave room for a SS interpretation anyway. To sustain the claim that sequences of semifinites imply a switch in subject, we need sequences of verbs with identical 3SG or 3PL subject marking, as only these forms could, in principle, also be explained as referring to the same subject. The point that Drabbe wants to make, and which is supported by the data in the text corpus, is that also sequences of 3rd person semifinite (and finite) forms within the same clause chain virtually always refer to different subjects. This is illustrated in the following examples, where the sequences of semifinite verbs have been printed in bold.

(542) üfü-oxe-nä, cfè gō isiom = mi-di
hit-N1.RLS-N1PL 3SG blood very/all = come.down-SS

ki-ke  kūŋ-ki
become-N1.RLS[SG] die-N1.DIST.SG

‘Some time in the past before yesterday they hit him, all of his blood came down and he died’ (Drabbe 1957:37b)

(543) Adek badek kuře xabā
a-de = k ba-de = k kuře xabā
take-SS = CON sit-SS = CON enemy head

---

Drabbe translates: *hij vlocht de mat af en toen kwam ik*, where the particle *af* is part of the verb *afvlechten*, which literally translates into English as ‘twine off’.

In case people speak very slowly, as discussed in 5.4.3 below, sequences of semifinites may refer to the same subject. I explain these verbs, however, as belonging to different clause chains. Slow speaking might also be taken as a possible explanation for the few cases of semifinites within the same clause that do not refer to different subjects: 2.150, 2.152, cf. 5.4.3 below.
**PART I: GRAMMAR. Chapter 5: Clause combinations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pemoxe</th>
<th>mike.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pem-oxe</td>
<td>mi-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cast-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>come.down-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He takes hold and sits and casts the enemy's head down (lit. casts and it comes down)’ (1.190).

Note that the implication also seems to hold when the two verbs are interrupted by a nonfinite verb, as long as they are part of the same clause chain, as in (545):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ünabukunge</th>
<th>xanimikenä.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ünaɓuŋ-ge</td>
<td>xani-ke-naa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>push.and.sit.down.on-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>die.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He sits down on it so that they die.’ (2.105)

5.4.2 Switch reference as described by Drabbe, attested only sporadically in the text corpus

5.4.2.1 Extensively discussed but rarely attested: suffixation with -ku expressing SS sequential

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panike</th>
<th>amadadek</th>
<th>jümoxe.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pani-ke</td>
<td>amada-de=k</td>
<td>jüm-oxe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be.cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>take.from.fire-SS = CON</td>
<td>fold.open-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘When it is cooked through, she takes it from the fire and folds it open.’ (2.121)

The suffix -ku can be added to semifinite realis, semifinite irrealis forms, or to imperatives. As such, it expresses not only ‘same subject’, but also sequentiality. The use of -ku, in other words, indicates:

---

232 One might want to argue that -ku and -ne are clitics rather than suffixes, because they can be attached to a wider range of verbs than most affixes, to verbs that do not need this final element in order to be a grammatical form. Both -ku and -nu cause stress shift like...
(i) That the subject of the following verb is the same as the subject of the verb to which -ku is attached;

(ii) That the event expressed by the following verb follows the event of the verb to which -ku is attached.

As stated above, the suffix may attach to semifinite realis verbs, semifinite irrealis verbs and to imperatives, the paradigms of which are given below (except from the fully regular imperatives). In all cases, word stress is not on the syllable preceding the subject-number marker, but on the preceding syllable, as is also the case for verbs in -ne described below.233

Table 58 below gives the semifinite realis forms in -ku for the verb da ‘hear’. Note that the final vowel of the 1SG form harmonizes with the suffix, and that the consonant of the suffix is voiced following the plural suffixes, which end in a nasal.

---

233 Drabbe writes that this is because -ku is one of the elements that express “a strong connection between a verb and another element.” As was pointed out in 1.2.3 above, these elements tend to cause stress shift from the inflectional suffix to the preceding syllable.
Table 58: Semifinite realis forms in -ku, expressing SS and SEQ, compared to the forms without -ku; the verb da(k) ‘hear’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>da-dè</th>
<th>dà-du-ku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear-1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>hear-1.RLS[SG]-SS.SEQ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1SG</th>
<th>da-kè</th>
<th>dà-ke-ku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>hear-N1.RLS[SG]-SS.SEQ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1PL</th>
<th>da-d-oā</th>
<th>dà-d-oañ-gu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear-1 RLS-1PL</td>
<td>hear-1.RLS-1PL-SS.SEQ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1PL</th>
<th>dà-ke-nā</th>
<th>dà-ke-nañ-gu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hear-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
<td>hear-N1.RLS-N1PL-SS.SEQ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As set out in 2.3.1.1, verb stems are lexically specified for the form of N1.REALIS marker that they combine with. While Table 58 above gave the forms in -ku for verbs that have -ke as a realis marker, Table 59 gives the forms in -ku for verbs that combine with allomorphs of -ke.

Table 59: Semifinite realis forms in -ku, expressing SS and SEQ; forms with allomorphs of realis marker -ke

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i(g) ‘lie’</th>
<th>da(x) ‘come’</th>
<th>ede(ox) ‘give’</th>
<th>fî(oxo) ‘roast’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>i-du = ku</td>
<td>dà-du = ku</td>
<td>edè-du = ku</td>
<td>fî-du = ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>i-ge = ku</td>
<td>dà-xe = ku</td>
<td>edô-xo = ku</td>
<td>fî-ôxo = ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>i-d-oañ = gu</td>
<td>dà-d-oañ = gu</td>
<td>edè-d-oañ = gu</td>
<td>fî-d-oañ = gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>i-ge-nañ = gu</td>
<td>dà-xe-nañ = gu</td>
<td>edô-xe-nañ = gu</td>
<td>fî-ôxe-nañ = gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Drabbe points out that in N1SG forms with realis marker -oxe the final vowel ‘harmonizes’ with the vowel of =ku, which leads to a form like fî-ôxo-ku (instead of fî-ôxe-ku). The only illustration of semifinite realis forms in -ku given by Drabbe is the following.

(546) ë-nu-ku  da-de
ev-1.RLS[SG]-SS.SEQ come-1.RLS[SG]‘I first ate and then came here’ (Drabbe 1957:37a)
The irrealis semifinite forms in -ku are presented in the table below. As illustrated by the verb tame ‘write’, for irrealis stems ending in e the final vowel for 1SG changes into o

Table 60: Semifinite irrealis forms in -ku, expressing SS and SEQ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ade ‘hear II’</th>
<th>tame ‘write II’</th>
<th>afi ‘take II’</th>
<th>attü ‘go.up II’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>àdo = ku</td>
<td>tàmo = ku</td>
<td>àfi = ku</td>
<td>attü = ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>àde-ŋ = gu</td>
<td>tàme-ŋ = gu</td>
<td>àfi-ŋ = gu</td>
<td>àtù-ŋ = gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>àd-oañ = gu</td>
<td>tàm-oañ = gu</td>
<td>afi-oañ = gu</td>
<td>att-oañ = gu²³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>àde-nañ = gu</td>
<td>tàme-nañ = gu</td>
<td>afi-nañ = gu</td>
<td>att-nañ = gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Drabbe gives the following sentence as an illustration:

(547) tàmo-ku aksi-e
write.1SG-SS Seq go.1SG-FUT
‘I will first write and then I will go’ (Drabbe 1957:37a)

An example of an imperative, finally, is given with (548). As the paradigm of imperatives plus - ku is fully regular, it has not been presented here.

(548) nañ-gu noxi
eat.IMP.1SG-SS Seq go.IMP.1SG
‘eat and go!’ (Drabbe 1957: 37a)

Drabbe writes that for the expression of “sequences of processes” one also “likes to use” the durative construction discussed in 2.4.3.3, in which the posture verbs are followed by =ku. Some of the illustrations given by Drabbe are listed here:

---

²³⁴ Drabbe does not indicate stress on ù, but this is probably due to typographical limitations.
(549)a  

\[ \text{fiko} \quad a-de=k \quad e-du=ku \quad da-de \]

work  take-SS = CON  stand-1.RLS[SG] = SS.SEQ  come-1.RLS[SG]

‘I first worked and then came here’ (Drabbe 1957:37a)

(550)  

\[ \text{fiko} \quad a-de=k \quad \text{menu-du}=ku \quad \text{da-dke} \]

work  take-SS = CON  stand.CONT_I-1.RLS[SG] = SS.SEQ  come-1.DIST[SG]

‘after having worked for a rather long while I came here (some days ago)’ (Drabbe 1957:37a)

(551)  

\[ \text{bamu-du}=ku \quad \text{da-de} / \]

sit.CONT_I-1.RLS[SG] = SS.SEQ  come-1.RLS[SG]

\[ \text{menu-du-ku} \quad \text{da-de} \]

stand.CONT_I-1.RLS[SG]-SS.SEQ  come-1.RLS[SG]

‘after a long while I came back’ (Drabbe 1957:37b)

(552)  

\[ \text{bamu}=ku \quad \text{axi-je} / \quad \text{axi-je} \]

sit.CONT_I[1SG]-SS.SEQ  come.II[1SG]-come.II[1SG]-FUT

FUT

Also when used outside the durative constructions illustrated in (549)a and (550), the continuative forms of posture verbs plus -\text{ku} may serve to express a long duration, as in (551) and (552).\textsuperscript{235}

\textsuperscript{235} Instead of continuative I forms plus -\text{ku}, one may also use continuative II forms, which, however, are not followed by -\text{ku}. Drabbe gives \textit{bamb-oxo da-dke} [sit.CONT_I-1SG come-1.DST[SG]] or \textit{meb-oxo da-dke} [stand.CONT_I-1SG come-1.DST[SG]] ‘after a very long while I came back a long while ago’; \textit{bamb-oxo axi-je} [sit.CONT_I-1SG go.II[1SG]-FUT] or \textit{meb-oxo axi-je} [stand.CONT_I-1SG go.II[1SG]-FUT] ‘after a very long time I will go’; \textit{bamb-eda noxi} [sit.CONT_I-IMP[SG] go.IMP[SG]] or \textit{meb-eda noxi} [stand.CONT_I-IMP[SG] go.IMP[SG]] ‘go away after a very long time’.
memu-ku  \( \text{stand} \text{._CONT\_I[1SG]} = \text{SS}_\text{SEQ} \)  \( \text{axi-je} \)  \( \text{come\_II[1SG]} \text{-FUT} \)  ‘after a long while I will go’ \cite{Drabbe1957:37b}

In the data available to us, forms in -\text{ku} are very rare: apart from the examples given by Drabbe there were no attestations in the text corpus. This stands in sharp contrast to the use of same-subject forms in -\text{dV(k)} (or -\text{bu}), which — as was mentioned in 5.4.1.1 — are used extensively.

5.4.2.2 Dedicated DS forms; -\text{ne} or -\text{wu} as marker of (DS and) sequentiality

\cite{Drabbe1957}: sections 94-96, p. 38-39

Parallel to the SS sequential forms in -\text{ku}, described in the previous section, the Aghu language has dedicated DS sequential forms. In all person-number combinations except 1SG, the DS sequential forms are marked by -\text{ne}. In 1SG, however, the forms are marked by changing the final vowel of the 1SG affix into -\text{u} and the optional addition of \text{wu}, which according to Drabbe probably is a contracted form of \text{awu} ‘already’, ‘immediately’.\footnote{For the function of \text{awu} see 3.4.2. One could think of the suffix under discussion here as having the form \([+\text{back}]\text{-wu}\), where the feature \(+\text{back}\) is a floating feature, which needs to be attributed to a vowel (as soon as the suffix is attached to a stem). One could, at the same time think of the final vowel e as found in semifinite 1SG forms (like \text{da-de} ‘come-1.RLS[SG]’ as an unspecified vowel, with [e] as default realization. When the suffix is attached to a form like \text{da-de}, the vowel is specified as [+back] and realized as [u]. In this respect it is interesting to compare the reals and the irrealis 1SG forms. Other than the reals forms, the final vowel of the irrealis stems has specified features. When these stem-final vowels (which are all front vowels, given the general features of irrealis stems, cf. 2.2) are combined with the suffix \([+\text{back}]\text{-wu}\), they keep their specification as \(+\) or \(\sim\) high, but all receive the feature back. Thus, stem-final \text{i} and \text{e} end up as \text{u} and \text{o}. The only exception is the vowel \text{ü}, as in \text{atü}, for which there is no counterpart with the specification \([+\text{back}]\) available.}

It is interesting to note that the forms are immediately followed by the next verb,
without any intervening pause, which can be seen as a reflex of the ‘original’ meaning of *awu*, the sequence of verb plus -wu plus following verb may be analyzed as a grammaticalized sequence of verb plus *awu* ‘already’, ‘immediately’ plus following verb, originally used in cases where the first event was followed ‘immediately’ by the following event.

The following two tables give the paradigms for semifinite realis and semifinite irrealis, respectively. They have both been taken over from Drabbe (1957:38a).

Table 61: Semifinite realis forms in -ne, expressing DS and SEQ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kù ‘put into’</th>
<th>tame ‘write’</th>
<th>ë(ox) ‘roast’</th>
<th>da(x) ‘come’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>kù-nu(-wu)</td>
<td>tämu-du(-wu)</td>
<td>ë-du(-wu)</td>
<td>dà-du(-wu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>kùŋ-ge-ne</td>
<td>täm-oxo-ne</td>
<td>ë-oxo-ne</td>
<td>dà-xe-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>kù-n-oa-ne</td>
<td>tämo-d-oa-ne</td>
<td>ë-oa-ne</td>
<td>dà-oa-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>kùŋ-ge-na-ne</td>
<td>täm-oxe-na-ne</td>
<td>ë-oxe-na-ne</td>
<td>dà-xe-na-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 62: Semifinite irrealis forms in -ne, expressing DS and SEQ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>adi ‘eat_I’</th>
<th>bèje ‘pound_I’</th>
<th>tame ‘write_I’</th>
<th>afì ‘take_I’</th>
<th>atì ‘go.up_I’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>àdu(-wu)</td>
<td>bèjo(-wu)</td>
<td>tämo(-wu)</td>
<td>àfi(-wu)</td>
<td>àti(-wu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1SG</td>
<td>àdì-ne</td>
<td>bèje-ne</td>
<td>täme-ne</td>
<td>àfi-ne</td>
<td>àtì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>àd-oa-ne</td>
<td>bèj-oa-ne</td>
<td>täm-oa-ne</td>
<td>afi-oa-ne</td>
<td>atì-oa-ne²³⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1PL</td>
<td>àdì-na-ne</td>
<td>bèje-na-ne</td>
<td>täme-na-ne</td>
<td>afi-na-ne</td>
<td>atì-na-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative forms, finally, are formed out of the normal imperative plus -ne. Drabbe remarks that they are rarely used, and gives the following forms: ëna-ne ‘stand.IMP-DS.SEQ’; ëna-xani-ne ‘stand.IMP-PL-DS.SEQ’; no-ne ‘speak.IMP-DS.SEQ’; nò-xone-ne ‘speak.IMP-PL-DS.SEQ’; nà-ne ‘eat.IMP-DS.SEQ’ and nà-xani-ne ‘eat.IMP-PL-DS.SEQ’.

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²³⁷ As in Table 60, Drabbe does not indicate stress on ū, but this is probably due to typographical limitations.
Non-imperative forms in -ne or -wu are more frequent, and Drabbe lists 14 clause chains formed with these. Although not very frequently, the DS realis forms are also attested in the text corpus. DS irrealis forms, however, have not been found. The examples that follow have been taken both from the text corpus and from Drabbe’s grammatical introduction.

Drabbe gives (553) below as illustration of the 1SG DS.SEQ form, while (554) forms an illustration of the use of -ne.

\[
\begin{align*}
(553) & \quad \hat{e}-n-u(wu) & da-xe \\
& \quad \text{eat-1.RLS-1.SG.DS.SEQ} & \quad \text{come-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
& \quad \text{‘I ate and he came.’ (Drabbe 1957:38b)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(554) & \quad \text{tam-oxo-ne} & xo-de \\
& \quad \text{write-N1.RLS[SG]-DS.SEQ}^{238} & \quad \text{go-1.RLS[SG]} \\
& \quad \text{‘He wrote and I went’ (Drabbe 1957:38b)}
\end{align*}
\]

Drabbe devotes a special section to pointing out that DS forms in -ne or -wu are often used to express the result of an action, something that “one does more often than we are used to.”\(^{239}\) Some of the verb + DS-marker + verb combinations, then, have become highly conventionalized fixed expressions. Drabbe writes: “in a dictionary one would have to write after ‘hang onto’: taku-i(g) ‘hang(tr)-hang(itr)’; after ‘throw away’: peme-oto(x) ‘cast-go.uphill’; after ‘hit dead’: üfũ(o)x kũ ‘hit die’” (Drabbe 1957: 39a).\(^{240}\) He

\[^{238}\text{Although -ne can only be used in combination with N1SG person number affixes, I have decided not to indicate this in the gloss.}\]

\[^{239}\text{‘Hetgeen men vaker doet dan wij dat gewoon zijn’ (Drabbe 1957:39a).}\]

\[^{240}\text{‘In een woordenboek zou achter „ophangen” moeten staan tâkũ- i-g, achter „wegwerpen” peme- oto-gh (…) achter „doodslaan” üfũ-oģh kũ.’ For the verb oto-gh Drabbe points to the fact that it is only in this construction, when used after another verb, that the verb has the meaning ‘away’. As a normal verb it means ‘go uphill’.}\]

then gives several sentences in which these expressions are used, some of which are presented here.

(555) üfi-oxe-na-ne            küng-ge
hit-N1.RLS-N1PL-DS.SEQ die-N1.RLS[SG]
‘they hit (him) so that he died’ (Drabbe 1957:39a)

(556) pem-oxo-n =           oto-xe
cast-N1.RLS[SG]-DS.SEQ = go.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]
‘he cast it away’ (Drabbe 1957:39a)

(557) difiŋ-ge-ne              doto-de
wake.up-N1.RLS[SG]-DS.SEQ get.up-I.RLS[SG]
‘he woke me up (and I got up)’ (Drabbe 1957:39b)

(558) difiŋmo241      dotaxi-n-e
wake.up-II.1SG.DS.SEQ get.up-II-N1SG-FUT
‘I will wake him up’ (Drabbe 1957:39b)

(559) jofū a-d=bin-oxone-ne242 oxo siūdū243
canoe take-SS=push-IMP.PL-DS.SEQ water sail.off-II.N1SG
‘Take and push the canoe (so that it goes) into the water’ (Drabbe 1957:39a)

(560) fiko  čdoxo244 aği-n-e
thing give-II.1.SG.DS.SEQ take-II-N1SG-FUT
‘I will give him things (and he will take them)’ (Drabbe 1957:39b)

The resultative relation between the verb in -ne and the following verb may be such that the focus, or ‘the main point of the utterance’ is on the part

241 The stem_II form of difiŋ ‘wake.up’ is probably difiŋme, parallel to tame ‘write_II’ in Table 62.
242 Bin is an imperative stem; Drabbe does not give the stem_I and stem_II counterparts.
243 Siūd is the stem_II counterpart of stem_I siünī, see section 2.2.
244 The stem_II of ‘give’ is edaxe. As can be seen in Table 62 and was explained above, e-final stems get o as a final vowel in 1SG instead of u. Apparently the vowel a of the stem edaxe harmonizes with final o, so that the definitive form is čdoxo, not ?čdoxo.
following the verb. This is clear from the following series of examples, all taken from Drabbe’s description:

(561) gu te si-ke-n = e-ke
2SG NOM build-N1SG-DS.SEQ = stand-N1.RLS[SG]
‘it is your work’ (lit. ‘you built it and it stands’; Drabbe 1957:39b)

(562) surat efe ka num =
letter 3SG figure such =

o-bu tam-òxo-ne negā-ke²⁴⁵
speak-SS write-N1.RLS[SG]-DS.SEQ lie.hereII[N1SG]-DUR
‘this is the content of the letter’ (lit. ‘saying the figures of the letter he wrote and here they are’; Drabbe 1957:39b)

An example frequently found in the text corpus is the sequence of ede ‘give’ and ë ‘eat’, as in the following passage, taken from the myth on Aidu, Xaidu and Apupûsimo. It has just been told how the parents have been collecting tubers. Now they are coming home, and observe that a parrot has come ‘to give them food’, expressed by the bold-printed edoxene engena ‘it gave and they ate’.

(563) Abu dadek bûsiű etoxenã,
a-bu da-de=k bûsiű et-oxe-nã
take-SS come-SS = CON house see-N1.RLS-N1PL

joxo namoko Okuomã iaxajo
joxo n-amoko Okuomã iaxajo
3PL LNK-boy Two white.parrot

dü abu daxe;
dü a-bu da-xe

²⁴⁵ The form negā-ke probably is a variant of the form nigā-ke given in Table 35, section 2.8.3.1.
sago  take-ss  come-N1.RLS[SG]

‘They take them [the tubers], come and see the house, to their two children a
white parrot has come and brought them sago’ (2.007a)

(564)  \textit{Abu}      \textit{daxe}     \textit{joxo}      \textit{namoko}
\hspace{0.5cm} a-bu    da-xe    joxo    n-amoko
\hspace{0.5cm} take-SS     come-N1.RLS     3PL     LNK-boy

\textit{faki}   \textit{edoxene}   \textit{engenä}.
\hspace{0.5cm} faki    ed-oxe-ne    ē-ge-nā
\hspace{0.5cm} secretly    give-N1.RLS[SG]-DS,SEQ    eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘It has brought sago and secretly given to their children and they have eaten.’
(2.007b)

Somewhat further in the same narrative we find two semifinite verbs in
sequence without any DS-marking, which is an example of the pattern
described in 5.4.1.2: in \textit{tomoxenä doxe} ‘they roast it gets cooked through’
the parents form the subject of the first, while the tubers form the subject of
the second verb.

(565)  \textit{Joxo}      \textit{n-api}     \textit{joxo}      \textit{n-eto}
\hspace{0.5cm} joxo    n-api     joxo    n-eto
\hspace{0.5cm} 3PL     LNK-mother     3PL     LNK-father

\textit{büsii}   \textit{osukenhä}.
\hspace{0.5cm} büsiü    osu-ke-nā
\hspace{0.5cm} house    go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL

‘Their mother and father go up into the house.’ (2.008)

(566)  \textit{Osuduk}      \textit{jā}     \textit{abukungenä,}     \textit{idī}
\hspace{0.5cm} osu-du=k     jā     abukū-ge-nā     idī
\hspace{0.5cm} go.up-SS=CON     fire    make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL     tuber

\textit{tomoxenä}   \textit{doxe}.
\hspace{0.5cm} tom-oxe-nā     do-xe
\hspace{0.5cm} roast-N1.RLS-N1PL     cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]
‘They go up and make fire, they roast the tubers until they are cooked through.’

(2.009)

We find a similar ‘alternation’ of the use and non-use of forms in -ne in the following case, where Drabbe uses an example which differs minimally from a sentence found in the text corpus. While the ‘original’ sentence, illustrated in (567), does not use -ne, the example given (‘quoted’?) by Drabbe and given in (568), does have a form in -ne instead.

(567)  Efekokidik
       etoxe:
      efekoki-di=k        et-oxe
     pass.by -SS = CON    see-N1.RLS[SG]

      igidinā         dateke     xoxenā      ige.
      igidi-nā        dateke     xo-xe-nā    i-ge
      lie.overnight-N1PL  just  go-N1.RLS-N1PL  lie.down-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He passes by and sees the footprints that they have left after having slept’ (lit. ‘sees they have stayed overnight and just gone and it is lying’ (2.173)

(568)  et-oxe          i-gidi-nā       dateke
       see-N1.RLS[SG]     lie-next.day-N1PL  just

      xo-xe-nā-n =     i-ge
      go-N1.RLS-N1PL-DS.SEQ =  lie.down-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He sees the footprints that they have left after having slept’ (lit. ‘sees they have stayed overnight and just gone and it is lying’ (Drabbe 1957:39b)

Although imperatives may combine with -ne as in (559) above, they usually do not; forms without -ne are more frequent. In his list of ‘fixed expressions’ mentioned above (cf. examples (555) through (560)) Drabbe gives the following example of an imperative without -ne:

(569)  üfena          akümē
       hit-II.IMP[SG] die-II.N1SG

‘hit him so that he dies’ (Drabbe 1957:39a)
Conclusively, we can say that -ne is often — but not exclusively — used in cases where the second verb expresses the result of the second, and that the use of -ne does seem to be optional, given examples like (566) and (567), where we find ‘resultative chains’ with bare semifinites, not suffixed with -ne.

5.4.3 Sequences of semifinite verbs over two clause chains, within one sentence
Drabbe (1957): section 49, p. 19

The following quote has been taken from the passage in which Drabbe explains the use of nonfinite forms, which, as was described in 2.3.2.1 and 5.4.1.1 above, are used exclusively in ss conditions. He then remarks (underscores are mine):

“In case two processes are not considered as one, we also find two semifinite verbs in sequence, especially when one tells something very slowly, e.g. woki fe afamoxe, sumke bomokungge, sibomoxe, kifioxe ‘he opened a bamboo tube, put tobacco into it, closed it, and put it down’. One should, as it were, think about the first three verbs as if they are followed by a semicolon” (Drabbe 1957:19b).

246 In the preceding section (section 95, p. 39a) Drabbe points out that -ne can also be used in combination with posture verbs used in durative constructions (see 2.4.3); their forms can be found in section 2.8, note 90. In none of the examples provided by Drabbe is there a resultative relation between the posture verb in -ne and the following event. Some of the examples given by Drabbe are the following. bigio si-di=k bam-oxo-ne da-d-oä [mattress twine-SS=CON sit.CONT_I-N1SG-DS.SEQ come-1.RLS-1PL ] ‘after he had twined the mattresses, we came’; būsīū si-di=k mebox-o dafia-na-ne [house build-SS=CON stand.CONT_II come_II-N1PL-FUT ] ‘when I will have built the house, they will come.’
247 “In de gevallen dat twee processen niet als één kunnen beschouwd worden vinden we ook wel twee ww. achter elkaar die in een tijdvorm met subj. wijzer staan, en wel vooral als men heel rustig iets vertelt, bv. woki fe afamoghe, sumke bomokungge, sibomoge, kifioghe hij maakte een bamboekoker open, deed er tabak in, sloot hem af, en legde hem neer; men moet zich a.h.w. achter elk der drie eerste ww. een komma-punt denken.”
Drabbe continues by giving a somewhat different case, in which the second clause forms a specification of the first clause:

“Consider the following, additional, example: jā bodo kutošidi tümoxe, xabā tümoxe ‘he put (the defeated one) on a tree branch and cut off, he cut off the head; one may consider xabā tümoxe as a new sentence, in which the narrator gives an explanation of the preceding sentence” (Drabbe 1957:19b).

Summarizing, Drabbe describes how, especially in slow speech, a sequence of two semifinite clauses can be used in SS conditions. In this respect, Aghu fits a general tendency in Awyu Dumut languages, which was described by Wester (2014:179). Wester points out that semi-finite forms may have the same subject as the next verb in case at least one of the following two conditions is met:

a. The verbs must express sequential actions that have no temporal overlap or
b. The second verb must occur in a clause that further explains the clause in which the first verb occurs.

Although these conditions do seem to hold in Aghu, I would like to add another, formal criterion: in the data available to us, the great majority of semifinite clauses with SS interpretation are followed by a break, indicated by a comma, a semicolon or a temporal expression like bagidi ‘next day’.

---

248 “Ziehier een ander voorb.: jā bodo kutošidi tümoghe, ghabā tümoghe hij legde (de verslagene) op een boomtak en sneed af, hij sneed het hoofd af; ghabā tümoghe kan men beschouwen als een nieuwe zin, waarin de verteller uitleg geeft van het voorafgaande.”

249 We restrict ourselves to sequences of verbs within one and the same sentence. Examples of semifinites with same subject separated by ba-gidi sit-next.day — which marks the end of a clause chain — are plenty. The following list forms only a small part: 1.016, 1.017, 1.019, 1.021, 1.023, 1.025 (...) 1.116. Some of the few exceptions to the strong tendency
If we recall that clause chains are defined as clauses demarcated by pauses, we must conclude that — within the definition that we use in this book — these semifinites belong to different clause chains, although they are part of the same sentence. We can still state, therefore, that sequences of semifinites within a clause chain imply DS; over clause chains, however, they may be used in SS conditions. This is only possible, however, if the conditions (a) and (b) given above are answered. In other words, in order for a sequence of semifinite verbs within one sentence to be interpreted as having the same subject, separation by a pause is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition.  

Sentences (570) through (572), all taken from the text corpus, form a good illustration of these ‘inter-clause-chain’ but intra-sentential sequences of semifinites. The relevant verb forms have been printed in bold. First consider (570). The sequence of *memoxenā* ‘they continue (placing)’ and described above are the following (these are intra-clause-chain semifinites referring to the same subject): 2.150, 2.173 (where we find two semifinites separated by *dateke*. If we take *dateke* as a temporal expression analogous to *bagidi*, however, we might also state that it introduces a new clause chain, which would make the relation between the two verbs inter-clause-chainal rather than intra-clause-chainal), last two verbs of 5.16.  

250 This means that the text corpus also contains examples of DS forms within one sentence separated by a pause. A clear example is found in 5.16, presented here, where we find a switch of subject between *afamoxe* and *ogüke* and again between *ogüke* and *sibumoxe*. Between *sibumoxe* and *kifiōxe* there is no change of subject:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xati</th>
<th>woki</th>
<th>fe</th>
<th>to</th>
<th>afamoxe</th>
<th>sia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xati</td>
<td>woki</td>
<td>fe</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>afam-oxe</td>
<td>sia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>again</td>
<td>bamboo</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>opening</td>
<td>open -N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>cricket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ogü -ke</th>
<th>sibumoxe</th>
<th>kifi -oxe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
```

‘He opens another bamboo case, and a cricket goes in, he closes it off and lays it down.’ (5.16)
\textit{daxenā} ‘they come’ answers criterion (a): the verbs express sequential actions that have no temporal overlap. The sequence of \textit{daxenā} and \textit{daxenā} is seen as an instance of condition (b): the second clause forms a specification of the first. We see something similar in the repetition of the verb \textit{bimoxenā} in (571): the second clause specifies that it is the front of the body that is cut open. The sequence of \textit{bimoxenā} and \textit{afogioxonā} in the same sentence is probably best explained as expressing two events that have no overlap, although it is also possible to read the second clause as a specification or explanation of the first.

\begin{tabular}{lll}
(570) & \textit{Sikunuk} & \textit{memoxenā,} & \textit{daxenā,} \\
 & sikū-nu = k & mem-oxide-\textit{nā} & da-\textit{xenā} \\
 & place-SS = CON & stay-N1.RLS-N1PL & come-N1.RLS-N1PL \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{būsiū} \hspace{1cm} \textit{daxenā}.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
 & būsiū \\
 & da-\textit{xenā} \\
	house & come-N1.RLS-N1PL \\
\end{tabular}

‘They were busy placing the fish traps for a while and then came, they came home’ (1.005)

\begin{tabular}{lll}
(571) & \textit{Bimoxenā,} & \textit{mogo} & \textit{bimoxenā;} \\
 & bim-oxide-\textit{nā} & mogo & bim-oxide-\textit{nā} \\
 & cut.open-N1.RLS-N1PL & front.of.body & cut.open-N1.RLS-N1PL \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{agifoixonā}.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
 & agifi-oxide-\textit{nā} \\
 & pull.open-N1.RLS-N1PL \\
\end{tabular}

‘They cut him open, they cut open the front of his body; they pull it open.’ (8.004)

Another clear example of verbs expressing sequential events is given in (572), where the two verbs in bold express subsequent events. The sentence also forms a good illustration of the principle that a sequence of two verbs within one and the same clause chain implies a change in subject: the sequence of \textit{kimoxenā}, \textit{doxe} and \textit{enjena} all implies a double change in
subject: from the ‘roasters’ to the food that is cooked through back to those who have roasted and who are now going to eat.

(572)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Efígiomoxená</th>
<th>Kimoxená</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>efigiom-oxe-nā</td>
<td>kim-oxe-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
<td>roast-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doxe</th>
<th>Engená</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do-xe</td>
<td>ē-ge-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>eat-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They cut it, roast it cooked through and eat (3.025)

Finally consider the following sentence, which shows one of the weaknesses of our definition of the sentence as a meaningful unit. Exactly the same sequence of words is marked by Drabbe as one sentence in 3.045, example (573), but as two different sentences in 3.007 and 3.008, example (574). Although it cannot be excluded that there were some intonational differences between these utterances, it is more likely that Drabbe didn’t adopt very strict criteria in deciding whether clauses belong to the same or to different sentences.

(573)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Efe</th>
<th>Joxo</th>
<th>Eke</th>
<th>Ta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>efe</td>
<td>joxo</td>
<td>eke</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>elder.brother</td>
<td>3SG.FOC</td>
<td>IN.TURN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mataxe;  
mata-de=k  
būsi̱ osuke.

come.up-N1.RLS[SG]  
come.up-SS=CON  
house  
go.up-N1.RLS[SG]  
‘His brother in turn comes up; he comes up and goes up into the house’ (3.045)

(574)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Efe</th>
<th>Joxo</th>
<th>Eke</th>
<th>Ta</th>
<th>Mataxe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>efe</td>
<td>joxo</td>
<td>eke</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>mata-xe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>elder.brother</td>
<td>3SG.FOC</td>
<td>IN.TURN</td>
<td>come.up-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summarizing, we can state that sequences of semifinite verbs within a clause chain imply a very strong likelihood for the second verb to have a different subject from the first. Over clause chains but within the same sentence, semifinites may be interpreted as SS forms only in case the second clause explains or specifies the first, or in case the two events take place in sequence and do not overlap. In other same subject conditions, the speaker needs to use nonfinite SS forms.

5.5 Conditional sentences

This section discusses conditional sentences, a term that is used here for the combination of a conditional clause in the protasis, and the clause in the apodosis.

5.5.1 Simple conditional sentences

Simple, positive conditional sentences consist of an imperative or semifinite irrealis clause that forms the protasis, and a future clause that forms the apodosis. (575) through (577) are examples with a semifinite protasis, while (578) exemplifies the use of an imperative. Note that (578) differs only minimally from (577).

(575) ba-gidi a aw = akī
sit-next.day rain already become_II.N1SG
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(fede) axin = de madii-e
NEG go II.VN = NEG not.want II.1SG-FUT
‘if it rains tomorrow, I will not go’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

(576) düü füü baxẽ geme-je
sago 3SG sit II.1N1G buy II[1SG]-FUT
‘if there is some sago, I will buy it’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

(577) fiko afĩ sumke edaxe-je
work take II.1N1G tobacco give II[1SG]-FUT
‘If you work, I will give you tobacco’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

(578) fiko nedi sumke edaxe-je
work take IMP tobacco give II[1SG]-FUT
‘if you work, I will give you tobacco (lit. ‘work and I will give you tobacco’;
Drabbe 1957:23a)

Negative conditional sentences are formed by the use of a negated verbal noun which is predicated by the use of ki(k) ‘become’. This was illustrated in (52) and (53) above (section 2.3.2.2.9 on verbal nouns in negative sentences), and is repeated here as (579) and (580), respectively:

(579) ba-gidi a aw=akin = de kĩ
sit-next.day rain already = become II.VN = NEG become II.1N1G

ax-oan-e
go II-1PL-FUT
‘if it won’t rain tomorrow (lit. if it becomes not to rain), we will go’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

(580) fiko afin = de kĩ
work take II.VN = NEG become II.1N1G

sumke edaxen = de madii-e
tobacco give II.VN = NEG not.want II.1SG-FUT
‘if you don’t work (lit. if it becomes (you) not to work), I will not give you tobacco’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)
5.5.2 Counterfactual conditional sentences
Drabbe (1957): section 58, p. 23

Counterfactual conditional sentences are marked by a marker *fini* + copula *oxo* in the final position of the protasis. Although Drabbe refers to *fini* as an irrealis marker, I will gloss it as CFT ‘counterfactual’, to avoid the suggestion that *fini* would combine with irrealis verbs; in fact, in all cases *fini* combines with realis verbs. There is a certain ‘logic’ to the use of a realis, in that *fini* combines with verbs that refer to events that could in principle have been actualized — this is expressed by the use of realis in the verbal clause — but in fact have not — this is expressed by the use of the counterfactual marker plus copula *oxo*. The structure of the protasis is analogous to the structure of negative clauses and interrogative clauses (discussed in 2.6, 2.7 and especially 4.6), as is clear from a comparison of the following clauses, where NgCFT stands for negative counterfactual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>CFT</th>
<th>COP</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dade\textit{vc}</td>
<td>\textit{de}</td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{xo}</td>
<td>It is not the case that I come</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dade\textit{vc}</td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{ka/ a xajo}</td>
<td></td>
<td>Is it the case that I come?</td>
<td>QST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a kike\textit{vc}</td>
<td>\textit{fini}</td>
<td>\textit{oxo}</td>
<td></td>
<td>Had it been the case that ‘it rain-s/-ed,’</td>
<td>CFT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a kike\textit{vc}</td>
<td>\textit{fede kike}</td>
<td>\textit{fini}</td>
<td>\textit{oxo}</td>
<td>Had it not been the case that ‘it rain-s/-ed,’</td>
<td>NgCFT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the protasis and the apodosis are predicated by *oxo*. The copula *oxo* that follows the protasis causes the stress of the immediately preceding verb
to move to the penultimate syllable, and makes certain verb forms end in o or u rather than e. For 1SG semifinite realis, -do or -du may be used instead of -de, while the N1SG semifinite realis suffix -oxe alternates with oxo- (cf. 2.3.1.1). Another peculiarity is that the other N1SG semifinite forms are followed by n, the function of which is unclear. In this study n is presented as part of the suffix, so that the n-final and vowel-final suffixes are presented as allomorphs. Examples can be seen in (581) (baxen), (585) (edoxən) and (586) (kiy-gen) below.

As the text corpus does not contain any counterfactual conditional sentences, all we can do here is sum up the examples provided by Drabbe. Examples (581) through (585) are examples of conditional sentences with a positive protasis.

\[
\begin{align*}
(581) & \quad xo\text{-}fe\quad te\quad neto\quad ato\text{-}sum\text{-}o\text{xo}\quad f\text{\textsc{ini}}\quad oxo \\
& \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{my.father} \quad \text{nurse-IT-N1.RLS}[SG] \quad \text{CFT} \quad \text{COP} \\
& \quad xaxide\quad b\text{-}xen\quad oxo \\
& \quad \text{alive} \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS}[SG] \quad \text{COP} \\
& \quad \text{‘if he had treated my father, he would have been alive’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(582) & \quad a\quad ki\text{-}ke\quad f\text{\textsc{ini}}\quad oxo \\
& \quad \text{rain} \quad \text{become-N1.RLS}[SG] \quad \text{CFT} \quad \text{COP} \\
& \quad dafin = de\quad m\text{\textsc{u}}\text{-}nu\quad oxo \\
& \quad \text{come\_II.VN = NEG} \quad \text{not.want-1.RLS}[SG] \quad \text{COP} \\
& \quad \text{‘if it had rained, I would not have liked to come’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(583) & \quad todob\text{\textbar}a\quad d\text{\textbar}ki\quad f\text{\textsc{ini}}\quad oxo\quad mase\quad ogu\text{-}bu \\
& \quad \text{airplane} \quad \text{come-N1.DIST.SG} \quad \text{CFT} \quad \text{COP} \quad \text{already} \quad \text{go.up-SS}
\end{align*}
\]

\[251\] Drabbe suggests that it might be analyzed as a linking element, which however one does not seem to need after the distant and historical past forms (Drabbe 1957:23a).
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341

xā-ki\textsuperscript{252} oxo
go-N1.DIST.SG COP
‘if the airplane had come, he would already have got on the plane and have left’
(Drabbe 1957: 23a)

\[(584)\quad gu\quad te\quad fiko\quad afin=de\quad mùŋ-ki\quad fini\quad oxo\]
\begin{align*}
2SG & \quad \text{NOM} & \quad \text{work} & \quad \text{take}_{II}.\text{VN}=\text{NEG} & \quad \text{not.want-N1.DIST.SG} & \quad \text{CFT} & \quad \text{COP} \\
\end{align*}

xadiŋ gi-dke xo
angry become-1.DIST[SG] COP
‘if you had not wanted to work, I would have become angry’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

\[(585)\quad xo-bu\quad wi\quad tiŋ-ge\quad fini\quad oxo\]
go-SS pig shoot-N1.RLS[SG] CFT COP

nu ed-oxòn oxo
1SG give-N1.RLS[SG] COP
‘if he had shot a pig during the hunting, he would have given me from it’ (Drabbe 1957:23a)

\[(586)\quad ato-sumù-du\quad fede\quad ki-ke\quad fini\quad oxo\]
nurse-IT-1.RLS[SG] NEG become-N1.RLS[SG] CFT COP

mase kūŋ-gen oxo
already die-N1.RLS[SG] COP
‘if I had not nursed him, he would have died already’ (Drabbe 1957:23b)

\[(587)\quad fiko\quad a-dk-oa\quad fede\quad ki-ke\quad fini\quad oxo\]
work take-1.DIST-1PL NEG become-N1.RLS[SG] CFT COP

\textsuperscript{252} As was stated in 2.3.3.1, some verbs in o have a lengthened ā in N1SG realis finite forms. Thus, xāki is derived from xo ‘go’.
Finally consider the following two examples with a negative clause in the apodosis, the first of which also has a negative protasis. The negative apodosis has the same structure as a normal negative main clause, which was discussed in 2.6.

(588) \[ wi ti-nu \text{ fede} \text{ ki-ke} \text{ fini} \text{ oxo} \]
\[ \text{pig} \text{ shoot-1.RLS[SG]} \text{ NEG} \text{ become-N1.RLS[SG]} \text{ CFT} \text{ COP} \]
\[ \text{fede} \text{ da-de} = \text{de} \text{ xo} \]
\[ \text{NEG} \text{ come-1.RLS[SG]} = \text{NEG} \text{ COP} \]

‘if he had not shot a pig, I would not have come here (Drabbe 1957:23b)

(589) \[ \circ-xo \text{ fini} \text{ oxo} \]
\[ \text{speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \text{ CFT} \text{ COP} \]
\[ \text{fede} \text{ xadiŋ gi-d-oan} = \text{de} \text{ xo} \]
\[ \text{NEG} \text{ angry} \text{ become-1.RLS-1PL} = \text{NEG} \text{ COP} \]

‘if he had warned, we would not have been angry’ (Drabbe 1957:23b)

5.6 Tail-head linkage

As is common in many Papuan languages, Awyu-Dumut languages make elaborate use of tail-head linkage. In this discourse strategy, the last clause of a clause chain or sentence is partially or completely repeated at the beginning of the next clause chain (cf. de Vries 2005:363). Consider the passage below, which illustrates a number of important principles.

First, the majority of head clauses that pick up the tail clause of the preceding clause chain or sentence are nonfinite SS forms, chained to the
following clause.\textsuperscript{253} Examples are \textit{akusunuk} in (591), \textit{kunuk} in (595) and \textit{günd} in (596). This pattern is in line with the observation by de Vries that “the default form of the recapitulated head clause follows from the default or unmarked form of clause linkage in that language” (de Vries 2005:372; 2006:817). Another technique is to repeat the final verb of the tail literally, something we see in the case of \textit{güng} in (594). Third, it can be seen that tail-head linkage is an optional and ‘creative’ process. In (592) we see that the sequence of sentences that is linked by tail-head linkage is interrupted by the semifinite verb \textit{akusunge}, a form that was also used as the final verb of (590). Following this, the verb \textit{onok} in (593) picks up the tail of (591), after which we find a further sequence of tail-head linked sentences. Not illustrated here but attested elsewhere in the text corpus are cases where also the object noun of a preceding sentence is repeated, or cases where the last two clauses are repeated.\textsuperscript{254} These phenomena show that tail-head linkage should be seen as a discourse strategy or discourse preference, rather than as part of sentence grammar (de Vries 2005:364).

\begin{Verbatim}(590) Afünd = emedek akusunge. afū-d = eme-de = k akusū-ge smooth-ss = finish-ss = CON hide-N1.RLS[SG] 'After he has smoothed it [a piece of wood], he hides it.' (1.119)\end{Verbatim}

\textsuperscript{253} Wester (2014:171f) describes how Awyu-Dumut languages exhibit two types of tail-head linkage. All Awyu-Dumut languages have chained tail-head linkage. Most of them also have thematic tail-head linkage, where the ‘head’ is closed off by a thematic marker. Aghu, however, only has chained tail-head linkage, as it does not have thematic markers.

\textsuperscript{254} (Possible) examples of the repetition of an object noun are found in 1.047-1.048; 1.057-1.058; 1.091-1.092; 1.150-1.151; 1.53-54; 1.177-78. An example of the repetition of two clauses is found in the heads \textit{abu dadek} in 1.165, \textit{ab'suke} in 1.166, and \textit{pemoxo midik} in 1.191.
(591)  *Akusunuk*  *bagidi*  *ka*  *onge.*

akusū-ν = k   ba-gidi  ka  ō-ge

hide-SS = CON  sit-next.day  figure  cut-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He hides it, and the following day he carves figures (in the wood).’ (1.120)

(592)  *Akusunge.*

akusū-ge

hide-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He had hidden it.’ (1.120a)

(593)  *Onok*  *baxe*

ō-no = k   ba-xe

cut-SS = CON  sit-N1.RLS[SG]

*bagidi*  *bodo*  *güże.*

ba-gidi  bodo  gu-ge

sit-next-day  head.of.spear  cut-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He cuts, and the following day he cuts out the head of the spear.’

(1.121)

(594)  *Güże*  *bagidi*  *wido*  *kunge.*

gu-ge  ba-gidi  wido  kū-ge

cut-N1.RLS[SG]  sit-next.day  claw.of.cassowary  put-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He cuts (the head), and the following day he fastens the claw of a cassowary to it.’(1.122)

(595)  *Kunuk*  *bagidi*  *tūfo*  *güże.*

kū-ν = k   ba-gidi  tūfo  gu-ge

put-SS = CON  sit-next.day  feather  cut-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He fastens it, and the following day he places a feather (by cutting)’ (1.123)

(596)  *Günd’*  *emedek*  *sa*  *füge.*

gū-d =  eme-de = k  sa  fū-ge

cut-SS = finish-SS = CON  sheath  put-N1.RLS[SG]

‘He places (the feather) and puts the spear into the sheath.’ (1.124)
5.7 ‘Verbs of finishing’ and combinations of sentences
Drabbe (1957): section 90, p. 36a-b, and section 98, p. 40a-b

Drabbe devotes two sections to the use of ‘verbs of finishing’ in expressing a sequential relation between clauses or sentences. The verbs discussed by Drabbe are eme ‘finish’, büomo ‘finish’ and mũ, which he translates with ‘not want’ or ‘stop with’. In our corpus, examples of the use of mũ clearly outnumber the use of the other two verbs, especially if we focus on the use of nonfinite forms at the beginning of sentences. The text corpus contains only two examples of the use of büomo, and 12 examples of the use of nonfinite emede(k) out of which only one case is sentence-initial. However, it contains over 30 sentences with nonfinite munuk, the great majority of which is sentence-initial. One example of the use of mũ is found in the first text about sorcery, and given here:

(597) **Dotodok**

doto-do=k oxe:
get.up-SS=CON speak-N1.RLS[SG] 1SG outside

ide num’oxe.
i-de num = o-xe
lie-1.RLS[SG] such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]
‘The man gets up and says: “I am lying outside!”, so he says.’ (8.009)

(598) **Munuk**

mũ-nu=k büsiü xo-xe
not.want-SS = CON house go-N1.RLS[SG]
‘After this he goes home (...)’ (8.010)
If we consider all cases of the use of *munuk* in the text corpus,\(^{255}\) it is remarkable that in the great majority of cases the form is followed by (a clause headed by) a verb of movement, and as such seems to introduce the shift to a following episode. Although Drabbe clearly relates *munuk* to the verb *mũ* ‘not want’, he remarks that they can often only be rendered by ‘after’ or ‘after this’ (Dutch; “na”, “daarna”). It is, in other words, not always clear what is the activity or event that is ‘not wanted’ or ‘stopped with’.

Coming back to the use of *eme* ‘finish’, the text corpus has only one example of its use at the beginning of a sentence,\(^{256}\) which is given here:

\[\text{(599) } \begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Enge} & \text{bagidi} & \text{xati} & \text{midik} \\
\text{ē-ge} & \text{ba-gidi} & \text{xati} & \text{mi-di=k} \\
\text{eat-N1.RLS[SG]} & \text{sit-next.day} & \text{again} & \text{come.down-SS = CON} \\
\end{array} \]

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{xabū} & \text{axe,} & \text{motū} & \text{axe.} \\
\text{stone.axe} & \text{take-N1.RLS[SG]} & \text{sack} & \text{take-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}\]

‘He eats and the following day he comes down again and takes a stone axe and a sack.’ (3.110)

\[\text{(600) } \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Emede=k} & \text{xoxe.} \\
\text{eme-de=k} & \text{xo-xe} \\
\text{finish-SS = CON} & \text{go-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{array}\]

‘Then he goes’ (3.111)

---


\(^{256}\) Examples of *eme* linking clauses within a sentence are: 1.119, 1.124, 1.243, 1.244, 2.116, 6.081, 6.125, 6.143, 6.202, 8.024.
Much more common is the adverb *emu* ‘then’, which, according to Drabbe, is the adverbial form of *eme*, which may either express a simple sequence (‘then’), but also imply an immediate sequence (to be translated with ‘immediately’). As mentioned above, in discussing sequential relations between clauses, Drabbe also mentions *büomo* ‘finish’. This verb has a somewhat different distribution; it is used in combination with a preceding nonfinite form plus connective = *k*, as in the following example:

(601) \[i\!\!f\!i\!n\!i=k\quad \text{büomo-do}=k\quad a-de=k\quad \text{būšū} \quad \text{da-xc-nā}\]
\[
\text{bind-SS} = \text{CON} \quad \text{finish-SS} = \text{CON} \quad \text{take-SS} = \text{CON} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{come-N1.RLS-PL}
\]

‘they tied him up and after this they brought him home’ (Drabbe 1957:36b)

The verb *büomo* is attested in the text corpus only twice. Interestingly, the first attestation 1.046, is minimally different from (601), in that this sentence has the semifinite form *büomoxe-nā* instead of the — expected — SS form *büomodok*, for reasons which are not clear. The other attestation is in 6.067, where we find a semifinite sentence-final form, again preceded by a nonfinite verb:

(602) \[\text{Wofūnūk} \quad \text{büomoxe}.\]
\[\text{wofū-nū-k} \quad \text{büom-oxe}\]
\[
\text{kiss-SS-CON} \quad \text{stop-N1.RLS[SG]}
\]

‘He stops kissing her.’ (6.067)

Summarizing, Drabbe describes several verbs whose nonfinite forms may be used to express a sequence of clauses or sentences. This section focused on the sequence between entire sentences, and has shown that of the verbs described by Drabbe, it is mainly the nonfinite verb form *munuk* ‘not.want-SS = CON’ that is attested in the text corpus, which most and for all indicates a sequence of actions, but often also seems to imply a change of scene.
5.8 Quotative constructions
Drabbe (1957): section 105, p. 43b-44a

In Aghu, indirect speech is used only very sporadically. Although Drabbe writes that indirect speech is attested — be it rarely — he does not give any examples. An example from the text corpus is the following:

(603) Kumaŋ gi-ke num’oxe.
    kumaŋ gi-ke num = o-xe
    ill become-N1.RLS[SG] such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]
    He pretends to be ill (he gets ill, so he says) (6.132)

Quotative constructions are usually followed by the formula $num =$ plus an inflected verb of $\sigma(x)$ speak, either a semifinite form, or an imperative. Consider the following examples, given by Drabbe.

(604) noxi $num =$ o-de
    go.IMP[SG] such speak-1.RLS[SG]
    ‘I told him to go away’ (lit. ‘go away, so I said’; Drabbe 1957:43b)

(605) amoko nu ku ax-oã $num =$ o-xe
    boy 1SG EMP go-1-II-1PL such = speak-N1.RLS[SG]
    ‘“let me go (with the others) too”, the boy said’ (Drabbe 1957:43b)

(606) sumke feneno $num =$ o-sum-sum-oxe-nã
    tobacco give.1.IMP[SG] such = speak-IT-IT-N1.RLS-N1PL
    ‘they always ask for tobacco’ (lit. ‘give us tobacco, they always say’; Drabbe 1957: 34b)

The following example has been taken from the text corpus.

---

257 The verb $ede$ ‘give’ is the only verb where the imperative includes a reference to the object (in this case the indirect object, referring to the beneficiary): $(fe/lu)neno ‘give to me / us’ can be contrasted with $(fe/lu)nedo ‘give to you (sg/pl) / him / her / them’. Cf. section 2.5 on imperatives.
As can also be seen in the example above, in longer sentences we often find a form of the verb o(x) ‘speak’ to introduce the quote. The following passage forms a good illustration of the use of quotative constructions. All cases of o(x) ‘speak’ introducing a quote have an underscore, and all formulas closing a quote have been rendered in bold.

‘Apupüsimo says to his daughter Okudake: “go downhill, have a look at our sago!” ’ (2.050)
"Some people have come and are cutting our sago, go down and have a look!" (2.052)

She goes downhill and sees that they are already pounding sago.' (2.053)

She says: "it is my father's sago!" '(2.054)

They say: "we will pound sago and we will instantly give (also) to your father!" ' (2.055)

Quotative constructions may also be used to express a person’s ‘inner speech’ or thoughts. Although this is a common strategy in Papuan
languages in the area (Cf. Reesink 1993), Drabbe’s description offers only one example, which is commented on in a single footnote. The example, part of the myth about Aidu, Xaidu and Apupüsimo, is presented as (613) below.

(613)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Efè</th>
<th>neto</th>
<th>posiũ</th>
<th>axu</th>
<th>kuto</th>
<th>isipofienane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>efe</td>
<td>n-eto</td>
<td>posiũ</td>
<td>axu</td>
<td>kuto</td>
<td>isipof-nan-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>LNK-father</td>
<td>old</td>
<td>human</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>tread.and.lay.down_II_N1PL-FUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\begin{align*} 
\text{aine} & \quad \text{num'} \quad \text{odok} \quad \text{aguke}. \\
\text{ai-n-e} & \quad \text{num=} \quad \text{o-do=k} \quad \text{agu-ke} \\
\text{lie\_II-N1SG-FUT} & \quad \text{such=} \quad \text{speak-SS=\text{CON} search-N1.RLS[SG]} \\
\end{align*}

‘Her old father thinks: “they will put their feet down and there will be a track of human feet” (lit. they will put their feet down and it lies) and starts searching.’ (2.160)

In 5.4.1.2 it was described that a sequence of two semifinite forms implies a change of subject. In line with this, we find (614), where a semifinite verb oxe is followed by a clause headed by a second semifinite verb in the same clause chain. In (615) and (616), the verb oxe is separated from the following clause by an intonational break (so that two clauses should not, according to our definitions, be considered a clause chain). Finally, (617) exemplifies the use of an explicit DS-form in -ne. In all these cases, the implication is one of a command that is obeyed:

(614)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oxe</th>
<th>efe</th>
<th>subã</th>
<th>Okudukãke</th>
<th>dũ</th>
<th>enge.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-axe</td>
<td>efe</td>
<td>subã</td>
<td>Okudukãke</td>
<td>dũ</td>
<td>ē-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>3SG daughter Okudukake sago eat-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He tells his daughter Okudukake to eat sago and she does so.’ (6.224)

(615)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oxe,</th>
<th>motũ</th>
<th>ogũke.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-axe</td>
<td>motũ</td>
<td>ogũ-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td>sack go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘At her command he goes into a sack.’ (6.286)
5.9 A brief note on deictic centers and narrative structure

As discussed in 3.5 above, the Aghu language makes extensive use of directional verbs, and systematically opposes verbs of going with directional verbs of coming (cf. Table 47 and Table 48 in 3.5.1). In this section we have a brief look at how these verbs are used in the narratives provided by Drabbe. We confine our observations to the first and the third narratives, leaving the investigation of the other narratives to future investigation.

The first thing to be noted is that in both of the narratives the deictic center (DC) is located most of the time at the bottom of the tree house, which is a culturally significant place.258 Movements from outside the house into the house and vice versa are consistently described as (i) coming (towards the

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258 The name for the area below the tree house is angu, and is the place where people are buried; cf. the brief explanation in the Aghu-English wordlist.
house; towards DC), (ii) going up (into the house; from DC), (iii) coming
down (out of the house; towards DC), and (iv) going away (from the house;
from DC). This can be visualized as follows:

![Diagram of movements to and from a tree house.]

Figure 17: Description of movements to and from a tree house.

An example of such a movement is found in the following passage:

(618) *Ekenä*  
*da dek*  
*būsiū*  
*osukenā.*  

*e-ke-nā*  
*da-de = k*  
*būsiū*  
*osu-ke-nā*  

stand-N1.RLS-N1PL  
come-SS = CON  
house  
go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL  

‘After a while they come (to the house) and go up into the house.’ (1.085)

(619) *Osuduk*  
*en genā*  
*bagi di*  

*osu-du = k*  
*č-ge-nā*  
*ba-gi di*  

go.up-SS = CON  
eat-N1.RLS-N1.PL  
sit-next.day  

*xati*  
*midik*  
*xoxenā.*  

*xati*  
*mi-di = k*  
*xo-xe-nā*  

again  
come.down-SS = CON  
go-N1.RLS-N1PL  

‘They go up and eat, the following day they come down again and go’ (1.086)
Now consider the following figure, which visualizes how the DC changes over the first narrative. The numbers in red represent the number of ‘loops’ from and to one and the same DC. We can see that we have 31 movements from and to the area at the bottom of the tree house, either up into the tree and back, or away from the house and back. It is only after 31 loops that the DC shifts to somewhere high in a tree; this happens in 1.137. After only one loop away from this DC and back (loop nr. 32), the perspective returns to the bottom of the tree again, from which we have 7 loops again (33-39). We see this shift of perspective repeated several times, until the end of the narrative, where the DC shifts to Tanah Merah, which is the location where the narrative is told.
Although it would be outside the scope of this book to go into much detail about this structure, I would just like to mention a number of additional observations, which could serve as a point of departure for further research.

(1) The narrator usually chooses a perspective that does not coincide with the position of one of the participants. Even in case one of the participants is in the house, still the DC often is at the bottom of the tree house, e.g. in 3.008, where one of the two boys is waiting inside the house, while the other goes up (not: ‘comes up’).

(2) In certain exceptional cases, the DC coincides with the DC of one of the participants. This is the case, for example, in 1.031, where we have a very brief interruption of the main DC. Here we see the
description of a mouse coming into the house where the main
participants are located.

(3) The description of movement is generally not dependent on the
place from where the story is told, although it is possible to take this
as a DC, as is the case in the final section of the narrative discussed
above.

(4) An investigation of the shifts of DC over a story might very well
offer a fruitful insight into the way in which Aghu narratives are
structured. At least in the narratives presented here, the story line is
structured around repetitive movements from and to a rather limited
number of DC’s. It would be interesting to investigate to what
extent this narrative technique is comparable to techniques found in
other languages. More insight in the spread of this kind of technique
would be a good starting point for its explanation. The more local
the pattern, the more likely it is indicative of contact. The more
universal, the more it asks for a universally valid explanation (e.g. in
terms of mnemonic techniques).
This section presents a translation of and annotations to the Dutch-Aghu wordlist presented by Drabbe (1957:47-54), followed by an Aghu-English wordlist which integrates data from the grammatical introduction and the text corpus. The first section presents a thematic wordlist following the numbering by Drabbe. The following section forms an index to this list, and presents the English entries in alphabetical order. The last section gives the Aghu-English wordlist.

**Thematic wordlist, as presented in Drabbe**

*Passage in Drabbe: p. 47-51*

The wordlist presented below is a translation of Drabbe’s 408-items wordlist. The numbers in the list correspond to the numbers in the wordlists in Drabbe (1957) and in Drabbe (1950:131f). In the latter publication, one finds translations of the same words into Shiaxa, Yenimu and Pisa. These wordlists have also formed the basis for Wester’s comparison of these Awyu languages with the Dumut languages Mandobo, Yonggom Wambon and Digul Wambon; with Kombai; and with Korowai (Wester 2014, Appendix A). The words presented in this list have formed the input for Drabbe’s (1959) comparison between Awyu-Dumut languages, and for the Awyu-Dumut phonologies presented in Healey (1970) and Voorhoeve (2001).

The first column presents the numbers as presented in Drabbe (1957:45f), the second gives the English equivalents of the Dutch lexemes presented in the rightmost column, which have been taken over from Drabbe. For the orthography used in the list, see Chapter 1, section 1.1. Unless indicated otherwise, stress is on the final syllable, cf. section 1.2.3. Following Drabbe, the part of speech of the Aghu words has not been indicated. For verbs, the form of the realis marker has been indicated in brackets (cf. 2.3.1.1). For verbs in *-mV*, however, and for those verbs that end in a nasal vowel, the
markers have not been given, as these are fully predictable (cf. 2.3.1.1). Different parts of a compound are separated by a hyphen, following Drabbe, and in line with what described in section 3.1.1 above. Drabbe’s notation has also been followed in those cases where he separates two subsequent words by a white space. This might indicate that Drabbe considers these sequences as a possessive construction rather than a compound, but he is not explicit about this. The footnotes are all mine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr.</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001</td>
<td>body</td>
<td>wusoxo</td>
<td>lichaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>002</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>xabā</td>
<td>kop; hoofd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>kioto</td>
<td>aangezicht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004</td>
<td>forehead</td>
<td>kamia; mika</td>
<td>voorhoofd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>skull</td>
<td>mika-bigi</td>
<td>schedel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006</td>
<td>hair on head</td>
<td>xabumu</td>
<td>hoofdhaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007</td>
<td>bald</td>
<td>xabumu fede</td>
<td>kaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>suketo</td>
<td>oor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>009</td>
<td>earwax</td>
<td>su-nange</td>
<td>oorsmeer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>010</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>kio, kio-mogo</td>
<td>oog</td>
</tr>
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<td>kio-bī</td>
<td>wimpers</td>
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<td>simto-to</td>
<td>neusgat</td>
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<td>mucus</td>
<td>si-nifo</td>
<td>snot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>017</td>
<td>cheek</td>
<td>moxope</td>
<td>wang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>018</td>
<td>outer part of mouth</td>
<td>bomga</td>
<td>uit. mond</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

259 Also used for lower part of trunk”; cf. the Aghu-English wordlist.

260 Fedē is the word used for ‘nothing’ (cf. 391 below) and also used as a negative marker, cf. section 4.2.4, so that the clause reads as ‘there is no hair’.

261 Elsewhere Drabbe writes kinoxo. Cf. oxo ‘water’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>019</td>
<td>inner mouth</td>
<td>xato</td>
<td>inw. mond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>020</td>
<td>lip</td>
<td>bomga</td>
<td>lip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>021</td>
<td>chin</td>
<td>te-bigi</td>
<td>kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>022</td>
<td>beard</td>
<td>masū</td>
<td>baard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>023</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>fage</td>
<td>tong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>024</td>
<td>palate</td>
<td>xoŋgadu</td>
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<td>tooth</td>
<td>maga</td>
<td>tand</td>
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<td>brains</td>
<td>gũ̈</td>
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<td>throat (inner part)</td>
<td>u-müto</td>
<td>keel</td>
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<td>throat (outer part)</td>
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<td>hals</td>
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<td>Adam's apple</td>
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<td>neck</td>
<td>ekō</td>
<td>nek</td>
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<tr>
<td>032</td>
<td>breast</td>
<td>besame, bĩ-kabu</td>
<td>borst</td>
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<tr>
<td>033</td>
<td>udder; breast</td>
<td>nō ede(ox)</td>
<td>borst, uier</td>
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<td>tipple</td>
<td>nō-sobu</td>
<td>tepel</td>
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<td>milk</td>
<td>nō-xu</td>
<td>melk</td>
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<td>suck breast</td>
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<td>zuigen a.d. borst</td>
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<tr>
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<td>breastfeed</td>
<td>nō mi(k)</td>
<td>zogen</td>
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<tr>
<td>038</td>
<td>rib</td>
<td>ini-bigi</td>
<td>rib</td>
</tr>
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<td>039</td>
<td>lung</td>
<td>nomügo</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>040</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>dübo</td>
<td>hart</td>
</tr>
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<td>041</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>kokü</td>
<td>buik</td>
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<tr>
<td>042</td>
<td>bowels</td>
<td>o-mutu</td>
<td>darmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>043</td>
<td>liver</td>
<td>ū̄</td>
<td>lever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*Cf. 020.*

*Cf. 018.*

*Xu* might indicates that we have to do with milk from humans (*axu*) here.

*Lit. ‘milk comes down’.*

*Lit. ‘give milk’.*

*Cf. *bigi* ‘bone’.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu (Wordlist)</th>
<th>Aghu (Wordlist)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>044</td>
<td>gall</td>
<td><em>isimū</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>045</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td><em>moditi</em></td>
<td>zijde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>046</td>
<td>navel</td>
<td><em>modū-bogo</em></td>
<td>navel</td>
</tr>
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<td>047</td>
<td>umbilical cord</td>
<td><em>amoko gū</em></td>
<td>navelstreng</td>
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<tr>
<td>048</td>
<td>back of human</td>
<td><em>mübā</em></td>
<td>rug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>049</td>
<td>backbone</td>
<td><em>mü-bigi</em></td>
<td>ruggegraat</td>
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<td>shoulder</td>
<td><em>ge-bigi</em></td>
<td>schouder</td>
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<td>051</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
<td><em>bubute</em></td>
<td>achterste, billen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>052</td>
<td>anus</td>
<td><em>o-to</em></td>
<td>aars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>053</td>
<td>defecate</td>
<td><em>o tefi</em>(ox)</td>
<td>poepen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>054</td>
<td>feces</td>
<td><em>o-paxa</em></td>
<td>poep</td>
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<td>055</td>
<td>fart</td>
<td><em>o pani</em>(k)</td>
<td>veesten</td>
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<tr>
<td>056</td>
<td>stink</td>
<td><em>pafū me</em> 268</td>
<td>stinken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>057</td>
<td>penis</td>
<td><em>segi</em></td>
<td>penis</td>
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<tr>
<td>058</td>
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<td><em>wobio</em> 269</td>
<td>testikel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>059</td>
<td>vagina</td>
<td><em>ato</em></td>
<td>vagina</td>
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<tr>
<td>060</td>
<td>have intercourse</td>
<td><em>jō</em></td>
<td>coire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>061</td>
<td>urinate</td>
<td><em>isi fi</em>(ox)</td>
<td>pissen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>062</td>
<td>urine</td>
<td><em>isi</em></td>
<td>pis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>063</td>
<td>foot, leg 270</td>
<td><em>kito, kuto</em></td>
<td>voet, been</td>
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<tr>
<td>064</td>
<td>sole</td>
<td><em>kito-babu</em></td>
<td>voetzool</td>
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<td>ankle</td>
<td><em>kito-wàko</em></td>
<td>enkel</td>
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<tr>
<td>066</td>
<td>heel</td>
<td><em>kito bu</em> 271</td>
<td>hiel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>067</td>
<td>thigh</td>
<td><em>midi-bigi</em></td>
<td>dij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>068</td>
<td>knee</td>
<td><em>būmo</em></td>
<td>knie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

268 Here *me* is an auxiliary, which inflects in the same way as verbs in -*mV*. Cf. section 2.1. Cf. *patum V* in the Aghu-English wordlist.

269 The word is also used to refer to someone’s scrotum, cf. the Aghu-English wordlist.

270 Also: hind leg of animal, cf. Aghu-English wordlist.

271 I follow Drabbe’s notation here, who writes *kito-babu* and *kito-wàko* as compounds, but *kito bu* as a possessive construction. Cf. section 3.1.2, Table 39.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu Wordlist</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>calf</td>
<td>kuto baxamo</td>
<td>kuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>070</td>
<td>shin</td>
<td>bino</td>
<td>scheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>071</td>
<td>hand, arm</td>
<td>bedo, bodo</td>
<td>hand, arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>072</td>
<td>upper arm</td>
<td>bodo-bigi</td>
<td>bovenarm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>073</td>
<td>armpit</td>
<td>bodo tongó</td>
<td>oksel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>074</td>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>bodo-mu</td>
<td>elleboog</td>
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<tr>
<td>075</td>
<td>finger</td>
<td>bodo-buto</td>
<td>vinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>076</td>
<td>toe</td>
<td>kuto-buto</td>
<td>teen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>077</td>
<td>nail</td>
<td>bedi-moxo</td>
<td>nagel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>078</td>
<td>thumb, big toe</td>
<td>wodo</td>
<td>duim; gr. teen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>079</td>
<td>pink, small toe</td>
<td>sigiā</td>
<td>pink; kl. teen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>080</td>
<td>stem, bone</td>
<td>bigi</td>
<td>been, bot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>081</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>gō</td>
<td>bloed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>082</td>
<td>flesh</td>
<td>kudu</td>
<td>vlees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>083</td>
<td>tendon</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>pees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>084</td>
<td>skin</td>
<td>xa</td>
<td>huid²⁷⁴</td>
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<tr>
<td>085</td>
<td>body hair</td>
<td>xa-xō</td>
<td>haar op lich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>086</td>
<td>sweat</td>
<td>kesi</td>
<td>zweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>087</td>
<td>saliva</td>
<td>xasi</td>
<td>speeksel</td>
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<tr>
<td>088</td>
<td>phlegm</td>
<td>adimo</td>
<td>fluim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>089</td>
<td>breathe</td>
<td>fī fī(ox)</td>
<td>ademen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>090</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>eten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>091</td>
<td>be hungry</td>
<td>ode ki(k)²⁷⁶</td>
<td>honger hebben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>092</td>
<td>drink</td>
<td>mi(k)</td>
<td>drinken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>093</td>
<td>be thirsty</td>
<td>oxo ja ki(k)²⁷⁷</td>
<td>dorst hebben</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁷² Also: foreleg of animal, cf. the Aghu-English wordlist.
²⁷³ I follow Drabbe’s notation here, cf. footnote 271.
²⁷⁴ Xa is also used for the bark of trees, cf. 226 below.
²⁷⁵ Also used for feathers of a bird, cf. 234 below.
²⁷⁶ Cf. section 4.1.1 on experiential clauses.
²⁷⁷ Cf. section 4.1.1 on experiential clauses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>094</td>
<td>be satisfied</td>
<td>kokũi ḃa ki(k)</td>
<td>verzadigd zijn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>095</td>
<td>bite</td>
<td>asi(k)</td>
<td>bijten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>096</td>
<td>swallow</td>
<td>mikũ</td>
<td>inslikken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>097</td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>kunum’ i(g)</td>
<td>slapen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>098</td>
<td>dream</td>
<td>asũ ete(ox)</td>
<td>dromen</td>
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<tr>
<td>099</td>
<td>be sleepy</td>
<td>kunũŋ gi(k)</td>
<td>slaap hebben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>get up</td>
<td>doto(x)</td>
<td>opstaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>e(k)</td>
<td>staan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>walk</td>
<td>xo(x)</td>
<td>lopen²⁸¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>lie</td>
<td>i(g)</td>
<td>liggen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>ba(x)</td>
<td>zitten</td>
</tr>
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<td>105</td>
<td>swim</td>
<td>oxo müa(x)</td>
<td>zwemmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>oxo kũ</td>
<td>baden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>u²⁸²</td>
<td>stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>àbe gi(k)</td>
<td>lachen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td>ifiũõ</td>
<td>huilen, schreien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>spit</td>
<td>xasi si(k)</td>
<td>spuwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>vomit</td>
<td>kumukaniŋ gi(k)</td>
<td>braken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>sneeze</td>
<td>asinaŋ gi(k)</td>
<td>niezen</td>
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<td>113</td>
<td>cough</td>
<td>adimo si(k)</td>
<td>hoesten</td>
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<td>114</td>
<td>burp</td>
<td>megomo</td>
<td>boeren</td>
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<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>yawn</td>
<td>xufame</td>
<td>gapen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>be pregnant</td>
<td>kanike ki(k)</td>
<td>zwanger zijn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>afterbirth</td>
<td>amtũtũne</td>
<td>nageboorten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁷⁸ Lit. ‘to be (of) big belly’; cf. section 4.1.1 on experiential clauses.
²⁷⁹ By using an apostrophe Drabbe suggests that part of the word is elided. It is not clear, however, what that longer would look like.
²⁸⁰ Lit. ‘to see (at) dark, to see a dream’.
²⁸¹ Xo(x) is the term used for ‘going’ or ‘going away’. In this elicited list, it has been given as translation of ‘walk’ and ‘go away’ (384). Cf. section 3.5.1.1.
²⁸² The word u has in fact a more general meaning: ‘sound’, cf. the Aghu-English wordlist.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Aghu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>twin</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>live</td>
<td>xaxide $k(i)_{283}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>$kũ̃$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>dead person</td>
<td>$axu\ akũmã$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>kill</td>
<td>_ $^{284}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>wound</td>
<td>$peso$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>scar</td>
<td>$ũ̃$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>be ill</td>
<td>$kumana\ gi(k)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>be in pain</td>
<td>$xaime$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>boil</td>
<td>$ũne$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>bellyache $^{285}$</td>
<td>$okiame$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>scabies</td>
<td>$jomĩ$</td>
</tr>
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<td>130</td>
<td>cripple</td>
<td>$kuto\ wa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>dumb, mute</td>
<td>$u\ de^{286}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>deaf</td>
<td>$suto\ de$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>blind</td>
<td>$kiokone\ de$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>shut eyes</td>
<td>$kio\ bũ̃$</td>
</tr>
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<td>135</td>
<td>be cross-eyed</td>
<td>$kiogo\ mete(ox)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>_</td>
</tr>
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<td>137</td>
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<td>138</td>
<td>name</td>
<td>$fi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>$xobasĩ$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>$ã$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

283 Cf. 360 below, where $xaxide\ i(g)$ has been given as a translation of ‘be awake’.

284 The notion of killing is usually expressed by a sequence of two mini clauses, the first expressing the notion of ‘hitting’, the second the notion of dying, cf. note at 7.004 (in the tekst edition).

285 Whereas Drabbe gives the noun ‘bellyache’ as a translation, the spelling $okiame$-, ending in a hyphen, suggests that $okiame$- is a verb in $-MV$, just like $xaime$ in 126 (cf. section 2.1 and 2.2, Table 3, type c). In that case, the verbal expression ‘have a bellyache’ would probably be a more correct rendering of the meaning of the word.

286 In 131-133, $de$ is a negative marker, cf. section 2.6 and 4.2.4.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>male</td>
<td>xobasí, xu</td>
<td>mannelijk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>ā, siü</td>
<td>vrouwelijk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>young person</td>
<td>xosūbā</td>
<td>jongeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>young woman</td>
<td>amigi</td>
<td>jongevrouw</td>
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<td>145</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>xu-iwi</td>
<td>oude man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>ān-iwi</td>
<td>oude vrouw</td>
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<td>147</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>eto</td>
<td>vader</td>
</tr>
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<td>148</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>api</td>
<td>moeder</td>
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<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>child, offspring</td>
<td>amoko</td>
<td>kind, afst.</td>
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<td>son</td>
<td>amoko</td>
<td>zoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>daughter</td>
<td>subā</td>
<td>dochter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>child, young person</td>
<td>amoko</td>
<td>kind, jonge mens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>anisi ($)</td>
<td>grootvader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td>itime ($)</td>
<td>grootmoeder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
<td>ēxo, joxo</td>
<td>oudere broer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>elder sister</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>oudere zuster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td>kūda</td>
<td>jongere broer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
<td>kūda</td>
<td>jongere zuster</td>
</tr>
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<td>grandchild</td>
<td>anisi, itime ($)</td>
<td>kleinkind</td>
</tr>
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<td>160</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>amo, sē</td>
<td>echtgenoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>agā</td>
<td>echtgenote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>widower</td>
<td>xu sē</td>
<td>weduwnaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>widow</td>
<td>ā sē</td>
<td>weduwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>apofe</td>
<td>vriend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>ghost, shade</td>
<td>xoxi</td>
<td>geest, schim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>soul</td>
<td>bono</td>
<td>geest, levensg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>tell, narrate</td>
<td>sia sī(k)</td>
<td>verhalen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>marry</td>
<td>ā a(x), xu a(x)</td>
<td>huwen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

287 Cf. 159.
288 Cf. 159.
289 Cf. 153, 154.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>give birth</td>
<td>xaifī(ox)</td>
<td>baren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>drum</td>
<td>kine</td>
<td>trom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>play</td>
<td>xabax’a(x)</td>
<td>spelen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>afāxī</td>
<td>huis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>door</td>
<td>būsīū-to</td>
<td>deur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>ladder</td>
<td>fike</td>
<td>ladder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>corner</td>
<td>kiko</td>
<td>trap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>gaba-gaba</td>
<td>ditange</td>
<td>gaba-gaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>mattress</td>
<td>bigio</td>
<td>ligmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>jā</td>
<td>vuur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>make a fire</td>
<td>jā abukū</td>
<td>vuur aanleggen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>extinguish a fire</td>
<td>jā übumu kū</td>
<td>vuur doven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>extinguish (intr.)</td>
<td>būnū(k)</td>
<td>uitgaan van vuur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>smoke (intr.)</td>
<td>jān-īku</td>
<td>rook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>ashes</td>
<td>sinako</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>firewood</td>
<td>jā</td>
<td>brandhout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>coconut</td>
<td>pejo-bigi</td>
<td>klapperdop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>knife, shell</td>
<td>gisi</td>
<td>mes, schelp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>cutting knife</td>
<td>xasisia</td>
<td>hakmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>torch</td>
<td></td>
<td>fakkel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>bake, roast</td>
<td>tomū(g)</td>
<td>bakken, poffen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>be cooked through</td>
<td>pani(k)</td>
<td>gaar zijn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>uncooked</td>
<td>xagide</td>
<td>ongaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>axe</td>
<td>vis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>sago</td>
<td>dī</td>
<td>sago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>sumke</td>
<td>tabak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

290 Roof of sago palm fronds.

291 Drabbe probably refers to knives made from shells. The word is also used for spoons made from shells; cf. the Aghu-English wordlist.

292 Whereas Drabbe does not give a word here, the language has a word used for a stone axe: xabū or gabū, cf. 222 and the Aghu-English wordlist.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>twine</td>
<td>si(k)</td>
<td>vlechten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>twist a rope</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>touwdraaien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>rope</td>
<td>kikõ</td>
<td>touw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>fell</td>
<td>ū(k)</td>
<td>hakken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>spear</td>
<td>xasi</td>
<td>lans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>bow</td>
<td>dũ</td>
<td>boog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>dibisi</td>
<td>pijl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>tĩ, saxa(k)</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>make war</td>
<td>kotom’ ū(g)</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>enemy</td>
<td>kufẽ</td>
<td>vijand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td>xũ</td>
<td>landbouw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>fence</td>
<td>boxi</td>
<td>omheining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>plant (v)</td>
<td>soxo kũ</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>ripe</td>
<td>jomũ</td>
<td>rijp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>unripe</td>
<td>kaxi</td>
<td>onrijp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>sugarcane</td>
<td>kũ</td>
<td>suikerriet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>sweet yam</td>
<td>kinabe</td>
<td>zoete bataat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>taro</td>
<td>fi</td>
<td>tales, keladi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>coconut</td>
<td>pejo</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>breadfruit</td>
<td>xã</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>nippa palm</td>
<td>sedi</td>
<td>nipah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

293 *Saxa* is an idiosyncratic iterative form of *tĩ*, cf. section 2.4.1, pattern V in the table. In certain contexts it implies a plural object, whereas *tĩ* implies a singular object.

294 *Kotom’* is the cliticized form of the reciprocal marker *kotomu*, cf. section 3.4.2 on adverbs. Note the difference between ū(g) ‘stab’ and ū(k) ‘fell’; see also the Aghu-English wordlist.

295 In fact, *xũ* is the name used to refer to a garden, cf. Aghu-English wordlist.

296 Lit. ‘put in the ground’.

297 It is not entirely clear whether Drabbe wanted to elicit the name for the tree or the name for its fruit here.

298 The word is used both for the tree and for its fruits. The word *pejo* is a loan from Marind, cf. the Aghu-English wordlist.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>216</th>
<th>banana</th>
<th>siï</th>
<th>banaan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>rattan</td>
<td>joxu</td>
<td>rotan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>bamboo</td>
<td>woki, wiki</td>
<td>bamboe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>wood, tree</td>
<td>kesaxe</td>
<td>boom, hout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>chop down, fell</td>
<td>ü(k) xaxade mi(k)</td>
<td>omhakken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>axe</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>bijl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>stone axe</td>
<td>xabu</td>
<td>stenen bijl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>branch</td>
<td>kabiã</td>
<td>tak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>root</td>
<td>tete</td>
<td>wortel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>blad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>xa, jā xa</td>
<td>schors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>thorn</td>
<td>jomo</td>
<td>doorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>ki, jā ki</td>
<td>bloem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>edeko</td>
<td>vrucht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>?crossbeams, alang-alang</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>alang-alang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>tail of tetrapod</td>
<td>wobugo</td>
<td>staart v. viervoetig dier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>tail of bird</td>
<td>osia</td>
<td>staart v. vogel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>wing</td>
<td>tefio</td>
<td>vleugel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>feathers</td>
<td>xa-xō</td>
<td>veren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>fly (v)</td>
<td>bū xo(x)</td>
<td>vliegen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>nest</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>nest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

299 Lit. ‘fell break-SS come.down’.
300 Cf. note 292 above.
301 In our data we find xabü and gabü: one of the few examples of the fluctuation of consonants. Another examples are the fluctuation between x and g in xagide ~ xaxide, or fluctuation between n and d in xadimie ~ xanimie.
302 Note that xa also is the word for skin, cf. 084 above.
303 The word jomo is also used for a fish bone, cf. the Aghu-English wordlist.
304 This is also the word used for body hair, cf. 085 above.
305 This is also the word used for a women’s house, cf. the Aghu-English wordlist.
| 237  | egg      | mügo  | ei   |
| 238  | pig      | wi    | varken |
| 239  | dog      | jangi, nangi | hond |
| 240  | marsupial | kuso  | buideleldier |
| 241  | kangooroo | kuso-baxi, kuso-wonu | kangoeroe |
| 242  | cassowary | woküe | casuaris |
| 243  | crowned pigeon | iiküte | kroonduif |
| 244  | bird-of-paradise | efe  | paradijsvogel |
| 245  | bird     | ï    | vogel |
| 246  | bat      | sumàpio | vleermuis |
| 247  | mega bat | xongi | vliegende hond |
| 248  | mouse    | kuso-änge³⁰⁶ | muis |
| 249  | rat      | kuso-jowô  | rat |
| 250  | net      | kapüo  | net |
| 251  | louse    | ângu   | luis |
| 252  | spider   | süâ    | spin |
| 253  | fly      | obeke  | vlieg |
| 254  | mosquito | isinigi | muskiet |
| 255  | butterfly | apo   | vlinder |
| 256  | firefly  | mi³⁰⁷  | vuurvlieg |
| 257  | grasshopper | boki, buse | sprinkhaan |
| 258  | cockroach | xabgibo | kakkerlak |
| 259  | white ant | doxosi | witte mier |
| 260  | snake    | wisi³⁰⁸ | slang |
| 261  | centipede | xa     | duizendpoot |

³⁰⁶ Drabbe writes both kuso baxi and kuso wonu as separate words, but 241 kuso-baxi and kuso-wonu as compounds. I consider all of these as compounds of type 2, cf. section 3.1.2, Table 39.

³⁰⁷ The word is also used for star, cf. 269 below.

³⁰⁸ Wisi is a general name for snakes, lizards and crocodiles, and is used in compounds like wisi-anù ‘anu-lizard’; wisi-künü ‘künü-snake’. Cf. section 3.1.1.
### WORDLISTS. Thematic wordlist English-Aghu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leech</td>
<td>sisi</td>
<td>bloedzuiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>nange</td>
<td>kikvors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crocodile</td>
<td>kiambu</td>
<td>krokodil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>mügo</td>
<td>schildpad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky</td>
<td>xuito</td>
<td>hemel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>sowo</td>
<td>zon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>bidi</td>
<td>maan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>star</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>ster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>soxo</td>
<td>aarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rain</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>regen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rainbow</td>
<td>wisi-ai</td>
<td>regenboog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thunder (v)</td>
<td>xü ü(k)</td>
<td>donderen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lighten</td>
<td>wimi</td>
<td>bliksemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earthquake</td>
<td>jei</td>
<td>aardbeving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind</td>
<td>kifi</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>oxo</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island</td>
<td>dübi</td>
<td>eiland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>xaibie</td>
<td>berg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go up</td>
<td>osu(k)</td>
<td>stijgen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down</td>
<td>osü(k)</td>
<td>dalen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td></td>
<td>bos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>footprint, track</td>
<td>kuto isipomo i(g)</td>
<td>voetspoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>widi</td>
<td>rivier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

309 By extension also used for daylight, cf. 395 below.
310 This word has also been given as a translation of firefly, cf. 256 above.
311 This word has also been given as a translation of ground, cf. 286 below.
312 Whereas Drabbe separates the two words by a blank space, I consider this a compound, cf. note 308.
313 Note that this is a verbal expression, which literally translates as ‘feet tread down (on it) so that it [the track of footprints] lies’. In the text corpus there is one example of reference to a track, in 2.160, where we find the stem II isipofie instead of — what we would expect on the basis of Drabbe’s description — isipome (cf. section 2.2, Table 3).
| 285 | stone | *io* | steen |
| 286 | ground | *soxo* | grond |
| 287 | sand | *ginge* | zand |
| 288 | canoe | *jofū* | prauw |
| 289 | paddle | *kefī* | pagaai |
| 290 | big | *tadi* | groot |
| 291 | small | *patoxo* | klein |
| 292 | long | *pi* | lang |
| 293 | short | *bago* | kort |
| 294 | thick, of flat objects | *wogide* | dik, v. platte voorwerpen |
| 295 | thin, of flat objects | *asiga* | dun, v. platte voorwerpen |
| 296 | thin, of person | *bigi da* | mager |
| 297 | fat (adj) | *fofūko* | vet |
| 298 | fat (n) | *xadimie* | vet |
| 299 | be shy | *e ki(k)* | verlegen zijn |
| 300 | deep | *bobugo* | diep |
| 301 | shallow | *gono, daxejo* | ondieu |
| 302 | high | *si* | hoog |
| 303 | low | *makā* | laag |
| 304 | straight | *kidī* | recht |
| 305 | be bent | *bubuni(k)* | krom zijn |
| 306 | flat, even | *tā* | vlak, effen |
| 307 | slippery | *ifia* | glibberig |

---

314 The word has also been given as a gloss for earth, cf. 270 above.
315 Lit. ‘only bone(s)’.
316 The word has also been given as a translation for ‘above’, cf. 403 below.
317 The word has also been given as a translation for ‘below’, cf. 404 below.
318 Note that *tā* has been given as a translation for ‘flat, even’ (306); ‘light’ (309) and ‘wide’ (317).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>Aghu-English equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>bodii</td>
<td>zwaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>light (opp. of heavy)</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>licht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>kisī</td>
<td>scherp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>blunt</td>
<td>müsiāh</td>
<td>stomp, bot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>hard</td>
<td>butto</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>soft</td>
<td>puxu</td>
<td>zacht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>warm</td>
<td>apufō</td>
<td>warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td>tū</td>
<td>koud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>shiver</td>
<td>kudu itimi</td>
<td>beven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>wide</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>breed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>strong</td>
<td>butto</td>
<td>sterk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>weak</td>
<td>puxu</td>
<td>zwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>dry</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>droog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td>wet</td>
<td>paxa</td>
<td>nat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>jafi, jefi</td>
<td>goed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>angry</td>
<td>xadī</td>
<td>boos, boosaardig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324</td>
<td>worthless</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>nietswaardig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325</td>
<td>wrong</td>
<td>omumu</td>
<td>fout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td>true</td>
<td>xamiki</td>
<td>juist, waar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>327</td>
<td>be empty</td>
<td>fede ki(k)</td>
<td>leeg zijn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

319 Cf. note 318.
320 Note that butto has been given as a translation for ‘hard’ (312) and for ‘strong’ (318).
321 Note that puxu has been given as a translation for ‘soft’ and for ‘weak’ (319).
322 Cf. note 318.
323 Cf. note 320.
324 Cf. note 321.
325 The expression paxa ki ‘wet become’ is also used for the decomposition of a body, cf. 1.301.
326 Wa can probably best be glossed with ‘bad’, cf. the Aghu-English wordlist.
327 The expression omum’ oxay wrong speak.VN is translated by Drabbe as ‘stupid talking’ (Dutch: ‘domme praat’; Drabbe 1957:15a).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>328</td>
<td>be full</td>
<td>tape *ki(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329</td>
<td>old (age)</td>
<td>*iwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330</td>
<td>old (duration)</td>
<td><em>posi</em> <em>i</em></td>
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<td>young</td>
<td><em>xagid</em></td>
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<tr>
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<td><em>xagid</em></td>
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<td>taxä</td>
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<td>fast</td>
<td><em>xaxamu</em></td>
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<td>slow</td>
<td><em>tetem</em> <em>329</em></td>
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<td>red</td>
<td><em>kaŋg</em> <em>330</em></td>
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<td>search</td>
<td><em>agu</em> <em>k</em></td>
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<td>341</td>
<td>find</td>
<td><em>a(x)</em> <em>331</em></td>
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<td>342</td>
<td>give</td>
<td><em>ede</em> <em>ox</em></td>
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<td>343</td>
<td>take</td>
<td><em>a(x)</em> <em>332</em></td>
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<td>344</td>
<td>go and get</td>
<td><em>xo-d’‘a-bu da(x)</em> <em>333</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>take along</td>
<td><em>a-de xo(x)</em> <em>334</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>bring along</td>
<td><em>a-de da(x)</em> <em>335</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

328 *Fed* is the word used for ‘nothing’ (cf. 391 below), and also used as a negative marker, cf. section 4.2.4, so that the clause reads as ‘be nothing’.

329 Drabbe writes *tetem-* , which indicates that the word is a complex verb ending in -mV, cf. section 2.1.


331 The meaning of the verb *a(x)* cannot be rendered by a single English word. It can refer to a ‘taking hold of something’ or to the (subsequent) ‘carrying along’ or both, cf. the Aghu-English wordlist.

332 Cf. footnote 331.

333 *xo-d’‘a-bu da* take-SS come. Literally this should be rendered as ‘go and take and come’, cf. section 3.5.1.1.

334 *A-de xo* take-SS go. Literally this should be rendered as ‘take and go’, cf. section 3.5.1.1.
### 347 do, make  
**ame**  
doen, maken

### 348 wash  
**ünoxo kũ**  
wassen

### 349 know  
**dafaŋ gi(k)**  
weten, kennen

### 350 think  
**fimi**  
denken

### 351 forget  
**omumu**  
vergeten

### 352 be silent  
**sdiagi(k)**  
zwijgen

### 353 speak  
**u o(x)**  
tspreken

### 354 sing  
**ada i(k)**  
zingen

### 355 say  
**o(x)**  
zeggen

### 356 call  
**üfiakũ**  
roepen

### 357 curse, swear  
**bobomo**  
schelden

### 358 work  
**fiko a(x)**  
werken

### 359 carry  
**kēkũ**  
**dragen**

### 360 be awake  
**xaxide i(g)**  
wakker zijn

### 361 guard  
**kiaxaime**  
bewaken

### 362 wait  
**dē(k)**  
wachten

### 363 hear  
**da(k)**  
horen

### 364 see  
**ete(ox)**  
kijken, zien

### 365 smell  
**fu mi(k)**  
ruiken

---

332 **A-de da** take-SS come. Literally this should be rendered as ‘take and come’, cf. section 3.5.1.1.

336 The meaning of **o(x)** is best captured by the gloss ‘speak’. Dependent on the context, it may have different senses. In this list, **o(x)** has been given as a gloss for speak (353), say (355), ask for (378), and command (385).

337 Cf. note 336.

338 The language has different words for different types of carrying. In a strict sense, **kēkũ** seems to refer to a carrying on the shoulders, cf. the Aghu-English wordlist, and 1.237. A common expression for ‘carry along’ is the combination of a ‘take’ with a directional verb, cf. 344-346 above and section 3.5.1.1, esp. the rightmost columns of Table 47 and Table 48.

339 Cf. 119 above, where **xaxide ki(k)** has been given as a translation of ‘to live’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>suck</td>
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<td>367</td>
<td>love</td>
<td><em>mumун gi(k)</em></td>
<td>liefhebben</td>
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<tr>
<td>368</td>
<td>be unwilling</td>
<td><em>mũ</em></td>
<td>onwillig zijn</td>
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<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>jump</td>
<td><em>pinoxo ū(k)</em></td>
<td>springen</td>
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<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td>break of wood (tr.)</td>
<td><em>axaфu</em></td>
<td>breken van hout, overg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>break of wood (intr.)</td>
<td><em>gaxa(k)</em></td>
<td>breken van hout, onoverg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>break of rope (tr.)</td>
<td><em>ageme</em></td>
<td>breken v. touw, onoverg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>break of rope (intr.)</td>
<td><em>geni(k)</em></td>
<td>breken v. touw, overg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>break of stone (tr.)</td>
<td><em>iiпomo</em></td>
<td>breken v. steen, overg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375</td>
<td>break of stone (intr.)</td>
<td><em>ponи(k)</em></td>
<td>breken v. steen, onoverg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376</td>
<td>bind</td>
<td><em>ada(k)</em></td>
<td>binden</td>
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<td>377</td>
<td>hide (tr.)</td>
<td><em>akosũ</em></td>
<td>verbergen</td>
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<td>378</td>
<td>ask for</td>
<td><em>o(x)</em></td>
<td>vragen om, naar</td>
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<td>379</td>
<td>ly</td>
<td><em>фimb’ o(x)</em></td>
<td>liegen</td>
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<td>380</td>
<td>steal</td>
<td><em>ki a(x)</em></td>
<td>stelen</td>
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<td>381</td>
<td>throw away</td>
<td><em>kusumu</em></td>
<td>weggooien</td>
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<td>382</td>
<td>burn (tr.)</td>
<td><em>fi(ox)</em></td>
<td>verbranden</td>
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<tr>
<td>383</td>
<td>dig</td>
<td><em>küо(x)</em></td>
<td>graven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

340 Whereas Drabbe writes *fiuni* as one word in the wordlist, it is clear from his discussion of the word elsewhere that it consists of two parts. This is esp. clear from the form of stem_II: *fu ami*, cf. section 2.2.

341 Elsewhere, Drabbe glosses the form *xaфu* with ‘chop up’ (Dutch: ‘in stukken kappen’).

342 Cf. note 336.

343 Drabbe does not specify whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. It is attested in the text corpus only twice, in 2.151 and 2.152, where it is used transitively for the ‘setting on fire’ of a house.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go away</td>
<td>xo(x)</td>
<td>weggaan</td>
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<tr>
<td>command</td>
<td>o(x)</td>
<td>bevelen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>da(x)</td>
<td>komen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collect</td>
<td>mumu</td>
<td>verzamelen</td>
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<tr>
<td>hit</td>
<td>ñifí(ox)</td>
<td>slaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>revenge</td>
<td>kutaxamu ame</td>
<td>wreken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much</td>
<td>weaxa</td>
<td>veel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nothing</td>
<td>fede</td>
<td>niets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all, everything</td>
<td>isiòmu</td>
<td>alle, alles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be sufficient</td>
<td>xaini(k)</td>
<td>genoeg zijn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some</td>
<td>toxopòmu, toxogèmu</td>
<td>enkele, enige</td>
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<td>daylight</td>
<td>sowo</td>
<td>daglicht</td>
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<tr>
<td>be light</td>
<td>kenì(k)</td>
<td>licht zijn</td>
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<td>womì</td>
<td>nacht</td>
</tr>
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<td>dark</td>
<td>asìì</td>
<td>donker</td>
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<td>sowo nego</td>
<td>nu</td>
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<td>tomorrow</td>
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<td>morgen</td>
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<tr>
<td>morning</td>
<td>mìmì</td>
<td>ochtend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>above</td>
<td>sì</td>
<td>boven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

344 Xo(x) is the term used for ‘going’ or ‘going away’. In this elicited list, it has been given as a translation of ‘walk’ (102) and ‘go away’ (384). Cf. section 3.5.1.1.

345 Cf. note 336.

346 Lit. ‘do in exchange’. The term is not only used for ‘revenge’ which can be seen as compensating negative behavior (do harm because the other has done harm), but also for rewarding positive behavior (give because the other has given), cf. the use of *kutaxamu* in 3.009.

347 An extension of the spatial meaning ‘come close’, cf. 2.204.

348 Cf. 267.

349 Lit. ‘this sun’. *Nego* is a demonstrative, dealt with in section 3.2.4.1.

350 Cf. the use of *ba-gidi* ‘sit-next.day’ in section 2.8.3.3.

351 Cf. the use of *ba-gidi* ‘sit-next.day’ in section 2.8.3.3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>404</th>
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<th>onder</th>
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<tr>
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<td>close</td>
<td><em>akiã</em></td>
<td>nabij</td>
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<td>406</td>
<td>far</td>
<td><em>mekese</em></td>
<td>veraf</td>
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<td>407</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td><em>betaxa</em></td>
<td>buiten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>408</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td><em>womu</em></td>
<td>binnen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Alphabetical index on the English-Aghu wordlist

The list below forms an index to the thematic wordlist presented in the previous section. The numbers given in the second and fourth columns of the table below correspond to the numbers in the first column of the thematic list above.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>English</th>
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<td>403</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>216</td>
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<td>Adam's apple</td>
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<td>bark</td>
<td>226</td>
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<td>afterbirth</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>bat</td>
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<td>205</td>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>106</td>
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<td>alang-alang, ?crossbeams</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>be awake</td>
<td>360</td>
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<td>all, everything</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>be empty</td>
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<td>angry</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>be sufficient</td>
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<td>ankle</td>
<td>065</td>
<td>be unwilling</td>
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<td>do, make</td>
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### PART II: WORDLISTS. Alphabetical index to English-Aghu wordlist 383

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Wordlist Aghu-English

In an article comparing Asmat-Kamoro, Aywu-Dumut and Ok languages, Voorhoeve writes that “all comparative work involving Aywu-Dumut languages will find itself restricted to an inventory of maximally 500 words.” (Voorhoeve 2005: 164). As can be seen in the wordlist below, however, I have managed to collect over 800 lexical entries for Aghu, by unraveling all the data hidden in Drabbe’s publication.

The wordlist below is a compilation of data from three different sources: the text corpus, examples given by Drabbe in his grammatical introduction (most of which are cited in this publication) and the thematic wordlist provided by Drabbe and presented above. Of those three sources, the text corpus provides the most reliable data, as it presents the words as used in a more natural context compared to the words in the other sources, which are all based on word-by-word or sentence-by-sentence elicitation.

At one point, the orthography in the list differs from elsewhere in this publication. It is only in this list that words that end in -mV, where V indicates a harmonizing vowel, are written as such. At other places in this publication, I have chosen to follow Drabbe’s orthography, and to write the harmonizing vowel according to how it is realized. Thus, kusumV ‘burp’ is written as kusumu in the English-Aghu wordlist above, as kusum in the gloss of 2.096 (where the vowel is elided), and as kusumV in the wordlist below.

For each lemma, we find, in different fonts and in the order as given below: the part of speech; then an English gloss;352 then one or more references to

352 Instead of an English gloss, we sometimes found an abbreviation in capitals, used to refer to a grammatical function of the morpheme, e.g. de OPP. While the grammatical
occurrences in the text corpus, passages in Drabbe or sections in this publication; then a reference to the number in the English-Aghu wordlist; then a reference to semantically or formally related words; and finally an optional remark. An example is given in the following figure.

Figure 19: parts of the Aghu-English wordlist

As can be seen in the figure above, references to the text corpus, sections in this publication or sections in Drabbe are printed in the position following the English translation (e.g. 1.135 etc. at a(x)). Numbers in non-bold font refer to sections in the text corpus or in the grammatical introduction, dependent on the structure of the code. References to the English-Aghu wordlist, on the other hand, are given in bold font. The absence of numbers in non-bold font means that the morpheme in question was attested in the wordlist only. This is the case, for example, for adena above, which only has a reference to the wordlist, in bold font: 029. Likewise, absence of a

introduction uses small caps to grammatical functions, the wordlist and texts use ‘normal’ capitals.
reference to the wordlist means that the item was not attested in this list, but only in one or more of the other sources. See, for example, abi or abibiamV. Coming back to the references in non-bold, the following method was followed. If an item was attested in the text corpus, I have always added at least one reference to a place of occurrence. In addition, I have added references to sections in Drabbe or in this publication, only in those cases where the form was not attested in the text corpus, or in cases where these extra references were considered useful for the reader.

Verbs are given in their stem_I form; the form of the realis marker is given in brackets, directly following the stem; cf. section 2.3.1.1. For the corresponding forms of stem_II and the imperative stems, the reader is referred to sections 2.2 and 2.5 respectively. For stems in -mV (where V is a harmonizing vowel, cf. section 1.3) and those ending in nasal vowel, the forms of the realis marker are predictable (-ox and -g, respectively, see section 2.3.1.1), and, therefore, not indicated. Iterative stems have also not been included; these can be found in section 2.4.1.

The words are presented in alphabetical order, where the mutual order of unmodified vowels, nasal vowels and long vowels is random. For example, the order of å, a and å is random (all count as a). The same is true for the mutual order of u and ü: both count as u. The consonant x ([x]) counts as the English consonant x: it follows the consonant w and precedes z (y is not attested in Aghu). Compounds directly follow the (first) word with which they form a compound, so that e.g. a-müto is presented higher in the alphabetical list than a word like abi.

Although Drabbe discusses the different parts of speech, and is aware that there is not a one to one correspondence between parts of speech in Dutch and in Aghu, he has refrained from giving the part of speech for each stem. This means that the indication of the part of speech in this publication is
sometimes not more than an ‘informed guess.’ An exception is formed by
words belonging to the class of verbs, as they can be formally
distinguishing from other forms by having a realis marker. Also formally
distinguishable are those adverbs that end in -mu. Apart from these verbs
and adverbs, the indication of membership is based on the meaning of the
form, based on the class membership indicated by Drabbe, or based on the
use of the form in the text corpus. In those cases where neither of these
criteria is sufficient, I have placed a question mark, as in the examples
presented below. The question mark proceeding n at ake indicates that it
might be a noun. As is clear from the remark, however, it is not attested as
an independent noun, so that it is only the analogy to other compounds
(where the second position is filled by a noun, cf. section 3.1) that would
justify the analysis of ake as a noun. The question mark after akimu
indicates that the part of speech is unclear. As indicated in the explanatory
remark, the word is attested only in combination with a following verb ogü,
and not attested independently. (It could be an adverb in -mu (cf. section
3.4.2), but lack of comparable forms, e.g. forms from which the adverb
could have been derived, makes this rather hypothetical.)

Figure 20: part of the Aghu-English wordlist, with indication of the use of question marks

The translations in this word list are not always exactly the same as those
that we find as glosses in the text corpus. This is because the glossing in the
text corpus suffers from technical limitations, like the impossibility to use
multi-word descriptions in interlinear glossing, or the wish to keep the
glosses as compact as possible.
References to semantically or formally related words have been printed in bold italic; in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aghu</th>
<th>English wordlist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adena</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The exterior part; see the English-Aghu wordlist.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 19 above we find ànumu related to àbimu, *kim* related to a(x) and *siï* related to ã. These references serve to encourage the reader to look for formal relations between different morphemes, or to get a better impression of their semantic ranges. I do not pretend to to give a systematic account of semantic fields or other relations within the lexicon, as the data are too limited: the textual corpus consists of some 5750 words only, and we do not have access to native speakers to do any formal or semantic checks or tests. In spite of these limitations, I am confident to have provided an easier access to the data than before, and to have disclosed more of the riches of this language, so that also my work is “not without merit for linguistics.”

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353 Cf. Drabbe 1957:iii, cited in the preface to this publication.
**Part II: WORDLISTS. Aghu-English wordlist**

**a**? rain  
4.20 271

**a(x)** take  
1.135; 1.182; 1.189; 4.68; 8.001; 8.003  
341

The basic meaning of the word could probably best be described as 'have in the hand' or 'carry in the hand'. Dependent on the context, the word may have an inchoative reading 'take hold of', or 'grasp', cf. Drabbe 1957:19. It is also used in the sense of 'take things' -> 'work'.

**kimV**

**a-mta(x) v bring uphill**  
4.18; 2.091b  
Composed of *a* 'take' and *mta* 'come uphill'. Cf. section 3.5.1.

**ā n woman**  
2.140 140

**siū**

**a-giedi n orphan girl**  
Cf. section 3.1 on compounds.

**ā-sē n unmarried woman**  
Compound of *ā* 'woman' and *sē* 'husband', cf. section 3.1.

**ā n nest; women’s house**  
6.025 236

**xī; afaxī; axī; ifo; sauna**  
This term refers to a house in which a number of women live and also stay at night. Their husbands have free access there during the day. It should be compared to *xī*, which is the name used for the house where all men of a clan sleep during the night, and hang around during the day. Women are not allowed there (Drabbe 1957:84, note 26).

In the texts, the word referring to a 'women's house' is attested only in texts 1 and 2, and only as part of the compound: *a-mūtō* or *a-mūdū* (1.146f and 2.095).

**a-mūdū, a-mūtō ridge of**

**women’s house**  
1.143; 1.180  
A compound of *ā* 'women’s house' and *mūdū / mūtō* 'ridge'.

**mūtō**

**a-mūtō -> a-mūdū**

**àbe gi(k) v laugh**  
Drabbe 1957:13b; section 2.2 108  
Drabbe 1957:13b gives *ab gi*, which must be a cliticized form of *abe gi*, which is the form given in the wordlist.

**abī n bud, knob**  
6.262; section 1.1.2

**abibiamV v sow**  
5.34

**abidimV v pull**  
2.214

**àbimu adv instead of**  
Drabbe 1957:30b; section 3.4.2.

**ānumu**

**abufi, abūfi v lay across**  
1.243

Form of realis marker not given. If we compare to other forms in *fi*, however, the marker is probably is *ox*.

**abukū v make a fire**  
8.010; 4.12

Probably a compound of *a-bu [take-SS] and *kū [put into].

**abum ?adv backwards**  
6.200a

Attested in combination with *ete [see]. Might be a cliticized form of an adverb in *-mu*.**

**abumukū v turn upside down**  
4.54

I have followed Drabbe in writing this as one word. The word is probably composed of *a-bu [take-SS]+mu+kū [put]. The meaning of *mu* is not entirely clear.

**abūmV v do one's best**  
2.194

**abūmV v take out**
6.158
xō
Attested only once, in 6.158, where it is preceded by the containable out of which a moved object is taken.

**ada i(k)** *v* sing
Drabbe 1957:22a
Note that *i(k)* is used independently for 'calling'. *Ada* appears to be one of the words used to refer to 'singing'.

**kibu**

**ada(k)** *v* bind
1.166 376
ifi

**adena** *n* throat 029
The exterior part; see the English-Aghu wordlist.

**adiaxa** *adv* very
Mentioned by Drabbe (1957:29b) as alternative for *isiomu*.

**adimo** *n* spit 088; 113
The expression *adimo si(k)* is given as translation of 'to cough', cf. English-Aghu wordlist 113.

**adofi(ox)** *v* put down
6.270; 3.055

**adomV** *v* take off
2.071
In 2.071 used for taking off clothes (apron).

**afabi, afabiaxa** *quant* much
Drabbe 1957:29b; section 3.9

**afax** *n* house 172

**būsiū; axi; xī; ifo; sauna**
According to Drabbe (1957:84, note 26), *afaxi* is a general term for 'house', parallel to the other general term *būsiū*. These two terms should be distinguished from the term *ā* 'women’s house' and *xī* 'men’s house'.

**afi** *n* half, side
4.07
Is used both for 'side', and for 'half'. In 4.07 used for the other side of a river. Drabbe writes: "afi is one or the other side; one also uses it for 'half'. Thus we find *amu afi* 'half a pig' and *amu afi* (note the different word accent) the half of the pig." Drabbe then compares the use of *afi* to the use of *toxu* (Drabbe 1957:29a). The word is also used in counting, referring to one half of the body, cf. section 3.10.

**toxu, afitamā, afitamu**

**afitamā, afitamu** *n* half
2.221; 6.011b
afi; toxu

**afū** *v* accept
1.1.2

**afū** *v* smooth
1.118

**afufafi(ox)** *v* pull off
2.105b
The form of the realis marker given here is an informed guess, based on analogous forms in *fi*.

**gō**

**agā** *n* wife
4.03 161

**age** *quant* much
Drabbe 1957:29b; section 3.9

**weaxa; afabi; dūkūmā**

**agemV** *v* break (tr, of rope), chop off, tear loose
4.52; 6.258 372
Used for the transitive breaking of a rope. Cf. the different types of breaking in the English-Aghu thematic wordlist above.

**agī** *n* sister’s son
7.003

**agiedi** -> **a-giedi**

**agifi(ox)** *v* pull open
8.004
agigiamV v move back and forward
7.026
ago n cartilage
6.022
agu(k) v search
2.003 340
aiomV v ask
2.156
meaning not entirely clear, attested only once.
ak e ?n kind of snake
6.273
Attested exclusively in a compound with wisi, cf. section 3.1.1.
aki n adat, tradition
Drabbe 1957:9a; section 4.2.6.
akiā, akiamu adv close
Drabbe 1957:30b; section 3.4 405
akimu ? fall
2.206
Drabbe remarks in a note to 2.206 that the combination of akimu and ogū [go down a little] means ‘fall into’.
aku n fog
Drabbe 1957:4a
akumā ? dead 121
Attested only in the English-Aghu wordlist, where 'dead person' is translated as axu akumā.
kū
àkumu adv together
Drabbe 1957:42b; section 3.4.2
This adverb is mentioned by Drabbe only once, when it is compared to the postpositional case marker kumu. See section 3.4.2 for examples.
itūba; gobū; kumu
aküsümV v pour out
Drabbe 1957:3a; section 1.4; Drabbe 1957:21a; section 2.5
akusū, akosū v hide (tr)
1.119 377
amada v bring close; take from the fire
2.121
Composed of a 'take' and mada 'come close', cf. section 3.5.1.
ame n sago pounder
2.043
amigī n girl
Drabbe 1957:9a; section 4.2.5.
amigī n young woman
section 1.4 144
ami(k) v bring down
Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2
Composed of a [take] and mi [come down].
amo n husband 160
sē
4.03
amoko n child; son
Note that Drabbe makes a distinction between child as 'the one that one has brought forth' and as a general term for 'young person'. Both are designated by amoko. Cf. note 117 at the discussion on the use of possessive prefixes, section 3.1.4.
2.139 149; 150; 152
amse n children
2.010
Irregular plural of amoko, cf. section 3.1.5.1.
amta(x) -> a-mta(x)
amu n meat; pork
3.012
Amu is used for a pig or cassowary that has been slaughtered or shot. It may also refer to the cassowary's or pig's meat, or to a part of a pig or cassowary, as in 3.012. (Cf. note at 3.012).
amūdū -> a-mūdū, a-mūto
amüto -> a-müdü, a-müto

amV v do, make 347
Not attested in the text corpus; cf. also the expression for 'revenge' in the English-Aghu wordlist 389.

mV; tamV

angu n louse 251

ángu n area below house 7.009
This is one of the few cases where Drabbe uses a non-final nasal. De Vries (t.a.) suggests that the word for this 'area below the house' has been borrowed from the Marind, and describes the area as "a culturally very significant place because it was one of the places where dead relatives could be buried (...)." See also van Enk and de Vries (1997:24). It often forms the deictic centre, the area with respect to which movements are described, cf. section 5.9.

ani ? lost 2.074

anisi n grandfather; grandson 153; 159
As terms for grandchild, Drabbe gives both anisi and itime. Considering the analogy to anisi [grandfather] vs. itime [grandmother], it seems likely that the former is used for reference to grandsons, and the latter for reference to granddaughters. From Drabbe's description it is not entirely clear whether anisi is used only for grandsons, or also as a more general term for grandchild, including reference to female grandchildren. Cf. section 3.1.4 on kinship terms.

itime

anu n kind of lizard
Drabbe 1957:4b
Attested exclusively in compounds with wisi [lizard], cf. section 3.1.1.

ànumu adv instead of

Drabbe 1957:30a; section 3.4.2

api n mother 1.043; 2.008 148

apo n butterfly 255

apofe n friend 164

asē -> a-sē

asiga adj thin 295
Drabbe remarks: "thin, of flat objects."

asinâ ? sneeze 112
In combination with a following ki(k) 'become': asinan g(k).

asitoxō n father's sister's child Drabbe 1957:7b; section 3.1.4

as(i)k v bite 3.127 095

asü n darkness; dream 6.052; 4.20; 2.004 398
In the English-Aghu wordlist, asü has been given as a translation of 'dark'.

asumV v throw over 3.058

atamV v split
Only the iterative stem atetamV has been attested, see 1.009

atigimV v push open 2.095

atikifi(ox) v pierce 7.025

ato n vagina 2.106 059
Probably (historically) composed of å [woman] and to [opening].

atonisü(k), atonosü(k) v fall 1.141; 3.179

pinosü(k); osü(k)

atosumV v nurse
Drabbe 1957:23a; section 5.5.2

awu adv already; immediately 2.055; 6.162; 6.180; 6.188
Cf. section 3.4.2.

axafükû v fold
axafū, xafũ v break (tr), of wood
1.007; 2.092 370
Cf. the different types of breaking in the English-Aghu thematic wordlist above. Out of context, Drabbe glosses the word as 'chop up', cf. section 2.5.

axafò n kind of bird
Drabbe 1957:4b
Bird that calls when it starts to get light. Used in compounds with i 'bird' as first member cf. section 3.1.1 on compounds.

axu n human
1.145; 1.274 137
Cf. xu; the word is also used in the sense of 'himself', cf. 1.145.

axu(k) v brood
Drabbe 1957:13b; section 2.2

ba(x) v sit, stay
1.002; 1.048 104
See section 2.8 on posture verbs.

ba(x) v prepare
7.013; 7.018

bā v shout
1.042
tittime

babo n sleeper, cross beam
4.60

badi n rim
2.206

baga n shore
4.61
Out of context glossed by Drabbe as 'rand', English: rim, edge. It is dealt with in 3.5.2, as part of a series of spatial nouns.

baxa n clothes
Drabbe 1957:4a

bē(k) v pound
1.017; 2.049
In all the examples that were attested, the word is used for the process of pounding sago, either with, or without an explicit object (dū 'sago').
besame; nõ
bi adj cold
Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2
tū
bī n kind of tree
2.163b
bibimu adv crouched
3.123
bidī n moon 268
bidikimäm num five
3.169
bifikimV v resound
2.183
Drabbe writes: resound of footsteps.
bigi n bone; stem
1.302; 1.244 080
The word is also used as part of compounds like gingè-bigi 'sand-corn'; axī-bigi 'clan'; ini-bigi 'rib'; and besamè-bigi 'breastbone'. Cf. section 3.1.1.
bigio n mattress
Drabbe (1957:37); Drabbe 1957:15a 177
bime n terrace
6.219
Attested only in text 6, where it is used for the terrace at the opening of a treehouse, up in the tree.
bimV v cut open; pull
6.198; 6.313; 8.004
dū; efegemV; gū; komV; ō; tümV;
pomV; gobūmV; ügemV
bino n shin 070
bo n well
3.050
bo adj white 337
bobomV v curse, swear 357
bobugo, bubugo adj deep
Drabbe 1957:9b; section 4.2.5 300
bodo, bedo n arm, hand; head of spear; branch 8.007; 1.032; 1.135 071
Also used for the foreleg of an animal (Drabbe 1957:2a; section 1.1.1).
bodo-bigi n upper arm 072
A compound of bodo~bedo 'hand' and bigi, cf. section 3.1.1 on compounds.
bodo-butō, bedo-butō n finger
Drabbe 1957:4b 075
kuto butō
Cf. section 3.1.1 on compounds.
bodo-mu n elbow 074
Cf. section 3.1.1 on compounds.
bodo-tōngō n armpit 073
togō
Drabbe’s use of an interspace between the two parts might be taken as an indication that he considers this as a possessive construction rather than a compound. Cf. section 3.1.2, Table 39.
Given the analogy to compounds with bodo, however, it is more likely that this also is a compound. Cf. section 3.1.2 on compounds.
bodomu -> bodo-mu
bodū adj heavy 308
bofi v sharpen
Attested in Drabbe (1957:4a), and section 1.1. The form of the realis marker has not been given.
boki, buse n grasshopper
Drabbe 1957:4a 257
bomga n mouth, lip 018; 020
xato
Bomga refers to the exterior mouth.
bomokū n put into
Drabbe 1957:19a; section 5.4.3
kū
bōngomV v shiver 8.018
**Part II: WORDLISTS. Aghu-English wordlist**

- **kudu itimV**
  - **bono** *n* soul
  - 7.005 166

- **boteaxa -> buto**

- **botu -> buto**

- **boxi** *n* fence
  - Drabbe 1957:4a 206

- **bū** *adv* flying
  - 1.135; 1.142
  - Drabbe 1957:3a
  - Attested exclusively in combination with xo.

- **bū v shut eyes**
  - Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2; Drabbe 1957:21; section 2.5
  - 134
  - In the English-Aghu wordlist, 134, we find kio-bū 'eye shut eye' as a translation of 'shut eyes'.

- **bubugo -> bobugo**

- **bubuni(k)** *v* be bent 305

- **bubute** *n* buttocks 051

- **budo** *n* plate
  - 3.118
  - Plate made out of bark.

- **būmo** *n* knee
  - 6.022 068

- **bümükũ** *v* flood
  - 7.025
  - In his grammatical introduction Drabbe writes: 'be high (of water), cf. section 2.2, Table 3.

- **buni(k)** *v* capsize
  - Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2

- **bünũ(k)** *v* extinguish (intr)
  - 2.101 181
  - Cf. wordlist 180 for transitive extinguish.

- **büomV** *v* stop
  - 6.067; 1.046
  - *emV; mū*
  - Attested in the text corpus only twice. See also Drabbe 1957:29b; section

3.10.2.

- **büonimi(k)** *v* let loose and come down
  - 6.090
  - Composed of büoni and mi(k) 'come down'.

- **buse -> boki**

- **büsiũ** *n* house
  - 1.005

- **afaxĩ; xi; axi; ā**

- **buteaxa -> buto**

- **buto, botu, boteaxa, buteaxa**
  - adj strong; hard
  - 3.128; section 3.1.3 312; 318

- **koā**
  - For the relation between botu and boteaxa cf. section 3.1.3 on adjectives.
  - For the fluctuation between o and u cf. section 1.1.

- **da** *adv* purely
  - section 3.4

- **dabudotobu ?adv crossways in water**
  - 2.186

- **dafā ? knowing**
  - Drabbe 1957:3a; Drabbe 1957:15a; section 2.3.2.2.1
  - Might be a verbal noun, cf. section 2.3.2.2 and 2.3.2.3.

- **dani(k)** *v* open eyes
  - Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2; Drabbe 1957:21; section 2.5

- **dase** *n* ashes from rattan plant
  - 7.025

- **dateke** *adv* just
  - 2.173

- **daxejo** *adj* shallow 301

- **gono**

- **da(k)** *v* hear
  - 8.018 363

- **da(x)** *v* come
  - 1.005 386

- **de** *cop COP*
2.190
See chapter 4.

de ? LOC
6.305; 6.306
Cf. section 3.11 and 3.4.2.

de ? NEG
2.012
For negative clauses see section 2.6 and 4.6.

de, dèmu adv OPP
1.050
See section 3.4.2. Dè(mu) is attested as an adverb both with and without a suffix -mu. It used to express 'in opposition to the others'.

dè(k) v wait
Drabbe 1957:13b; section 2.2

Dokù

di n buttress root
2.164
Also used in the compound jā-di (2.153).

di adv quite, rather
Drabbe 1957:30a; section 3.4

dia ?adj hungry
6.021
The combination of ki 'become' and dia is rendered by Drabbe as 'to become hungry' (Dutch: 'honger krijgen').

Ode

Dibiaxa adv rough
1.277
Dibiaxa formally looks like an adjective, because of the ending -axa, cf. section 3.3, but seems to function as an adverb in 1.277. This is the only occurrence in the text corpus.

Dibisi n arrow
6.145
Sobo
Also used for the combination bow and arrow, as a pars pro toto, cf. Drabbe 1959:87, endnote 122, at 6.145.

Difì wake up (tr)

Drabbe 1957:39b; section 5.4.2.2

digì adj other
Drabbe 1957:30b; section 3.4.

digimu

Digi

ditange n gaba-gaba
176
According to Echols and Shadily (1989) gaba-gaba is an Ambonese Malay term used for: (1) garlands and other decorations made of palm fronds. (2) bamboo gate decorated with garland of fronds, etc. (3) roof of sago palm fronds. (4) dried sago palm stems, esp. as building material. It is probably the third meaning that is meant here.

dò v lay down (of head)
Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2

Dobege n bridge
4.39a

Dokù v wait
6.008

dè(k)

doto(x) v get up
1.049; section 2.8.1

According to Drabbe (1957:32b, see section 2.8.1), this verb is inherently 'metastatic', implying a change of state. Cf. dūko 'lie down' and mese 'get up from sitting position'.

Dūko(x); mese(k); xuba(x)

Doxo v pass by
2.108; 2.157; 2.71; 2.172; 6.026

Efekoki(k); kiani(k)
Although Drabbe gives a consistent gloss, the meaning of the verb in the contexts where it is used is often not entirely clear. Form of realis marker has not been given.

Doxosi n white ant
Part II: WORDLISTS. Aghu-English wordlist

7.065 259
do(x) v cooked through; burn
2.009; 2.152

pani(k)
dû v cut away
2.106; 2.107

bîmV; efegemV; gû; komV; ô; pomV;
tûmV; gobûmV; ügemV
dû n bow
Drabbe 1957:3a 200
dibisi
dû n sago
1.017 193
duba n part
4.22; 4.27
These are the only two occurrences; used for big pieces of mud that come down from the shore of a river.
dûbi n island 278
dûbo n heart
8.005 040
dugu n roof of sago leaves
Drabbe 1957:15a; section 2.3.2.2.3
dûko(x) v lie down
section 2.8.1
doto(x); mese(k)
According to Drabbe (1957:32b, see section 2.8.1), this verb is inherently 'metastatic', implying a change of state. Cf. doto(x) 'get up from lying position' and mese(k) 'get up from sitting position'
dûkûmâ quant many
Drabbe remarks: not for masses like 'water' and 'sand'.
age; afabi; weaxa
ë v eat
1.019 090
edeko n fruit 229
ede(ox) v give
1.054 342
When followed by the realis marker ox, the final e is elided, cf. section 2.3.1.
efe n bird of paradise 244
efegemV v cut
1.235
EfegemV may be used used for cutting off a piece; while the iterative efegiomV is used for cutting something into small pieces. Cf. note at 1.153.
bîmV; dû; gû; komV; ô; pomV; tûmV; gobûmV; ügemV;
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ede(ox) v give
1.054 342
When followed by the realis marker ox, the final e is elided, cf. section 2.3.1.

efekoki(k) v pass by
2.163b
The verb is attested in two passages: 2.163f and 6.152f. In both passages, we find a series of similar events of 'passing by'.
do; kian(ik)
ekô n neck 031
gô; gûbô; mû
emu adv then
1.041; section 3.4.2; section 5.7
emV v have intercourse
7.043
jô
Only in combination with kotomu 'RECIPR'. Relation to emV 'finish' is unclear.
emV finish
1.119; 1.169
bûomV; mû
eni n elder sister
1.051 156
ete(ox), iti(ox) v see
7.010 364
When followed by the realis marker ox, the final e is elided, cf. section 2.3.1.
eto n father
2.008 147
etokomu v see and leave behind
2.037
Form of realis marker not given.
e(k) v stand
1.027 101
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Aghu - English wordlist

Cf. section 2.8 on posture verbs.

**fage n** tongue
Drabbe 1957:4a 023

**fago(x) v** float away
2.208

fake -> faki
faki, fake adv secretly
1.034; Drabbe 1957:4a

**fasike num** one
3.028

**fasikèmu adv** whole; for always; truly
5.42; 6.190
The form is related to fasike, and discussed in Drabbe's section on numerals (1957:28), or section 3.4.2 on adverbs.

**fede ? 3SG**
1.138; 1.248
See section 3.1.5.

**fede ? NEG; nothing**
1.130; 2.030a; section 2.6; section 4.2.4 391

**fi n** taro
idi 212
For some reason, Ruth Wester (2014) gives fike for taro, not fi.

**fi(ox) v** bear fruit
6.052
fi
Also used in the compound onufi(ox), where Drabbe glosses fio(ox) with 'put down'

**fi(ox) v** light, burn
2.152 382
In the grammatical introduction, we find several instances of fi(ox) glossed — out of context — as 'roast' (Dutch: 'bakken').

**fi n** name
Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2 138

**fi n** breath
Drabbe (1957:3a)

---

089
The expression for 'to breathe' is: fi
fi(ox); see the Aghu-English wordlist (089).

**fifio n** kind of fish
section 3.1.1
Attested exclusively in compound with axe as first member, cf. section 3.1.1.

**fike n** ladder
6.217 174

**fikitimu adv on the way**
2.152

**kokütümu**

**fiko n** thing
1.166

**fimb' o(x) v** lie
Drabbe 1957:16a 379

**fimV v** think 350

**fini pp INSTR**
Fini is a postpositional case marker; see section 3.6.1.2; not attested in the text corpus.

**fō-fō**
3.126
This is the sound which one believes to come out of a skull if it wants to talk.

**fofūko, fofo adj** fat
Drabbe 1957:34

297
This is the equivalent of the Dutch adjective 'vet' or the English adjective 'fat'. In Drabbe 1957:34 we find the shorter form fofū (fofū ba-xe [fat sit-N1.RLS[SG]] 'it is fat', with ba(x) 'sit' used as a copula, cf. section 2.8.2).

**fomē v** search food
1.022

**fū v** put into, stick into
1.124

**kū**

**fū n** space below
Drabbe 1957:1b; Drabbe 1957:41b; Drabbe 1957:41b; section 3.5.2.
Drabbe writes: "That which is below
something”.

*Fü* is a spatial noun, see section 3.5.2.

**fufu** v *blow*

2.102; 2.103

**fume** n *outer end*

6.197; 8.015

Rather rare. *Toxu* is attested more frequently.

*toxu*

**fumi(k)** v *smell* (tr)

1.128; 1.131 365

In comparing stem_I to stem_II, Drabbe writes *fu* and *mi* as separate words, cf. section 2.2. The reason is not clear. Note that *fumi(k)* is used for transitive smell, while *pafumV* is used for intransitive.

**pafumV**

**fumu** adv *good*

6.200b

Attested only once, modifying the verb *ete* 'see': she looked at him well.

**fünümV** v *threaten*

1.309

**ga** pron 2SG POS

2.057; section 3.2.2

**gabü** -> **xabü**

**gaxa(k), xaxa(k)** v *break* (intr, of wood)

1.234; 4.43 371

In both contexts where the word occurs, it refers to the breaking down of a tree after it has been cut. Cf. the different types of breaking in the English-Aghu thematic wordlist above.

**ge** -> **ke**

**ge-bigi** n *shoulder* 050

**gebigi** -> **ge-bigi**

**gedeme** ? *alone*

2.013

Attested only once.

**genimi(k)** v *break off*

Drabbe 1957:16a; section 2.3.2.2

Composed of *geni* 'break' and *mi* 'come down'. The word is attested only once (in *efe bodo genimian de* [3SG hand break.off.VN COP] 'his hand is topped off'). Cf. the different types of breaking in the English-Aghu thematic wordlist above.

**geni(k)** v *go back home*

6.317

Probably a metaphorical extension of the meaning of *geni(k)* 'break a rope', cf. English break off a journey.

**geni(k)** v *break* (intr, of rope)

373

Drabbe 1957:13a writes: breaking e.g. of rattan. Cf. the different types of breaking in the English-Aghu thematic wordlist above.

**gesi** n *nearness*

8.008

*Gesi* is a spatial noun, see section 3.5.2.

**giamV** v *cast*

2.142

**pemV**

**giedi** -> **a-giedi**

**gigioku** v *put on a heap*

3.164

**giņge** n *sand*

Drabbe 1957:4a; section 3.1.1 287

**gini(k)** v *be full of people or animals*

Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2

**gisi** n *spoon; knife*

7.025 186

**wiki**

In Drabbe’s wordlist, he glosses "mes, schelp", which makes clear that the word is used for a knife made out of shells, possibly also for other knives. According to Drabbe’s translation in text 7, it is also used for spoons that are made out of shells.

**gi(k)** v *scrape*

2.113
gi(k) -> ki(k)

**gō** *conj* and
2.003

**gō** *n* blood
1.032 081

**gō** *?* dance
1.147

Gō *ki* [dance become] is a verbal expression used for dancing.

**gō** *v* pull off
2.130; 1.163

*afufafi*(ox)

**gō** *n* ?neck
2.215

ekō; gūbō; mū

In 2.215 Drabbe glosses *gō* *kuŋ* [neck put] with 'take on the neck'. *Gō* might be a variant of *ekō* 'neck', or a shorter form of *gūbō* 'neck'. (It should be admitted, however, that in fact Drabbe's glossing is somewhat confusing and not entirely clear; he glosses *gō* [on] *kuŋ* [neck put]).

**gobū** *v* make be with; be with
3.139; 3.147; 6.264; 7.039

*ūtūba, àkumu*

Drabbe (1957:42a) gives the following example: *teto gob(ū)-nū=k neno num=о-к-xē-nā* [valuable be.with-
SS=CON give.IMP[SG] such=say-
N1.RLS-N1PL] 'give us also valuables', they said.'

**gobūmV** *v* chop off
1.311

*bimV; dū; efegemV; gū; komV; ō; pomV; tūmV; ūgemV*

**gongō** *n* time
Drabbe 1957:29b; section 3.10.2

**gono** *adj* shallow 301

daxejo

**gu** *pron* 2SG
2.060; section 3.2.1

**gū** *n* umbilical cord
7.072

Note that the same word is used for 'brains'.

**gūn** *n* brains 027

Note that the same word is used for 'umbilical cord'.

**gū** *v* cut, pick
1.121; 1.123; 1.241; 3.162; 3.165

*bimV; dū; efegemV; komV; ō; pomV; tūmV; gobūmV; ūgemV*

**gūbō** *n* neck
8.003

ekō; gō; mū

8.003 is the only occurrence. Drabbe's English-Aghu wordlist gives *ekō*.

**gügu** *pron* 2PL
1.305; section 3.2.1

**günü(k)** *v* ?

Drabbe 1957:13; section 2.2

The expression *peso günu(k)* [wound günü(k)] is given by Drabbe (1957:13a) and glossed as 'to have a wound'. Cf. section 2.2.

**güponi(k)** *v* be midnight
Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2

**i(g)** *v* lie; hang
3.157; 7.088 103

*i(g)* is used not only for lying but also for hanging on the branch of a tree. As such it is used not only for fruits, as in 3.157, but also for a person who is commanded to hang himself at a tree so that his body 'hangs' (7.088). Cf. section 2.8.1 on posture verbs.

**i(k)** *v* call; mention
1.173; 4.04; Drabbe 1957:13b; section 2.2; 354

*ada; kibu; o(x)*

The verbal expressions *ada i(k)* and *kibu i(k)* are used for 'to sing'; lit. 'to call / mention songs'.

**i(k)** *v* lay
7.019; 7.022

*kifi(ox); kutofi; üaboxofi*

Note the homophony with *i(g)*, and the closeness in meaning; 'lay' can be seen
as a causative counterpart of 'lie'.

*ĩ* v scrape; twist rope; make a fiber skirt
1.037 196
The meaning 'make a fiber skirt' is given by Drabbe (1957:13a), out of context, in his discussion of the relation between stems of type I and stems of type II, cf. section 2.2, Table 3.

*ĩ* n bird 245
1.094

*i-axajo* n white parrot
2.007
A compound of *i* 'bird' and *axajo*. Cf. section 3.1 on compounds.

*i-oxoxoa* n kind of bird
7.006
*Oxoxoa* is an onomatopea, and refers to the sound that these birds make. They build hanging nests (see note at 7.006). Compound of *i* 'bird' and a specifying part, cf. section 3.1.

*i-sobūsubā* n kind of bird
Also used as proper name, e.g. in 1.274

*i-wiā* n owl
Drabbe 1957:4b; section 3.1.1
Compound with *i* 'bird', and a specifying part; see section 3.1.1 on compounding.

*iaxajo* -> *i-axajo*

*idi* n path
6.155

*idi* n tuber
2.005

*fi*

*ifi* v bind
1.046; Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2
*ada(k)*
Drabbe remarks that this is used for the binding of animals and humans.

*ifia* adj slippery 307

*ifiō* v weep, cry
1.282; 6.267; 3.062 109
The root occurs both as an independent verb, and in combination with the verb *tamV*, as in 1.282. According to Drabbe’s remark at 1.282, *ifiō* tame implies a plural subject.

*ifo* n hut
6.056

*sauna*; *afaxi*; *ā*; *būsiū*; *xī*

*igidi* lie and spend the night
2.173
Composed of *i* 'lie' and *gidi* 'spend the night'. Cf. section 2.8.3.3.

*bagidi*

*ikēmu* adv there
1.135

*ikemV* v be there
1.032, 1.305, 2.159
Cf. section 3.4.3.

*iki* cnj or
Drabbe 1957:42a; section 3.8.2.2

*ikio* n water quiver
2.071

*iku* adv there
6.052

*ikēmu*

*imane* ? so
The word was attested only in Drabbe 1957:7a, cited in a footnote to section 3.2.1: *ok' iman e-ke* [3SG.EMP so stand-N1.RLS[SG]] or *ok' iman ba-xe* [EMP emp sit-N1.RLS[SG]] ‘that’s how he is’. In these examples, the posture verbs *e(k)* ‘stand’ and *ba(x)* ‘sit’ function as copulas, cf. 2.8.2.

*imo* n male in law
6.243

*ini-bigi* n rib 038

*need-bigi*
Cf. section 3.1 on compounds.

*io* n stone
3.175 285

*ioxoxoa* -> *i-oxoxoa*

*isi* n urine 062
The expression for ‘urinate’ is: *isi*
PART II: WORDLISTS. Aghu-English wordlist

fi(o), see Aghu-English wordlist, nr. 061.

isiabků v tread on
6.275
Note that the lexicon gives three words (isiabků, isiaxafû and isipomV) that all contain a formal element isi corresponding to a meaning 'tread on'.

isiaxafû v tread on and break
6.153
Note that the lexicon gives three words (isiabků, isiaxafû and isipomV) that all contain a formal element isi corresponding to a meaning 'tread on'.

isimů n gall 044

isinigi n mosquito
Drabbe 1957:9b; section 4.2.6 254

isiòmu all
1.146; section 3.4.1 392
Also used as an intensifier, and glossed with 'very/all' cf. section 3.4.1.

adiaxa

isipomV v tread on
Drabbe 1957:12b, section 2.1
Note that the lexicon gives three words (isiabků, isiaxafû and isipomV) that all contain a formal element isi corresponding to a meaning 'tread on'.

isobüsùbā -> i-isobüsùbā

ite ? downstream
4.40

itime n grandmother; granddaughter 154; 159

anisi
As terms for grandchild, Drabbe gives both anisi and itime. Considering the analogy to anisi 'grandfather' vs. itime 'grandmother', it seems likely that the former is used for reference to grandsons, and the latter for reference to granddaughters. Cf. section 3.1.4 on kinship terms.

itimV -> kudu itimV

iwi adj old (of age) 329; 145;

146
posiû
iwiā -> i-wiā

ja ? longing
Drabbe (1957:2b)
Oxo ja 'longing for water' is given as an elicited translation of 'thirsty', cf. the English-Aghu wordlist.

jā n fire
1.149; 2.101 178

jā n tree; wood
1.185; 6.197 184

kesaxe

jā-dī n buttress root
2.153
Refers to the buttress root of a tree; a compound of jā 'wood/tree' and di 'buttress root'.

jā-ki -> ki

jādi -> jā-di

jafí, jefi adj good
6.225 322

jaŋgi -> naŋgi

jān-ukū n smoke 182

jaxa adj big
2.189
Attested only once.

jad; püsiaxa

jaxabogo n magic substance
8.015

jaxi n basket
2.150

jei n earthquake 275

jewi n casuarina
Drabbe 1957:8b

jō v have intercourse
4.80 060

emV

jobo n fish trap
1.004

jobu n sharp object
8.014
jofu n canoe
1.307 288
jogo n kind of palm tree
1.163
jomo n fish bone; thorn
8.015 227
jomū adj ripe
6.055 208
jowe n nibung palm
1.233
kuse, xasu
Oncosperma tigillaria.

joxo pron 3PL
1.077; section 3.2.1
joxo, ēxo n elder brother
6.002; 6.004 155
joxu n rattan
1.036 217
jūM v fold open
2.121
ka n figure
1.120a; Drabbe 1957:1b
kabiā n branch 223
bodo
The word kabiā is not attested in the
text corpus. There we find the word
bodo for branch, which also is the
word for 'hand'.
kakekū v mix
6.207
ū(g)
kamia, mika n forehead 004
kangō adj dark-colored 339
In the wordlist, kangō has been given
as a translation of 'red' (Dutch: 'rood').
Drabbe remarks that this is probably a
compound with gō 'blood' as second
member.
kanike ? pregnant
116
xai; xaifi(ox)
The form is attested in the English-
Aghu wordlist only, where kanike ki(k)

'pregnant become' is given as a
translation of 'be pregnant'.
kapūo n net 250
kaxi adj unripe
Drabbe 1957:30b; section 3.4.2 209
xagide, xaxide
ke pp ACC
2.069; 2.126; 4.70
Ke is a postpositional case marker,
discussed in 3.1.7 and 3.6. See section
3.6.2 on the relation between ke, kemu
and kumu.
keda n waringin tree
Ficus benjamina
9.04
kefi n paddle
7.025 289
kēkū v take on shoulders
1.237 359
kū, müfekū
kemede(ox) v share
1.178; 1.263
Final vowel of kemede is elided when
followed by a realis marker. Cf. ede and
ete.
kemu -> ke
keni(k) v be light
Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2 396
kesaxe n wood; tree
6.085 219
jā
kesĩ n sweat 087
ketefi n leg
8.007
kuto; kito
Attested only once.
ketefio n penis gourd
2.071
Drabbe translates the word as
‘penisdop’ (lit. ‘penis cap’). A search
for ‘penisdop’ on
www.digitalecollectienederland.nl
gives several images of ‘penis caps’.
**keto** cut off jawbone
1.148

**ketu** v pull
4.62
The word is only used in 4.62, where it refers to the pulling of a (newly made) canoe towards the river.

**ke, ge** FOC
2.127; section 4.4

**ki, jã-ki** n flower 228

**ki(k), gi(k)** v become
1.172; section 4.2.6
The form is used as an auxiliary verb or copula, cf. section 2.3.2.2.7 and section 4.2.6.

**kĩ** v bathe
1.137 106
Used in combination with oxo 'water', in the expression oxo kĩ.

**kĩ** v rub into
8.015

**kia** n story
section 1.1.1.1

**kiã** n pointed bamboo
section 1.1.1.1

**kiambu** n crocodile 264
The word is attested in the wordlist only. In the text corpus we find oxo-ksi.

**oxo-wisi**

**kiambM** v hide (intr)
2.157

**xõ; toni, tani**

**kiani(k)** v pass
Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2; Drabbe 1957:21; section 2.5

**efekoki(k); doxo**

**kiasi(k)** v chat
4.79; 6.201

**kia**
Drabbe analyzes kiasi as composed of two different words kia and si(k), which together make up the meaning of 'chat'. Meaning of the si(k), however, is not clear.

**kiaxaimV** v guard 361

wê

**kibamV** v put upright
1.242; 1.243

**ki- bu** ? singing; feast
1.173; 7.018
In Drabbe 1957:12a, Drabbe gives the expression kibu ikenã [singing call-N1.RLS-N1PL] 'they are singing' i(k); ada i(k)

**kidî** adj straight
Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2 304

**kidî-mi-iti** v look down
section 1.3
Compound of kedo 'eye', mi 'come down' and ete 'see', with all vowels harmonizing with the vowel i in mi, cf. section 1.3. Form of the realis marker is probably same as for ete 'see'.

**kifi** n wind 276

**kifi(ox)** v lay down
1.161

**kutofì; üaboxofì; i(k)**

**kifo** n guest
Drabbe 1957:4b
Also used in the compound axu-kifò, which also means 'guest'.

**kikî** n rope 197

**kiko** n corner; wall
6.205 175
Note that 'corner' is the translation of the word as used in 6.025, while the other gloss ('wall') is not a translation of Aghu kiko, but used to elicit the Aghu equivalent.

**kimafû(k)** v cover
6.206

**kimV** v roast
1.054; 4.14

Tomü(g); tomV; fi(ox)

**kimV** v hold; take
kinabe n sweet yam 211
kine n drum 170
kini cnj or
section 3.8.1
kinoxo n tear 013
Drabbe 1957:24a; section 4.1.1
In the wordlist, Drabbe writes kin’oxo.
kio n eye 010
kio-mogo; kiokone
kioto -> kio-to
kio-bi n whiskers 011
kio-buto n eyebrow 012
kio-mogo n eye
Drabbe 1957:24; section 4.1.1 010
mogo
kio-to n face 003
kio; kiokone
kiogo mete(ox) v be cross-eyed 135
kiokone n eyes
Drabbe 1957:9a; section 4.2.4
kio; kio-mogo
This seems to be an irregular plural of kio 'eye', cf. section 3.1.5.1.
kiomu ?adv about to die
8.021
The ending in -mu suggests that we have to do here with an adverb, cf. section 3.4.1.
ků
kisi adj sharp
Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2 310
kisièmu adv really
Drabbe 1957:30a; section 3.4.1;
Drabbe 1957:30b; section 3.4.2
kiti v put down on
Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2
kito -> kuto
kito-babu n sole
064
Sole of the foot. Compound with kito 'leg', 'foot' as first member, cf. section 3.1.1.
kito-baxamgò n lower leg
Drabbe 1957:4b; section 3.1.1
Compound with kito 'leg' as first member.
kito-bu n heel
066
Compound with kito 'leg' as first member, cf. section 3.1.1.
kito-wàko n ankle 065
Compound with kito 'leg' as first member, cf. section 3.1.1.
ko adj light-colored
5.17
ko ?n kind of tree
6.052
ko cnj and
2.003; section 3.8.1
kō n rope, noose
Drabbe 1957:7a; section 3.2.1
koã adj strong
Drabbe 1957:8a; section 3.4.2
buto
kogü v go down (of water)
Drabbe 1957:4a
Form of realis marker not given.
kokü n belly
5.04 041
kokûtümu adv on the way
5.07
fikitimu
komV v put close to the fire
2.066
komV v cut out
2.112
bimV; dü; efegemV; gü; komV; õ; pomV; tümV; ügemV
kotomu adv RECIPIR
1.303a; 1.303b
koxō n bark
1.256
**PART II: WORDLISTS. Aghu-English wordlist**

### koxu ? dress up
1.175
From Drabbe's interlinearisation, it seems that *koxu* followed by *mi* indicates 'to dress up. However, see the note to 1.175, which is the only occurrence of this form. Part of speech of *koxu* is unclear.

### ko(x) -> kuto(x)

### ku ? EMP
2.011; section 3.2.1

### ku n palm shoot
3.050
Palm shoots are eaten as vegetables.

### Kū n sugarcane 210

### kū, kuku v put into; fasten
1.122; 1.256; 6.143; 1.247
A transitive verb, usually followed by the location into, (or: at etc.) which the moved object is placed, unless this location is clear from the context.

### si(k)

### Kū v ?love
Drabbe 1957:43a; section 3.6
Drabbe (1957:43a) gives the following sentence: *nu ni kūŋ-ge* [1SG INSTR die-N1.RLS[SG]] and translates 'he loves me'. It is very well possible, however, that *kū ĕ*-ge here is a form of *kū* 'die', so that the clause translates more literally as 'he dies for me'.

### Kū v die
1.300 120

### xani(k); akumā

### Küda n younger sibling
1.050 157; 158

### Kudepi n fish line
Drabbe 1957:34b; section 2.8.3.3

### Kudu n flesh
2.115; 8.007 082

*amu*
It seems that *kudu* is used for human flesh, and *amu* for animal meat. It is clear, at least, that the only two cases of *kudu* in the text corpus refer to human flesh.

### Kudu itimV v shiver 316

### BongomV

### Kue ? SS
Section 3.8.2.1

### Kufe n enemy
1.190 204

### Kukū -> kū

### Kukuaxafū v add up
8.025

### KükümV v love
Drabbe 1957:12b, section 2.1

### Kū, mumū

### Kumā adj ill
6.050; 6.131; Drabbe 1957:3a; section 1.1.1.1 125
The expression for 'to be ill' is: *kumaŋ gi* [ill be(come)].

### Kūma n ginger
7.024

### Kūmkō(x) v dive
6.297b

### Kumuo n bag
2.151a

### Kumpp WITH
3.184; section 3.6.1.3
*Kumu* is a postpositional case marker, see section 3.6.1.3. It is homophonous with *kumu* [ACC]. See section 3.6.2 on the relation between *ke*, *kemu* and *kumu*.

### Akumu, gobū

### Kumpp ACC
8.008
*Kumu* is a postpositional case marker, see section 3.6. It is homophonous with *kumu* WITH. See section 3.6.2 on the relation between *ke*, *kemu* and *kumu*.

### Kumū ?adj feverish
Drabbe (1957: 3a)
Part II: WORDLISTS. Aghu-English wordlist

**kumukanĩ** ? vomit
6.023; 6.052

With a following verb *ki(k)*: have the inclination to vomit.

**künũ** *n kind of snake*
Drabbe 1957:4b; section 3.1.1

Used in compounds with *wisi* 'snake' as first member, cf. section 3.1.1.

**kunũ - kunum** - sleep(y), asleep

5.28; 8.014

In Drabbe 1957:13a we find *kunũ xanda(x)* 'lie asleep', which, according to Drabbe's description, implies a plural subject. In Drabbe 1957:24a *kunũ gi(k)* 'be sleepy', cf. the Aghu-English wordlist 99. The Aghu-English wordlist 97 has *kunum*'(g)'sleep'. The form *kunum* is attested only once (8.014), and then written by Drabbe as *kunum*', suggesting that the form is an abbreviated form of a longer, vowel-final form.

**küo(x)** *v dig, carve*
1.013; 3.050

**kuse** *n bark of nibung palm*
2.042

*jowe; xasu*

General words for bark are *koxo, koxome* and *xa*.

**kusono** *n marsupial 240*

*Kuso* is a general name for marsupials, rats and mice. The word is used in compounds in which the second part specifies the nature of the first. Cf. section 3.1.1.

**kusobaxi, kusowonu** *n kangaroo 241*

For the use of *kuso* in compounds see section 3.1.1.

**kusojowō** *n rat 249*

For the use of *kuso* in compounds see section 3.1.1.

**kusomaxiko** *n field mouse 1.031*

For the use of *kuso* in compounds see section 3.1.1.

**kusonaŋge** *n mouse 248*

For the use of *kuso* in compounds see section 3.1.1.

**kusowonu** -> **kusobaxi**

**kusomaxiko** -> **kusomaxiko**

**kusunu** *n kind of tree*
Drabbe 1957:42a, 43a; section 3.6.1.2

**kusumV** *v throw away, cast; let loose*
2.095

This is an iterative stem of *kũ 'put into', which has developed an idiosyncratic meaning.

**kusumoto(x)** *v cast to middle of water*
2.212

Composed of *kusumV* 'cast' and *oto(x)'move to middle of water'.

**kutamono** *n bark of sago tree*
2.047

General words for bark are *koxo, koxome* and *xa*.

**kutaxamu** *adv in exchange*
3.010

**kuto, kito** *n leg, foot*
2.160; Drabbe 1957:2a; section 1.1.1; 063

**ketefi**

Also used for the hind leg of an animal.

**kutobaxamo** *n calf 069*

Drabbe's use of an interspace between the two parts suggests that he considers this as a possessive construction rather than a compound. Cf. section 3.1.2, Table 39.

**kuto-butó** *n toe 076*

*bodo-buto*

Cf. section 3.1 on compounds.

kūto(x), üko(x), ko(x) *v go*
Part II: Wordlists. Aghu-English wordlist

**downhill**
1.003; 1.008
The forms üko(x) and ko(x) have been attested only in the combination a-b=(ü)ko [take-SS=go.downhill], as e.g. in 1.008. Cf. section 3.5.1 on directional verbs.

**kutofi v lay down on**
1.140
Form of reals marker not given. If we compare to other forms in fi, however, the marker probably is (ox).

**kuxamV v split in two**
1.236

**mada(x) v come from close**
1.040
Cf. section 3.5.1 on directional verbs.

**maga n tooth 025**

**maga-guxã n molar 026**

**mageno ?adj forked**
2.091b

**magi n dog tooth**
2.221

**maga**

**maiã ? most back**
6.195

**makã n ground; low; below**
3.129 303; 404
Might be a spatial noun, cf. section 3.5.2.

**makeaxe pron what**
2.059

**maketa ?adv where; from where**
2.185; 6.237; section 3.2.5.2

**makumã, makumu adv how/where/when**
2.068; section 3.9

**mamã adv where**

**makumã: makumu**
section 3.2.5.2

Drabbe gives this form as a variant of **makumã**, used to inform after someone’s place of living; cf. section 3.2.5.2.

**manimi(k) v go down a little**
3.129; section 3.5.1.1

**manumusu(k) v go up a little**
1.295; section 3.5.1.1

**mase, mesa, mese adv already**
1.280; section 3.4.2

**awu**
For the alternations of the vowels cf. section 1.1.1.

**masû n beard 022**

**mata(x) v come uphill; come to middle of water**
1.156; 2.183; section 3.5.1.1

**maxiko n field mouse**
6.116

**kuso.maxiko**

**me ? upstream**
4.38; Drabbe 1957:1b

**me n tendon 083**
It could also be that Drabbe uses the Dutch word 'pees' to refer to the entire muscle.

**megomV v burp 114**

**mekese ?adv far 406**

**mekusu n rattan thorn**
6.258

**meoxo pron who**
section 3.2.5.1

**mese(k) v get up from sitting position, stand up**
Drabbe 1957:2b; Drabbe 1957:13b; section 2.2; section 2.5

**musu(k)**
This verb is inherently inchoative, implying a change of state, cf. section 2.8.1. Cf. düko(x) 'lie down', doto(x) 'get up', and xuba(x) 'sit down'.

**mete(ox) -> kioto mete(ox)**

**mî kind of banana**
See note 107 by Drabbe (1957:86).
Attested exclusively in compounds with siü 'banana' first member, cf. section 3.1.1 on compounds.

mī n star; firefly
Drabbe (1957:2b-3a); section 1.1.1.1
256 269

mi(k) v come down
1.012

mi-da(x) v come downstream
6.194

mi-kū v swallow
6.296 096
Compound of mi and kū: "go in" and "put into".

mida(x) -> mi-da(x)

midi-bigi n thigh 067

midomV v agree
3.159

mika -> kamia

mika-bigi n skull 005

miku -> mi-kū

mimī n morning
6.058 402

womī, mitī

misige n stone
Drabbe 1957:5a; section 3.1.5.4

mitī v be afternoon
Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2

womī, mimī

mi(k) v drink
6.294 092

mo n behind, space behind
1.145; 4.69

Mo is a spatial noun, see section 3.5.2.

mo n afraid
6.200a; Drabbe 1957:30a

Drabbe (1957: 30a) notes that mo cannot be modified by xajā 'really' (see section 3.4.1), but that one then uses the expression mo kī xajā gi-ke [afraid become.VN real become-N1.RLS[SG]] '
he really was / got afraid', lit. 'it was real to get afraid'.

mō n kind of tree
6.085

mō -> omō

moda(x) v come upstream
1.307; section 3.5.1.1

moditi n silk 045

modū-bogo n navel 046

mogo n front of body
8.004

mono(k) v come to this side
3.171; section 3.5.1.1

moso(k) -> musu(k)

motū n sack
2.062; 6.286; 3.110

moxo n nail
Drabbe 1957:4a 071

The English-Aghu wordlist nr. 071 has the compound bedi-moxo. 'fingernail'.

mo(k) v come in or out
1.041; 2.172; section 3.5.1

u(k)

mta(x) v come uphill
2.091b

mata(x)
A shorter for of mata, attested only in compounds with a 'take', cf. section 3.5.1.

mū v not want, stop
1.015; 1.016 368

būomV; emV
For the use of this verb and the adverbial nature of nonfinite munuk cf. section 2.10.

mū v swim
2.190

mūa(x); ī

Attested only once, in combination with the verb tamV.

mū n strap
6.143

mū adj blunt
Drabbe 1957:1b; Chapter 1.1
Used of a point.

müssiä

mü ?adj slanting, oblique
4.46

mü n neck
Drabbe 1957:7a; section 3.2.1
adena; gübô
mü-bigi n backbone 049
mu-bigi n keel
4.58
Although mü-bigi has ü as its first vowel instead of u, it seems likely that the two words are related. Note that also Drabbe considers mubigi a compound, given that he writes the word as mu-bigi.

müa(x) v swim
mü; kî 105
Mentioned only in the wordlist, in combination with oxo 'water': oxo müa(x) 'swim'.

müba n back of human
Drabbe 1957:41; section 3.5.2 048
Müba is a spatial noun, see section 3.5.2.

mübigi -> mü-bigi
mubigi -> mu-bigi
müdû -> müto
müfekû v take on back
kü; kêkû
6.268
Note that mü is also found in müba and mübigi.

müfi v fall
Drabbe 1957:29; section 3.10.2
Form of realis marker not given. If we compare to other forms in fi, however, the marker probably is (ox).
The only occurrence of stem I is in the following example: müfi-di=k gongô okuomasikemo-xe [fall-SS=CON time three-N1.SG[RLS]] 'he fell three times'. Stem II is müfie, cf. section 2.3.2.3.1.

mügo n egg 237
mügo n turtle 265
mögû v be in front
4.69
Attested only once.
mukû v reproduce, multiply
4.80
Attested only once.
mumû ? love 367
Used in combination with gi(k) 'become'; in the worldlist, mumuŋ gi(k) is given as translation of 'to love'.
kükûmV

mumV v have a meeting; collect
6.310 310
If the word mumV can indeed be used also for a transitive collect, which is suggested in the English-Aghu wordlist, this would be an example of an ambitransitive verb.

müssiä adj blunt 311
mü

müsobo n Adam’s apple 030
musuto ?adv on top
6.141
Only one occurrence.
musu(k) v grow (of plants)
Drabbe 1957:13b; section 2.2
The form is most probably historically related to musu(k) 'get up from a sitting position'. It is not entirely clear, however, whether moso(k) (and mese(k)) can also be used in this sense. The fact that Drabbe mentions moso(k) and musu(k) as different verbs in section 25 (section 2.2 in this publication) suggests that he considers them different verbs. As shown below the lemma moso(k) in this lexicon, however, all meanings of moso(k) are shared by musu(k), so that moso(k) can be considered a variant of musu(k) 'come up' etc. I am inclined to believe that all meanings of moso(k) are
shared by musu(k), but that the opposite is not the case. I have chosen, therefore, to present two lemma's musu(k): one with the meaning 'come up' etc., and one with a derived meaning 'grow'.

mese(k); moso(k)

musu(k), moso(k) v come up; come in or out of a house
mese(k); doto(x); düko(x)
2.132; 3.127; section 3.1.5
For the use of musu(k) / moso(k) to refer to a 'coming in or out of a house' see section 3.1.5.
At one point, the data provided by Drabbe are somewhat confusing. When dealing with inchoative forms, Drabbe mentions musu-du=k e(k) [come.up-SS=CON stand] 'get up from sitting position' as inherently inchoative, cf. section 2.8.1. From Drabbe's description it is not clear, however, whether musu(k) on its own (that is to say: not used as nonfinite form followed by e 'stand') also implies a getting up from sitting. Elsewhere, Drabbe does not give this 'getting up from sitting position' as a gloss for musu(k), but reserves this gloss for mese(k). I have chosen, therefore, to reserve the gloss 'get up from sitting position' for mese(k).
Cf. section 3.5.1.

müto, müdü n ridge
1.127; 1.180
Müdü is attested only in 1.180, in the compound a-müdü, which, according to Drabbe (note 33) is the same word as a-müto.

mV v do
1.069; 6.155; 6.167
amV; tamV
Attested only as an auxiliary verb. Cf. section 2.3.2.2.5.

mò dikumu adv angrily
Drabbe 1957:30b; section 3.4.2

màgumu adv firmly
Drabbe 1957:30b; section 3.4.2
mùmu adv in the front; as the first
2.176; 6.256; 7.005
The temporal sense is illustrated in section 2.3.2.2.9.
na pron 1SG.POS
2.059; section 3.2.2
namu pp INSTR
8.003
nàmu
Namu is a postpositional case marker. Drabbe remarks that namu can be distinguished from nàmu 'only' by word stress, cf. section 3.6.1.2. In context, however, this word stress is often hard to distinguish, and never rendered orthographically.

nange n frog 263
naŋji, jaŋgi n dog
4.04; 4.70 239
nede-bigì n rib
1.302
ini.bigì
Nede is attested only once, as part of the compound given here.
nego dem THIS
1.295; 6.237; section 3.2.4.1
ni postp DAT
2.003
Ni is a postpositional case marker. See section 3.6.
nikiaxamu adv back
1.035
nisi n owner
3.002; 5.30; 6.002; 8.014; section 3.1.3
nō n udder; breast
Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2 033
nō-sobu n tipple 034
nō-xu n milk 035
besame; bi.kabu
nomūgo n lung 039
nu pron 1SG
section 3.2.1; 1.280

nūgū, nūgu pron 1PL
section 3.2.1; 2.137; 1.305

num adv such
1.032; 1.045; section 5.8
Attested only in combination with o(x) 'say', as part of a quotative construction, see section 5.8.

nàmu adv only
1.097
Drabbe remarks that nàmu can be distinguished from namu by word stress, cf. section 3.6.1.2. In context, however, this word stress is often hard to distinguish, and never rendered orthographically. The form is, most probably, historically related to amu 'flesh' or 'meat'.

namu

o(x) v speak; sound
1.031; 1.032; 1.044; 2.132

i(k)
o n intestines; feces
4.17

-o-mutu n bowels 042

-o-paxa n feces 054

o-to n anus 052
Probably a compound of o 'intestines' and to 'opening'.

o n fruit
6.169

ō v cut out
1.120a; 1.121

bimV; dū; efegemV; gū; komV; pomV; tümV; gobîmV; ūgemV
Drabbe (1957:20), cited in section 2.5, glosses the form with 'scrape, rub' (Dutch: schuren).

ō v fix
Out of context, Drabbe describes the meaning of this verb as 'making of a bed etc.' (Drabbe 1957:3a), or 'make a bed or bridge' (Drabbe 1957:13a). The verb glossed with 'fix' here could very well be the same word as ō 'cut out', because the fixing of the wood in 2.211 may very well have required a cutting out or scraping.

2.211

ō n leaf
5.37 225
The word is also used to refer to feathers, e.g. in the compound wokü-ō 'cassowary feathers', cf. section 3.1.1.

tūfo; xaxō

obeke n fly 253

obubusi n wasp
7.070

obūofi(o) v confess
6.240

ode ? hungry
Drabbe 1957:24a; section 4.1.1 091
The word is used in experiential clauses, cf. section 4.1.1.

dia

ogo(x) v go at close distance
1.304; section 3.5.1.1

ogsu(k) v go up a little
1.143; section 3.5.1.1

ogü(k) v go down from close
1.014; section 3.5.1.1

okagemV v be straight in front
2.190

okage

okage, okagi, okagìmu
constantly, permanently
Drabbe 1957:35b; 5.12; 2.198

okèmu adv all; all the time; immediately
1.314; 3.142; 2.115; 2.169; section 3.4.1
Cf. the discussion of this form in section 3.4.1.

okiamV v (have a) bellyache
128
The word is probably a verb, as
Drabbe writes the word as *okiame-* ending in a hyphen. Cf. also the word for 'be in pain': *xaimV.*

**okude adv still**
3.072

**okuomasike num three**
6.246
Historically derived from *okuom* 'two', 'both', and *fasike* 'one', cf. section 3.10.

**okuomá, okuomu num two**
2.003; section 3.10

**omō, mo n mother's brother**
Drabbe 1957:7a; section 3.1.4

**omumu adv wrong 325**
The expression *omum* 'oxaŋ [wrong speak.VN]' is translated by Drabbe as 'stupid talking' (Dutch: 'domme praat'; Drabbe 1957:15a).

**omumV v forget 351**

**omutu -> o-mutu**

**omā ? ignorant**
2.060; 2.127; 6.238
The form can be opposed to *dafa* 'knowing'; see section 2.3.2.2.1.

**omuñi(ox) -> onu-fi(ox)**

**ōngwimV jump from branch to branch**
Section 3.1.5.5
Probably an iterative stem, cf. section 2.4.1.

**onu(k) v go across, go to the other side**
4.07; 2.219; section 3.5.1

**onu-fi(ox) v take across**
2.219
From Drabbe's glossing it is clear that he considers the word a compound of *onu* 'go across' and *fi(ox)* 'put down'.

**osia n tail of bird 232**

**wobugo**
Drabbe compares the word *wobugo*, used for tails of animals on four legs, with *osia*, used for the tail of birds.

**oso xo(x) v go upstream**
4.38; 4.71; 6.191; section 3.5.1

**osũ(k), sũ(k) v go down**
1.184; section 3.5.1 281
Cf. section 3.5.

**osu(k), su(k) v go up**
1.018; 1.021; 9.01; section 3.5.1 280

**oto -> o-to**

**oto(x) v go uphill; go to middle of water**
2.187; 4.24; section 3.5.1

**owimV v invite**
6.309

**oxē ? who is there**
6.154
At the discussion of *ioxe* (see section 2.8.3.2), Drabbe remarks that the form *oxē* seems to relate somehow to the form *ioxe*. It is used e.g. when one hears someone passing whom one does not see.

**oxo n water**
1.137 277

**oxo-wisi n crocodile**
The form is a compound of *oxo* 'water' and *wisi* 'lizard'. Cf. 3.1.1 on compounds.

**kiambu**

**oxo, xo COP**
This element is used to predicate over nominals, adjectives and numerals, see section 4.2.

**oxodũ n edible animal**
1.178

**oxoše n mother's brother's child**
Drabbe 1957:7b; section 3.1.4

**oxowisi -> oxo-wisi**

**pafumV v smell (intr)**

**fumi(k); pafumV**
1.131; 7.015 076
This is intransitive 'smell (after)'. The verb for active and transitive 'smell' is *fumi(k)*. Cf. note at 7.015. Cf. also
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*paфuме*: nr. 76 in the English-Aghu wordlist.

**pamV**  
*rise (of water)*  
7.023

**paŋgite**  
*fork*  
2.104

**pani(k)**  
*come up; be cooked through*  
2.169; 2.195; Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2  
The combination *o pani(k) [feces come up]* is used for 'to fart'.  
The meaning 'be cooked through' is mentioned only in the word list and in the grammatical introduction, and not exemplified in the text corpus.

**do(x)**

**papufo**  
*adj warm*  
314

**patoxo**  
*adj small*  
291  
Also used for small quantities of mass nouns, cf. section 3.9; the adverb *pàtoxomu* is used for speaking softly, cf. section 3.4.2.

**paxa**  
*rotten, decayed; wet*  
1.301 321

**o.paxa**

**pejo**  
*kind of palm*  
1.007 213

The word is used to refer both to the tree and to its fruit. It is probably a loan from a Marind language, cf. Voorhoeve (2001: 374). It is also called 'cassowary palm', because cassowaries like the fruit. The tree is crucial for the ecology in the swamps and along the coast (Lourens de Vries, p.c.). The word is attested only in Drabbe's wordlist, and in 1.007.

**pejo.bigi**  
*coconut*  
185

Cf. Wester (2014), Appendix A.

**pemV**  
*cast*  
1.190; 4.72

Also used for making a canoe point in the right direction.

**giamV**

**penoto(x)**  
*lift the head*  
Drabbe 1957:13b; section 2.2

**peso**  
*wound*  
6.069 123

**pí**  
*adj long*  
2.210 292

**pinosü(k)**  
*fall*  
1.187

**osü(k); atonisü(k)**

**pinoxo ü(k)**  
*jump*  
Drabbe 1957:14a; section 2.2

**pinoxo wiê**  
*jump*  
Drabbe 1957:14a; section 2.2

**po ?**  
*crushed*  
3.186

**poki ?**  
*bud*  
5.35

Used in combination with the verb *xo(x) 'go', so that poki xo(x) means 'bud'.

**pomV**  
*cut on, split*  
1.117; 4.44; 3.121

**bimV; dü; efgemV; gü; komV; ö; tümV; gobiümV; ügemV**

**poni(k)**, **ponü(k)**  
*break (intr, of stone)*  
4.22 375

Drabbe 1957:13a writes: breaking e.g. of pottery. Cf. the different types of breaking in the English-Aghu thematic wordlist above.

**ponü(k) -> poni(k)**

**posü**  
*old (of duration)*  
2.063; 6.244; 2.183; 2.127 330

At 2.063 Drabbe remarks that *posü* has a connotation of sacrality, and that one also uses the word for taboo (Drabbe 1957:85, note 42). In the text corpus, the word is attested exclusively in combination with the proper name *Apupüsimo*, or with
kinship terms.

*iwi*

**puōni(k)** v *bow (intr)*
6.068

**pupe** n *crumb*
2.146

**pusiaxa** adj *big*
2.153; 4.20

**tādi; jaxa**

**pusiū** adv *very*
4.37

**puxu** adj *soft; weak*
Drabbe 1957:9b 313; 319

**sa** n *sheath*
1.124

**sama** n *front*
section 3.5.2
*Sama* is a spatial noun, see section 3.5.2.

**sängge(k)** v *raise, draw up (intr)*
Drabbe 1957:32b; section 2.8.1.

**sapa** n *dish*
7.025

**sapi** n *bracelet*
1.168

**sauna** n *hut*
6.156

**ifo; afaxā; ā; būsiū; xī**

**sawo** n *cocos fiber*
2.044

**saxa(k)** v *shoot*
4.08

**tī**
*Saxa* is an idiosyncratic iterative stem of *tī*, cf. section 2.4.1, Table 16, pattern V. In certain contexts, the use of *saxa*(k) implies a plural object, cf. section 3.1.5.6.

**sē** n *husband*
4.69 160

**amo**

**sedi** n *nippa palm* 215

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**segi, sigi** n *penis*
2.107 057

**si, siaxa** adj *high; above*
1.291; 6.282 302; 403
For the use of *-axa* in adjectives see section 3.3.

**si-nifo** n *mucus*
016

**si-pajo** n *nose*
015

**si(k)** v *put into*
2.062; 2.081

**kū, kukū**

**si(k)** v *pull off*
2.047; 3.115; 6.209
All occurrences have to do with pulling the bark off a tree. This verb may very well be the same as *si(k)* below.

**si(k)** v *twine, row, build*
1.010; 2.183; Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2; section 2.4.1 195
The gloss 'build', given by Drabbe, is probably an extension of the meaning 'twine', as one has to twine in order to build a house. The senses or meanings of twining and rowing might be related because of the kind of movement that is implied ('a movement as made when rowing'). This might also explain why the word *si(k)* is also used for pulling the bark off a tree.

**si** adj *black* 338

**sia** n *skirt*
1.166

**sia** n *cricket*
5.16

**sānā** n *grass plain*
Drabbe 1957:1b; Drabbe 1957:2b

**siake** n *cable*
4.66
Drabbe translates 'canoe cable' (Dutch: prauwkabel). The word apparently refers to a cable or rope used to tie a
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 canoe.
  
**sia si(k)** v **tell, narrate 167**
Drabbe writes this as two separate words. The meaning of the composing parts is not entirely clear.

**si**

**si**a

**xajo** n **adornment**
6.145

**siaxasu** n **small shell pieces**
2.221

**sükü**

**sibi** n **kind of plant**
7.025
The sibi-plant is a sleep-inducing plant, comparable to well-known wati’s used by the Marind. Ashes from the rattan plant serve as salt (Drabbe 1957: 79b-80a, note to 7.041).

**sibumV; sibomV** v **close off**
1.074; 5.15; 3.174; Drabbe 1957:4a; Drabbe 1957:19b; section 5.4.3

**sigi** -> **segi**

**sigiā** n **pink; small toe 079**
Also used in compounds with *bedo* 'hand' and *kito* 'foot'. *Kito-sigiā* is given by Drabbe (1957:4b) as an example of such a compound. Cf. section 3.1.1.

**sigiane** num **four**
section 3.10; section 4.2.3

**sikaxaxamV** v **testsail**
4.64

**sikû** v **place**
1.004; 1.005
Attested only twice, in the context of placing fish traps.

**si(k); kû**

**sinako** n **ashes 183**

**singi(k)** v **be silent 352**

**sinifo** -> **si-nifo**

**sipajo** -> **si-pajo**

**sisi** n **twilight**
5.24

**sisi** n **leech 262**

**sisī** v **cause bad luck to**
2.220

**siü** n **banana**
1.302 216

**siünū(k)** v **sail off**
Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2

**skamaxia** n **duck**
Drabbe 1957:4b; section 3.1.1
Used in compounds with *i* 'bird’ as first member, cf. section 3.1.1. This is the only example of a noun with an initial consonant cluster, cf. section 1.2.

**SO** adj **dry**
320

**xase**

**sobo** n **arrow**
1.271

**dibisi**
Used for arrow with head of bamboo.

**sowo** n **sun; daylight**
4.36 267; 395

**soxo** n **ground; earth**
1.032; section 3.1.5.4 286; 270
The word is also used to refer to an area or place, as is clear from the example given by Drabbe (1957:5a) and cited in section 3.1.5.4; there, the distributive *soxo soxo* refers to 'all over the place', or 'in many places'.

**soxù** n **hornbill**
Drabbe 1957:4b; section 3.1.1
Used in compounds with *i* 'bird’ as first member, cf. section 3.1.1.

**sū** v **stick in or pull out; suck, smoke; chop on**
1.297; 2.131; 5.40; 4.55

**umV**
It is not unthinkable that we have to do here with a technique of chopping which can be conceptualized as a sticking in and / or pulling out. Cf. *mo(k)* 'come in or out', *u(k)* go in or out, where we also find one word used
for movements in two opposite directions.

**sū ŋ feast**
7.013
Attested only in the expression sū ba(x) 'prepare a feast'.

**sūa n spider**
Drabbe 1957:1b 252

**suba n daughter**
2.050 151

**sufio ŋ kind of lizard**
1.272
Attested exclusively in compound with wisi, cf. section 3.1.1.

**suketo n ear 008**

**sükū ŋ big shell pieces**
2.221

**siaxasu**

**sumke n tobacco**
5.17 194

**sumàpio n bat 246**

**sünũ(k) v go into the water**
4.63

**surat n letter**
Loan from local Malay.
The word is attested in Drabbe’s explanation of the DS suffix -ne (cf. section 5.4.2.2).

**sunaŋge n earwax**
009
Drabbe writes this word as a compound su-naŋge. Cf.suketo 'ear'.

**suketo**

**ta ŋ Adv IN TURN**
See section 3.2.3.2.

**tā adv flat, even; light; wide**
5.31 306; 309; 317

**tadi, tadixa, tadiaxa adj big**
4.23; 4.28 290

**puśiavaxa; jaxa**
For the use of -axa in adjectives see section 3.3.

**tafeaxa adv again**
tefio n wing
233

tefi(ox) v defecate
053
Attested only in the English-Aghu wordlist, combined with o 'feces', so that we get o tefi(ox) glossed as 'defecate'.

temko(x) v walk away
Drabbe 1957:15b; section 2.3.2.2.6

temto(x) v flee
Drabbe 1957:13b; section 2.2

temV v flee
8.008

tetamV v produce
9.01

tete n root 224
di
tetebago, teto n food; valuables
2.220

6.122
The form is attested only once. Drabbe analyzes this verb as a compound of tī 'shoot' and pomV 'cut'. In 6.122, he glosses pomV with 'pin down'.

titime ? shout
In combination with the verb ki 'become'.
3.059
bā
tō n opening
5.14; 3.175

5.37
tō ? acid, sour
Drabbe 1957:3a; Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2

xonge
Not clear from Drabbe’s translation whether this is a adjective or a noun.

todobā n aeroplane
Drabbe 1957:23a; section 5.5.2
Note that todo is the word for space upside, see section 3.5.2.

togō n armpit
2.188

bodo tongō
tomū(g) v bake, roast
Drabbe 1957:14a 189
tomV; kimV; fi(ox)
tomV v roast
2.009; 6.015
tomū(g); kimV; fi(ox)
toni(k), tani(k) v hide (intr)
8.003; 1.273
xō; kiamV
tosü(k) v warm oneself
8.010; 8.019
toxō v cut in big pieces
efegemV
1.153
Toxō is used for the cutting in big pieces of an animal that has been shot or slaughtered (Note belonging to
toxopòmu, toxogèmu quant some

1.153). Toxogèmu is mentioned in the discussion on non-numeral quantifiers, but not attested in the text corpus. See section 3.9.

toxu n outer end; piece

1.038; 6.226 Drabbe compares the use of toxu to the use of afi and writes: "[toxu] actually means 'outer end' but is used also for 'piece' or 'part'. For example: dù motù toxu 'part of a little bag of sago'; amù toxu 'a piece of pork'; amu toxù 'a piece of the pork'; siù toxu 'a piece of banana'; siù toxù 'a piece of the banana' (Drabbe 1957:29a). Cf. also section 3.1.2 on the distinction between compounds and possessive constructions.

afi: fume

toxu n younger sister

Section 3.1.4

tü adj cold

Drabbe 1957:3a; Drabbe 1957:9b 315 bi

tū n belt around waist

Drabbe 1957:4a
tū

tū v curl up

6.287 Out of context, Drabbe describes the meaning of the verb as "curl up, of a snake" (Drabbe 1957:3a).

tūfo n feather

1.123 ö; xaxō; xabumu

tümV cut

1.032; 1.140; 1.185 bimV. dü: efegemV; gū; komV; ö; pomV; gobümV; ügemV

u n sound; voice

2.132; 3.093; 3.095 107

u-müto n throat 28

u(k) v go in or out

6.065; 6.079

mo(k)

ū n liver

Drabbe 1957:3a; section 1.1 043

ū n scar 124

ū adv there

Drabbe 1957:3a

ü(g) v stab, bite

1.184; 1.198; 2.206; 8.016

ü(g) v mix

7.025

kakekū

There might be a relation to ü(g) 'stab, bite', in the sense that the mixing might imply a 'stabbing movement'.

ü(k) v fell

1.160; 1.233; 1.240; 2.046; 2.052; 3.112 198

ū

Note that the language has two verbs ü: one which has k as a realis marker, and one which has g as a realis marker, with slightly different meaning.

ü(k) v chirp

Section 2.2

The sound made by crickets.

üpomV v go through and meet with; break (tr, of stone)

4.61 374

The verb is a compound of ü, which means something like stab, or go through a substance, and pomV, which means something like cut into, or pin down. As can be seen in the English-Aghu wordlist, the word has also been given as a translation of a transative breaking of stone. Cf. the different types of breaking in the English-Aghu thematic wordlist above.

ü-tō v stab and split

6.255.

The word is used for hitting or
chopping in with things like a fork (Drabbe 1959:87, note 131). For motion verbs see section 3.5.

**üaboxofi** v lay down 4.61

**kutofi; kifi(ox)**

Form of realis marker not given. If we compare to other forms in *fi*, however, the marker probably is *(ox). Drabbe remarks (note 95, page 86): the verb *ü-abo-ox-fi-di-k* is built up as follows. *Ü* = fell; *a-bo* = the verb stem *a* 'take' followed by the nonfinite SS-marker -*bu*, whose last vowel harmonizes with the vowel of *xo*. 'go'; *fi* = lay down.

**üfükü** v call, shout 356

**bekü(k)**

**üfüomV** v hit 3.180

It is not clear whether there is a meaning difference between *üfü*(ox) and *üfüomV*. Possibly composed of *ü* 'fell' and an element *füom*.

**üfü(ox), xomü(g)**

**üfü(ox) v hit** 2.157 388

*üfüomV; xomü(g)*

Possibly composed of *ü* 'fell' and an element *fü*.

**ügemu** adv bumping 1.277

For adverbs in -*mu* see section 3.4.2.

**ügemV** v chop off 1.036

*bimV; dū; efegemV; gū; komV; ō; tümV; gobümV; pomV*

Possibly composed of *ü* 'fell' and an unknown element *gV* plus *mV*. For verbs in *mV* see section 2.1.

**ügüfi(ox) v fell and lay down** 1.154

Possibly composed of *ü(k)* 'fell', an unknown element *gV* and *fi* 'lay down'.

**üko(x) -> küto(x)**

**ükü(k) v bark.IT; fight; threaten** 4.05; 6.252; section 2.5

Drabbe glosses the form in 4.05 with 'bark.it'. It is not entirely clear whether this form should indeed be seen as an iterative stem of a non-iterative counterpart, and if so, what would be the form of this non-iterative stem.

**üküsumV** v take out of the water 6.195

**ükute n crowned pigeon 243**

The official name of this bird is goura cristata.

**umV v suck 366 sū**

**umūto n throat 028**

Drabbe writes this word as a compound *u-mūto*.

**ünabukuŋų v push and sit down on** 2.104

**üne n boil 127**

**ünoxo kū v wash** 2.104

Drabbe 1957:22b

Note the elements *oxo* 'water' and *kū* 'put into'.

**üpomV -> ü-pomV**

**ütō -> ü-tō**

**ütūba v be together** 1.070

**gobü; àkumu**

Form of realis marker not given.

**utomo origin myth**

Drabbe (1957: 87b; note 137) See also the introduction to the text edition in this book, which briefly discusses the different types of texts.

**xoxodino**

**wa adj bad; worthless** 1.284 324

**waxajo n young sago leaf** 1.160

**wē v guard**
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6.060

_kiaxaimV_

**weaxa quant much 390**
Described in 3.9 as a non-numeral quantifier; not attested in the text corpus.

**weni(k) v stop (of rain)**
Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2
The combination *a weni(k)* is used for to stop raining.

**wi n pig**
6.002 **238**

**widi n river**
6.297b; 7.019 **284**

**wido n claw of cassowary**
1.122

**wiê -> pinoxo wiê**

**wiki, woki n bamboo; bamboo knife**
5.06; 1.289 **219**

**gisi**

**wimV v lighten; flash**
4.21 **274**

**wisi n lizard, snake, crocodile**
1.097; 1.298 **260**
*Wisi* is a general name for snakes, lizards and crocodiles, and used in compounds where the second part modifies the first: see section 3.1.1. Cf. also *oxo-wisi*, however, where *wisi* is the second part of a compound.

**wisi-ai n rainbow 272**
There might be a relation to *wisi* 'snake'.

**wisio n deep swamp**
2.175

**wo n sago grub**
1.028

**wo n stem**
4.48
The stem is the very most forward part of a boat or ship's bow and is an extension of the keel itself.

**wo dem THAT**
3.123; section 3.2.4

**wobio n scrotum, testis**
3.127 **058**

**wobugo n tail (of tetrapod) 231**
The word is given in Drabbe's wordlist as gloss of "tail of tetrapod". It is opposed to *osia*, which refers to the tail of a bird.

**osia**

**wodo n thumb; big toe**
Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2 **078**

**wofio ?n kind of tree**
1.135
Attested only as part of a compound with *kesaxe* 'tree' as a first member, cf. section 3.1.

**wofû v kiss**
6.066

**wogide adj thick**
Drabbe 1957:8b **294**
Drabbe remarks: thick, of flat objects.

**woki -> wiki**

**woküe n cassowary**
1.007; 6.019 **242**

**womã n kind of tree**
6.071

**womî n night**
1.172

**mimî**

**womu n inside, middle**
1.144 **408**
The reading 'middle' is given by Drabbe in his discussion of numerals and bodyparts (Drabbe 1957:28b). Cf. section 3.10. See also 3.5.2. on spatial nouns.

**woto n bunch**
Drabbe 1957:4a; section 1.1.2

**woxope n cheek 017**

**wüaxafukû v hit at**
3.125
wüfü v bewitch
8.016
Drabbe writes, as a note to 8.016, that wüfü refers to bewitching by blowing upon (a person or thing) and speaking of a formula. Form of realis marker not given.

wüoxo(x) v go downstream
4.40
Cf. section 3.5 on directional verbs.

wuixo n body
1.275 001

xa n skin; bark 084; 226
koxö, xoxome
xa-bumu n hair
6.258 006
xa-xō
xa-to n mouth
6.262 019

bomga
The word is also used for the angle made between a branch and the stem that it is attached to (the axil).
The word xato refers to the inner part of the mouth. For reference to the outer mouth see bomga. The noun could be analyzed as xa-to 'opening of the skin'.

xa-xō n body hair; feathers 085; 234
tüfo; ö; xabumu

xa n centipede 261
xā n breadfruit, bread tree
3.169; 3.157 214
The word is used both to refer to the fruit and to the entire tree.

xabā n head, lower part of trunk
1.140; 4.47 002

xabax’ a(x) v play 171
In the wordlist, Drabbe gives this as a translation of 'to play'. Drabbe writes two separate words, but the meaning of the composing parts is not entirely clear.

xabgibo n cockroach 258
xabumu -> xa-bumu
xabū, gabū n stone axe
3.110 222
In the wordlist Drabbe writes xabu. In the texts, however, he writes xabū. I assume that xabu is a typo.

xadī adj angry
2.058 323

xadimie, xanimie n grease
6.207 298
This is the equivalent of the Dutch noun 'vet', or the English noun 'grease'.

xafū -> axafū
xagide, xaxide adj raw, uncooked; young; new
9.03; Drabbe 1957:24; section 3.2.4.2 191; 331
In a strict sense, the Dutch word 'ongaar' indicates a 'not entirely cooked yet', a 'not yet done'. I follow Wester (2014), however, in glossing this with English 'uncooked'. The expression xaxide ki(k) was given as translation of 'to live', while xaxide i(g) was given as a translation of 'to be awake'; cf. 119 and 360 in the English-Aghu wordlist.

xai v give birth
Drabbe 1957:13b; section 2.2
Form of realis marker has not been given.

xaifi; kanike
xaibie n mountain 279

xaifi(x) v give birth
Drabbe 1957:12b; section 2.3.3.1 169
xa; kanike

xaimV v be in pain
Drabbe 1957:24a; section 4.1.1
The word is used in experiential clauses, cf. section 4.1.1.

xaini(k) v come close; be
similar to; be sufficient
2.204; Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2
393
xajá adv really
6.280
xajo n adornment
2.151a
siaxajo
xajo ? QST
2.198; section 2.7; section 4.2.5
xamiki adj true
1.034 326
xamèmu adv likewise
3.013
xani adj happy
1.146
xani(k) v die
Drabbe 1957:13a; section 2.2
Xani(k) implies a plural subject, cf. section 2.2.
The iterative stem xanimi is attested in 2.105.

kû
xanimie -> xadimie
6.207
xasa -> xasu
Drabbe 1957:1b
xase adj dry
Drabbe 1957:1b
so
xasi n spear
1.133 199
xasi n saliva 087; 110
The expression xasi si(k) is used for 'to spit', cf. the Aghu-English wordlist 110.

xasia n torch 188
xasu, xasa n leaf of nibung palm
Leaf of oncosperma tigillaria (a kind of palm), cf. the entry jowe.
1.312
jowe; kuse
xati adv again
1.180; 2.094; section 3.4

Xati always seems to indicate the repetition of an earlier event. It is also used in cases where the same event is performed on a different object, e.g. in 2.094, where first some moldered wood is brought up, and then (again / also) a wooden stick. In such cases, we would use 'also' in English, instead of 'again'. This might be seen as an indication that xati (in these cases) modifies the verb, and not the entire clause.

xato -> xa-to
xaxafè ?n scratching
2.132
Attested only once.

xaxamu adv fast
3.168b 334

xaxa(k) v swell
The word is used in experiential clauses, cf. section 4.1.1.

xaxa(k) -> gaxa(k)
3.113

xaxide -> xagide
xaxô -> xa-xô
xî n men's house
axî; afaxî; büsiü
The name used for the house where all men of a clan sleep during the night, and hang around during the day. Women are not allowed there (Drabbe 1957:84, note 26).

xô dem DST
6.062; 2.132; 2.177
Cf. section 3.2.4 on demonstratives and 3.1.6 on the implication of definiteness.

xô v take out
1.028

xô v sail
1.307
This verb may be the same as xô 'take out'. In 1.307 it is used in combination with jofÔ 'canoe', in the expression jofÔ
PART II: WORDLISTS. Aghu-English wordlist

xō 'take out a boat', which (followed by the verb of movement moda 'come upstream') indicates 'to sail (off).

**xō v hide (intr)**

toni; kiamV

Drabbe 1957:3a

xobasī **n male**

2.139; 6.088 **139; 141**

**xu**

Xobasī is attested only once (7.079), and might be a typo.

**xoja n shield**

Drabbe 1957:9a; section 4.2.4

xomū(g) **v fight/kill**

1.303a; 1.303b; 2.074

üfū(ox); üfūomV

**xoŋgadu n palate 024**

xoenge adj acid, sour 336

Elicited; from the place in the list, preceded and followed by adjectives, it is clear that the Dutch equivalent is intended as an adjective, not as a noun.

**xoŋgi n mega bat 247**

xonī(k) **v 1.032 come into existence**

xai

xosūbā **n young person 143**

subā

xotaxī(k) **v move over something (intr)**

Drabbe 1957:13b; section 2.2

**xoxi n ghost, shade**

section 3.1.1 **165**

Also used in compounds like xoxi-xū 'male ghost / spirit', cf. section 3.1.1 on compounds.

**xoxodino legend**

Drabbe (1957: 87b; note 137)

See also the introduction to the text edition in this book, which briefly discusses the different types of texts.

**uto mo**

**xoxome n bark**

2.112

xa; koxō

**xo(x) v go, go away**

1.244 **102, 384**

Cf. section 3.5 on verbs of movement.

**xu n man**

2.003

axu

**xū n garden 205**

In the English-Aghu wordlist given as a translation of agriculture (Dutch: landbouw).

Drabbe 1957:1b; Drabbe 1957:9b

**xūba n lightning**

4.21

**xuba(x) v sit down**

Drabbe 1957:32b; section 2.8.1

Drabbe opposes this verb to ba 'sit': xuba is always inchoative, while ba may but need not have an inchoative reading. Cf. section 2.8.1.

**xufamV v yawn**

115

**xuito n sky 266**

xū ü(k) **v thunder 273**
PART III

ANNOTATED TEXTS
Introduction to the text edition

How the texts were collected

The texts that follow were collected by Drabbe. He writes that: “the texts that follow were written down word by word, and told by two men of approximately 30 years of age. Their names were Fio and Wakumo from the Ghoghonasàfo clan, living at the Eba-river.” The texts were not recorded, but written down directly by Drabbe. This method of collecting texts probably meant that the speakers spoke rather slowly, which may very well have influenced their speech in terms of rhythm, use of pauses, intonation, and also the structure of the texts in terms of switch reference (cf. Chapter 5, especially section 5.4.3).354

Following such a word by word recording of a text, Drabbe generally took some time to discuss the meaning of the text. To get an impression of Drabbe’s way of working, it is very informative to look at the following quote from his 1962 speech, in which he describes his method of language description. To illustrate this method, he comes up with the example of the recording of a narrative, told by a 50-year old man. Although what Drabbe writes here probably refers to his work on a language other than Aghu, and although his language helpers there were not the same as the one who told the story (as is the case in Aghu), we can safely assume that his method was very similar when describing Aghu:

“Although I had been learning the language for over 6 months by now, I cannot say that I understood all of it. Because I didn’t want to disturb the narrator while he was dictating, I had not asked for explanation of words, constructions, or the cohesion of the story, which is not always easy to understand for us Europeans, who have a very different mentality. So we had a second series of sessions, again divided over six days, in which the [two] young persons, who

354 When describing his method of describing a language, Drabbe tells about a 50-year old man telling the story, and two younger languages helpers who help the old man to speak clearly and sometimes even have to repeat his words (Drabbe 1962: 18f).
understood and spoke Moluccan Malay quite well, gave me a translation and explanation, which I then wrote down immediately. In doing so, they checked with the narrator, and asked him for explanation in their own language. At certain points we got some additions to the narrative, which partly belonged in the story itself, but had been skipped by the narrator himself. The man, of course, had had problems to remain concentrated while he was telling, as he had been interrupted time and time again to give me the time to write things down (Drabbe 1962: 19).

In Drabbe’s text edition, each sentence is accompanied by a morpheme by morpheme glossing per sentence. Drabbe has also added short summaries in Dutch, and a number of footnotes to the texts, because “it is very hard for outsiders to get the general sense on the basis of a word-by-word translation only” (Drabbe 1957: 56a). As is clear from Drabbe’s words above, he generally did not find out the general meaning of the texts on his own, but discussed the meaning of the texts with language helpers. In the present book, we see this confirmed by a number of references to explanations that Drabbe got from his language helpers. Like “this is not so clear from the story, but the narrator assures me that it was meant to say so”, cited in 7.025 below.\footnote{This quote, by the way, shows that in this case (contrary to the quote above), the language helper explaining the text was the one who had also told the story.}

\textbf{The presentation of the texts}

The following figure illustrates how the texts have been presented in this book. Each sentence bears a number; a number like 1.016 indicates that we have to do with sentence 16 of text 1 (for a definition of a sentence see section 5.1). The four lines that follow present (1) the running text; (2) a morpheme by morpheme gloss; (3) the meaning per morpheme, and (4) a free translation. For technical reasons, the morpheme by morpheme translation differs somewhat from the

\footnote{Other references to the narrator’s explanation or other indications that someone explained the meaning of the texts to Drabbe are found in 5.32, 6.064, the summary preceding 6.131, the summary preceding 6.248, the summary preceding 6.23 and in a note to 6.318.}
presentation in the grammatical introduction; the clitic \( =k \) is presented as an affix (-k instead of \( =k \)), while the function of grammatical affixes is presented in normal capital rather than small capital (e.g. SG instead of sG).

The interlinearized text may be followed by one or more annotation, written in \textit{Courier New}. These annotations may be based on one of Drabbe’s 154 endnotes to the text, or present other relevant information with regard to the present sentence. The annotations may relate either to the content or the structure of the text, and often refer to sections in the grammatical introduction. For example, in the piece of writing shown below, the first annotation is based on an endnote by Drabbe, and refers to section 2.10; this annotation relates mainly to the structure of the text. The second annotation, on the other hand, relates to the content of the text, while the third gives some relevant cultural background information.

In addition to the interlinearized text and annotations, the text corpus contains summaries of the sections to come. These have been printed in \textit{bold italics}, and are translations of the summaries provided by Drabbe. As can be seen in the figure below, also these summaries can be followed by annotations, in case these relate to the entire passage that is following.

\begin{verbatim}
1.016
Daxenâ  bagidi  mungenâ.
da-xe-nâ  ba-gidi  mû-ge-nâ
come-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day not.want-N1.RLS-N1PL

They come (home), and the following day they stay at home.
Here mû, 'not want', expresses a negative: 'they do not want (to go out)
\( \rightarrow \) they do not go out' (Drabbe 1957:84a (note 8)). Cf. section 2.10.

Summary of 1.017-1.029. Following this, the next four [WvdH: five] days they go out, every other day, to collect sago or to look for vegetable food in the forest. The fifth day they collect sago grubs from sago trunks. Then follows another day of pounding sago.
\end{verbatim}
In Drabbe’s original publication, the passage above is presented as in Figure 22 below. What is presented as a note to verse 1.016 above, is presented in Drabbe as an endnote to the same verb *mũ* in the preceding verse (presented there as *mu-nuk*; the footnote also refers to *mung-g-enã* in 1.016, however). Note that — like in the present book - Drabbe also refers sections in his grammatical introduction, indicated by abbreviations like s98 (section 98).

In order to facilitate an effective reading of the text as presented in this book, the reader is advised to open two parallel documents: one document to read the texts, and a parallel document to read the sections to which the text may refer. When switching between and navigating within the documents, it is good to know that the references in the text edition are not hyperlinks. In addition, it is helpful to choose a document view in which the screen shows the structure of the text (e.g. in a column left of the text), so that it is easy to navigate both within the grammatical introduction and the text edition.
Typology of the texts

Although the texts contain a lot of parallels, the content of the stories is rather diverse, covering themes like the origin of clans, rivers, the canoe, or narrating what happens to people after death. The best way to get an impression of the content of the texts is to read through the summaries that introduce and interrupt the texts (those in bold italics). As for the structure of the texts, one of the aspects that is rather similar across the texts is the cyclic repetition of events, more on which can be found in section 5.9. Other aspects of the narrative structure of Aghu texts are discussed in other sections of Chapter 5, like clause-chaining in 5.3, and tail-head linkage in 5.6.

The typology of the texts is discussed by Drabbe in a single passage only (Drabbe 1957: 87b). He writes about two types of texts: utomo ‘(origin) myth’ and xoxodino ‘legend’. Text 1, 4, 5, and 7 count as utomo, while 2, 3 and 6 count as utomo. Although the difference between the two types of texts was not entirely clear to Drabbe, he writes that “there are certain indications that the utomo-texts are the actual origin myths, and the xoxodino texts the actual legends.” The typology of text 8 has not been given. Of the texts presented in this introduction, text 7 is, in a sense, the most central one, in that — “the grand old man” Somu is considered the kubo ‘lower part of trunk’ of all utomo’s and xoxodino’s.
Text 1: Two Orphans - the Origin of Headhunting

The Awyu subgroup - to which Aghu belongs - is the only of the Greater Awyu groups that are known to have practiced headhunting, as a consequence of the influence of the Marind living to the South of the area (cf. de Vries t.a.).

Summary of 1.001-1.016. Two orphan girls live somewhere on their own. On a certain day they go out and place fish traps. The following day they break off palm leaves, cut these in small strips and start to twine. The younger sister cuts her hand, and the blood she hides in the ground. The following day they stay at home.

1.001

Angiedi,  
efe neni  
efe küda.

ã-giedi  
efe n-eni  
efe küda

woman-orphan 3SG LNK-elder.sister356 3SG younger.sibling

There are two orphan sisters (lit. orphan women, her elder sister, her younger sister).

The construction efe neni efe küda, lit. 'her elder sister her younger sister' is typical for dyadic relationships, like father and son, husband and wife, younger and older brother or younger and elder sister, see Drabbe (1957:8) and section 3.1.3.

The listing of the main participants at the very beginning of a narrative seems a common narrative technique, and is applied in all of the texts except 8a, 8b, and 9.

A'-giedi should be analyzed as an endocentric compound, with either ã or giedi as the head. As we have no information on the stress pattern, it is impossible to decide which of the two is the head, although the relative openness of the category of right headed compounds, makes giedi a more likely candidate for being the head than ã, cf. section 3.1.1.

1.002

Joxo nam’ baxenã.

joxo  
namu ba-xe-nã

3PL only sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

They live on their own (lit. only they (i.e. the two of them) live.

356 For technical reasons, glosses in the text corpus and the wordlists have been given in capitals, rather than in small capitals.
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.003

Kütoxenâ, widi.
kütoxe-nâ widi
go.downhill-N1.RLS-N1PL river

They go downhill, to the river.

Widi, separated by a pause from the clause, is one of the few examples of what might be called a right dislocation, not described as a separate topic by Drabbe. Drabbe only points to the fact that here Dutch could use an analogous sentence 'they go downhill, to the river' (Dutch: ze gaan de helling af, naar de rivier; Drabbe 1957:84a (note 2)).

1.004

Jobo sikungenâ.
jobo sikūge-nâ
fish.trap place-N1.RLS-N1PL

They place fish traps.

1.005

Sikunuk memoxenâ, daxenâ,
sikūnu-k mem-oxide-nâ da-axe-nâ
place-SS-CON stand.cont_I-N1.RLS-N1PL come-N1.RLS-N1PL

būsiū daxenâ.
būsiū da-axe-nâ
house come-N1.RLS-N1PL

They are busy placing (the fish traps) for a while and then come, they come home.

The verb mem(e) is derived from e 'stand'. The posture verbs ba(x) 'sit', e(k) 'stand' and i(g) 'lie' can participate in durative constructions. In such constructions, we find a nonfinite form ending in -dV-k 'SS-CON' directly preceding the positional verb, as in bigio si-di-k ba-d-ia 'he was twining a mat'. More on such analytic durative constructions formed with posture verbs can be found in section 2.4.3.

For a general characterization of the meaning or function of duratives see the introductory part of section 2.4.3. In a note to this particular sentence, Drabbe remarks that he translates the posture verbs in analytic constructions like these with 'stay' (Dutch: blijven; Drabbe 1957:84a (note 3)). This publication generally renders the durative meaning aspect by adding the phrase 'for a while', sometimes alternating with keep 'V-ing'.

The forms meme, bame and imi, are continuative forms of posture verbs.
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

Both when used independently and when used in analytic durative constructions, they indicate a longer duration (compared to the analytic durative construction with non-continuative posture verbs). Cf. section 2.4.3.3.

Drabbe points out that the clause düsiüst daxenä is given as a clarification of daxena, and that in such cases we never find a nonfinite form of the first verb (Drabbe 1957:55, 84a (note 4)). Cf. also section 5.4.3. on sequences of semifinite verbs over two clause chains and within one sentence.

1.006

Bagidi xati xozenä.
ba-gidi xati xo-xe-nä
sit-next.day again go-N1.RLS-N1PL

Ba-gidi is a compound of ba 'sit' and a defective verb gid. The verb is used when the day is spent sitting or sleeping. For more on this form cf. section 2.8.3.3.

The following day they go again.

1.007

Woküe pejo xafüngenä.
woküe pejo xafū-ge-nä
cassowary kind.of.palm break-N1.RLS-N1PL

They break leaves from the cassowary palm.

The name woküe pejo is another name for 'sako' which is a palm whose fruits the cassowary likes to eat (Drabbe (1957:55,84a (note 5)). Xafüngenä: by the use of this verb, it is clear that the 'breaking' relates to the leaves, and not, for example, to the fruits. Usually, one only mentions the name of the tree, without specifying which part of the tree is meant (e.g. the stem, the leaves or the fruits), unless this is needed for reasons of clarity (Drabbe 1957:55, 84a (note 6)).

1.008

Ab' koxenä.
a-bu úko-xe-nä
take-SS go.downhill-N1.RLS-N1PL

They take the leaves down.

b= is a cliticized form of the same-subject marker -bu, cf. 2.3.2.1. (Ü)ko refers to a going down in a 'slopeswise' movement, cf. oto 'go up' described in 3.5.1.1.
1.009

Ab’ kodok atetamoxenā.
a-bu üko-do-k atetam-oxe-nā
take-SS go.downhill-SS-CON split.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

They take them down and tear them along the length.
In order to tear the leaves, they probably make use of their teeth to make a good start (Lourens de Vries, p.c.).
Atetam 'split.IT' is the reduplicated form of atame 'split', where the reduplication expresses iterativity; it is not just one, but many leaves that are split (Drabbe 1957:56, 84a (note 7)), and, according to Drabbe's translation, also into many parts. For the relation between the allomorphs atetam and atetame, see 2.3.1.1, where it is described that stems ending in -mV and derived from *mV 'do' have combine with the N1.realis marker -oxe and have vowel elision.

1.010

Atetamedek sikenā.
atetame-de-k si-ke-nā
split.IT-SS-CON twine-N1.RLS-N1PL

They tear them and twine them.
It is not specified what exactly is twined here. It could be a fish trap, or a container. Quickly cutting some rattan and twining something out of it is a very common thing in the area. As the leaves are sharp, people frequently happen to cut themselves, what is also what happens in the next verse (Lourens de Vries, p.c.).

1.011

Efe küda bodo efegemoxe.
efe küda bodo efegem-oxe
3SG younger.sibling hand cut-N1.RLS[SG]

The youngest sister cuts her hand.

1.012

Gō mike.
gō mi-ke
blood come.down-N1.RLS[SG]

Blood comes down.
1.013
*Soxo* kūoxe.
soxo kūo-xe
**ground** dig-N1.RLS[SG]
She digs the ground.

1.014
*Gō* ogüke.
gō ogü-ke
**blood** go.in-N1.RLS[SG]
The blood goes in.

1.015
*Soxo* kunuk munuk būsiīi
soxo ku-nu-k mū-nu-k būsiū
**ground** put-SS-CON not.want-SS-CON **house**

*daxenā.*
da -xe -nā
**come** -N1.RLS -N1PL
After having hidden the blood in the ground, they come home.
The verb *mu* 'not want' is also used with the meaning 'stop (with)'
(Drabbe 1957ː36). Cf. section 2.10.
It is on the basis of Drabbe's free translation that *ku* 'put (into)' has
been rendered here as 'hide'.

1.016
*Daxenā* bagidi mungenā.
da-xe-nā ba-gidi mū-ge-nā
**come**-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day not.want-N1.RLS-N1PL
They come (home), and the following day they stay at home.
Here *mu* 'not want', expresses a negative: 'they do not want (to go out)
-> they do not go out' (Drabbe 1957ː84a (note 8)). Cf. section 2.10.

*Summary of 1.017-1.029. Following this, the next four [WvdH: five] days they go out,
every other day, to collect sago or to look for vegetable food in the forest. The fifth day
y they collect sago grubs from sago trunks. Then follows another day of pounding sago.*
If one follows the text, it appears that they go out on five subsequent days, rather than four.

In the Northern parts of the Greater Ayu family, sago grubs and the large sago grub festivals are associated with fertility, cf. van Enk and de Vries (1997:32f). In this myth, there seems to be a link between sago grubs or a sago grub festival and headhunting. The Aghu are the only group of the Ayu Dumut family that practiced headhunting, and have most probably taken over this practice from the Marind. For headhunting practices among the Marind, cf. Knauft (1993).

1.017

**Mungena**

| mû-ge-nã | ba-gidi | xo-do-k |
| not.want-N1.RLS-N1PL | sit-next.day | go-SS-CON |

**bökena.**

| dû | bë-ke-nã | sago | pound-N1.RLS-N1PL |

They do not want (to go out), and next day they go and pound sago.

1.018

**Bëdek**

| bë-de-k | a-bu | da-de-k | büsiü |
| pound-SS-CON | take-SS | come-SS-CON | house |

**osukena.**

| osu-ke-nã | go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL |

They pound sago, bring it with them and go up into the house.

Note that reference is made to tree houses. The verbs *osu* and *moso* are used for going and coming up into the house, respectively, while the verbs *osü* and *mi* are used for going and coming down out of the house, cf. 3.5.1.

In this text, the deictic center is a position near the tree house. This explains the use of verbs of 'going' versus verbs of 'coming'. Verbs of going up are used for going up into the house, verbs of coming down are used for coming down out of the house. Movements towards the house are also described by verbs of coming, while movements away from the house are described by verbs of going. In this text, then, the verbs *xo* and *ma*, which are the neutral verbs for 'going' and 'coming', respectively, are often used for 'going away from home' and 'coming home' (cf. Drabbe
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1957:57, 84a (note 10), and 1957:26,27). More on directional verbs can be found in section 3.5. More on deictic centers and narrative structure can be found in section 5.9.

1.019

Osuduk ęngėnā
osu-du-k ē-ge-nā
go.up-SS-CON eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

bagidi xati midik xoxenā.
ba-gidi xati mi-di-k xo-xe-nā
sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go up and eat, the following day they come down again and go.

1.020

Xodiük dū bēkenā.
xo-dū-k dū bē-ke-nā
go-SS-CON sago pound-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go and pound sago.

Drabbe writes beˇkā, which most probably is a typo. Although the SS-marker generally harmonizes with the final vowel of the verb to which it is attached (cf. section 2.3.2.1), here it harmonizes with the following vowel in dū (Drabbe 1957:84a (note 11)); cf. also section 1.3 on vowel harmony. We find the same in 1.024 and 1.029.

1.021

Dadek būsiū osukēnā bagidi xati
da-de-k būsiū osu-ke-nā ba-gidi xati
come-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again

midik xoxenā.
mi-di-k xo-xe-nā
come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They come (to the house), go up into the house, the following day they again come down and go.
1.022

Xodok fomengenā.
xo-do-k fomē-ge-nā
go-SS-CON search.food-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go and search food.

1.022a

Daxenā.
da-xe-nā
come-N1.RLS-N1PL
They come (back).
Is this a typo by Drabbe? He forgot to place a full stop.

1.023

Daxenā bagidi xati
da-xe-nā ba-gidi xati
come-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again

midik xo-xenā.
mi-di-k xo-xe-nā
come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL
They come (back) and the following day they again come down and go.

1.024

Xodūk dü bēkenā.
xo-dū-k dü bē-ke-nā
go-SS-CON sago pound-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go and pound sago.

1.025

Dadek büsiü osukenā
da-de-k büsiü osu-ke-nā
come-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

They come (to the house), go up into the house, the following day they again come down and go.

1.026

_Xodok_ fòmèngenàn.

xó-do-k fomè-ge-nà

go-SS-CON search.food-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go and search food.

1.027

_Fomenek_ èkenàn.

fomè-ne-k e-ke-nà

search.food-SS-CON stand-N1.DIST-N1PL

dàxènàn bågìdi xàti mi-di-k

come-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON

They search for food for a while, come (to the house), the following day they again come down and go.

The verb e 'stand' is used here in a durative sense, cf. section 2.4.3.3.

1.028

_Wò_ xòŋgenàn.

wò xò-ge-nà

sago.grub take.out-N1.RLS-N1PL

They collect sago grubs (from the sago-trunks).

_Wò xò 'take out sago grubs' refers to the process of taking sago grubs_
out of rotting sago stems. It is the usual expression for collecting sago grubs (Drabbe 1957:56,84a (note 12)).

1.029

Xonok ēkenā, daxenā
xō-no-k ē-ke-nā da-xe-nā
take.out-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1-N1PL come-N1.RLS-N1PL

bagidi xati midik
ba-gidi xati mi-di-k
sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON

xodūk dū bēkenā.
xo-dū-k dū bē-ke-nā
go-SS-CON sago pound-N1.RLS-N1PL

They collect sago grubs for a while, come (to the house), the following day they again come down and go and pound sago.

Again, the verb e 'stand' is used here in a durative sense, cf. 1.027 above. Contrary to 1.027, however, we here have to do with a distant past form, as is clear from the use of a long e". As mentioned in 2.3.3.1 and 2.4.3.3, in durative constructions the meaning of the distant past is neutralized.

Summary of 1.030-1.047. When they go to sleep in the evening, there is a field mouse coming to say to the youngest that a boy has come into existence at the place where she buried her blood. In the morning they go and see that it is true, but they come back home. They cut rattan, split it, peel off the skin (for binding the boy) and the next day they go and stand waiting for the boy. When he comes, they grasp him, but he bites one of them in the hand. She [the one bitten] proposes to adopt him as a child, which they then decide to do indeed. They bind him, take him into the house, and close the door.

It is not entirely clear what Drabbe means when he speaks about splitting the rattan. He might refer here to the cutting of the skin before it is peeled off, or to a splitting of the strings / stems in two or more parts. Alternatively, he refers to a cutting up of the long rattan string into shorter pieces.

1.030

Dadek osuduk igenā.
da-de-k osu-du-k i-ge-nā
come-SS-CON go.up-SS-CON lie-N1.RLS-N1PL
They come (to the house) and go up into the house and go to sleep.

Dependent on the context, posture verbs may have an inchoative reading, as is the case here. In line with this, 'lie' is often used for 'go to sleep', although the language may also use the more specific expression kunum i(g) asleep lie 'go to sleep' (Drabbe 1957:56b, 84a-b (note 13)). Cf. section 2.8.1, where the posture verbs that may have an inchoative reading are contrasted with verbs that are inherently inchoative.

1.031

Igenă kuso-maxiko mada-dek
i-ge-nă kuso-maxiko mada-de-k
lie-N1.RLS-N1PL marsupial-field.mouse come.from.close-SS-CON

efē küda oxe:
efē küda o-xe
3SG younger.sibling speak-N1.RLS[SG]

They (go to) sleep and a field mouse comes (from close) and says to the younger sister:

1.032

Ikeme-dek bodo tūmoxe, gō mike
ikeme-de-k bodo tūm-oxe gō mi-ke
be.there-SS-CON arm cut-N1.RLS[SG] blood come.down-N1.RLS[SG]

soxo kūo-kū-ki ikeme-de-k
soxo kūo-kū-ki ikeme-de-k
ground dig-put.into-DIST.N1SG be.there-SS-CON

amoko xonike numoxe.
amoko xonike num-o-xe
child come.into.existence-N1.RLS[SG] such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

"At the place where you cut your hand, where blood came down, which you had (dug-and) put into the ground there now has come a boy into existence", so it says.

Lit. you were there (where) you cut your hand, blood came down, you had dug a hole and put it into the ground, a boy is there and has come into existence, so it says. Drabbe considers ikeme 'do / be there' a de-
adverbial verb (Drabbe 1957: 84b (note 13)); cf. section 3.4.3.
The sentence running from efe küda oxe in 1.031 through numoxe in 1.032
is a typical quotative construction. Quotative constructions are
discussed in section 5.7.

1.033
Nemoxo bagidi midik xo xenā.
nem-o-xo ba-gidi mi-di-k xo-xe-nā
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

So it says and the following day they come down and go.
In combination with elements causing stress shift, the N1.RLS suffix -oxe
is realized as -oxo. Analogously, N1.RLS -xe in o-xe 'say-N1.RLS' is
apparently realized as -xo, cf. section 2.3.1.1.

1.034
Xodok faki etoxenā, xamiki oxo.
xo-do-k faki et-oxe-nā xamiki oxo
go-SS-CON secretly see-N1.RLS-N1PL true COP

They go and secretly watch; it is true.

1.035
Munuk nikiavam da xenā.
mū-nu-k nikiavam da-xe-nā
not.want-SS-CON back come-N1.RLS-N1PL

They do not want (to remain longer) and come back.
The verb mu" is often used in the meaning of 'stop', while nonfinite
munuk has developed an adverbial sense, often translatable as 'after',
cf. section 2.10.

1.036
Joxu ügeme-dek adek büsiū da xenā.
joxu ügeme-de-k a-de-k büsiū da-xe-nā
rattan chop.off-SS-CON take-SS-CON house come-N1.RLS-N1PL

They chop off (some) rattan, take it and come home.
1.037a
Atetamoxena.
atetam-oxe-nâ
split.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL
They split the rattan stems.

1.037b
Ingenâ.
î-ge-nâ
scrape-N1.RLS-N1PL
They peel off the skin.
For the splitting cf. 1.029/1.030 above. The rattan is cut into ropes that can be used to bind the boy, cf. 1.046.

1.038
Ingenâ bagidi asü toxu xoxenâ.
î-ge-nâ ba-gidi asü toxu xo-xe-nâ
scrape-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day darkness outer.end go-N1.RLS-N1PL
They scrape them, and the following day by the end of the darkness they go.

1.039
Xodok wenek ekenâ.
xo-do-k we-ne-k e-ke-nâ
go-SS-N1.RLS guard-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go and stand waiting (for the boy) for a while.

1.040
Amoko dadek madaxe.
amoko da-de-k mada-xe
boy come-SS-CON come.from.close-N1.RLS[SG]
Then the boy comes and comes (from) closer.
Drabbe remarks: "dadek madaxe [indicates that] he first comes from a distance and then comes closer" (Drabbe 1957:84 (note 16)). Cf. 3.101 and section 3.5.1.
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.041

*Emu* modok

emu mo-do-k

then come.in/out-SS-CON then take-N1.RLS-N1PL

Then they come out (of their hiding place) and grab him.

For a discussion of the meaning or use of *mo* 'come out' see section 3.5.1.1. Drabbe remarks that *mo* here refers to a coming out of the hiding place where they were guarding (Drabbe 1957:84b (note 17)).

1.042

*Bange.*

bâ-ge

shout-N1.RLS[SG]

He shouts.

1.043

*Banek*  

efe napi  

bodo asigiomoxe.

ba-ne-k  

efe n-api  

bodo asigom-oxe

shout-SS-CON 3SG LNK-mother hand bite.IT-N1.RLS[SG]

He shouts and bites his mother's hand.

In view of the proceeding of the story, the girl is already referred to as 'his mother' (Drabbe 1957:56, 84b (note 18)). From Drabbe's translation it is not clear why the iterative form of *asi* 'bite' has been used here.

1.044

*Efe* napi

oxe:  

afooane

efe n-api  

oxe  

afü-o-a-e

3SG LNK-mother speak-N1.RLS[SG] take_II-1PL-FUT

numoxe.

num-o-xe

such-say-N1.RLS[SG]

His mother says: "We will adopt him (as a child)", so she says.

For some reason, Drabbe generally writes *num* 'such' and the following verb as one word. In his explanation of the expression 'num followed by *o*, 1957:23, he writes *num* 'o, indicating that the form *num* must be seen
as a clitic. As indicated at the beginning of this text, I have followed Drabbe's orthography wherever possible, and have therefore decided to follow Drabbe also here.

1.045

Amoko afuöane numoxe.
amoko afū-oā-e num-o-xe
boy take II-1PL-FUT such-say N1.RLS[SG]

"We will adopt him as a child", so she says.

Drabbe writes afuane instead of afuöane, which might either be a typo, or a contracted form of afuöane.

1.046

Numodok ifīnik
num-o-do-k ifi-ni-k
such-say SS-CON bind SS-CON

büomoxenā adek büsiū daxenā.
būom-oxe-nā a-de-k büsiū da-xe-nā
stop N1.RLS-N1PL take SS-CON house come N1.RLS-N1PL

So she says and they bind him and after this (lit. they stop) they bring him home.

1.047

Abu dadek ab’ suduk to xo
a-bu da-de-k a-bu osu-du-k to xo
take SS come SS-CON take SS go up SS-CON opening DST

sibumoxenā.
sibum-oxe-nā
close N1.RLS-N1PL

They bring him, take him up and close the door.

Xo DST may function as a definite article, cf. section 3.1.6 and 3.2.4.2.

Summary of 1.048–1.068. They stay at home for one day, and then the women go out in turn, for four days, to search for sago grubs, to fish or to pound sago.
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.048

\[ \begin{align*}
Büsiü & \quad sibumuduk & \quad büsiü & \quad baxenā. \\
büsiü & \quad sibumu-du-k & \quad büsiü & \quad ba-xe-nā \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{close-SS-CON} & \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS-N1PL}
\end{align*} \]

They close the house and stay home.
This is a good example of the fact that tail-head linkage does not necessarily involve the same wording; while the verb *subum* 'close' takes *xo* 'door' as its complement in 1.047, it takes *büsiü* 'house' as its complement here. Cf. section 5.6 on tail-head linkage.

1.049

\[ \begin{align*}
Bagidi & \quad dotodok & \quad tafeaxa & \quad büsiü \\
ba-gidi & \quad doto-do-k & \quad tafeaxa & \quad büsiü \\
sit-next.day & \quad get.up-SS-CON & \quad again & \quad \text{house}
\end{align*} \]

baxenā.
ba-xe-nā
sit-N1.RLS-N1PL
The following day they get up and stay home again.

1.050

\[ \begin{align*}
Tafeaxa & \quad büsiü & \quad baxenā, & \quad bagidi & \quad efè \\
tafeaxa & \quad büsiü & \quad ba-xe-nā & \quad ba-gidi & \quad efè \\
again & \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS-N1PL} & \quad \text{sit-next.day} & \quad 3SG
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
küda & \quad de & \quad büsiü & \quad baxe. \\
küda & \quad de & \quad büsiü & \quad ba-xe \\
younger.sibling & \quad \text{OPP} & \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS[SG]}
\end{align*} \]

They stay home again, and the following day only the youngest sister stays in the house.
The particle *de* expresses that one of the sisters stays at home, in opposition to the other one, cf. section 3.4.2.1. From the general flow of the story, one may conclude that the boy also stays in the house. Cf. Drabbe's summarizing translation above, who also translates as if it is only the women who go out, while the boy stays at home.
1.051  
*Efe neni midik xoxe.*  
efe n-eni mi-di-k xo-xe  
3SG LNK-elder.sister come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]  
The eldest sister comes down and goes.

1.052  
*Xodok wo xonge.*  
xo-do-k wo xô-ge  
go-SS-CON sago.grub take.out-N1.RLS[SG]  
She goes and collects sago grubs.

1.053  
*Xonok ēki, da-dek osu-ke.*  
xô-no-k e-ki da-de-k osu-ke  
take.out-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG come-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS[SG]  
She collects for a while, comes (to the house) and goes up (again).

1.054  
*Osuduk efe küda wo toxopòmu ededek.*  
oso-du-k efe küda wo toxopòmu ede-de-k  
go.up-SS-CON 3SG younger.sibling sago.grub some give-SS-CON

*kimidik enjenā*  
kimi-di-k ê-ge-nā  
roast-SS-CON eat-N1.RLS-N1PL  
She goes up and gives her younger sister some (of the) sago grubs, and they roast them and they eat.
1.055

Engenā bagidi efè neni
è-ge-nā ba-gidi efè n-enì
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day 3SG LNK-elder.sister

eke ta büsiü baxe.
eke ta büsiü ba-xe
3SG.FOC IN.TURN house sit-N1.RLS[SG]

They eat and the following day the eldest sister in turn stays at home.
For the meaning and use of ta see section 3.7.1. For the meaning and use of eke see section 3.2.3.2.

1.056

Efe küda midik xoexe.
efe küda mi-di-k xo-xe
3SG younger.sibling come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

The youngest sister comes down and goes.

1.057

Xodok widi gike.
oxo-do-k widi gi-ke
go-SS-CON river scrape-N1.RLS[SG]

She goes and catches fish.
The expression used for catching fish is widi gike, which refers to the activity of scraping off a poisonous root in the water, in order to poison part of a river and to intoxicate fish and catch it afterwards (Drabbe 1957:57a, 84b (note 19)). Fishing by poisoning is not uncommon in the area, and was also described for e.g. the Korowai in van Enk and de Vries 1997:28).

1.058

Widi gidik čki, abu da-dek
widi gi-di-k e-ki a-bu da-de-k
river scrape-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG take-SS come-SS-CON
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

osuke, büsiü osuke.
osu-ke büsiü osu-ke
go.up-N1.RLS[SG] house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

She catches fish (for a while), brings it and goes up, she goes up to the house. Because the object of a 'take' is clear from the context, it is not needed to mention it explicitly (Drabbe 1957:84b (note 20)). Cf. section 4.1 on the absence of explicit subjects and objects when their identity is clear from the context.

1.059

Osuduk efe neni axe toxopòmu edoxe.
usu-du-k efe n-eni axe toxopòmu ed-oxe
go.up-SS-CON 3SG LNK-elder.sister fish some give-N1.RLS[SG]

She goes up and gives her eldest sister some fish.

1.060

Ededek kimidik ėagenā
ede-de-k kimi-di-k ė-ge-nā
give-SS-CON roast-SS-CON eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

bagidi efe küda eke ta büsiü
ba-gidi efe küda eke ta büsiü
sit-next.day 3SG younger.sibling 3SG.FOC IN.TURN house

baxe.
ba-xe
sit-N1.RLS[SG]

She gives and they roast and eat, and the following day it is the youngest sister who stays at home.

1.061

Efè neni midik xoxe.
efe n-eni mi-di-k xo-xe
3SG LNK-elder.sister come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

The eldest sister comes down and goes.
1.062

Xodok dü bēke.
xo-do-k dü bē-ke
go-SS-CON sago pound-N1.RLS[SG]

She goes and pounds sago.

1.063

Bēdek ēki, abu dadek
bē-de-k e-ki a-bu da-de-k
pound-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG take-SS come-SS-CON

büsiü osuke.
büsiü osu-ke
house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

She pounds sago for a while, brings it home and goes up into the house.

1.064

Osuduk dü afi efe kūda edoxe.
osu-du-k dü afi efe kūda ed-oxe
go.up-SS-CON sago half 3SG younger.sibling give-N1.RLS[SG]

She goes up and gives half of the sago to her younger sister.

1.065

Ededek eŋgenā bagidi xati efe neni
ede-de-k ē-ge-nā ba-gidi xati efe n-enī
give-SS-CON eat-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again 3SG LNK-elder.sister

büsiü baxe.
büsiü ba-xe
house sit-N1.RLS[SG]

She gives and they eat and the following day again the eldest sister stays at home.
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.066a
Efè küda   midik   xoxe.
efe  küda  mi-di-k  xo-xe
3SG younger.sibling  come.down-SS-CON  go-N1.RLS[SG]
The youngest sister comes down and goes.

1.066b
Xodok   widi   gike.
xo-do-k  widi  gi-ke
go-SS-CON  river  scrape-N1.RLS[SG]
She goes and catches fish.

1.067a
Widi   gidik   ēki.
widi  gi-di-k  e-ki
river  scrape-SS-CON  stand-DIST.N1SG
She catches fish for a while.

1.067b
Abu   dadek   büsiü
a-bu  da-de-k  büsiü
take-SS  come-SS-CON  house

osuke.
osu-ke
go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
She brings them and goes up into the house.

1.068
Osuduk   efè   neni   axe   toxopòmu
osu-du-k  efe  n-ení  axe  toxopòmu
go.up-SS-CON  3SG LNK-elder.sister  fish  some
edoxe.
ed-oxe
give-N1.RLS[SG]

She goes up and gives her eldest sister some fish.

Drabbe remarks that the preceding section should not be taken as narrating about subsequent days, but as describing the day-to-day life of the two girls before the boy has grown up. The following section describes the period in which the boy grows up, and does not say that the boy becomes an adult in five or six days (Drabbe 1957:86 (note 70)). We find something comparable in the narrative about the two hunters, cf. the note at 3.049.

Summary of 1.069 to 1.091. The fifth day the two women go out to pound sago, the boy goes with them and spends his time by shooting fish. In this way they go out day by day, to fish with poison, to pound sago or to look for sago grubs, and when they are close to water, the boy shoots fish.

1.069
Kimidik ήgenā
ekimi-di-k ē-ge-nā
roast-SS-CON eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

bagidi xati efe napi
ba-gidi xati efe n-api
sit-next.day again 3SG LNK-mother

kūtaxī moxe.
kūtaxī m-oxe
go.downhill_II.VN do-N1.RLS[SG]

They roast, eat, and the following day his mother (i.e one of the two women) wants to go down.

Note the construction kūtaxī moxe, which is a verbal noun followed by an inflected form of the verb stem mV 'do'. This construction of a stem of type II and mV is used to express that the subject is 'about to', or 'wants to' perform the action expressed by the first verb, cf. section 2.3.2.2.5.
1.070

\[ Efe\ neni \quad efe\ k\ddot{u}da \quad emu\ amoko \]
\[ efe\ n-eni \quad efe\ k\ddot{u}da \quad emu\ amoko \]
\[ 3SG\ LNK-elder.sister \quad 3SG\ younger.sibling \quad then\ child \]

\[ \ddot{u}t\ddot{u}badek \quad xoxen\ddot{a}. \]
\[ \ddot{u}t\ddot{u}ba-de-k \quad xo-xe-n\ddot{a} \]
\[ be.together-SS-CON \quad go-N1.RLS-N1PL \]

The two sisters and the boy then go together.

For the expression *efe neni efe k\ddot{u}da* see 1.001.

1.071

\[ Xodok \quad efe\ napi \quad d\ddot{u} \quad bu \quad b\ddot{e}ken\ddot{a} \]
\[ xo-do-k \quad efe\ n-api \quad d\ddot{u} \quad bu \quad b\ddot{e}-ke-n\ddot{a} \]
\[ go-SS-CON \quad 3SG\ LNK-mother \quad sago \quad DUR \quad pound-N1.RLS-N1PL \]

They go and the two sisters (lit. his mothers) are pounding sago.

1.072

\[ Efe\ namoko \quad axe\ saxake. \]
\[ efe\ n-amoko \quad axe\ saxa-ke \]
\[ 3SG\ LNK-child \quad fish\ shoot.IT-N1.RLS[SG] \]

The boy (lit. her child) catches fish by shooting.

1.073

\[ Saxadek \quad eken\ddot{a}. \]
\[ saxa-de-k \quad e-ke-n\ddot{a} \]
\[ shoot.IT-SS-CON \quad stand-N1.RLS-N1PL \]

They do so for a while.

Lit. 'he shot and they stood, or: he shot and they (all) remained (doing what they did)'. *Saxadek eken\ddot{a}* is a durative construction as described in section 2.4.3.3, consisting of a nonfinite form followed by the verb *e* 'stand'. Interestingly, *eken\ddot{a}* has a plural subject, while *saxadek* refers only to the shooting by the boy (singular). The combination of SS morphology on *saxadek* and plural inflection on *eken\ddot{a}* indicates that the subject includes both the boy and the women, who were mentioned in 1.071 (cf. section 5.4.1.1, where it is explained that SS-marking is also used when the subject of the nonfinite form is included in the subject of the following verb). The predicate must, therefore, refer to the fact that
both the boy and the women go on for a while doing what they did.

1.074

*Munuk* būisiū daxenā.
mū-nu-k būisiū da-xe-nā
not.want-SS-CON house come-N1.RLS-N1PL

They stop and come to the house.

1.075

*Dadek* osukenā bagidi
da-de-k osu-ke-nā ba-gidi
come-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day

*xati* midik xoxenā.
xati mi-di-k xo-xe-nā
again come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They come (to the house) and go up, and the following day they come down again and go.

1.076

*Xodok* widi gikenā.
xo-do-k widi gi-ke-nā
go-SS-CON river scrape-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go and catch fish.

For the process of fishing cf. 1.057.
We have no data about the division of tasks between men and women among the Aghu. The story here suggests that fishing with bow and arrow is restricted to men, while women catch fish by placing traps and using poison. From the other narratives hunting seems to be restricted to men. This would make the division similar to the division of hunting and fishing tasks among the Korowai, described by van Enk and de Vries (1997: 27–29).

1.077

*Gikenā,* axe, joxo namoko saxake.
gi-ke-nā axe joxo n-amoko saxa-ke
scrape-N1.RLS-N1PL fish 3PL LNK-child shoot.IT-N1.RLS[SG]
They catch fish by poisoning, while their boy is shooting fish.

Drabbe (to whom this story was told) writes that the speaker starts by mentioning the object axe, then hesitates and recaptures his sentence. (Drabbe 1957:57b, 84b (note 21)).

1.078

Saxadek ekenä, būsīū dadek
saxa-de-k e-ke-nā būsīū da-de-k
shoot.IT-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL house come-SS-CON

osukenā.
osu-ke-nā
go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL
They do so for a while, come to the house and go up (into the house).

For saxadek ekenā, cf.1.073. Cf. also 1.085, where we have e’kenā without a preceding nonfinite verb.

1.079

Osukenā bagidi xatī midik
osu-ke-nā ba-gidi xatī mi-di-k
go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON

xoxenā.
xo-xe-nā
go-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go up, and the following day they come down again and go.

1.080

Xodok wo xōngenā.
xo-do-k wo xō-ge-nā
go-SS-CON sago.grub take.out-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go and collect sago grubs.

It is not entirely clear whether the boy stays at home, or participates in collecting sago grubs. From the fact that there is no mentioning of his staying at home (contrary to 1.050, 1.055, 1.060, and 1.065, where the staying behind of one of the two sisters is mentioned explicitly), I tentatively conclude that the boy participates. This also seems to be Drabbe's analysis, as is clear from his summarizing translation above.
1.081

Xonok ekenä, dadek büsiü
xō-no-k e-ke-nā da-de-k büsiü
take.out-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL come-SS-CON house

Osukenā.
osu-ke-nā
go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL
They collect for a while, come (to the house) and go up into the house.

1.082

Osukenā bagidi midik xoexenä.
osu-ke-nā ba-gidi mi-di-k xo-xe-nā
go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go up, and the following day they come down and go.

1.083

Xodok efē napi dü bēkenä.
xo-do-k efē n-api dü bē-ke-nā
go-SS-CON 3SG LNK-mother sago pound-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go and the two mothers pound sago.

Again the girls are referred to as mothers. Although kinship terms do have a special plural form ending in -gi, as in 1.092 (cf. section 3.1.5.1), here the plural is not marked on the noun, but only by verbal inflection.

1.084

Efe namoko axe saxake.
efē n-amoko axe saxa-ke
3SG LNK-child fish shoot.IT-N1.RLS[SG]
The boy (lit. her child) shoots fish.
1.085

Ekenā  
dadek  
büsiü  
osukenā.
e-ke-nā  
da-de-k  
büsiü  
osu-ke-nā
stand-N1.RLS-N1PL  come-SS-CON  house  go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL

After a while they come (to the house) and go up into the house. 
Ekenā here probably expresses that the actions of shooting fishes and 
felling trees go on for a while. Cf. 1.073, and section 2.4.3.3.

1.086

Osuduk  
engenā  
bagidi  
xati
osu-du-k  
ē-ge-nā  
ba-gidi  
xati
go.up-SS-CON  eat-N1.RLS-N1PL  sit-next.day  again

midik
mi-di-k
come.down-SS-CON

xoxenā.
oxo-xe-nā
go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go up, eat, and the following day they come down again and go.

1.087

Xodok  
widi  
gikenā.
oxo-do-k  
widi  
ɡi-ke-nā
go-SS-CON  river  scrape-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go and catch fish (by poisoning).

1.088

Gikenā  
efe  
namoko  
axe  
saxake.
ɡi-ke-nā  
efe  
ɨnamoko  
axe  
ɨsaxa-ke
scrape-N1.RLS-N1PL  3SG  LNK-child  fish  shoot.IT-N1.RLS[SG]

They catch fish, while the boy (lit. her child) is shooting fish.
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.089
Saxadek ekenā daxenā.
saxa-de-k e-ke-nā da-xe-nā
shoot.IT-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL come-N1.RLS-N1PL

They do so for a while and come (to the house).
For saxadek ekenā, cf.1.073, 1.078. Cf. also 1.085, where we have ekenā without a preceding nonfinite verb.

1.090
Dadek büsiī osukenā.
da-de-k büsiī osu-ke-nā
come-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL

They come (to the house) and go up into the house.

1.091
Osukenā bagidi xati midik xodok
osu-ke-nā ba-gidi xati mi-di-k xo-do-k
go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON go-SS-CON

wo xōngenā.
wo xō-ge-nā
sago.grub take.out-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go up and the following day they come down again and go and collect sago grubs.

Summary of 1.092 to 1.115. Then one day the women stay home, and the boy goes out hunting. The first day he shoots a bird, brings it home, and gives it to his mother [WvdH: mothers]. The second day he comes home with a lizard, and the third day with a tree kangaroo. The following four days he shoots a pig on day one and three, and a cassowary on day two and four, but his mum doesn't want to eat from them.

Although Drabbe in his summary writes about a giving to 'his mother' [sg.], the text below clearly speaks about the mothers [pl.].
1.092

Wo  xonok  abu  dadek
wo  xo-no-k  a-bu  da-de-k
sago.grub  take.out-SS-CON  take-SS  come-SS-CON

būsiū  ab’  suduk  eŋgenā,
būsiū  a-bu  su-du-k  ē-ge-nā	house  take-SS  go.up-SS-CON  eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

bagidi  efe  napigi  joxo  de
ba-gidi  efe  n-api-gi  joxo  de
sit-next.day  3SG  LNK-mother-PL  3PL  OPP

baxenā,  būsiū  baxenā.
ba-xe-nā  būsiū  ba-xe-nā
sit-N1.RLS-N1PL  house  sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

They collect sago grubs, bring them (to the house), take the sago grubs up into the house, and eat (them), and the following day his mothers in turn stay behind, they stay in the house.

Although Drabbe writes *absuduk* as one word, I analyze the form as consisting of two grammatical words *a-b=* and *suduk*, where *b=* is a cliticized form of the SS suffix.

1.093

Efe  namoko  midik  xoxe.
efe  n-amoko  mi-di-k  xo-xe
3SG  LNK-child  come.down-SS-CON  go-N1.RLS[SG]

The boy (lit. her child) comes down and goes.

The following passage describes how each day the boy comes home with a different animal. This is a way of telling about what the boy used to hunt for when he was little, and should not be taken as a description of what he did in (three or four) subsequent days (Drabbe 1957: 86 (note 70)). Cf. Drabbe's note at 1.068 above.
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.094

Xodok ɨ tɨnge.
go-SS-CON bird shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and shoots a bird.

1.095

Tinik abu dadek bũsiũ osuduk
ti-ni-k a-bu da-de-k bũsiũ osu-du-k
shoot-SS-CON take-SS come-SS-CON house go.up-SS-CON

efe napigi joxo edoxene engenã.
efe n-api-gi joxo ed-oxe-ne ê-ge-nã
3SG LNK-mother-PL 3PL give-N1.RLS-DS eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

He shoots a bird and brings it (to the house), goes up into the house, gives his mothers and the two of them eat.

1.096

Edoxe bagidi midik
ed-oxe ba-gidi mi-di-k
give-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day come.down-SS-CON

xoxe.
go-N1.RLS[SG]

He gives, and the following day he comes down and goes.

1.097

Xodok wisi namu tɨge.
go-SS-CON lizard only shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and shoots only a lizard.

The use of namu 'only' has to do with the structure of the narrative, in which the boy shoots different animals, which are 'only animals', compared to the men that he is going to kill later in the story. Cf. Drabbe's note at 1.104
1.098

**Tinik**  
**abu**  
**dadek**  
**büsiü**  
**ab’**  
**suduk**

**ti-ni-k**  
**a-bu**  
**da-de-k**  
**büsiü**  
**a-bu**  
**osu-du-k**

**shoot-SS-CON**  
**take-SS**  
**come-SS-CON**  
**house**  
**take-SS**  
**go.up-SS-CON**

**efe**  
**napi**  
**edoxe.**

**efe**  
**n-api**  
**ed-oxe**

**3SG**  
**LNK-mother**  
**give-N1.RLS[SG]**

He shoots and brings it (to the house), takes it up into the house and gives it to his mother(s).

It is not entirely clear whether reference is made to only one of the mothers or to both. However, as in 1.095 the reference was clearly to both of the mothers, it seems most likely that we should take napi here as referring to both of the mothers too. Cf. section 3.1.5.1, which states that "even though kinship terms have a morphological plural, the absence of plural marking does not [necessarily] indicate singular number."

For absu cf. note at 1.092

1.099

**Edoxe**  
**bagidi**  
**xati**  
**midik**

**ed-oxe**  
**ba-gidi**  
**xati**  
**mi-di-k**

**give-N1.RLS[SG]**  
**sit-next.day**  
**again**  
**come.down-SS-CON**

**xoxe.**

**xo-xe**

**go-N1.RLS[SG]**

He gives, and the following day he comes down again and goes.

1.100

**Xodok**  
**kuso**  
**namu**  
**tī'ge.**

**xo-do-k**  
**kuso**  
**namu**  
**tī-ge**

**go-SS-CON**  
**tree.kangaroo**  
**only**  
**shoot-N1.RLS[SG]**

He goes and shoots only a tree kangaroo
1.101

*Tinik* adek dadek
ti-ni-k a-de-k da-de-k
shoot-SS-CON take-SS-CON come-SS-CON

бузн аб' сдук ефе нпи edoxe.
bузн a-bu osu-du-k ефе n-api ed-oxe
house take-SS go.up-SS-CON 3SG LNK-mother give-N1.RLS[SG]
He shoots and brings it (to the house), takes it up into the house and gives it to his mothers.

1.102

*Edoxe* bagidi xati midik xodok
ed-oxe ba-gidi xati mi-di-k xo-do-k
give-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON go-SS-CON

wi тинге.
wi ти-ге
pig shoot-N1.RLS[SG]
He gives, and the following day he comes down again, goes and shoots a pig.

1.103

*Tinik* abu dadek ab' suduk
ti-ni-k a-bu da-de-k a-bu osu-du-k
shoot-SS-CON take-SS come-SS-CON take-SS go.up-SS-CON

efe napi edoxe.
efe n-api ed-oxe
3SG LNK-mother give-N1.RLS[SG]
He shoots, brings it (to the house), takes it up (into the house) and gives it to his mothers.
1.04

Mādü numoxe.

mādü num-o-xe

not.want_II.1SG such-say-N1.RLS[SG]

"I don't want", she says.

So far, the little boy has shot only small animals, and the women were happy to eat them. Now that he shoots a big animal, however, he should first proof that he has become an adult by headhunting a person. After this he is ready to do the work of adult men: hunt for pigs and cassowaries. That is why from 1.116 he starts to make a spear that is meant to hunt for men. Drabbe remarks that women often urge men to go on headhunting raids. (Drabbe 1957:84 (note 22)).

For the interpretation of this passage Drabbe also refers to the note at 3.049. There he explains that what is presented as a sequence of events on subsequent days is meant to describe a situation that holds during a certain period of life, or develops over a certain period of life. In this case, then, the shooting of small animals refers to a certain phase of life, followed by what might be called an initiation rite, followed by the phase of adulthood. Cf. also Drabbe's remark at 1.068.

1.07a

Muŋge.

mū-ge

not.want-N1.RLS[SG]

She does not want (it).

1.07b

Muŋgenā bagidi xati midik

mū-ge-nā ba-gidi xati mi-di-k

not.want-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON

xodok woküe namu tinge

xo-do-k woküe namu ū-ge

go-SS-CON cassowary only shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

They do not want (it), and the following day he comes down again, goes, and shoots just a cassowary.

Note that 1.07a has singular muŋge, while 1.07 has plural muŋgenā. Although the perspective in 1.07a seems to shift to only one of the two mothers, it is clear from 1.07b that both of them 'do not want'. In this passage namu has been translated as 'just', and probably indicates that all that he shoots is just animals, compared to the men
that he is going to kill, cf. the note by Drabbe at 1.106.

1.108

Tinik  abu  dadek  ab'  suduk
ti-ni-k  a-bu  da-de-k  a-bu  osu-du-k
shoot-SS-CON  take-SS  come-SS-CON  take-SS  go.up-SS-CON

efe  napi  edoxe.
efe  n-api  ed-oxe
3SG LNK-mother  give-N1.RLS[SG]
He shoots and brings it (to the house), takes it up (into the house) and gives it to his mother.

1.109

Madü  numoxe.
mädü  num-o-xe
not.want_II.1SG  such-say-N1.RLS[SG]
"I don't want it", so she says.

1.110

Nemoxe  bagidi  xati
nem-o-xe  ba-gidi  xati
such-say-N1.RLS[SG]  sit-next.day  again

xodok  wi  nam' tinge.
xo-do-k  wi  namu ti-ge
go-SS-CON  pig  only  shoot-N1.RLS[SG]
So she says, and the following day he goes again and shoots just a pig.

1.111

Tinik  abu  dadek  ab'  suduk  efe
ti-ni-k  a-bu  da-de-k  a-bu  osu-du-k  efe
shoot-SS-CON  take-SS  come-SS-CON  take-SS  go.up-SS-CON  3SG
1.112

Mādūi   numoxe.
mādū   num-o-xe
not.want.II.1SG   such-say-N1.RLS[SG]
"I don't want it", so she says.

1.113

Numoxo   bagidi   xati   midik
num-o-xo   ba-gidi   xati   mi-di-k
such-say-N1.RLS[SG]   sit-next.day   again   come.down-SS-CON

xodok   woküe   nam’ tiinge.
xo-do-k   woküe   namu ti-ge
go-SS-CON   cassowary   only   shoot-N1.RLS[SG]
So she says, and the following day he comes down again, goes and shoots just a cassowary.

1.114

Abu   dadek   ab’   suduk   efē   napi
a-bu   da-de-k   a-bu   osu-du-k   efē   n-api
take-SS   come-SS-CON   take-SS   go.up-SS-CON   3SG LNK-mother

edoxe.
ed-oxe
give-N1.RLS[SG]
He brings it (to the house), takes it up (into the house) and gives it to his mother.
1.115

Mādū numoxe.
mādū num-o-xe
not.want_II.1SG such-say-N1.RLS[SG]
"I don't want it", so she says.

Summary of 1.116 to 1.125. Then he goes to cut a piece of wood to make a spear out of it. He divides the work over five days: he scrubs the wood, carves figures, makes the point and makes it bearded, fastens a cassowary claw to it, and places a plume on top. Every evening he hides the spear; eventually he sticks it into a sheath and hides it again.

1.116

Nemoxo bagidi midik
nem-o-xo ba-gidi mi-di-k
such-say-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day come.down-SS-CON

kūtoxe.
kū- xe
go.downhill-N1.RLS[SG]
So she says, and the following day he comes down and goes downhill.

1.117

Kesaxe pomoxe.
kesaxe pom-oxe
wood cut-N1.RLS[SG]
He cuts wood.

1.118

Pomodok amtadek afūinge.
pomo-do-k a-mta-de-k afū-ge
cut-SS-CON take-come.uphill-SS-CON smooth-N1.RLS[SG]
He cuts and brings the wood uphill and smooths it.
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1.119
Afünd' emedek akusği.
afū-d eme-de-k akusū-ge
smooth-SS finish-SS-CON hide-N1.RLS[SG]
He smooths it, stops and hides it.

1.120a
Akusunuk bagidi ka onge.
akusū-nu-k ba-gidi ka ō-ge
hide-SS-CON sit-next.day figure cut-N1.RLS[SG]
He hides it, and the following day he carves figures.

1.120b
Akusği.
akusū-ge
hide-N1.RLS[SG]
He had hidden it.

This sentence breaks the chain of sentences linked by tail-head linkage. It recapitulates the beginning of 1.120a. In 1.21 the head onok picks up the tail onge from the end of 1.120a.

1.121
Onok baxe bagidi bodo
ō-no-k ba-xe ba-gidi bodo
cut-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day head.of.spear

güncü.
gü-ge
cut-N1.RLS[SG]
He carves (figures) for a while, and the following day he cuts the head of the spear.
1.122

**Güinge**  
*bagidi*  
*wido*  
*kuŋge.*

gū-ge  
ba-gidi  
wido  
kū-ge

cut-N1.RLS[SG]  
sit-next.day  
claw.of.cassowary  
put-N1.RLS[SG]

He cuts (the head), and the following day he fastens the claw of a cassowary to it.

1.123

**Kunuk**  
*bagidi*  
*tüfō*  
*güinge.*

kū-nu-k  
ba-gidi  
tüfo  
gū-ge

put-SS-CON  
sit-next.day  
feather  
cut-N1.RLS[SG]

He fastens it, and the following day he places a feather.

The use of the verb 'cut' might indicate that the feather is fastened by making a cut into the wood and placing it there.

1.124

**Günd'**  
*emedek*  
*sa*  
*fuŋge.*

gū-d=  
eme-de-k  
sa  
fū-ge

cut-SS=  
finish-SS-CON  
sheath  
put.into-N1.RLS[SG]

He places (the feather), finishes, and puts the spear into the sheath.

1.125

**Funuk**  
*akusuŋge.*

fū-nu-k  
akusũ-ge

put.into-SS-CON  
hide-N1.RLS[SG]

He puts it (into the sheath) and hides it.

**Summary of 1.126 to 1.137.** Next day the mother goes out. The boy climbs on the ridge of the house, and smells blood. Next day early morning he takes his spear, and again climbs on the ridge. From there he flies away, and sits down on a branch, looking down, on the watch.
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.126

*Akusunjge*  *bagidi*

akusų-ge  ba-gidi

hide-N1.RLS[SG]  sit-next.day

*efe  napi  midik  kütoxe.*

*efe  n-api  mi-di-k  kütoxe*

3SG LNK-mother  come.down-SS-CON  go.downhill-N1.RLS[SG]

He hides it, and the following day his mother comes down and goes downhill.

1.127

*Efè  namoko  büsiü  müto  osuke.*

*efe  n-amoko  büsiü  müto  osu-ke*

3SG LNK-child  house  ridge  go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

Her child goes to the top of the roof of the house.

1.128

*Osuduk  fumike.*

osu-du-k  fumi-ke

go.up-SS-CON  smell-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes up and smells.

1.129

*Toxu  fumike.*

toxu  fumi-ke

outer.end  smell-N1.RLS[SG]

He smells in the direction of one of the outer ends (of the roofs).

1.130

*Toxu  fumike,  fede  kike.*

toxu  fumi-ke  fede  ki-ke

outer.end  smell-N1.RLS[SG]  nothing  become-N1.RLS[SG]

He smells in the direction of one of the outer ends, there is nothing.

*Toxu 'outer end' is one of the words like afi 'half' that one uses for*
both 'one side / end' as 'the other side / end'. (Cf. the footnote on onu(k) in section 3.5.1.1). Here he first smells in one direction, and then in the other. (Drabbe 1957:84b (note 23)).

1.131

\textit{Xati būsiū toxu fumike, gō pafumoxe.}

\textit{xati būsiū toxu fumi-ke gō pafum-oxe}

Again he smells, in the direction of the other end of the house, he smells blood (lit. there 's blood smelling).

1.132

\textit{Munuk mike.}

\textit{mū-nu-k mi-ke}

\textit{not.want-SS-CON come.down-N1.RLS[SG]}

Then he comes down. The verb \textit{mū} 'not.want' is used with the meaning 'stop (with)'. Nonfinite \textit{munuk} often has an adverbial function, cf. section 2.10.

1.133

\textit{Mike bagidi asü toxu}

\textit{mi-ke ba-gidi asū toxu}

\textit{come.down-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day darkness outer.end}

\textit{osuke, xasi adek osuke.}

\textit{osu-ke xasi a-de-k osu-ke}

\textit{go.up-N1.RLS[SG] spear take-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS[SG]}

He comes down, and the following day by the end of the darkness he goes up (to the roof), he takes his spear and goes up.

1.134

\textit{Osuduk emu bū xoxe.}

\textit{osu-du-k emu bū xo-xe}

\textit{go.up-SS-CON then fly go-N1.RLS[SG]}

He goes up and then flies away.
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

In myths, the 'heroes' are often man and bird in one (Drabbe 1957:58 (note 24)).

1.135

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
Büb & xo & dok & kesaxe & wofío & efè & bodo & ikèmu \\
Bu & xo-do-k & kesaxe & wofio & efe & bodo & ikemui \\
fly & go-SS-CON & tree & kind.of.tree & 3SG branch & there \\
\end{array}
\]

\textit{axce.}
\textit{take-N1.RLS[SG]}

He flies away and takes hold on a branch of a wofío-tree.

In \textit{kesaxe wofío efe bodo}, we first find a compound \textit{kesaxe wofio}, while the construction as a whole is a possessive construction. Cf. section 3.1.1 and 3.1.2.

1.136

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
Adek & badek & kidosü & etoxe. \\
a-de-k & ba-de-k & kid-osü & et-oxe \\
take-SS-CON & sit-SS-CON & eye-go.down & see-N1.RLS[SG] \\
\end{array}
\]

He takes hold and sits and looks down.

\textit{Adek ba} is the usual construction for birds sitting down on a branch; the bird grasps the branch and sits down (Drabbe 1957:58 (note 25)). \textit{Kidosü} is a compound of \textit{kedo 'eye'} and \textit{osü(k) 'go down'} (cf. \textit{kidí-mi(k)} in the wordlist). For the meaning of spatial stems like \textit{osü} cf. 3.5.1.

\textit{Summary of 1.137 to 1.149. When the people from the Büsjaxatigi-clan come downstream and start bathing, he comes down, stabs one, and bringing it with him flies back into the tree. He lays him down on a branch, cuts off the head and drops the body. He flies back to the ridge, bringing the head along. From there he casts the head into the house. Then he himself goes in. His mother is happy, and starts dancing. After this they cut off the jawbone and roast it.}

1.137

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
Büsjaxatigi & joxo & midadek & oxo \\
Büsjaxatigi & joxo & mida-de-k & oxo \\
Büsjaxatigi & 3PL & come.downstream-SS-CON & water \\
\end{array}
\]
People from the Büsiaxatigi clan come downstream and start bathing.

Drabbe's free translation shows that the man first sits guarding in the tree, from where he then sees the people from the Büsiaxatigi clan coming downstream.

While they are bathing, he comes down and stabs one.

He stabs (one) and takes him up.

He lays (the body) down on a branch and cuts (it); he cuts off the head.
1.141

Wusoxo atonisüke.
wusoxo atoni-sü-ke
body fall-go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
The body falls down.

1.142

Xabā adek nikiaxamu bū da-xe.
xabā a-de-k nikiaxamu bū da-xe
head take-SS-CON back fly come-N1.RLS[SG]
He takes the head and comes flying back.

1.143

Bū dadek amūto ogsuke.
bū da-de-k a-mūto ogsu-ke
fly come-SS-CON women's.house-ridge go.up.close-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes flying and goes (up a little) to the top of the women's house.

Compare the use of ogsu here to the use of osu in 1.127. The verb ogsu, which is glossed as 'go up close' and means something like 'go up a little distance' is probably used because the boy is already flying, and does not, as in 1.127, go to the roof from the ground. Amūto is a compound of ā = ā 'women's house' and mūto 'ridge'. For the meaning of ā see the dictionary.

1.144

Ogsuduk kusumoxe midik
ogsu-du-k kusum-oxe mi-di-k
go.up.close-SS-CON cast-N1.RLS[SG] come.down-SS-CON

afaxī womu ogüke.
afaxī womu ogü-ke
house inside go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up a little and casts the head and it comes down and goes into the house.

The verb ogü is used for going down from a light elevation, and also for going into a cave or cavity. Here it is used to refer to a movement from the roof (a place lightly elevated compared to the window) into the
house. Cf. section 3.5.1.1. That ogü is not the usual word used for going into a house is also noted by Drabbe, who writes that "here we find the verb ogü-k 'go in', and not osu-k 'go up' because the subject is already upstairs" (Drabbe 1957:85 (note 27)).

1.145

**Axu mo mike.**

axu mo mi-ke

human backside come.down-N1.RLS[SG]

He himself comes directly behind.

Drabbe notes: "axu 'man, human being' is used here in the sense of 'himself'." He writes that one also says, for example, that one loads the food in a canoe and that "the man" [in contrast to the food, WvdH] then gets on (Drabbe 1957:85 (note 28)).

1.146

**Efe napi isiom’ xani kike.**

efe n-api isiomu xani ki-ke

3SG LNK-mother very/all happy become-N1.RLS[SG]

His mother gets very happy.

1.147

**Xani kidik gō kike.**

xani ki-di-k gō ki-ke

happy become-SS-CON dance become-N1.RLS[SG]

Drabbe remarks that, for unknown reasons, here the expression for to dance is ki(k), instead of the regular goŋ gi(k). He glosses ki with 'do'. (Drabbe 1957:85 (note 29)).

She gets happy and starts to dance.

1.148

**Gō kidik ĕki, ketongenā.**

gō ki-di-k e-ki ketō-ge-nā
dance become-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG cut.off.jawbone-N1.RLS-N1PL

She dances for a while and (then) they cut off the jawbone.
1.149

 Já kungenä.
jā kū-ge-nā
fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL

They roast it.

Drabbe remarks that jā ku¬ is a verbal expression for roasting (Drabbe 1957:85 (note 30)).

Summary of 1.150 to 1.179. One takes a few days to prepare a big feast (because of the head that the boy has brought with him). The boy shoots a pig and a cassowary, which are roasted in the evening. The women cut sago trees, hoping to find sago grubs in the stems a few days later. They get sago leaves, of which they make skirts, and palm bark from which the boy twines bracelets. The last day the women get the sago grubs out of the sago stems. Then follows a night of singing, and the following day they decorate themselves and dance. After the dancing, they share meat and sago grubs.

1.150

 Já kungenä.
jā kū-ge-nā
fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL

They roast it.

1.151

 Já kungenä bagidi efe namoko
jā kū-ge-nā ba-gidi efe n-amoko
fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day 3SG LNK-child

midik xoxe.
mi-di-k xo-xe
come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

They roast it and the following day the boy comes down and goes.

1.152

Xodok wi tingë.
xo-do-k wi tū-ge
go-SS-CON pig shoot-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes and shoots a pig.

1.153

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tinik</th>
<th>abu</th>
<th>dadek</th>
<th>toxonok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tĩ-ni-k</td>
<td>a-bu</td>
<td>da-de-k</td>
<td>toxõ-no-k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

shoot-SS-CON take-SS come-SS-CON cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON

efigiomodok jã kunjenâ.

efigiomo-do-k jã kũ-ge-nã

cut-IT-SS-CON fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL

He shoots and brings it and they cut it first into big and then into smaller pieces and roast it.

Toxõ is used for cutting an animal that has been shot or slaughtered into big pieces. EfigiomV is the iterative stem of efegemV 'cut' (e.g. cut off a piece), and here implies a cutting into small pieces (Drabbe 1957:59 (note 31))

1.154

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jã</th>
<th>kunjenâ</th>
<th>bagidi</th>
<th>efe napi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jã</td>
<td>kũ-ge-nã</td>
<td>ba-gidi</td>
<td>efe n-api</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day 3SG LNK-mother

midik kũtodorok dü ügümoxenâ

mi-di-k kũto-do-k dü ügũm-oxe-nã

come.down-SS-CON go.downhill-SS-CON sago fell.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

ügũfioxenâ.

ügũfï-oxe-nã

fell.lay.down-N1.RLS-N1PL

They roast it and the following day his mothers come down, go downhill and fell some sago trees. They fell and lay them down.

Ü'gũfï is possibly a compound of ü 'fell', an unknown element gV and fi 'lay down'. The felling of the trees is done in the hope of finding sago worms in them a few days later, which they can collect for the feast that they are preparing.

Although the text speaks of days, and Drabbe also translates the text as such (see the summarizing translation above), the five days here should not be taken literally, as it usually takes approximately three months
after the cutting of a tree that the sago grubs are ready to be eaten (Loureens de Vries, p.c.). For the use of days in to refer to a longer period cf. e.g. the note at 1.093.

1.156

Ekenā mataxenā.
e-ke-nā mata-xe-nā
stand-N1.RLS-N1PL come.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL

After a while they come uphill (to the house). Ekenā probably indicates that the process of felling trees went on for a while. Cf. 1.085 above.

1.157

Mataxenā bagidi joxo namoko
mata-xe-nā ba-gidi joxo n-amoko
come.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day 3PL LNK-child

midik xoxe.
mi-di-k xo-xe
come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

They come uphill and the following day their boy comes down and goes.

1.158

Xodok woküe tṣinge.
oxo-do-k woküe tĩ-ge
go-SS-CON cassowary shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and shoots a cassowary.

1.159

Tinik abu dadek ab' suk
ti-ni-k a-bu da-de-k a-bu osu-k
shoot-SS-CON take-SS come-SS-CON take-SS go.up-CON
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

toxonok  efigiomodok
 toxô-dV-k  efigiomo-dV-k
 cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON  cut.IT-SS-CON

jâ  kungenâ.
 jâ  kû-ge-nâ
 fire  put-N1.RLS-N1PL

He shoots and brings it and takes it up and they cut it into big pieces, then into smaller pieces, and roast it.

The form ab'suk is very remarkable, as this would be the only case where we find the connective -k directly following the stem. In all other cases, connective -k follows the SS-marker -dV. Drabbe may have made a typo here; it is more likely that the form should be ab'suduk, as in 1.047.

1.160

Jâ  kungenâ  bagidi  efe  napi
 jâ  kû-ge-nâ  ba-gidi  efe  n-api
 fire  put-N1.RLS-N1PL  sit-next.day  3SG LNK-mother

midik  kütodok  waxajo
 mi-di-k  kûtö-do-k  waxajo
 come.down-SS-CON  go.downhill-SS-CON  young.sago.leaf

ükenâ.
 ü-ke-nâ
 fell-N1.RLS-N1PL

They roast it and the following day his mothers come down, go downhill, and cut young sago leaves.

1.161

Üdürük  ekenâ  amtadek
 ü-dû-k  e-ke-nâ  a-mta-de-k
 fell-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL  take-come.uphill-SS-CON
They cut for a while and bring the leaves uphill and lay them down.

What is described here is highly reminiscent of the sago grub festivals that have been described for Korowai. For a festival one builds a large hut on the ground for the guests to stay. The point of this myth is that the guests receive human meat to eat.

1.162

*Kifioxenā* bagidi joxo namoko
kifî-oxe-nā ba-gidi joxo n-amoko
lay.down-N1.RLS-N1PL sit.next.day 3PL LNK-child

*midik* xoxe.
mi-di-k xo-xe
come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

They lay them down and the following day their boy comes down and goes.

1.163

*Xodok* jogo gonge.
xo-do-k jogo gö-ge
go-SS-CON kind.of.palm pull.off-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and pulls off (some bark from) a jogo-palm.

1.164

*Gonok* abu daxe.
go-no-k a-bu da-xe
pull.off-SS-CON take-SS come-N1.RLS[SG]

He pulls off some bark and brings it (to the house).

1.165

*Abu* dadek büsiü ab’ suke.
a-bu da-de-k büsiü a-bu osu-ke
take-SS come-SS-CON house take-SS go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
He brings it and takes it up into the house.

1.166

\[ Ab' \ suke \ bagidi \ emu \ badek \]
\[ a-bu \ osu-ke \ ba-gidi \ emu \ ba-de-k \]
\[ take-SS \ go.up-N1.RLS[SG] \ sit-next.day \ then \ sit-SS-CON \]

\[ fiko \ axenā; \ sia \ adakenā. \]
\[ fiko \ a-xe-nā \ sia \ ada-ke-nā \]
\[ thing \ take-N1.RLS-N1PL \ skirt \ bind-N1.RLS-N1PL \]

He takes it up and the following day they sit down and start to work; they make skirts.

Drabbe remarks that \textit{fiko a}, lit. 'accept or take things' is a verbal expression for 'make things' or 'work' (1957:59 (note 32)).

1.168

\[ Joxo \ namoko \ sapi \ sigimoxe. \]
\[ joxo \ n-amoko \ sapi \ sigim-oxe \]
\[ 3PL \ LNK-child \ bracelet \ twine.IT-N1.RLS[SG] \]

Their boy twines bracelets.

The boy makes these bracelets from the bark that he has just collected. \textit{Sigimî} is the iterative counterpart of \textit{sî 'twine'}, cf. section 2.4.1.

1.169

\[ Sid' \ emoxe \ bagidi \ efe \ napi \]
\[ si-d \ em-oxe \ ba-gidi \ efe \ n-api \]
\[ twine-SS \ finish-N1.RLS[SG] \ sit-next.day \ 3SG \ LNK-mother \]

\[ midik \ xodok \ wo \ xōngeñā. \]
\[ mi-di-k \ xo-do-k \ wo \ xō-ge-nā \]
\[ come.down-SS-CON \ go-SS-CON \ sago.grub \ take.out-N1.RLS-N1PL \]

Drabbe 1957:36 points out that the verb \textit{eme 'finish'} is often preceded by a nonfinite form without final vowel (Drabbe: final e). This construction is used to express a sequentiality of events.

After he has finished twining, the following day his mothers come down, go, and collect sago grubs.
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.170
Wo xoŋsumoxenã.
wo xoŋsum-oxe-nã
sago.grub take.out.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL
They collect sago grubs.

1.171
Abu dadek büsiü osukenã.
a-bu da-de-k büsiü osu-ke-nã
take-SS come-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL
They bring them (home) and go up into the house.

1.172
Osuduk emu baxenã womiŋ gike.
osu-du-k emu ba-xe-nã womĩ gi-ke
go.up-SS-CON then sit-N1.RLS-N1PL night become-N1.RLS[SG]
They go up and then sit down and it gets night.

1.173
Emu kibu ikenã.
emu kibu i-ke-nã
then singing call-N1.RLS-N1PL
Then they start to sing.

1.174
Idik ekenã sowo kike.
i-di-k e-ke-nã sowo ki-ke
call-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL sun become-N1.RLS[SG]
They keep on singing until sunrise.
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.175

Koxu mikenā.
koxu mi-ke-nā
dress.up come.down-N1.RLS-N1PL

They dress up and come down.

Drabbe gives the translation 'dress up' for the combination of koxu and mi(k). In my view, however, mikenā is better analyzed as a form of mi(k) 'come down'. It is clear that the women go up (in 1.171), dress up in the house (1.175) and then go down (1.175) to dance (1.176), and go up into the house again (1.177).

1.176

Midik gō kikenā.
mi-di-k gō ki-ke-nā
come.down-SS-CON dance become-N1.RLS-N1PL

They come down and start to dance.
cf.1.147.

1.177

Gō kidik ekenā,
gō ki-di-k e-ke-nā
dance become-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL

büsiü osukenā.
büsiü osu-ke-nā
house go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL

They dance for a while, and then go up into the house.

1.178

Büsiü osuduk oxodü kemedoxenā.
büsiü osu-du-k oxodü kemed-oxe-nā
house go.up-SS-CON edible.animal share-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go up into the house and share an animal.
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.179

Wo kemedoxenä.

They share sago grubs.

Summary of 1.180 to 1.230. Then the boy stabs two men to death, on two subsequent days, in the same way as was told above. Again a feast is made, just as was told above.

1.180

Engenä bagidi joxo namoko xati
ē-ge-nā ba-gidi joxo n-amoko xati
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day elder.brother LNK-child again

osuke, amūdīi osuke.
osu-ke a-mūdīi osu-ke
go.up-N1.RLS[SG] women.house-ridge go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

They eat and the following day their boy goes up again, he goes up to the ridge of the women's house.

1.181

Osuduk emu bū xo-xe.
osu-du-k emu bū xo-xe
go.up-SS-CON then fly go-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes up and then flies away.

1.182

Bu xodok kesaxe wofio bodo ade badek
bū xo-do-k kesaxe wofio bodo a-de ba-de-k
fly go-SS-CON tree kind.of.tree branch take-SS sit-SS-CON

etoxe:
et-oxe
see-N1.RLS[SG]
He flies and sits down (by holding) on a branch of a wofio-tree and sees:

As noted in 1.136, the expression ade(k) ba(x) is used for birds that sit down on a branch. The nonfinite form ade is one of the very few cases in this story where the nonfinite form is not followed by the connective clitic =k(e) (which Drabbe writes as a suffix, cf. note at 1.005).

1.183

Büsjaxatigi  joxo  midadek  oxo
Büsjaxatigi  joxo  mida-de-k  oxo
Büsjaxatigi  3PL  come.downstream-SS-CON  water

bi  kiŋgenā.
bi  kī-ge-nā
DUR  bathe-N1.RLS-N1PL

People from the Busjaxatigi clan come downstream and start bathing.

1.184

Emu  osüdı̞k  fē  üge.
emu  osū-dū-k  fe  ü-ge
immediately  go.down-SS-CON  3SG stab-N1.RLS[SG]

Then he goes down and stabs one.

1.185

Üdı̞k  ab’  suduk  jā  bodo
ü-dū-k  a-bu  osu-du-k  jā  bodo
stab-SS-CON  take-SS  go.up-SS-CON  tree  branch

kutofı̞dik  tūmoxe,  xabā  tūmoxe.
kutofi-di-k  tūm-oxe  xabā  tūm-oxe
lay.down.on-SS-CON  cut-N1.RLS[SG]  head  cut-N1.RLS[SG]

He stabs one and takes it up, lays it on a tree branch, and cuts it; he cuts the head off.
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1.186
*Tüümüük xabâ axe.*
tümü-dü-k xabâ axe
cut-SS-CON head take-N1.RLS[SG]
He cuts it off and then takes the head.

1.187
*Wusoxo pinosüke.*
wusoxo pin-osü-ke
body fall-go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
The body falls down.

1.188
*Xabâ adek bū daxe.*
xabâ a-de-k bū da-xe
head take-SS-CON fly come-N1.RLS[SG]
He takes the head and comes flying.

1.189
*Bū dadek amüto axe.*
bū da-de-k a-müto a-xe
fly come-SS-CON women's.house-ridge take-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes flying and takes hold of the ridge of the women's house.

Although a(x) 'take hold' plus ba(x) 'sit' is a kind of fixed expression for the sitting down of a bird (cf. 1.136), the two verbs can still be conceived of as forming different predicates. This is clear from the fact that the two verbs can be separated, as is the case here; 1.189 expresses the grasping of the branch, while only 1.190 expresses the sitting down.

1.190
*Adek badek kufè xabâ pemoxe*
a-de-k ba-de-k kufe xabâ pem-oxe
take-SS-CON sit-SS-CON enemy head cast-N1.RLS[SG]
mike.
mi-ke
come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
He takes hold and sits down and casts the enemy’s head and it comes down.

1.191
Pemoxo  midik
pem-oxo  mi-di-k
cast-N1.RLS[SG]  come.down-SS-CON

büsiü womu ogüke.
büsiü womu ogü-ke
house inside go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]
He casts it and it comes down and goes into the house.

1.192
Axu mo mike.
axu mo mi-ke
human backside come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
He himself comes down behind.
For the use of axu cf. the note at 1.142.

1.193
Efe napi xani kike.
efe n-api xani ki-ke
3SG LNK-mother happy become-N1.RLS[SG]
His mother gets happy.

1.194
Xani kidik gō kike.
xani ki-di-k gō ki-ke
happy become-SS-CON dance become-N1.RLS[SG]
She gets happy and dances.
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.195

*Ketongenâ,*

ketô-ge-nâ

cut.off.jawbone-N1.RLS-N1PL

ketonok jâ kungenâ.

ekê-no-k jâ kû-ge-nâ

cut.off.jawbone-SS-CON fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL

They cut off the jawbone, they cut off the jawbone and roast it.

1.196

Jâ kungenâ bagidi xati amûto

jâ kû-ge-nâ ba-gidi xati a-mûto

fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again women's.house-ridge

osuduk bû xoxe.

osu-du-k bû xo-xe

go.up-SS-CON fly go-N1.RLS[SG]

They roast it and the following day he again goes up to the ridge of the women's house and flies (from there).

1.197

Bû xodok kesaxe wofio efe bodo adek

bû xo-do-k kesaxe wofio efe bodo a-de-k

fly go-SS-CON tree kind.of.tree 3SG branch take-SS-CON

baxe.

ba-xe

sit-N1.RLS[SG]

He flies from there and sits down on the branch of a wofio tree.
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.198

*Badek* *kidosü* *etoxe,*
ba-de-k kid-osü et-oxe
sit-SS-CON eye-go.down see-N1.RLS[SG]

*emu* *osüdük* *fe* *iige.*
emu osü-dü-k fe ü-ge
then go.down-SS-CON 3SG stab-N1.RLS[SG]
He sits down, looks down, then goes down and stabs one.

1.199

*Üdük* *ab’* *suduk* *kesaxe* *bodo*
ü-dü-k a-bu osu-du-k kesaxe bodo
stab-SS-CON take-SS go.up-SS-CON tree branch

*kutofidik* *xabā* *tūmoxe.*
kutofi-di-k xabā tūm-oxe
lay.down.on-SS-CON head cut-N1.RLS[SG]
He stabs (one) and takes him up, and lays him down on a branch and cuts off the head.

1.200

*Wusoxo pinosüke.*
wu-so xo pin-osü-ke
body fall-go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
The body falls down.

1.201

*Xabā* *adek* *bū* *daxe.*
xabā a-de-k bū da-xe
head take-SS-CON fly come-N1.RLS[SG]
He takes the head and comes flying.
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.202

Bu dadek amūto axe.
bû da-de-k a-mûto axe
fly come-SS-CON women's.house-ridge take-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes flying and sits down on the ridge of the women's house.
For the combination of axe and ba (1.203) see 1.189.

1.203

Adek badek kufè xabā pemoxo büsiū
a-de-k ba-de-k kufe xabā pem-oxo büsiū
take-SS-CON sit-SS-CON enemy head cast-N1.RLS[SG] house

womu mike.
womu mi-ke
inside come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
He sits down and casts the enemy's head and it comes down into the house.

1.204

Axu mo mike.
axu mo mi-ke
human backside come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
He himself comes down from behind.
For the use of axu cf. 1.142 above.

1.205

Efè napi xani kike.
efe n-api xani ki-ke
3SG LNK-mother happy become-N1.RLS[SG]
His mother gets happy.

1.206

Xani kidik gō kike.
xani ki-di-k gō ki-ke
happy become-SS-CON dance become-N1.RLS[SG]
She gets happy and dances.

1.207

*Emu ketōgenā.*

emú ketō-ge-nā

then cut.off.jawbone-N1.RLS-N1PL

Then they cut off the jawbone.

1.208

*Jā kungenā.*

jā kū-ge-nā

fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL

They roast it.

1.209

*Jā kungenā bagidi emu efe namoko*

jā kū-ge-nā ba-gidi emu efe n-amoko

fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day then 3SG LNK-child

*midik xoxe.*

mi-di-k xo-xe

come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

They roast it and the following day the boy (lit. her child) comes down and goes.

1.210

*Xodok wi tinge.*

xo-do-k wi tī-ge

go-SS-CON pig shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and shoots a pig.
1.211

Tinik  
*abu dadek ab’ suduk*

*tî-ni-k a-bu da-de-k a-bu osu-du-k*

shoot-SS-CON take-SS come-SS-CON take-SS go.up-SS-CON

**toxonge.**

toxô-ge

cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots it, brings it (home), takes it up and cuts it into big pieces.

1.212

Efigiomoxe.

efigiom-oxe

cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG]

He cuts it into smaller pieces.

1.213

Jâ kungênâ.

jâ kû-ge-nâ

fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL

They roast it.

1.214

Jâ kungênâ  
*bagidi efe napi*

jâ kû-ge-nâ ba-gidi efe n-api

fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day 3SG LNK-mother

**midik xoxe.**

mi-di-k xo-xe

come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

They roast it and the following day his mother comes down and goes.
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.215
Xodok dü ügümoxe.
go-SS-CON sago fell.IT-N1.RLS[SG]
She goes and fells (some) sago trees.

1.216
Ügümüdüük čki.
fü-gümü-dü-k e-ki
fell.IT-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG
She keeps on felling for a while.

1.216a
Dadek osuke bagidi xati
da-de-k osu-ke ba-gidi xati
come-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day again

efe namoko xoxe.
efe n-amoko xo-xe
3SG LNK-child go-N1.RLS[SG]
She comes and goes up, and the other day it is again the boy (lit. her child) who goes.

1.217
Xodok efe namoko woküe tĩge.
xo-do-k efe n-amoko woküe tĩ-ge
go-SS-CON 3SG LNK-child cassowary shoot-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes and shoots a cassowary.
Note that 'her child' is mentioned explicitly here again, just as in the former sentence. The reason is not clear.
1.218

*Tinik*  
*tí-ni-k*  
shoot-SS-CON

*abu*  
*a-bu*  
take-SS

*dadék*  
*da-de-k*  
come-SS-CON

*ab’*  
*a-bu*  
go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

*suke.*  
*osu-ke*

He shoots, brings it and takes it up (into the house).

1.220

*Ab’*  
*a-bu*  
take-SS

*suduk*  
*osu-du-k*  
go.up-SS-CON

*toxonogènà.*  
*toxō-ge-nā*

He takes it up and they cut it into big pieces.

1.221

*Toxonok*  
*toxō-no-k*

cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON

*efigiomodok*  
*efigiomo-do-k*

cut.IT-SS-CON

*jā*  
*jā*  
*kuŋgenà.*

*jā*  
*kū-ge-nā*

fire  
*put-N1.RLS-N1PL*

They cut it into big pieces, cut it into smaller pieces and roast it.

1.222

*jā*  
*jā*  
*kuŋgenà.*

*jā*  
*kū-ge-nā*

fire  
*put-N1.RLS-N1PL*

*bagidi*  
*ba-gidi*

sit-next.day

*efe*  
*efe*

*napi*  
*n-api*

*midik*  
*mi-di-k*

*xoxe.*  
*xo-xe*

3SG LNK-mother  
come.down-SS-CON  
go-N1.RLS[SG]

They roast it and the following day his mother comes down and goes.
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

1.223

Xodok dü ügümoxe.
xo-do-k dü ügüm-oxe
go-SS-CON sago fell.IT-N1.RLS[SG]
She goes and fells (some) sago trees.

1.224

Dü ügümüdük e-ki, dadek büsiü
dü ügümü-dü-k e-ki da-de-k büsiü
sago fell.IT-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG come-SS-CON house

osuke.
osu-ke
go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
She keeps on felling sago trees for a while, comes (to the house) and goes up into the house.

1.225

Osuke bagidi büsiü baxenā.
osu-ke ba-gidi büsiü ba-xe-nā
go.up-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day house sit-N1.RLS-N1PL
She comes up and the following day they stay in the house.

1.226

Büsiü baxenā bagidi midik
büsiü ba-xe-nā ba-gidi mi-di-k
house sit-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day come.down-SS-CON

kütodok waxajo ügümoxenā.
küto-do-k waxajo ügüm-oxe-nā
go.downhill-SS-CON young.sago.leaf fell.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL
They stay in the house and the following day they come down, go downhill and cut off young sago leaves.
1.227

Ügümüdüük  ekenä, matadek  büsiü
ügümü-dü-k  e-ke-nä  mata-de-k  büsiü
fell.IT-SS-CON  stand-N1.RLS-N1PL come.uphill-SS-CON  house

osukenä.
osu-ke-nä
go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL
They keep on cutting for a while, come uphill (to the house) and go up into the house.

1.228

Osukenä  bagidi  joxo  namoko
osu-ke-nä  ba-gidi  joxo  n-amoko
go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL  sit-next.day  3PL  LNK-child

midik  xoxe.
mi-di-k  xo-xe
come.down-SS-CON  go-N1.RLS[SG]
They go up and the following day their boy comes down and goes.

1.229

Xodok  jogo  gongge.
oxo-do-k  jogo  gō-ge
go-SS-CON  kind.of.palm  pull.off-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes and cuts off the bark of the jogo palm tree.
The aim of the cutting might again be to make adornments, cf. 1.168 above.

1.230

Gonok  abu  dadek  büsiü
go-no-k  a-bu  da-de-k  büsiü
cut.bark-SS-CON  take-SS  come-SS-CON  house
Part III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

*ab’suke.*

a-bu osu-ke
take-SS go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He cuts it off and brings it (to the house) and takes it up into the house.

Summary of 1.231 to 1.267. There is happening more, however, than the first time. They go to cut nibung-battens, wood and rattan, and from that they make a cot for pigs that will be slaughtered at the feast. When the cot is ready, five pigs are put into it, on five subsequent days. Then one spends a few days searching sago grubs, which then are mixed with sago. After a night of singing, the pigs are slaughtered, and the meat is shared, together with the sago grubs. Then follows another night of singing and dancing.

1.231

*Ab’suke bagidi midik*

a-bu osu-ke ba-gidi mi-di-k
take-SS go.up-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day come.down-SS-CON

*xoxenā.*
xo-xe-nā
go-N1.RLS-N1PL

He takes it up and the following day they come down and go.

1.232

*Efe napi efe namoko midik*

efe n-api efe n-amoko mi-di-k
3SG LNK-mother 3SG LNK-child come.down-SS-CON

*xoxenā.*
xo-xe-nā
go-N1.RLS-N1PL

His mothers and her son come down and go.

The construction *efe napi efe namoko,* lit. 'his mother her son' is typical for dyadic relationships, like father and son, husband and wife, younger and older brother or younger and elder brother, see section 3.1.4.
Formally it is not clear whether we have to do here with both of the mothers or only one of them. From the proceeding of the story, I conclude that efe napi probably includes both.

1.233

Jowe ükenā.
jowe ü-ke-nā
nibung.palm fell-N1.RLS-N1PL

They chop down a nibung palm.

1.234

Ükenā gaxadek
ü-ke-nā gaxa-de-k
fell-N1.RLS-N1PL break.down-SS-CON

xodok mike.
xo-do-k mi-ke
go-SS-CON come.down-N1.RLS[SG]

They cut it and it breaks and it goes and comes (falling) down.

1.235

Efegemoxenā.
efegem-oxe-nā
cut-N1.RLS-N1PL

They cut the bark.

The cutting probably refers to cutting the bark vertically, and tearing off a piece.

1.236

Kuxamoxenā.
kuxam-oxe-nā
split.in.two-N1.RLS-N1PL

They cut it into two pieces.

When the bark comes off, it is usually still entirely round. Here the bark is split into two pieces. These pieces or battens are commonly used in house building (Lourens de Vries, p.c.).
1.237
*Kēkunu adek daxenā.*
kēkū-nu a-de-k da-xe-nā
take.on.shoulders-SS take-SS-CON come-N1.RLS-N1PL
They take it on their shoulders, and bring it (to the house).

1.238
*Būsiū abu daxenā.*
būsiū a-bu da-xe-nā
house take-SS come-N1.RLS-N1PL
They bring it to the house.

1.239
*Abu dadek kifioxenā.*
a-bu da-de-k kifi-oxe-nā
take-SS come-SS-CON lay.down-N1.RLS-N1PL
They bring it and lay it down.

1.240
*Kifioxenā bagidi kūtodorok*
kifi-oxe-nā ba-gidi kūto-do-k
lay.down-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day go.downhill-SS-CON

*kesaxe ükenā.*
kesaxe ü-ke-nā
wood fell-N1.RLS-N1PL
They lay it down and the following day they go downhill and cut wood.

1.241
*Joxu gūgenā.*
joxu gū-ge-nā
rattan cut-N1.RLS-N1PL
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

They cut off some rattan.

1.242

**Amtadek**

a-mta-de-k
take-come.uphill-SS-CON

**kifioxenā**

kifi-oxe-nā
lay.down-N1.RLS-N1PL

**bagidi**

ba-gidi
sit-next.day

1.243

**Kibamed’**

kibame-d
put.upright-SS

**emedek**

eme-de-k
finish-SS-CON

**abufidik**

abufi-di-k
lay.across-SS-CON

**joxu**

joxu
rattan

1.244

**Adesemed’**

adeseme-d
bind.IT-SS

**emedek**

eme-de-k
finish-SS-CON

**jowe**

jowe
nibung.palm

**bigi**

bigi
stem

**susumoxenā**

susum-oxe-nā
stick.forward.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

**xoxe.**

xo-xe

**go-N1.RLS[SG]**

When they have finished binding (the rattan), they stick forward stems of the
nibung palm and it moves.

It is not entirely clear what this sticking and moving refers to.

1.246

Übüsümoxenā.
übüsüm-oxe-nā
tie.up.N1.RLS-N1PL
They tie (everything) up.

1.247

Übüsümoxenā bagidi emu wi
übüsüm-oxe-nā ba-gidi emu wi
tie.up.N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day then pig

kukuŋgenā.
kukū-ge-nā
put-N1.RLS-N1PL
They tie up and the following day they put a pig into it.

1.248

Kukuŋgenā
kukū-ge-nā
put-N1.RLS-N1PL

bagidi xati wi fe kukuŋgenā.
ba-gidi xati wi fe kukū-ge-nā
sit-next.day again pig 3SG put-N1.RLS-N1PL
They put it in and the following day they put another pig into it.

1.249

Kukuŋgenā
kukū-ge-nā
put-N1.RLS-N1PL
They put it in and the following day they put another pig into it.

1.250

*Kukuŋgenă*

kukū-ge-nā
put-N1.RLS-N1PL

They put it in and the following day they put another pig into it.

1.251

*Kukuŋgenă*

kukū-ge-nā
put-N1.RLS-N1PL

They put it in and the following day they put another pig into it.

1.252

*Kukuŋgenă*

kukū-ge-nā
put-N1.RLS-N1PL

They put it in and the following day they put another pig into it.
They put it in and the following day his mother comes down, goes out and collects sago grubs.

1.253

**Xoŋsumuduk**

\[\text{e-ki; } \text{a-bu } \text{da-de-k} \]

\[\text{take.out.IT-SS-CON } \text{stand-DIST.N1SG } \text{take-SS } \text{come-SS-CON} \]

**būsiū ab’ suduk kifioxe.**

\[\text{būsiū } \text{a-bu } \text{osu-du-k } \text{kifi-oxe} \]

\[\text{house } \text{take-SS } \text{go.up-SS-CON } \text{lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]} \]

She keeps on collecting for a while, brings them, takes them up into the house and lays them down.

1.254

**Kifioxe**

\[\text{bagidi } \text{xati } \text{mi-di-k} \]

\[\text{kifí-oxe } \text{ba-gidi } \text{xati } \text{mi-di-ke} \]

\[\text{lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]} \text{sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON} \]

**xoxe.**

**xo-xe**

\[\text{go-N1.RLS[SG]} \]

She lays them down and the following day she comes down again and goes.

1.255

**Xodok**

\[\text{xati wo } \text{xō-ge} \]

\[\text{xo-do-k } \text{xati wo } \text{xō-ge} \]

\[\text{go-SS-CON again sago.grub take.out-N1.RLS[SG]} \]

She goes and again she collects sago grubs.
1.256

\textit{Xonok} \quad ēki, \quad abu \quad dadek

xō-no-k \quad e-ki \quad a-bu \quad da-de-k

take.out-SS-CON \quad stand-DIST.N1SG \quad take-SS \quad come-SS-CON

\textit{ab’} \quad suduk \quad kifioxe \quad bagidi \quad emu

a-bu \quad osu-du-k \quad kifī-oxe \quad ba-gidi \quad emu

take-SS \quad go.up-SS-CON \quad lay.down-N1.RLS[SG] \quad sit-next.day \quad then

\textit{koxō} \quad kungenā.

koxō \quad kū-ge-nā

bark \quad put-N1.RLS-N1PL

She keeps on collecting for a while, brings them and takes them up (into the house), lays them down, and the following day they put them into containers from bark (from sago trees).

1.257

\textit{Koxō} \quad kusumoxenā \quad \textit{bagidi}

koxō \quad kusum-oxe-nā \quad ba-gidi

bark \quad put.into.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL \quad sit-next.day

\textit{büsiū} \quad baxenā.

büsiū \quad ba-xe-nā

house \quad sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

She puts them into bark and the following day they stay at home.

\textit{Note that we here have to do with a kind of tail-head linkage where the head (koxō kusumoxenā) is iterative, while the tail (koxō kungenā) is not.}

1.258

\textit{ Büsiū} \quad baxenā \quad asū \quad kike.

büsiū \quad ba-xe-nā \quad asū \quad ki-ke

house \quad sit-N1.RLS-N1PL \quad darkness \quad become-N1.RLS[SG]

They stay and it gets dark.
1.259

Asü kike emu kibu ikenā.

asü ki-ke emu kibu i-ke-nā

darkness become-N1.RLS[SG] then singing call-N1.RLS-N1PL

It gets dark and then they start singing.

1.260

Ikenā, idik ekenā sowo

i-ke-nā i-di-k e-ke-nā sowo

call-N1.RLS-N1PL call-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL sun

kike.

ki-ke

become-N1.RLS[SG]

They sing, and keep on singing until it becomes light.

1.261

Ekenā sowo kike, wi

eke-nā sowo ki-ke wi

stand-N1.RLS-N1PL sun become-N1.RLS[SG] pig

saxakenā, xanimikenā.

saxa-ke-nā xanimi-ke-nā

shoot.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL die.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go on until it becomes light and (then) they kill the pigs.

1.262

Emu toxosumoxenā.

emu toxosum-oxe-nā

then cut.in.big.pieces.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

Then they cut them in to big pieces.
1.263
*Kemedoxenā.*
kemed-oxe-nā
share-N1.RLS-N1PL
They share (the pork).

1.264
*Kemededek xati kibu ikenā.*
kemede-de-k xati kibu i-ke-nā
share-SS-CON again singing call-N1.RLS-N1PL
They share and sing songs again.

1.265
*Idik ekenā sowo kike.*
i-di-k e-ke-nā sowo ki-ke
call-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL sun become-N1.RLS[SG]
They keep on singing until the morning of the following day.  
Lit. they keep on singing it becomes sun.

1.266
*Emu koxu mikenā.*
emu koxu mi-ke-nā
then dress.up come.down-N1.RLS-N1PL
Then they dress up and come down (out of the house).
*For the analysis of mikenā see 1.175.*

1.267
*Gō kikenā.*
gō ki-ke-nā
dance become-N1.RLS-N1PL
They start to dance.

**Summary of 1.268–1.280.** The day after, the boy, here mentioned by name for the first time (Isobüsuba is a bird's name) again stabs a man from the Büsiaxatigi clan. The members of that clan, however, have given an arrow to a small lizard. While the boy is
cutting the head off from the man that he has stabbed, he gets an arrow in his body, [apparently because the lizard has shot him, WvdH]. He brings the head home, and tells that he has been hit by an arrow.

1.268

Gò  kikenā  bagidi  joxo  namoko
gõ  ki-ke-nâ  ba-gidi  joxo  n-amoko
dance become-N1.RLS-N1PL  sit-next.day  3PL  LNK-child

xati  amüto  osuke.
xati  a-müto  osu-ke
again  women's.house-ridge  go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
They dance and the following day their boy again goes up to the ridge of the women's house.

1.269

Osuduk  bũ  xoxe.
osu-du-k  bũ  xo-xe
go.up-SS-CON  fly  go-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up and flies away.

1.270

Bũ  xodok  kesaxe  wofío  efe  bodo
bũ  xo-do-k  kesaxe  wofío  efe  bodo
fly  go-SS-CON  tree  kind.of.tree  3SG branch

ikèmu  adek  baxe.
ikèmu  a-de-k  ba-xe
there  take-SS-CON  sit-N1.RLS[SG]
He flies way and sits down on the branch of a wofío tree.
1.271
* Büsjaxatigi joxo sobo faksi edoxenã.*
Büsjaxatigi joxo sobo faki ed-oxide-nã
Büsjaxatigi 3PL arrow secretly give-N1.RLS-N1PL
Members of the Busjaxati clan secretly give an arrow.

1.272
* Wisi sufio edoxenã.*
wisi sufio ed-oxide-nã
lizard kind.of.lizard give-N1.RLS-N1PL
They give it to a sufio lizard.

1.273
* Kesaxe xabã tanidik eke.*
kesaxe xabã tani-di-k eke
tree lower.part.of.trunk hide-SS.CON stand-N1.RLS[SG]
It stands hiding itself behind a stem.

1.274
* Isobüsубã midik axu fe üge.*
Isobüsубã mi-di-k axu fe ü-ge
Isobüsубã come.down-SS.CON human 3SG stab-N1.RLS[SG]
Isobüsuba comes down and stabs one man.

1.275
* Emu tinge wusoxo pinosüke.*
emu tĩ-ge wusoxo pin-osũ-ke
then shoot-N1.RLS[SG] body fall-go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
At the same moment at which the body falls down someone shoots Isobüsuba.
Lit. immediately (at that very moment) the man shot him and the body fell down.
This is an example of a sentence with an unspecified subject, cf. section 4.1.
1.276
*Xabā adek bū daxe.*
xabā a-de-k bū da-xe
head take-SS-CON fly come-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes flying (towards the house) bringing the head with him.

1.277
*Dadek dibiaxa amüdū ügemu kunge.*
da-de-k dibiaxa a-müdū ügemu kū-ge
come-SS-CON rough women.house-ridge bumping put.into-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes and roughly and bumpingly he puts it on the ridge of the women's house.

1.278
*Kufe xabā pemoxo midik büsiü womu*
kufe xabā pem-oxo mi-di-k büsiü womu
enemy head cast-N1.RLS[SG] come.down-SS-CON house inside

*ogũke.*
ogũ-ke
go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]
He casts the enemy's head and it comes down and goes into the house.

1.279
*Axu mo mike.*
axu mo mi-ke
human backside come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
The man himself comes down from behind.

1.280
*Midik nu mase tingenā*
mi-di-k nu mase tī-ge-nā
come.down-SS-CON 1SG already shoot-N1.RLS-N1PL
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numoxe.
num-o-xe
such-say-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes down, and says "They have shot me!"
Mase often implies a perfect reading, cf. section 3.4.2.1

Summary of 1.281-1.302. The arrow is pulled out of his body, and while the others are crying, he walks to and frough in the surroundings of the house, but does not find rest. After having slept in the house, he flies the following day to here (upstream in the direction of Tanah-Merah, where the narrator is located). He lies down at the shore of the Biaxe-river, but does not like it there, and comes flying towards Tanah-Merah. When he lays down his spear, it changes into a snake, and he himself dies. His body decomposes. From the remains sprout banana plants.

1.281
Efè napi sobo afámoxe.
efe n-api sobo afam-oxe
3SG LNK-mother arrow pull.out-N1.RLS[SG]
His mother pulls out the arrow.

1.282
Afamedek ifiò tamoxenà.
afame-de-k ifiò tam-oxe-nà
pull.out-SS-CON weep do-N1.RLS-N1PL
She pulls it out and they all cry.
Drabbe remarks that "ifiò is 'weep / cry'; ifiò tame is 'weep with many'" (Drabbe 1957:85a (note 34)).

1.283
Ifiò tamoxenà amoko mike.
ifiò tam-oxe-nà amoko mi-ke
cry do-N1.RLS-N1PL child come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
They all cry and the boy comes down (out of the house).
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1.284

Osüdüük xodok idi toxu ige
osü-dü-k xo-do-k idi toxu i-ge
go.down-SS-CON go-SS-CON path outer.end lie-N1.RLS[SG]

wa kike.
wa ki-ke
bad become-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes (further) down, goes and lies down at the outer end of a path but he
does not like it.

Not all the area of a clearing is easily accessible. On a clearing, one
finds paths, which reach their end at the border of the clearing, where
one enters the woods. (Lourens de Vries, p.c.)
Wa ki 'become bad' can refer to a person not feeling well, as in xo-d-oå
wa ki-ke [go-1.RLS-1PL bad become-N1.RLS[SG]] 'we went and it was bad for
us' -> 'we were tired from walking'. In such a case, states Drabbe, we
have to do with an 'eventive' use, cf. section 4.1.1 on experiential
clauses. Here, however, the sentence may also indicate that the place is
not good, or, in other words, that he boy does not like the place (Drabbe
1957:61 (note 35)).

1.285

Xati dadek idi toxu ige wa
xati da-de-k idi toxu i-ge wa
again come-SS-CON path outer.end lie-N1.RLS[SG] bad

kike.
kı-ke
become-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes (towards the house) again, lies down at the other end of the path, but
does not like it.

1.286

Xati xodok idi fe ige wa
xati xo-do-k idi fe i-ge wa
again go-SS-CON path 3SG lie-N1.RLS[SG] bad
PART III: TEXTS. 1. Origin of headhunting

*kike.*
ki-ke
become-N1.RLS[SG]
Again he goes and lies down on a certain path but does not like it.

1.287

\begin{tabular}{lrrrr}
\textbf{Munuk} & \textbf{dadek} & \textbf{büsiü} & \textbf{osuke.} \\
mū-nu-k & da-de-k & büsiü & osu-ke \\
not.want-SS-CON & come-SS-CON & house & go.up-N1.RLS[SG] \\
\end{tabular}

After this he comes (back) and goes into the house.

1.288

\begin{tabular}{lrrrr}
\textbf{Osuke} & \textbf{bagidi} & \textbf{emu} & \textbf{efè} & \textbf{xasi} \\
osu-ke & ba-gidi & emu & efe & xasi \\
go.up-N1.RLS[SG] & sit-next.day & then & 3SG & spear \\
\end{tabular}

*axe.*
a-xe
take-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up and the following day he takes his spear.

1.289

\begin{tabular}{lrrrr}
\textbf{Wiki} & \textbf{axe.} \\
wiki & a-xe \\
bamboo.knife & take-N1.RLS[SG] \\
\end{tabular}

He takes his bamboo-knife.

1.290

\begin{tabular}{lrrrr}
\textbf{Emu} & \textbf{bü} & \textbf{daxe.} \\
emu & bü & da-xe \\
immediately & fly & come-N1.RLS[SG] \\
\end{tabular}

Then he comes flying.

From the context it is clear that *da* implies a coming towards the location where the speaker is located: Tanah Merah — see 1.295.
1.291

Bũ dadek Biaxe soxo si ogsuke.

Fly come-SS-CON Biaxe ground high go.up.close-N1.RLS[SG]

He flies and comes and goes (a little distance) up the 'Biaxe soxo si' hill.

*Biaxe soxo si* is the name of a little hill at the Baxu river (Drabbe 1957: 85 (note 36)).

1.292

Ogsuduk i ge.

Ogsu-du-k i-ge

Go.up.close-SS-CON lie-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes up and lies down.

1.293

Ige soxo wa kike.

I-ge soxo wa ki-ke

Lie-N1.RLS[SG] ground bad become-N1.RLS[SG]

He lies down and does not like the place.

Lit. the ground was bad (i.e. for him).

1.294

Munuk bũ da-xe.

Mu-NU-k bũ da-xe

Not.want-SS-CON fly come-N1.RLS[SG]

After this he comes flying (here).

1.295

Bũ dadek Soxo-Kaŋgō-Büsiü nego

Bũ da-de-k Soxo-Kaŋgō-Büsiü nego

Fly come-SS-CON Tanah-Merah THIS
manumuske.
manumusu-ke
go.up.close-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes flying to Tanah Merah here and comes up a little.

1.296
Ige.
i-ge
lie-N1.RLS[SG]
He lies down.

1.297
Xasi  suŋge  xoxe.
xasi  sũ-ge  xo-xe
spear  stick.into-N1.RLS[SG]  go-N1.RLS[SG]
He sticks his spear into the grass.

Drabbe notes: "he sticks his spear (into the high grass) and it goes away from him. Here the usual ne is lacking (...) this means that he sticks the spear in a direction away from him in the grass" (1957:61 (note 37)). In section 5.4.2.2 it is described how -ne is a DS marker, expressing that the subject of the following word differs from the verb to which it is attached.

1.298
Wisi  kike.
wisi  ki-ke
snake  become-N1.RLS[SG]
It becomes a snake.

1.299
Axu  soxo  i-ge.
axu  soxo  i-ge
human ground  lie-N1.RLS[SG]
He himself lies down on the ground.
1.300

Idik kúngge.
i-di-k kú-ge
lie-SS-CON die-N1.RLS[SG]
He lies down and dies.

1.301

Kúnük paxa kike.
kú-nú-k paxa ki-ke
die-SS-CON rot become-N1.RLS[SG]
He dies and starts to decompose.

1.302

Efe paxa, efe bigi, efe nede-bigi emu siü
efe paxa efe bigi efe nede-bigi emu siü
3SG rot 3SG bone 3SG rib-bone then banana

xonike.
xonì-ke
come.into.existence-N1.RLS[SG]
From his remnants (flesh), from his bones, his rib bones, then grows a banana tree.

Summary of 1.303-1.313. The two women quarrel until at night the field mouse comes to tell them that their son has died at Tanah Merah. The mouse also tells that the bananas that have sprouted from his remnants already bear fruit. In the morning they go there by canoe. One moment they startle because of the snake that threatens them, but then they cut bananas, build a hut, and stay there, eating bananas.

1.303a

Efe napi kotomu xomügenä.
efe n-api kotomu xomü-ge-nä
3SG LNK-mother RECIPR fight/kill-N1.RLS-N1PL
His mothers quarrel.
They fight with each other until it gets dark.

It gets dark and they lie down, and a / the field mouse goes close to them and says to them:

Note that this is the second time that the field mouse comes to the scene; it also appears in 1.031. Both here and there the field mouse tells about the boy: first about its coming to life, here about its death. In both cases the field mouse refers to a specific place: in 1.031 it is the place where the woman has cut her hand, in 1.305 it is Tanah Merah, which is the place where the boy has gone to.
There it says: your boy has gone to Tanah Merah, gone up (onto small hill?), has died and is decomposed already.

1.306

\[
Siü\quad mase\quad migimidik\quad bu
\]

\[
siü\quad mase\quad migimi-di-k\quad bu
\]

banana already come.down.IT-SS-CON DUR

\[
paxa\quad kike \quad numoxe.
\]

\[
paxa\quad ki-ke \quad num-o-xe
\]

rot become-N1.RLS[SG] such-say-N1.RLS[SG]

At the place where he has come into a state of rottenness, there are ripe bananas [lit. bananas are already coming down], so it says.

For the use of durative bu see section 2.4.3.2.

1.307

\[
Nemoxe\quad bagidi\quad jofũ\quad xonok
\]

\[
nem-o-xe\quad ba-gidi\quad jofũ\quad xo-no-k
\]

such-say-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day canoe sail-SS-CON

\[
modaxenā.
\]

moda-xe-nā

come.upstream-N1.RLS-N1PL

So it says and the following day they come upstream by canoe.

1.308

\[
Modadek\quad tinik\quad mataxenā.
\]

\[
moda-de-k\quad ti-ni-k\quad mata-xe-nā
\]

come.upstream-SS-CON moor-SS-CON come.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL

They come upstream, lay the boat ashore and come uphill.

Drabbe points out that the expression 'to shoot the boat' is a regular expression for letting the canoe rest with its front at the shore, which is the usual way to moor. (Drabbe 1957:85 (note 38))
1.309
Wisi funǔmoxe.
wisi funűm-oxe
snake threaten-N1.RLS[SG]
A snake threatens them.

1.310
Mo kikenā.
mo ki-ke-nā
afraid become-N1.RLS-N1PL
They get afraid.

1.311
Mo kidik emu siü gobũmoxenā.
mo ki-di-k emu siü gobũm-oxe-nā
afraid become-SS-CON then banana chop.off-N1.RLS-N1PL
They get afraid and then they chop off a banana tree.

1.312
Gobũmūdiuk emu xasu- axī
gobũmū-dū-k emu xasu-axī
chop.off-SS-CON then leaf.of.nibung.palm-hut

sikenā.
si-ke-nā
twine-N1.RLS-N1PL
They chop it off and immediately make a hut by twining palm leaves.

1.313
Sidik badek siü ēngenā.
si-di-k ba-de-k siü ē-ge-nā
twine-SS-CON sit-SS-CON banana eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
They twine and sit down and eat bananas.
From that moment onwards they stay there and eat bananas.

Drabbe remarks: "this myth is followed by some history, that we leave out here. It starts with *efe te a' kungge 'he gave the example'. The history tells about headhunting in the recent past, and about the decision to stop the practice. This decision was taken as soon as gurus (teachers) had come to settle in their villages."

For the use of the historical past at the end of a narrative, see section 2.3.3.1.
Text 2 Aidu, Xaidu and Apupūsimo

Summary of 2.001 to 2.015. Man and woman, named Aidu and Xaidu, go to search for sago palms, and their children stay at home. When they come back, they notice that the children have eaten sago; a white parrot has secretly brought that to them. For that reason they do not give their children from the tubers that they have dug out along the way.

2.001
_Aidu Xaidu._
Aidu Xaidu
Aidu Xaidu
Aidu and Xaidu.
The listing of the main participants at the very beginning of a narrative seems a common narrative technique, and is applied in all of the texts except 8a, 8b, and 9.

2.002
_Büsiü baxenā._
büsiü ba-xe-nā
house sit-N1.RLS-N1PL
They live in a house.

2.003
_Joxo namoko okuomā büsiü baxenā._
joxo n-amoko okuomā büsiü ba-xe-nā
3PL LNK-child two house sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

_âŋ go xu dü ni agukenā._
woman and man sago DAT search-N1.RLS-N1PL
Their two children stay at home, the woman and man search for sago palms.
2.004

*Dü ni aguduk ekenā*
ság DAT search-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL

*b' asü kike daxenā.*  
*bu asü ki-ke da-xe-nā*

DUR dark become-N1.RLS[SG] come-N1.RLS-N1PL

Drabbe writes *b'* instead of *bu.*

They search for a while, and when it's getting dark they come (homewards).

2.005

*Idi kūoxenā.*  
*idi kūo-xe-nā*
tuber dig-N1.RLS-N1PL

They dig up tubers.  
This digging up of tubers must have taken place on their way towards home, cf. Drabbe's summary above.

2.006

*Kūodok adek būsiü daxenā.*  
kūo-do-k a-de-k būsiü da-xe-nā

dig-SS-CON take-SS-CON house come-N1.RLS-N1PL

They dig, take them and come home.

2.007

*Abu dadek būsiü etoxenā,*  
a-bu da-de-k būsiü et-oxe-nā

take-SS come-SS-CON house see-N1.RLS-N1PL

*joxo namoko okuomā iaxajo dü abu daxe;*

*joxo n-amoko okuomā iaxajo dü a-bu da-xe*

3PL LNK-child two white.parrot ság take-SS come-N1.RLS[SG]
They take them, come and see the house, their two children, a white parrot is bringing sago; he is bringing sago and secretly gives to their children and they eat.

Although Drabbe's summary seems to suggest otherwise, it seems likely that the parents indeed see this happening. They have come towards the home and not gone in yet - this happens in 2.008- and probably see the parrot going in (and coming out). Compare, however, the passage in 2.157 below, where we also find a person arriving at his house and then a description of what has happened just before.

2.008

Joxo napi joxo neto
joxo n-api joxo n-eto
3PL LNK-mother 3PL LNK-father

bûsiî osukenâ.
bûsiî osu-k-enâ
house go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL

Their mother and father go up into the house.

2.009

Osuduk jā abukungenâ, idî
osu-du-k jā abukû-ge-nâ idî
go.up-SS-CON fire make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL tuber

tomoxenâ doxe.
tom-oxe-nâ do-xe
roast-N1.RLS-N1PL cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]

They go up and make fire, they roast the tubers until they are cooked through.
2.010

*Joxo namse ifiô tamoxenã.*

joxo n-amse ifiô tam-oxe-nã

3PL LNK-children weep do-N1.RLS-N1PL

Their children cry.

According to Drabbe's remark at 1.282, the expression *ifiô tamV* implies a plural subject: cry with many.

2.011

*Idi joxoku eingenã.*

idi joxo-ku ē-ge-nã

tuber 3PL-EMP eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat the tubers themselves (without giving to the children).

2.012

*Joxo namse edaxende xo.*

joxo n-amse edaxe-n-de xo

3PL LNK-children give_II-VN-NEG COP

They do not give to their children.

Comparison of 2.012, 2.024 and 2.030a shows some of the combinatory possibilities in negative constructions, the optionality of preverbal *fede*, and the double marking of negation with *mu*. Cf. section 2.6.

2.013

*Joxo-ku gedeme eingenã.*

joxo-ku gedeme ē-ge-nã

3PL-EMP alone eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat alone.

2.014

*Joxo namse ifiô tamoxenã.*

joxo n-amse ifiô tam-oxe-nã

3PL LNK-children weep do-N1.RLS-N1PL

Their children cry.
2.015

*Idi*  
*joxo-ku*  
*ępěně*.

idī  
*joxo-ku*  
če-ge-ňa

tuber  
3PL-EMP  
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat the tubers themselves.

Here the use of the full pronoun *joxo* and its marked position directly before the verb (the default order is SOV) show that the subject receives more emphasis, cf. section 4.1 on word order.

**Summary of 2.016 to 2.031. The next two days exactly the same happens.**

Drabbe writes that 'exactly the same happens'. The parrot, however, is mentioned only on the first of 'the next two days', not on the second.

2.016

*Joxo-ku*  
*ępěně,*  
*bagidi*  
*xati*

*Joxo-ku*  
če-ge-ňa  
ba-gidi  
*xati*

3PL-EMP  
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL  
sit-next.day  
again

*midi*  
*xoxeně.*

mi-di  
xo-xe-ňa

come.down-SS  
go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat themselves, and the next day they come down again and go.

Note that here we have *midi* without connective =k. For the limited function of the connective, see the final part of section 2.3.2.1.

2.017

*Joxo*  
*namse*  
*oku*  
*děmu*  
*baxeně.*

joxo  
n-amse  
oku  
děmu  
ba-xe-ňa

3PL  
LNK-children  
EMP  
OPP  
sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

Their children, however, stay.

According to Drabbe (1957:31), *děmu* indicates 'in opposition to the others'. In the translation, this has been rendered by 'however'. Cf. the brief discussion on adverbs in 3.4.2.1.
2.018

\begin{verbatim}
Joxo napi joxo neto midi
joxo n-api joxo n-eto mi-di
3PL LNK-mother 3PL LNK-father come.down-SS
\end{verbatim}

xati dü ni aguenă.
xati dü ni agu-ke-nă
agiai sago DAT search-N1.RLS-N1PL
Their mother and father come down and search for sago again.

2.019

\begin{verbatim}
Joxo namse būsiū joxo namu baxenă.
joxo n-amse būsiū joxo namu ba-xe-nă
3PL LNK-children house 3PL only sit-N1.RLS-N1PL
\end{verbatim}

Their children stay alone in the house (lit. only they stay in the house).

2.020

\begin{verbatim}
Iaxajo xati dū abu dadek edoxe.
iaxajo xati dü a-bu da-de-k ed-oxe
white.parrot again sago take-SS come-SS-CON give-N1.RLS[SG]
\end{verbatim}

Again a white parrot takes sago and comes and gives it to them.

2.021

\begin{verbatim}
Edoxone faki ēngenă.
ed-oxo-ne faki ē-ge-nă
give-N1.RLS[SG]-DS secretly eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
\end{verbatim}

It gives and they secretly eat.

2.022

\begin{verbatim}
Joxo napi joxo neto ekenă
joxo n-api joxo n-eto e-ke-nă
3PL LNK-mother 3PL LNK-father stand-N1.RLS-N1PL
\end{verbatim}
Their mother and father stay (searching sago), it is getting dark, they come, they come and go up into the house.

2.023

2.024

They do not want to give (from) it to their children.

This sentence is parallel to but somewhat different from 2.012 above. Note that we have to do here with a double marking of negation, cf. the final part of section 2.6.

2.025

They eat (it) themselves.
2.026

Joxo namse ifiõ tamoxenã.
joxo n-amse ifiõ tam-oxe-nã
3PL LNK-children weep do-N1.RLS-N1PL
Their children cry.

2.027

Joxo-ku engenã bagidi xati
joxo-ku ė-ge-nã ba-gidi xati
3PL-EMP eat-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again

midik xoxenã.
mi-di-k xo-xe-nã
come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL
They eat (it) themselves, the next day they come down again and go.

2.028

Xodok dü ni agukenã.
xo-do-k dü ni agu-k-enã
go-SS-CON sago DAT search-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go and search for sago.

2.029

Aguduk ekenã b’ asü kike,
agu-du-k e-ke-nã bu asü ki-ke
search-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL DUR dark become-
N1.RLS[SG]

xati büsiü daxenã
xati büsiü da-xe-nã
again house come-N1.RLS-N1PL
They search for a while, and when it is getting dark, again they come home.
2.030

\textit{Būsiū dadek osuduk jā abukunγenā,}

būsiū da-de-k osu-du-k jā abukū-ge-nā
house come-SS-CON go.up-SS-CON fire make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL

\textit{idī kimoxenā doxe.}
idī kim-oxe-nā do-xe
tuber roast-N1.RLS-N1PL cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]

They come home and go up, make fire, roast tubers until they are cooked through.

\textit{2.030a}

\textit{Joxo namse fede edaxende xo.}
joxo n-amse fede edaxe-n-de xo
3PL LNK-children NEG give_II-VN-NEG COP

They don't give (from) it to their children.

\textit{2.031b}

\textit{Joxo namse ifiō tamoxenā.}
joxo n-amse ifiō tam-oxe-nā
3PL LNK-children weep do-N1.RLS-N1PL

Their children cry.

\textit{Summary of 2.032 to 2.041. The day after the same happens, but the parents find sago palms.}

\textit{2.032}

\textit{Xati bagidi, xati midik xoxenā.}
xati ba-gidi xati mi-di-k xo-xe-nā
again sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

The next day again, they come down again and go.
2.033

\[ Dü \ ni \ \text{kiamenā} \ xo-xe-nā. \]

They go and search for sago.

Here we have an exceptional case of two semifinite clauses not separated by a comma but with same subjects, cf. section 5.4.1.2. The gloss of \textit{kiamenā} has been given by Drabbe, who considers it a semifinite irrealis based on a stem II \textit{kiame}. The corresponding stem I has not been given. (For stems II in \textit{mV} see further section 2.2). The use of semifinite irrealis to express a purpose is discussed in the final part of section 2.3.1. A parallel case where the semifinite irrealis expresses the purpose of the going is attested in this text: 2.127.

2.034

\[ Iaxajo \ Dü \ abu \ da-de-k \]

\[ \text{white.parrot sago take-SS come-SS-CON} \]

\[ joxo \ n-amse \ xo \ ed-oxe, \]

\[ 3\text{PL LNK-children DST give-N1.RLS[SG]} \]

\[ faki \ ē-ge-nā. \]

They eat and stay.

2.035

\[ Fak' \ ē-ge-nā \ ba-xe-nā. \]

They eat and stay.
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupūsimo

2.036

\[ Joxo \ napi \quad \text{joxo neto} \quad \text{ekenā} \]
\[ \text{joxo n-api} \quad \text{joxo n-eto} \quad \text{e-ke-nā} \]
\[ 3\text{PL LNK-mother} \quad 3\text{PL LNK-father} \quad \text{stand-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]

\[ b' \quad \text{asū} \quad \text{kike}, \quad dū \quad \text{etoxnā}. \]
\[ \text{bu} \quad \text{asū} \quad \text{ki-ke} \quad dū \quad \text{et-oxe-nā} \]
\[ \text{DUR} \quad \text{darkness} \quad \text{become-N1.RLS[SG]} \quad \text{sago} \quad \text{see-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]

Their mother and father stay (away), it is getting dark, they see sago.

2.037

\[ Etokomuduk \quad \text{daxenā}, \]
\[ \text{etokomu-du-k} \quad \text{da-xe-nā} \]
\[ \text{see.and.leave.behind-SS-CON} \quad \text{come-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]

\[ būsiū \quad \text{daxenā} \]
\[ būsiū \quad \text{da-xe-nā} \]
\[ \text{house} \quad \text{come-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]

They see sago and leave it behind and come, they come home.

2.038

\[ Dadek \quad būsiū \quad \text{osukenā}. \]
\[ \text{da-de-k} \quad būsiū \quad \text{osu-k-enā} \]
\[ \text{come-SS-CON} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL} \]

They come and go up into the house.

2.039

\[ Osuduk \quad jā \quad \text{abukugجنā}, \quad \text{idī} \]
\[ \text{osu-du-k} \quad jā \quad \text{abukū-ge-nā} \quad \text{idī} \]
\[ \text{go.up-SS-CON} \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL} \quad \text{tuber} \]
2.040

*Joxo namse edoxenande*

joxo n-amse ed-oxe-nan-de

3PL LNK-children give-N1.RLS-N1PL-NEG

*joxo-ku engenā.*

joxo-ku ě-ge-nā

3PL-EMP eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

Here we have an example of a negative verb without a following predicative oxo. According to Drabbe, leaving out the predicative oxo makes the connection with the following joxo ku engenā stronger (Drabbe 1957:85, note 40).

They do not give to their children, they eat themselves.

2.041

*Joxo namse ifiō tamoxenā.*

joxo n-amse ifiō tam-oxe-nā

3PL LNK-children weep do-N1.RLS-N1PL

Their children cry.

Summary of 2.042 to 2.055. The day after, they go to chop down a sago palm, and start to treat it. The palms, however, belong to Apupūsimo, who sends his daughter Okudāke there. They propose to pound sago, and to give part of it to Apupūsimo.

2.042

*Ifiō tamoxenā bagidi joxo napi*

ifiō tam-oxe-nā ba-gidi joxo n-api

cry do-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day 3PL LNK-mother
They cry and the following day their father and mother take the bark of a nibung palm.

2.043

*Ame* **axenā.**

ame   axe-nā
sago.pounder take-N1.RLS-N1PL

They take a sago pounder.

2.044

*Sawo* **axenā.**

sawo   axe-nā
cocos.fiber take-N1.RLS-N1PL

They take a cloth from cocos fiber.

The meaning of *sawo* is not entirely clear. Drabbe translates 'vezel-stof'. 'Vezel' translates into English as 'fiber'. 'Stof' in Dutch may either refer to 'substance' or to 'fabric'. Cloths are used to filter sago pulp, after which the filtered substance is dried. This dried substance is the sago flour that is used for the preparation of food. As the context describes several elements needed for the preparation of sago, it seems likely that *sawo* is indeed referring to a cloth.

2.045

*Midik* **xoxenā.**

mi-di-k  xo-xe-nā
come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They come down and go.

2.046

*Xodok* **dü  ükenā.**

xo-do-k  dü  ü-ke-nā
go-SS-CON sago fell-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go and cut a sago tree.
2.047

*Dü xabā kutamo sikenā.*
dü xabā kutamo si-ke-nā
sago stem bark.of.sago.tree take.off-N1.RLS-N1PL
They take off the bark (from the stem of the sago tree).

2.048

*Kutamo sid' emoxenā,*
kutamo si-d em-oxe-nā
bark.of.sago.tree take.off-SS finish-N1.RLS-N1PL

*dü xabā pomoxenā.*
dü xabā pom-oxe-nā
sago stem cut-N1.RLS-N1PL
When they have finished taking off the bark, they split the stem.

Note the frequent use in this text of the verb *eme* 'finish' (2.048, 2.109, 110, 111, 115, 116, 125); it is a common strategy in Greater Awyu languages to express completive aspect by means of verbs that mean 'to finish' (de Vries t.a.).

2.049

*Pomodok bu bēkenā.*
pomo-do-k bu bē-k-enā
cut-SS-CON DUR pound-N1.RLS-N1PL
They split the stem and begin to pound sago.

2.050

*Apupūsimo oxe,*
Apupūsimo o-xe
Apupūsimo speak-N1.RLS[SG]

*e fe subā Okudukāke oxe:*
efe subā Okudukāke o-xe
3SG daughter Okudukāke speak-N1.RLS[SG]
Apupüsimo says, he says to his daughter Okudake: "go downhill, have a look at our sago", so he says.

2.052

Axu da-dek nügü dü b’ üken․

human come-SS-CON 1PL sago DUR fell-N1.RLS-N1PL

"Some people have come and are cutting our sago, go down and have a look", so he says.

2.053

Kütoxe; etoxe dü mase

bu bēken․

bu bē-ke-nā

DUR pound-N1.RLS-N1PL

She goes downhill and sees that they are already pounding sago.

2.054

Bu bēken․ oxe:

bu bē-ke-nā oxe

DUR pound-N1.RLS-N1PL speak-N1.RLS[SG]
They are pounding, and she says: "it is my father's sago!", so she says.

2.055

Oxenā: bejoane geto aw'
o-xe-nā bej-oē-e geto awu
speak-N1.RLS-N1PL pound.sago_II-1PL-FUT your.father immediately

edoxoā numoxenā.
edox-oā num-o-xe-nā
give_II-1PL such-speak-N1.RLS-N1PL
They say: "we will pound sago and we will instantly give (also) to your father!", so they say.

Summary of 2.056 to 2.064. When Osudūku comes home with the message, Apupūsimo himself goes, and they agree that they will continue pounding, and give part of the sago to Apupūsimo. In the evening they bring one of the two lumps of sago that they have prepared to Apupūsimo, and the other one they take home.

2.056

Nikiaxamu otoxe.
nikiaxamu oto-xe
back go.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]
She goes back uphill.

Note that the deictic center has now changed to the sago garden; The movement back to the house is not conceived of as coming back to the house, but as going from the garden. Cf. section 5.8.

2.057

Efē neto Apupūsimo oxe: ikēmu
efe n-eto Apupūsimo o-xe ikēmu
3SG LNK-father Apupūsimo speak-N1.RLS[SG] there
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupüsimo

2.058

_Midaxe_ xadiŋ gike:
mida-xe xadī gi-ke
come.downstream-N1.RLS[SG] angry become-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes downstream and says angrily:
Still the deictic center is formed by Apupüsimo's sago garden. Apparently, Apupüsimo's house is situated upstream compared to his garden. Cf. section 5.8.

2.059

_na duĩ makeaxe ni ṭu bēkenā_
na duĩ makeaxe ni ṭu bē-ke-nā
1SG.POS sago what DAT DUR pound-N1.RLS-N1PL

numoxe.
num-o-xe
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
"Why (lit. for what) are you pounding my sago?", so he says.

2.060

_Numoxe,_ oxenā:
num-o-xe o-xe-nā
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG] speak-N1.RLS-N1PL 2SG.POS sago

bejā oman oxo; manefī, nügu bēdek
bejā omā oxo manefī nügu bē-de-k
pound.sago_II.VN ignorant COP not.want.IMP 1PL pound-SS-CON
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupüsimo

So he says, and they say: "we were ignorant that we were pounding your sago; don't get angry, we will pound and give you one!", so they say.

Fe '3SG' refers to one sack of sago; later on this is mentioned explicitly. For the meaning and use of fe see 3.1.4. In section 2.5 it is described that imperatives cannot be negated, and that the imperative forms of mũ 'not.want' are used (usually combined with a verbal noun or a future) as a way to form negative commands. Here Drabbe writes in a note that 'do not want', should be taken as 'do not get angry' (Drabbe 1957:85, note 41). For the use of mũ see also the end of section 2.6 on negation.

"We will give you one", so they say, and he goes uphill back home.

They pound for a while, they put it, they put it into two sago sacks.
I take dü as a "direct" object and motü okuom' as an indirect object of the verb: 'they put the sago into two sacks'. For the use of motü okuom' as complement of si(k) cf. e.g. 2.081 below. Alternatively, one might argue that dü motü is a compound of type I, as discussed in 3.1.1: they put it in two sago sacks.
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupüsimo

2.063

Fe, dü fe ab’ oto dok
fe dü fe a-bu oto-do-k
3SG sago 3SG take-SS go.uphill-SS-CON

joxo neto posiü edoxenâ.
joxo n-eto posiü ed-oxide-nâ
3PL LNK-father old give-N1.RLS-N1PL

One, they take one sack of sago uphill and give it to their old father.
Drabbe remarks: "the narrator refers to Ap. as their father, with the
word posiü 'old' as a honorific. The word posiü is used in combination
with Apupüsimo also later on in the story. Posiü has a connotation of
sacrality, one also uses the word for taboo" (Drabbe 1957:85, note 42).

2.064

Dü fe adek joxo büsiü xoxenâ.
dü fe a-de-k joxo büsiü xo-xe-nâ
sago 3SG take-SS-CON 3PL house go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They take the other (sack of) sago and go to their house.

Summary of 2.065 to 2.075. They also give their children from it; the following day the
parents take off their genital coverings, and put them into a water quiver. They tell
their children that they will stay away for five days. The children should pay attention
to the genital coverings; if these start to decay, this will be the sign that Apupüsimo has
killed them and eaten them.

2.065

Abu xodok joxo büsiü osukenâ.
a-bu xo-do-k joxo büsiü osu-ke-nâ
take-SS go-SS-CON 3PL house go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL

They take and go and go up to their house.

Still the deictic center is the garden. This is one of the few cases in
the text where a movement towards the house of the main participant(s) is
conceived of as going rather than coming, cf. section 5.8.
They make fire and put the sago close to the fire.

A lump of sago is put close to the fire. When the outer part, close to the fire, is cooked through, it is pelt off to be eaten. Then one puts the lump back again, etc. (Drabbe 1957:85, note 43).

They put it close to the fire and they give to their children and they eat.

It is interesting to compare this passage to 2.001-2.041 above; while the parents do not give their children from what they have - apparently - found in the forest (and which, I assume, was their legal right to eat), they do give them from the sago that belongs to someone else (Apupüsimo).

They eat and then they say "from where is this, the sago?", so they say.
"It is Apupûsimo's sago!", so they answer.

2.070

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Engenā} & \quad \text{bagidi} \quad \text{joxo} \quad \text{namse} \\
\text{ē-ge-nā} & \quad \text{ba-gidi} \quad \text{joxo} \quad \text{n-amse} \\
\text{eat-N1.RLS-N1PL} & \quad \text{sit-next.day} \quad \text{3PL} \quad \text{LNK-children}
\end{align*}
\]

**oxenā:**

oxe-nā

speak-N1.RLS-N1PL

\[
de \quad \text{bunoxone} \quad \text{numoxenā}.
\]

de \ bun-oxone \ num-o-xe-nā

OPP sit-IMP.PL \ such-speak-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat and the next day they say to their children: "you stay!", so they say.

\textit{De} is a synonym of \textit{deŭmu} in 2.017 above. Cf. the brief discussion on adverbs in 3.4.2.

2.071

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ā} & \quad \text{efē} \quad \text{sia} \quad \text{adomoxe}, \quad \text{xu} \quad \text{efē} \quad \text{ketefīo} \\
\text{ā} & \quad \text{efē} \quad \text{sia} \quad \text{adom-oxe} \quad \text{xu} \quad \text{efē} \quad \text{ketefīo} \\
\text{woman} & \quad \text{3SG} \quad \text{skirt} \quad \text{put.off-N1.RLS[SG]} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{3SG} \quad \text{penis.gourd}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
adomoxe \quad \text{kukungenā}, \quad \text{ikio}
\]

adom-oxe \ kukû-ge-nā \ ikio

put.off-N1.RLS[SG] \ put-N1.RLS-N1PL \ water.quiver

\[
kukunuk \quad \text{xoxenā}.
\]

kukû-nu-k \ xo-xe-nā

put-SS-CON \ go-N1.RLS-N1PL

The woman puts off her skirt, the man takes off his penis gourd and they put them, they put them into a water quiver and go.

\textit{Aghu people wear a 'penis cap' under their apron. Wearing an apron is a}
special characteristic of the Aghu people compared to other groups in the region (Drabbe 1957:85, note 45). Drabbe writes Ā instead of Ā. This is probably due to a technical limitation; apparently it wasn't possible for the editor to produce the orthographic sign for a nasalized capital vowel. Cf. 2.106, 2.109, 2.111.

2.072

Xobu asū bidikimoā numodok xo xenā.  
go-SS darkness five-1PL such-speak-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

"We go for five days.", they say and go.

For numeral verbs see 3.10.2.

2.073

Joxo namse oku dēmu būsiū baxenā. 

joxo n-amse oku dēmu būsiū ba-xe-nā 

N1PL LNK-children EMP OPP house sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

Their children, however, stay at home.

2.074

Boasī, Apupūsimō efe te 

boasī Apupūsimō efe te 

wear.down-II.N1SG Apupūsimō 3SG NOM

nūgu xomūge, xomūdūk ē-ge, 

nūgu xomū-ge xomū-dū-k ē-ge 


ani gidoā numoxenā. 

ani gi-d-oā num-o-xe-nā 

lost become-1.RLS-1PL such-speak-N1.RLS-N1PL

"(If) they wear down, then Apupūsimō he has killed us, he has killed us and eaten us, we have become lost.", so they say.

Simple, positive conditional sentences are formed by the use of imperative or semifinite irrealis forms in the protasis (here: imperative boasī), cf. section 5.5.1. For the use of singular inflection on the verb boasī (although the subject inflection refers both to the penis gourd and to the skirt) see section 3.1.4.
2.075
Numodok xoxenā.
num-o-do-k xo-xe-nā
such-speak-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL
So they say and go.

Summary of 2.076 to 2.090. For three days they pound sago, and each time they give half of it to Apupūsimo.

2.076
Xodok dü xati bēkenā.
xo-do-k dü xati bē-ke-nā
go-SS-CON sago again pound-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go and they pound sago again.

2.077
Dü bēdek ekenā,
dü bē-de-k e-ke-nā
sago pound-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL

Apupūsimo efe büsiū otoxenā.
Apupūsimo efe büsiū oto-xe-nā
Apupūsimo 3SG house go.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL
They pound sago for a while, and go up to Apupūsimo's house.

2.079
Otodok dü fe Apupūsimo edoxenā;
oto-do-k dü fe Apupūsimo ed-oxe-nā
go.uphill-SS-CON sago 3SG Apupūsimo give-N1.RLS-N1PL

fe joxo-ku axenā.
fe joxo-ku axe-nā
3SG 3PL-EMP take-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go up and give Apupüsimo one sack, and take one sack for themselves.

2.080

Engenä  bagidi  xati  midaxenä,  
ê-ge-nä  ba-gidi  xati  mida-xe-nä  
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL  sit-next.day  again  come.downstream-N1.RLS-N1PL

dü  bêkenä.  
dü  bê-ke-nä  
sago  pound-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat and the next day they come downstream again, and pound sago.

Although it isn't narrated in so many words it must be concluded that the two stay overnight in Apupüsimo's house. There's a number of factors leading to this conclusion (1) The narrator mentions that the two go up (oto) to Apupüsimo's house, and that they come down(stream) the following day. Nothing is said about their going away in the meantime; (2) exactly the same word for coming downstream (mida) was used before for Apupüsimo coming from his house to his sago (3) although they did go to their own house the previous time after their visit to Apupüsimo (2.064f), they have now warned their children that they won't come back soon; the children must watch their apron and penis gourd, and if these wear down after five days, they can conclude that Apupüsimo has killed them. It is clear, therefore, that the two don't plan to come home the same day. (4) In 2.100 it is without doubt that the eating takes place in Apupüsimo's house. Given that the wording in 2.100 is very similar to the wording here, there is good reason to assume that also here the eating takes place in Apupüsimo's house.

2.081

Bêdekk  ekenä,  sikenä,  
bê-de-k  e-ke-nä  si-ke-nä  
pound-SS-CON  stand-N1.RLS-N1PL  put.into-N1.RLS-N1PL

motü  okuom'  sikenä.  
motü  okuomu  si-ke-nä  
sack  two  put.into-N1.RLS-N1PL

They pound sago for a while, they put it, they put it into two sacks.
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupusiimo

2.082

*Side*  *ab’*  *otodok*  *büsü*ü
si-de   a-bu   oto-do-k   büsiü
put.into-SS   take-SS   go.uphill-SS-CON   house

*osukenä.*

osu-ke-nä
go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL
They put it and take it and go uphill and go up to the house.

2.083

*Fe, dü*  *fe*  *joxo*  *neto*  *posiü*  *edoxenä.*
fe   dü   fe   joxo   n-eto   posiü   ed-oxe-nä
3SG   sago   3SG   3PL   LNK-father   old   give-N1.RLS-N1PL
One, they give one sack of sago to their old father.

2.084

*Fe*  *joxo-ku*  *axenä.*
fe   joxo-ku   a-xe-nä
3SG   3PL-EMP   take-N1.RLS-N1PL
The other sack they take for themselves.

2.085

*Engenä*  *bagidi*  *xati*  *tafeaxa*
ě-ge-nä   ba-gidi   xati   tafeaxa
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL   sit-next.day   again   again

*midaxenä.*

mida-xe-nä
come.downstream-N1.RLS-N1PL
They eat and the next day again they come downstream.
2.086

Midadek **bëkenā**.
mida-de-k bë-ke-nä
come.downstream-SS-CON pound-N1.RLS-N1PL

They come downstream and pound.

2.087

Bëd' **ekenā**.
bë-d= e-ke-nä
pound-SS stand-N1.RLS-N1PL

They pound for a while.

2.088

Motü **okuomu sikenā**.
motü okuomu si-ke-nä
sack two put.into-N1.RLS-N1PL

They put it into two sacks.

2.089

Adek **otoxenā**.
a-de-k oto-xe-nä
take-SS-CON go.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL

They take it and go uphill.

2.090

Joxo **neto posii xati fe edoxenā**;
joxo n-eto posii xati fe ed-oxe-nä
3PL LNK-father old again 3SG give-N1.RLS-N1PL

*fe joxo-ku axenā.*

fe joxo-ku a-xe-nä
3SG 3PL-EMP take-N1.RLS-N1PL

Again they give one sack to their old father; one they take for themselves.
They eat and the next day they come downstream again.

Summary of 2.091 to 2.105. The fourth day they go and pound sago again, and Apupüsimo goes to chop off a forked stick, and to collect moldered fire wood. He sticks the stick down through the roof, and leaves it standing as such. In the evening Aidu and Xaidu bring sago again. When they try to make a fire, the fire is about to die out, and Apupüsimo advises them to fan the fire again by blowing. While they are doing this, he places the fork in their neck and pushes them to death.

Note that, according to Drabbe, Apupüsimo sticks the stick down through the roof. It seems more likely, however, that the stick was pushed upwards, cf. note at 2.095 below.

When they come downstream again, their old father chops off a forked stick, and brings it uphill to the house.

Apparently the man has gone downhill to chop off this stick. Note that half way the sentence the deictic center shifts from the sago garden to (the area below) Apupüsimo's house: the movement to the house is no longer a 'going' but a 'coming (uphill)'.

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2.092

\textit{Jā xafünge, jā paxa xafünge.}  
jā xafū-ge jā paxa xafū-ge
wood break-N1.RLS[SG] wood rotten chop-N1.RLS[SG]

He chops off some wood, some rotten wood.  
Apupüsimo's collects rotten wood so that the woman and the man won't succeed in keeping the fire burning, so that he will have time to kill them, cf. 2.102-105.

2.093

\textit{Amtadek būsiū ab' osuke.}  
amt-a-de-k būsiū a-bu osu-ke
bring.uphill-SS-CON house take-SS go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He brings it uphill and takes it up to the house.  
Drabbe writes abosuke as one word.

2.094

\textit{Ab' osuduk kifioxe;}  
a-bu osu-du-k kifi-oxe
take-SS go.up-SS-CON lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]

\textit{mageno xati būsiū ab' suke.}  
mageno xati būsiū a-bu osu-ke
forked again house take-SS go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes it up and lays it down, and he also takes the forked (stick) up to the house.

2.095

\textit{Amūdū atigimoxe.}  
a-mūdū atigim-oxe
women.house-ridge push.open-N1.RLS[SG]

He pushes the stick up through the top of the roof (lit. he pushes the ridge of the women's house open.)  
\textit{Amūdū} is a compound of type 2 (Modifier-head), according to the description in section 3.1.1. It is unclear why Apupüsimo’s house is referred to here as a women’s house.
According to Drabbe's summarizing translation above, Apupüsimo sticks the stick down through the roof. It seems more likely, however, that the stick was pushed upwards. First, there is no mentioning of A. climbing the roof. Second, in 2.096 we find the use of the verb mi 'come down', which shows that the deictic center is inside the house; it is from inside the house that the stick is conceptualized as coming down. From an outside perspective, from the roof, the movement of the stick would be conceptualized as a going down.

2.096

*Kusumoxe, midik eke.*
kusum-oxe mi-di-k e-ke

He lets loose of the fork so that it comes down and hangs.

From the context and Drabbe's translation, it must be concluded that osukenä eke should interpreted here as 'stay hanging in a vertical position', possibly with the head on the ground. Later on, in 2.104, the fork is loosened, and the father sticks it into the children's necks.

2.097

*Efè namse xo mataxenä,*
efe n-amse xo mata-xe-nä
3SG LNK-children DST come.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL

*dü adek mataxenä.*
dü a-de-k mata-xe-nä
sago take-SS-CON come.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL

His children come uphill, they come uphill and bring the sago uphill.

Note that the man and the woman are referred to here as 'his children', following several references to the old man as 'their old father': 2.063, 83, 90 and 91b). It is not unthinkable that the use of xo serves to reactivate the man and the woman. For the use of xo as a marker that implies definiteness see section 3.1.6.

2.098

*Amtadek büsiü osukenä.*
amta-de-k büsiü osu-ke-nä
bring.uphill-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL

They bring [the sago] up and go up into the house.
2.099
Osuduk dü joxo neto posiü fe edoxenä.
osu-du-k dü joxo n-eto posiü fe ed-oxe-nä
go.up-SS-CON sago 3PL LNK-father old 3SG give-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go up and of the sago they give one [sack] to their old father.

2.100
Fe joxo-ku eŋgenä.
fe joxo-ku ĕ-ge-nä
3SG 3PL-EMP eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
One they eat themselves.

2.101
Jā abukuŋgenä, bünüke,
jā abukū-ge-nā bünü-ke
fire make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL extinguish-N1.RLS[SG]

joxo neto posiü oxe:
joxo n-eto posiü oxe
3PL LNK-father old speak-N1.RLS[SG]
They make fire, and when it extinguishes, their old father says:

2.102
Aŋ go xu, jā fu-fūnoxone numoxe.
ă go xu jā fu-fū-oxone num-o-xe
woman andman fire blow-IMP.PL such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
"Woman and man, blow the fire", so he says.

2.103
Aŋ go xu jā fu-fūŋgenä.
ă go xu jā fu-fū-ge-nā
woman and man fire blow-N1.RLS-N1PL
The woman and the man blow the fire.
2.104

\[ \text{midik} \quad \text{ünamabukuŋge}. \]

mi-di-k ünamabukuŋ-ge

come.down-SS-CON push.and.sit.down.on-N1.RLS[SG]

Their old father loosens the wooden fork (from the roof) so that it comes down and pushes (the fork into their bodies) and presses it down by sitting on it.

2.105a

\[ \text{Ünamabukuŋge} \quad \text{xanimikenā}. \]

ünamabukuŋ-ge xanimi-ke-nā

push.and.sit.down.on-N1.RLS[SG] die.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

He sits down on it so that they die.

The iterative xani is one of the few verb stems that can only be used with a plural subject. Cf. footnote 35 in section 2.2.

**Summary of 2.105b to 2.112.** He cuts away their genitals, and puts them into a water quiver. Then he cuts the two corpses into small pieces, and fetches two pieces of bark, which he folds in two.

2.105b

\[ \text{Xanikenā} \quad \text{afufafioxe}. \]

xani-ke-nā afufafi-oxe
die-N1.RLS-N1PL pull.off-N1.RLS[SG]

They die and he pulls out (the fork).

2.106

\[ \text{ā} \quad \text{nato} \quad \text{duŋge}. \]

ā n-ato dū-ge

womanLNK-vagina cut.away-N1.RLS[SG]

He cuts away the woman's vagina.
2.107

*Xu sigi duŋge.*

xu sigi dū-ge

man penis cut.away-N1.RLS[SG]

He cuts away the man's penis.

2.108

*Abu doxodok ikio kunge.*

a-bu doxo-do-k ikio kū-ge

take-SS pass.by-SS-CON water.quiver put-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes them, walks by (the man and woman?) and puts the genitals in a water quiver.

Drabbe consistently translates doxo with 'pass by' (Dutch: passeren). It is not always clear, however, who or what is passed by.

2.109

*ā toxonge,* toxond'

ā toxô-ge toxon-d

woman cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG] cut.in.big.pieces-SS

emoxe, xu xati toxonge.

em-oxe xu xati toxô-ge

finish-N1.RLS[SG] man again cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]

He cuts the woman in big pieces, and when he has finished cutting her in big pieces, he also cuts the man in big pieces.

2.110

*Toxond' emoxe,* efigiomoxe.

toxon-d em-oxe efigiom-oxe

cut.in.big.pieces-SS finish-N1.RLS[SG] cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG]

When he has finished cutting them in big pieces, he cuts them in smaller pieces.
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupūsimo

2.111

ē efigiomo-d' emoxe, xu xati efigiomo-d'
ā efigiomo-emoxe, xu xati efigiomo-emoxe
woman cut.IT-SS finish-N1.RLS[SG] man again cut.IT-SS

emoxe.
em-oxe
finish-N1.RLS[SG]
When he has finished cutting the woman in smaller pieces, he also cuts the man into smaller pieces.

2.112

Kūtoxe xoxome okuomā komoxe,
kūto-ke xoxome okuomā kom-oxe
go.downhill-N1.RLS[SG] bark two cut.out-N1.RLS[SG]
amataxe; amtadek büısıü
a-mata-ke a-mta-de-k büısıü
take-come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG] take-come.uphill-SS-CON house

ab' suke, ab' suduk
a-bu osu-ke a-bu osu-du-k
take-SS go.up-N1.RLS[SG] take-SS go.up-SS-CON

axafükunge.
axafükû-ge
fold-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes downhill and carves out two pieces of bark and brings them uphill; he brings them uphill and takes them up into the house, he takes them up and folds them.

Summary of 2.113 to 2.123. He mixes the flesh and the sago. When he has put the woman's flesh, mixed with the sago, in one of the two pieces of bark, he tells his daughter to put it on the grill. Then he also puts the man’s meat in a piece of bark and
puts that on the grill. They roast the meat and eat from it.

2.113

Dü  gi-ke.
dü  gi-ke
sago  scrape-N1.RLS[SG]

He scrapes sago.
Sago is stored as big lumps. Scraping sago means scraping off some sago flour from the big lump to mix that with meat (Drabbe note 47, page 85).

2.114

Xoxome  dü  kʊŋge.
xoxome  dü  kʊ-ge
bark  sago  put-N1.RLS[SG]

He puts sago in the bark.

2.115

Axu  kudu  gobūnük  kʊŋge,
axu  kudu  gobū-nü-k  kʊ-ge
human flesh  put.together-SS-CON  put-N1.RLS[SG]

kʊnd’  emoxe,
kʊ-d  em-oxe
put-SS  finish-N1.RLS[SG]

ā  efe  kudu  isiom’  kʊnd’  emoxe.
ā  efe  kudu  isiomu  kʊ-d  em-oxe
woman  3SG  flesh  very/all  put-SS  finish-N1.RLS[SG]

He mixes the human being’s flesh into it, the woman's flesh, until he has added all of it (lit. he puts the human being's flesh together (with the sago) and puts it (into the folded bark), he puts and finishes, the woman's flesh he puts it all (into the folded bark) and finishes.)

Note that it is only the woman's flesh that he is occupied with now.
2.116

*Kund' emedek kifioxe.*
kū-d eme-de-k kifi-oxe

When he has finished putting (everything in), he lays it down.

2.117

*Kifidik oxe, efe subā*
kifi-di-k o-ixe efe subā

He lays it down and at his command his daughter Okudukake puts it on the fire (lit. says, his daughter Okudake puts it on the fire).

*Okudukāke jā kunge.*

Okudukāke jā kū-ge

He lays it down and at his command his daughter Okudukake puts it on the fire (lit. says, his daughter Okudake puts it on the fire).

2.118

*Bu jā kunge, efe neto*
bu jā kū-ge efe n-eto

While she is putting it on the fire, her old father puts the husband ['s flesh] in a bark too.

For the use of o(x) 'say' and the implication of a command see the final part of section 5.8 on quotative constructions.
understand him: her husband). (Drabbe 1957:85a, note 48). The meaning of efe is, in other words, bleached. Whether Drabbe is right at this point cannot be checked. What can be checked, however, is that kinship terms invariably occur with a possessor pronoun, and it is not unthinkable that this (almost?) obligatory reference to a 'possessor' has led to bleaching. Cf. section 3.1.4. and the footnote referring to Wester's observation about obligatory possession.

2.119

Xati jã kunge.
xati jã kù-ge
again fire put-N1.RLS[SG]
She puts it also on the fire.

2.120

Emu okuomu jã kusumoxe.
emu okuomu jã kusum-oxe
then two fire put.into.IT-N1.RLS[SG]
Then she roasts the two in the fire.
Kusum is an iterative stem of kù 'put into'.

2.121

Panike amadadek
pani-ke amada-de-k
be.cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG] take.from..fire-SS-CON

jûmoxe.
jùm-oxe
fold.open-N1.RLS[SG]
When it is cooked through, she takes it from the fire and folds it open.
Amada is composed of a(x) 'take' and mada 'come close', cf. section 3.5 on directional verbs.

2.122

Efigiomoxe, engenà.
efigi-om-oxe ē-ge-nà
cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG] eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupūsimo

She cuts it and they eat.

2.123

Kemededek  ēgenā.

They share and they eat.

It is only here, with the use of kemededek, that it becomes clear that there must be more people present (Drabbe 1957:85, note 49).

Summary of 2.124 to 2.137. When the meat is finished, Aidu and Xaidu's children come to ask where their parents are. "They may have gone out pounding sago", says Apupūsimo. Then he goes to fetch bananas and tubers. The children stay sitting in the house, hear scratching in the water quiver, and find their parents' genitals. When Apupūsimo comes back, he says: "tomorrow your parents will come back".

2.124

Ēgenā  bagidi  xati  tafeaxa
ē-ge-nā  ba-gidi  xati  tafeaxa

They eat and the next day they eat (from the meat) again.

2.125

End'  emoxenā,  Āido
ē-d  em-oxe-nā  Āido

They eat and the next day they eat (from the meat) again.

Xaido  joxo  namse  xo
Xaido  joxo  n-amse  xo
Xaido  3PL  LNK-children  DST
When they have finished eating, Aido and Xaido's children come. Note that it is the fifth day after Aido and Xaido left. In 2.072 the two tell their children that they will go for five days, and in 2.074 they tell that they may get killed. That it has been five days since they have left, can be concluded from the use of bagidi 'next day' in 2.080, 2.085, 2.091 and 2.124.

It is remarkable that Drabbe here writes Aido and Xaido, with final o instead of u, which he used in 2.001, cf. section 1.1.1.

They come and say, they say to the old Apupūsimo: "our mother and our father, where are they (lit. they are)?", so they say.

For ioxe Drabbe refers to section 81 in his grammatical introduction (Drabbe 1957:33), where he states that the form is a 'defective' form of io(x) 'be present'. See also section 2.8.3.2. Although Aghu has grammaticalized ways of marking a question (for which see section 2.7), these are not used here. Note, however, that in many languages intonation is one of the ways to mark questions, and that we do not have any information about the intonation of this sentence (neither on the role of intonation in question formation in Aghu).
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaïdu, Apupüsimo

2.127

Apupüsimo posiü nu k’ oman oxo numoxe,  
Apupüsimo posiü nu ke omâ oxo num-o-xe  
Apupüsimo old 1SG FOC ignorant COP such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

dü fè bejena xoxenä
dü fè beje-nä xo-xe-nä  
sago 3SG pound.sago-II-N1PL go-N1.RLS-N1PL

numoxe.
num-o-xe  
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

The old Apupüsimo says: "they may have gone to pound sago" (lit. "I don't know, they have gone they will pound a sack of sago", so he says.)

Drabbe: "This is the way in which one expresses the concept of 'perhaps'. "I do not know, they have gone to pound sago" means: "perhaps they have gone to pound sago" " (Drabbe 1957:85, note 50). Compare note 62 in section 2.3.3.2, on the expression of subjective mood.

2.128

Amse dèmu baxenä.
amse dèmu ba-xe-nä  
children OPP sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

The children, however, stay.

2.129

Joxo neto posiü kütoxe.
joxo n-eto posiü küto-xe  
3PL LNK-father old go.downhill-N1.RLS[SG]

Their old father goes downhill.

Note that Apupüsimo is referred to as 'their old father', and that the two children will be referred to as efe namse, 'his children', in 2.132.
2.130

Siü  gonge.
siü  gō-ge
banana pull.off-N1.RLS[SG]
He collects bananas (lit. he pulls off bananas).

2.131

Fi  sůnge.
fi  sū-ge
tuber pull.out-N1.RLS[SG]
He collects tubers. (lit. he pulls out tubers).

2.132

Efe  namse  xo  büsiü  baxenā;
efe  n-amse  xo  büsiū  ba-xe-nā
3SG LNK-children DST house sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

bamoxenā, ikio  ioxe,
bam-oxe-nā  ikio  i-o-xe
sit.CONT_I-N1.RLS-N1PL water.quiver DUR-sound-N1.RLS[SG]

xaxafen  u  ioxe;
xaxafen  u  i-o-xe
scratching sound DUR-sound-N1.RLS[SG]

musuduk  etoxenā:
musu-du-k  et-oxe-nā
stand.up-SS-CON see-N1.RLS-N1PL
His children stay at home, and after a while (they notice that) the water quiver is making sound, it is making a scratching sound; they stand up and see:
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupüsimo

2.133

*Joxo napi nato,*

joxo n-api n-ato
3PL LNK-mother LNK-vagina

*joxo neto sigi igená.*

joxo n-eto sigi i-ge-nā
3PL LNK-father penis lie-N1.RLS-N1PL

Their mother's vagina, their father's penis are lying down (in the water quiver).

While subjects referring to plural inanimate objects usually trigger singular inflection on the verb, here we have an example of objects with plural inflection (Drabbe 1957:85, note 51). The reason for plural inflection may be the strong association with humans, cf. the discussion in section 3.1.5.2.

2.134

*Bomokunge igená.*

bomokū-ge i-ge-nā
put.into-N1.RLS[SG] lie-N1.RLS-N1PL

He has put them in and they lie down.

2.135

*Etoxenā, etedek baxenā.*

et-oxe-nā ete-de-k ba-xe-nā
see-N1.RLS-N1PL see-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

They see, they see and stay.

2.136

*Joxo neto posiū mataxe.*

joxo n-eto posiū mata-xe
3PL LNK-father old come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

Their old father comes uphill.
2.137

\[ Oxe: \ g\-gu \ napi \ g\-gu \]
\[ o-xe \ g\-gu \ n-api \ g\-gu \]
\[ speak-N1.RLS[SG] \ 2PL \ LNK-mother \ 2PL \]

\[ neto \ bagidi \ dafin\-a \]
\[ n-eto \ ba-gidi \ da-fi-n\-a \]
\[ LNK-father \ sit-next.day \ come_{II}-N1PL \]

\textit{numoxe.}

\[ num-o-xe \]
\[ such-speak-N1.RLS[SG] \]

He says "your mother and your father will come tomorrow", so he says.

\begin{quote}
\textit{Summary of 2.138 to 2.146. When it has become dark, Apupüsimo roasts sago and gives the boy sago with penis, and the girl sago with vagina. They throw it down through the floor, and the pigs fight for it. When Apupüsimo asks why the pigs are fighting, they say: "may be for the sago crumbs that have fallen down".}
\end{quote}

2.138

\[ Numoxe \ baxen\-a \ as\-i \]
\[ num-o-xe \ ba-xe-n\-a \ as\-i \]
\[ such-speak-N1.RLS[SG] \ sit-N1.RLS-N1PL \ darkness \]

\textit{kike.}

\[ ki-ke \]
\[ become-N1.RLS[SG] \]

So he says and they stay and it gets dark.

2.139

\[ D\-i \ tomoxo \ doxe, \ edoxe, \]
\[ d\-u \ tom-oxo \ do-xe \ ed-oxe \]
\[ sago \ roast-N1.RLS[SG] \ cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG] \ give-N1.RLS[SG] \]
He roasts sago until it is cooked through, he gives, he puts the penis and (some) sago together and gives it to the boy.

2.140

Xati dü ato gobünük ā edoxe.
xati dü ato gobū-nū-k ā ed-oxe
again sago vagina put.together-SS-CON woman give-N1.RLS[SG]
He also puts the vagina together with (some) sago and gives it to the woman.

Drabbe writes gobnük instead of gobünük.

2.141

Edoxe adinde mungenā.
ed-oxe adi-n-de mū-ge-nā
give-N1.RLS[SG] eat-II-VN-NEG not.want-N1.RLS-N1PL
He gives and they do not want to eat.

2.142

Giamoxenā osüke.
giam-oxe-nā osü-ke
cast-N1.RLS-N1PL go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
They throw it down (through the floor).

2.143

Wi engenā.
wi è-ge-nā
pig eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
The pigs eat it.
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aïdu, Xaidu, Apupüsimo

2.144
Enek kotomu xomūgenā.
ē-ne-k kotomu xomū-ge-nā
eat-SS-CON RECIPR fight/kill-N1.RLS-N1PL
They eat and fight.

2.145
Oxe, joxo neto posiī oxe:
o-xe joxo n-eto posiī oxe
speak-N1.RLS[SG] 3PL LNK-father old speak-N1.RLS[SG]
makeaxe wi kotomu xomūgenā
makeaxe wi kotomu xomū-ge-nā
what pig RECIPR fight/kill-N1.RLS-N1PL

numoxe.
um-o-xe
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
Their old father says: "what are the pigs fighting?", so he says.

2.146
Oxenā: nu k' oman oxo numoxenā;
o-xe-nā nu ke omā oxo num-o-xe-nā
speak-N1.RLS-N1PL 1SG FOC ignorant COP such-speak-N1.RLS-N1PL
dū pupe osūke,
dū pupe osū-ke
sago crumb go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
wi enek kotomu xomūgenā
wi ē-ne-k kotomu xomū-ge-nā
pig eat-SS-CON RECIPR fight/kill-N1.RLS-N1PL
numoxenā.
num-o-xe-nā
such-speak-N1.RLS-N1PL
They say: "perhaps some sago crumbs have gone down, the pigs eat and fight."
(lit. "I don't know, some sago crumbs have gone down, the pigs eat and fight", so he says.)
For the translation 'perhaps' see the note at 2.127.

Summary of 2.147 to 2.159. The following day while Apupūsimō is away, they shoot two of his pigs, cut them in pieces, put the meat in a basket and steal the bag with Apupūsimō's ornaments. Then they set the house on fire and flee away. On the way they lie down to sleep between the buttress roots of a big tree. When Apupūsimō comes home and when he sees his house burning, he looks out for his daughter; she has hidden after they have beaten her. She points out to her father the direction into which they have left.

2.147
Bagidi joxo neto posiū Apupūsimō
ba-gidi joxo n-eto posiū Apupūsimō
sit-next.day 3PL LNK-father old Apupūsimō

kütoxe.
küto-xe
go.downhill-N1.RLS[SG]
The next day their old father Apupūsimō goes downhill.

2.148
Joxo osü dúk wi tingenā.
 joxo osü-dü-k wi tī-ge-nā
3PL go.down-SS-CON pig shoot-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go down and shoot pigs.
The two only go down from the house; they do not go out. From this we can conclude that it is house pigs that they kill, and it is obvious that these belong to Apupūsimō. This killing is, therefore, an act of revenge (Drabbe 1957:85, note 53). From Drabbe's summarizing translation above it is clear that according to him it was a number of exactly two pigs that the two killed. From the text, however, it can only be concluded that the number of killed pigs is
higher than one; this is clear from the use of plural *küngenā* 'they die' in 2.149. It is quite well possible that it was Drabbe’s language helper who told him (when explaining the meaning of the story) that it was only two pigs that were killed, even though this isn’t mentioned explicitly in the text.

2.149

*Tiŋgenā*   
*tĩ-ge-nā*  
shoot-N1.RLS-N1PL  
They shoot them and they die.

2.150

*Toxosumoxenā*  
*toxosum-oxe-nā*  
cut.in.big.pieces.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL  
They cut them in big pieces and put them in a basket.

2.151a

*Joxo neto*  
*joxo n-eto*  
3PL  
LNK-father  
They take the bag with their old father's adornments.

2.151b

*Adek*  
*a-de-k*  
take-SS-CON  
They take it and set the house on fire; they flee.

It is not entirely clear why the narrator uses an iterative form here. The iterative form is attested only in 2.151b, 2.152 and in 8.008, in all cases with a plural subject. In 8.008 we also find non-iterative *temoxe*, with a singular subject. There is a logical relation between plurality and iterativity (plural subjects implies plural events of - in this case - fleeing, which can be conceived of as a repetitive fleeing). We have insufficient data to decide whether the correlation between plurality and iterativity also plays a role here.
2.152

Fioxenā    doxe    kübütodok
fi-oxe-nā do-xe    kübüto-do-k
light-N1.RLS-N1PL burn-N1.RLS[SG] flee.IT-SS-CON

xodok       fikitim'       igenā.
xo-do-k     fikitimu     i-ge-nā
go-SS-CON    on.the.way    lie-N1.RLS-N1PL

They light it and it burns, they flee and they go and on the way they lie down.

2.153

Jā    kesaxe,    kesaxe    pūsiāxa    efe jādi    ikēmu
jā    kesaxe    kesaxe    pūsiāxa    efe jādi    ikēmu
tree    tree    tree    big    3SG buttress.root    there

ogūdūk       igenā.
ogū-dū-k     i-ge-nā
go.in-SS-CON    lie-N1.RLS-N1PL

In between the buttress roots of a big tree they lie down (to sleep).

The sequence of the two synonyms jā and kesaxe is used to express plurality. The sequence jā kesaxe kesaxe pūsiāxa should, according to Drabbe, be read as: a big tree among the trees (Drabbe 1957:85, note 54). Note the spatial orientation here. Placing oneself in between two buttress roots is conceived of as 'going in', expressed by ogū 'go in'. That one is, as it were, 'in' the roots is also clear from the use of di womu 'buttress.root inside' further down. And mo 'go out' is used for coming from between the roots in 2.172 (Drabbe 1957:85, note 55, cf. also the final part of section 3.5.1).

2.154

Joxo    neto    posīi    mataxe.
joxo    n-eto    posīi    mata-xe
3PL    LNK-father old    come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

Their old father comes uphill.
2.155

*Matadek* etoxe: efe būsiū
mata-de-k et-oxe efe būsiū
come.uphill-SS-CON see-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG house

*jā doxe.*
jā do-xe
fire burn-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes uphill and sees: his house is burning.

2.156

*Aiomoxe.*
aiom-oxe
ask-N1.RLS[SG]
He wonders what is the case / where his daughter is / looks for his daughter.

*It is not entirely clear how *aiomoxe* should be rendered. The Dutch summary says 'looks for'.*

2.157

*Efe subā Okudukāke üfūoxygenā;*
efe subā Okudukāke üfū-oxe-nā
3SG daughter Okudukāke hit-N1.RLS-N1PL

üfūoxygenā, doxodok
üfū-oxe-nā doxo-do-k
hit-N1.RLS-N1PL pass.by-SS-CON

*kiamoxe.*
kiam-oxe
hide-N1.RLS[SG]
They have hit his daughter Okudukāke; they hit her, she has (secretly) passed by
(Ap. 's present location?) and has hidden.

*The meaning of *doxodok* is not entirely clear.*
What we find here is a description of what must have happened after the man and the woman fled, described only by the time that Ap. arrives at the house and concludes this or hears this from his daughter.
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupūsimo

2.158

*Kiamedek* baxe.
kiame-de-k ba-xe
hide-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]

She has hidden and sits.

2.159

*Efe* neto posiü oxe:
efe n-eto posiü oxe
3SG LNK-father old speak-N1.RLS[SG]

*ikemedek* xoxenā numoxe.
ikeme-de-k xo-xe-nā num-o-xe
be.there-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

She says to her old father: "they have gone there!", so she says.

Summary of 2.160 to 2.174. *The old man finds the foot prints and follows them; when it gets dark, he arrives at a tree with buttress roots, and lies down to sleep in between some of these roots. In the morning the children hear him fart loudly, and they leave along the buttress roots. When Apupūsimo passes there too, he sees their foot prints and follows them again.*

2.160

*Efe* neto posiü axu kuto isipofienane
efe n-eto posiü axu kuto isipofie-nan-e
3SG LNK-father old human foot tread.and.lay.down_II-N1PL-FUT

*aine* numodok aguke.
ai-n-e num-o-do-k agu-ke
lie_II-N1SG-FUT such-speak-SS-CON search-N1.RLS[SG]

Her old father (thinks): "they must have put their feet down so that there will be a track of human feet (lit. they will put their feet down and it lies)", so he says and starts searching.

*Here we find the future used in a way in which the future can also be*
used in Dutch: 'er zullen wel voetsporen zijn', [or, in English 'there will probably be footprints'].
Num' oodok here does refers to a 'saying to oneself' or 'thinking'(Drabbe 1957:85, note 57). This is an example of the use of a quotative construction to refer to 'inner speech', cf. section 5.8.

2.161
*Aguduk* memoxe kuto etoxe.
agu-du-k mem-oxe kuto et-oxe
search-SS-CON stand.CONT_I-N1.RLS[SG] foot see-N1.RLS[SG]
He searches for a while and sees the footsteps (lit. sees the feet).

2.162
*Xoxenâ* ìge, ikèmu mo xoxe.
xo-xe-nâ i-ge ikèmu mo xo-xe
go-N1.RLS-N1PL lie-N1.RLS[SG] there backside go-N1.RLS[SG]
They have gone and left footsteps (lit. they have gone and it lies), and there he follows them.

2.163a
*Xodok* fikitimu xoxe, asü kike.
xo-do-k fikitimu xo-xe asü ki-ke
go-SS-CON on.the.way go-N1.RLS[SG] darkness become-N1.RLS[SG]
While he is still on his way, it gets dark.

2.163b
*Bî* püsiaxa efe xabâ di fè
bî püsiaxa efe xabâ di fè
kind.of.tree big 3SG stem buttress.root 3SG

*efekoki*ke.

efekoki-ke

pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]
He passes the roots of (the stem of) a big bi-tree.
We have to do here with a possessive construction, structured as follows: 

\[
[ [ [ Bi^{\text{-püsiixa}]} \text{NP1 efe xaba} ] \text{NP2 di fe}] \text{NP3}. \text{NP2 is a possessive construction with xaba 'stem' as the head. NP3 is a possessive construction with NP2 (the stem of a big bi-tree) in possessor position and di 'buttress root' in the position of the possessed. Fe '3SG' modifies the entire NP3.}
\]

2.164

\[Xati\ di\ fè\ efèkokie.\]

xati di fe efekoki-ke
again buttress.root 3SG pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]
He passes another root.

2.165

\[Xati\ di\ fè\ efèkokie.\]

xati di fe efekoki-ke
again buttress.root 3SG pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]
He passes another root.

2.166

\[Xati\ di\ fè\ efèkokie.\]

xati di fe efekoki-ke
again buttress.root 3SG pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]
He passes another root.

2.167

\[Emu\ womiŋ\ gike.\]

emu womi gi-ke
then night become-N1.RLS[SG]
Then it gets night

2.168

\[Ikèmu\ di\ womu\ ogūdük\ ige.\]

ikèmu di womu ogü-dü-k i-ge
there root inside go.down.close-SS-CON lie-N1.RLS[SG]
There in between the roots he goes in and lies down.
The form ogü etc. 'go down from a light elevation' is also used for going
2.169

*Igidi*  
\[ b' \quad o \quad \text{panike}, \]

*i-gidi*  
\[ \quad \text{bu} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{pani-ke} \]

*lie-next.day DUR feces come.up-N1.RLS[SG]*

*isiom'*  
\[ b' \quad o \quad \text{panike}. \]

*isiomu*  
\[ \quad \text{bu} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{pani-ke} \]

*very/all DUR feces come.up-N1.RLS[SG]*

The next morning he is farting, he is farting loudly.

The form *igidi* is a compound of *i* 'lie down' and *gid* 'stay overnight', followed by a grammaticalized marker *-i*. Cf. section 2.8.3.3

2.170

*Dakenä.*

*da-ke-nã*

*hear-N1.RLS-N1PL*

They hear (him).

2.171

*Dadek*  
\[ \text{bagidi} \quad \text{asü} \quad \text{toxu} \]

*da-de-k*  
\[ \quad \text{ba-gidi} \quad \text{asü} \quad \text{toxu} \]

*hear-SS-CON sit-next.day darkness outer.end*

*doxodok*  
\[ \text{efekokikenã,} \quad \text{jã-di}. \]

*doxo-do-k*  
\[ \quad \text{efekoki-ke-nã} \quad \text{jã-di} \]

*pass.by-SS-CON pass.by-N1.RLS-N1PL tree-buttress.root*

They hear him and the next day very early (lit. by the end of the darkness) they pass by, they pass by, (away from) the buttress roots.

Drabbe remarks: "the object here comes after the verb, after a short pause, as an explanation of what otherwise might not be clear" (Drabbe 1957:85, note 58). Interestingly, however, the same construction is used in the following sentence (2.172), where – given 2.171 – it is clear that reference is made to a going out from between the buttress roots, and where, therefore, the reason of the use of *jã di* cannot be that the sentence would otherwise be unclear. The reason for the use in 2.172, then, might be to make the structure of the clause maximally analogous to
2.171. This stresses that the old man, in turn (eke ta, cf. section 3.2.2) does exactly the same as the children.

2.172

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Joxo neto} & \quad \text{posiü} & \quad \text{efe ke} & \quad \text{ta} \\
\text{joxo n-eto} & \quad \text{posiü} & \quad \text{efe ke} & \quad \text{ta} \\
\text{3PL LNK-father} & \quad \text{old} & \quad \text{3SG FOC} & \quad \text{IN.TURN}
\end{align*}
\]

**moke,**

mo-ke

come.in/out-N1.RLS[SG]

**modok**

doxxodok
efekokike,

mo-do-k
doxxo-do-k
efekoki-ke

come.in/out-SS-CON
pass.by-SS-CON
pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]

**jä-di.**

jä-di

tree-buttress.root

Their old father in turn comes out, he comes out and passes by, he passes by, (away from) the roots.
The 'passing seems to be described from the perspective of a deictic center close to the buttress roots.

2.173

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Efekokidik} & \quad \text{etoxe:} \\
\text{efekoki-di-k} & \quad \text{et-oxe} \\
\text{pass.by-SS-CON} & \quad \text{see-N1.RLS[SG]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{igidinã} & \quad \text{dateke} & \quad \text{xoxenã} & \quad \text{ige.} \\
\text{i-gidi-nã} & \quad \text{dateke} & \quad \text{xo-xe-nã} & \quad \text{i-ge} \\
\text{lie-next.day-N1PL} & \quad \text{just} & \quad \text{go-N1.RLS-N1PL} & \quad \text{lie-N1.RLS[SG]}
\end{align*}
\]

He passes by and sees: he sees the signs that they have just spent the night and gone.

As in 2.162 above, i-ge lie-N1.RLS refers to the foot prints that the two
have made and which 'lie down' for the old man to see.

2.174

_Etedek_ mo xoxe.

et-de-k mo xo-xe

see-SS-CON backside go-N1.RLS[SG]

He sees and goes behind them.

**Summary of 2.175 to 2.186.** He goes down along the high shore of a swamp, and sees people walking ahead of him. These people see a certain Kiawi at a canoe, and ask him to take them to the other side. Kiawi does what they ask, and then rows back to the middle of the swamp. He hears Apupüsimo coming, who asks him: where are my enemies? Kiawi answers: they have crossed at the tree that lies across in the water over there.

2.175

_Mo_ xodok iaxāki,

mo xo-do-k i-axā-ki

backside go-SS-CON DUR-go-DIST.N1SG

xodok wisio baga kūtoxe.
xo-do-k wisio baga kūto-xe
go-SS-CON deep.swamp shore go.downhill-N1.RLS[SG]

He is going behind them, he goes and goes down along the shore of a deep swamp.

For durative forms in _i_- see 2.4.3.1. _I-axa_ is the irregular _i_-initial durative counterpart of _xo_ 'go'.

2.176

_Kūtodor_ etoxe axu mumu

kūto-do-k et-oxe axu mumu

go.downhill-SS-CON see-N1.RLS[SG] human in.the.front

xoxenā.
xo-xe-nā

go-N1.RLS-N1PL
He goes down along the shore and sees some people going ahead.

2.177

\[Mumu\ xoxen\hat{a}\ xo\ joxo\ etoxen\hat{a}::\]

\[mumu\ xo-xe-n\hat{a}\ xo\ joxo\ et-xe-n\hat{a}\]

\[in.\text{the.}front\ \text{go-}N1.\text{RLS-N1PL}^{3}\text{PL}\ \text{see-}N1.\text{RLS-N1PL}\]

They go ahead, and there they see:

Drabbe glosses the demonstrative with 'daar', which means 'there'. Note, however, that xo is not an adverb, but a demonstrative pronoun, cf. section 3.2.4. In my view, the pronoun is used here pronominally. Although this may seem an example of a demonstrative marking a preceding clause as topic, as we find in other Awyu-Dumut languages (de Vries t.a.), this technique has not been attested in Aghu.

2.178

\[Kiawi\ jof\hat{u}\ xonok\ memoxe.\]

\[Kiawi\ jof\hat{u}\ x\hat{o}-no-k\ mem-oxe\]

\[Kiawi\ canoe\ sail-SS-CON^{stand.CONT}_{N1.\text{RLS}[SG]}\]

Kiawi is sailing a canoe.

2.179

\[Oxen\hat{a}::\ nom\hat{o},\ jof\hat{u}\ amato\]

\[o-xe-n\hat{a}\ n-om\hat{o}\ jof\hat{u}\ a-mato\]

\[speak-N1.\text{RLS-N1PL}^{1}\text{SG-uncle}\ canoe\ take-ome.\text{ashore.IMP}[SG]\]

\[numoxen\hat{a}\.\]

\[num-o-xe-n\hat{a}\]

such-speak-N1.\text{RLS-N1PL}\]

They say: "my uncle, take the canoe and come ashore!", so they say.

Drabbe remarks that the title nomo 'our mother's brother' here is used for a stranger, just like Dutch people could use the term 'friend' in such a case (Drabbe 1957:85, note 60).

2.180

\[Jof\hat{u}\ amtaxe,\]

\[jof\hat{u}\ a-mta-xe\]

\[canoe\ take-ome.\text{uphill-N1.\text{RLS}[SG]}\]
He brings the canoe ashore, he brings it and moors, they go downhill and go
down along the shore (into the canoe).
The form *ogü* etc. 'go down from a light elevation' is also used for going
in, e.g. into a cave or cavity, cf. section 3.5.1. Here we have to do
with a going down along the bank of the swamp, possibly including the
taking of it into a a canoe.

2.181

*Ogüdük*           *onukenä.*
ogü-dü-k             onu-ke-nä
go.down.close-SS-CON  go.across-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go down along the shore (into the canoe) and cross the swamp.

2.182

*Onuduk*             *afi*   *ab'*        *onuduk*     *tïge.*
onu-du-k             afi     ab'         onu-du-k     tï-ge
go.across-SS-CON     half   take-SS     go.across-SS-CON moor-N1.RLS[SG]

They go across until he has taken them across and moors.

Note how we here have a sequence of verbs where the subject is only the
same in the sense that the subject of one verb includes the subject of
the following or vice versa: *onuduk* refers to the entire group going
across, while *a-bu* and *tïge* refers to Kiawi. Cf. the end of section
5.4.1.

2.183

*tïge,*             *ogsukênä,*         *joxo*  *nomô*
tï-ge             ogsu-ke-nä      joxo  n-omô
moor-N1.RLS[SG]    go.up.close-N1.RLS-N1PL  3PL  LNK-uncle
He moors, they go ashore, their revered (lit. old) uncle rows back and (the boat) comes to the middle of the swamp, a sound (of Apupüsimo's footsteps) resounds, and he sees:

2.184

Apupüsimo posiü mo xo-xe.

The old Apupüsismo goes behind (them).

This seems an example where xo is clearly used as the neutral term for 'going', not implying a direction from a deictic center, cf. the beginning of 3.5.1.1.

2.185

Oxe,

Kiawi oxe:

maketa na kufe k' io-xe

where 1SG.POS enemy ACC be-N1.RLS[SG]
numoxe.
num-o-xe
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
For ioxe cf. section 2.8.3.2.
According to Drabbe, the repetition of the verb serves as a clarification (Drabbe 1957:85, note 61).
He asks, he asks Kiawi: "where are my enemies?", so he says.

2.186

Kiawi oxe: kesaxe dabudotobu i-ge,
Kiawi o-xe kesaxe dabudotobu i-ge
Kiawi speak-N1.RLS[SG] tree crossways.in.water lie-N1.RLS[SG]

ikèmu onukenà numoxe.
ikèmu onu-ke-nà num-o-xe
there go.across-N1.RLS-N1PL such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
Kiawi says: "there's a tree lying crossways in the water, there they have gone across", so he says.

Summary of 2.187 to 2.202. Apupüsimo walks into the water at the tree, but when the water comes to his armpits, he says to Kiawi that the water is too deep. "They have swum across", Kiawi answers. Apupüsimo, who cannot swim, sinks to the bottom, and when he comes to the surface again, after having done his best, he calls Kiawi. Kiawi says: "change into a crocodile". After he has asked Kiawi to stay there, Apupüsimo starts to swim and dives under water (having become a crocodile).

2.187

Apupüsimo posiü otoxe,
Apupüsimo posiü oto-xe
Apupüsimo old go.to.middle.of.water-N1.RLS[SG]

kesaxe ikèmu otoxe.
kesaxe ikèmu oto-xe
tree there go.to.middle.of.water-N1.RLS[SG]
The old Apupüsimo goes to the middle of the swamp, at the place of the tree.
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupusimo

2.188

*Otoxe,*

oto-xe
go.to.middle.of.water-N1.RLS[SG]  
armpit  go.up  become-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes to the middle of the swamp, it [the water] reaches to his armpit.  
*Su ki* is glossed by Drabbe as 'reach till'

2.189

*Oxe:  Kiawi,*  
o-xe  
speak-N1.RLS[SG]  Kiawi  water  big  become-N1.RLS[SG]

`numodok  oxe.`

num-o-do-k  o-xe  
such-speak-SS-CON  speak-N1.RLS[SG]

He says: "Kiawi, the water is getting high!", so he says  
Note that the speaker here addresses Kiawi with his proper name. This is very exceptional, as in Greater Awyu languages "the use of proper names of people is generally avoided, certainly in addressing people (de Vries *et al.*, referring to Stasch 2009: 77). The name is also used for addressing Kiawi in 2.198.

2.190

*Oxe,*  
o-xe  
speak-N1.RLS[SG]  Kiawi  speak-N1.RLS[SG]

`okagemoxo  de  oxo  mü`  
okagem-oxo  de  oxo  mü  
be.straight.in.front-N1.RLS[SG]  COP  water  swim

`tamedek  onukenā  numoxe.`

tame-de-k  onu-ke-nā  num-o-xe  
do-SS-CON  go.across-N1.RLS-N1PL  such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

Kiawi says: "it is straight in the front, they are swimming across!", so he says.  
The combination of mü and tame is glossed as 'swim'. I analyze tame as tamV 'do', also found in the expression ifiò tamV 'cry (with many, cf.
Further down in this narrative, the verb *tämV* is used on its own, also referring to an event of swimming. *Okagemoxo de* is one of the few examples in the text corpus of a verbal clause embedded in a copula clause, cf. section 4.3.

2.191

*Apupüsimo* posiü *tamedek* otoxe.

*Apupüsimo* posiü *tame-de-k* otoxe

*Apupüsimo* old do-SS-CON go.to.middle.of.water-N1.RLS[SG]

The old *Apupüsimo* swims to the middle of the water.

Drabbe glosses *tame* with 'make movements of swimming'. In my view, the contextual meaning of *tamV* 'do' as referring to swimming is clear from the preceding sentence, where we find the full expression *mü tamV*.

2.192

*Otoxe,* omaŋ gi-ke.

oto-xe omā gi-ke

go.to.middle.of.water-N1.RLS[SG] ignorant become-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes to the middle of the water, and does not know (what to do).

2.193

*Fasikem’ ogüke.*

fasikemu ogü-ke

whole go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes entirely (down) into the water.

2.194

*Ogüdük* soxo womu abümoxe.

ogü-dü-k soxo womu abüm-oxe

go.down.close-SS-CON ground inside do.one's.best-N1.RLS[SG]

He sinks to the ground and does his very best (to swim).

*Soxo womu* = the ground inside = the ground in the water - the bottom of the swamp (Drabbe 1957:85, note 62).

As Aghu is strictly verb final, *soxo womu* cannot be taken as an argument of *ogü*. Most likely it refers to the location at which or from which *Apupüsimo* tries to get away, expressed by the verb *abümoxe*.

That *abümoxe* refers to 'doing his best to swim' is explained by Drabbe in note 63 (ibid:85).
He keeps doing his best, and comes up again.

He comes up and says: "Kiawi, here I am!", so he says.

Kiawi says: "you become a crocodile!", so he says.

Oxowisi is a compound of oxo 'water' and wisi 'lizard / snake'. For nominal compounding see 3.1.1.
"xajo numoxe."

"xajo num-o-xe"

QST such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

He says: "Kiawi, will you stay there?", so he says.

2.199

\textit{Kiawi oxe: }\textit{nu okagimu ieje}

\textit{Kiawi oxe} \textit{nu okagimu ie-je}

\textit{Kiawi} speak-N1.RLS[SG] 1SG permanently stand\text{\_II[1SG]-FUT}

\textit{numoxe.}

\textit{num-o-xe}

such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

Kiawi says: "I will stay here!", so he says.

2.200

\textit{Kiawi oxe: }\textit{gu oxowisi kena}

\textit{Kiawi o-xe} \textit{gu oxo.wisi kena}

\textit{Kiawi} speak-N1.RLS[SG] 2SG crocodile become.IMP[SG]

\textit{numoxe.}

\textit{num-o-xe}

such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

Kiawi says: "you become a crocodile!", so he says.

2.201

\textit{Numoxe, }\textit{bu tamoxe.}

\textit{num-o-xe} \textit{bu tam-oxe}

such-speak-N1.RLS[SG] DUR do-N1.RLS[SG]

So he (Kiawi) says, and he (A.) starts swimming.

\textit{That he now really starts swimming (after the futile attempts described in 2.192f) shows that he has become a crocodile.}
PART III: TEXTS. 2. Aidu, Xaidu, Apupūsimo

2.202
Bu tamedek ogüke.
bu tame-de-k ogü-ke
DUR do-SS-CON go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]
He starts swimming and goes under water.
For the meaning of tame see 2.190 and 2.191.

Summary of 2.203 to 2.208. Kiawi goes downstream, and later he comes back (WvdH: upstream) to the place where Apupūsimo has dived under water. Apupūsimo comes to the surface, bites a piece of his foot and from the ridge of the canoe, and dives away with them. Kiawi falls flat on the bottom of the canoe, which floats away.

2.203
Kiawi nikiaxamu wūoxoxe.
Kiawi nikiaxamu wūoxo-xe
Kiawi back go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]
Kiawi goes back downstream.
Note the use of nikiaxamu 'back' for the movements made by Kiawi: in 2.183 it is used for Kiawi’s going back after having delivered Aidu and Xaidu. In the present sentence the reason of its use is not entirely clear, as there’s been no mention of a going / coming upstream (from which Kiawi then would have to go back downstream). The use of nikiaxamu might imply that Kiawi goes back to his house, which is downstream, as is clear from 2.208-2.216 (the canoe floats away, and at a certain point the wife moors and goes uphill to Kiawi’s house) The use of nikiaxamu in 2.203, finally, marks that the going downstream of 2.202 is followed by a coming back again.

2.203
Wūoxodok xati nikiaxamu modaxe.
wūoxo-do-k xati nikiaxamu moda-xe
go.downstream-SS-CON again back come.upstream-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes downstream, and again comes back upstream.

2.204
Modadek xainike,
moda-de-k xaini-ke
come.upstream-SS-CON come.close-N1.RLS[SG]
Apupúsimo ogüke xainike.
Apupúsimo ogü-ke xaini-ke
Apupúsimo go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG] come.close-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes upstream and comes close, he comes close to the place where
Apupúsimo has gone under water.

2.205
Panike.
pani-ke
come.up-N1.RLS[SG]
He (Apupúsimo) comes up.

2.206
Panidik Kiawi efe kuto jofū badi
pani-di-k Kiawi efe kuto jofū badi
come.up-SS-CON Kiawi 3SG foot canoe rim

gobūnük üge,
gobū-nü-k ü-ge
put.together-SS-CON bite-N1.RLS[SG]

üdük ab’ ogüke,
ü-dü-k a-bu ogü-ke
bite-SS-CON take-SS go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]

axu wuso xo akimu jofū womu ogüke.
axu wuso xo akimu jofū womu ogü-ke
human body fall canoe inside go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes up and bites off both Kiawi's foot and the rim of the canoe, and takes
them under water. The man (’s body) falls on the bottom of the canoe.

Akimu ogü is translated by Drabbe as 'fall into' (Drabbe 1957:85, note 64). Akimu is probably one of the adverbs in -mu, described in section 3.4.2.
2.207

Ogüdük idik bu bange.
ogû-dû-k i-di-k bu bâ-ge
go.down.close-SS-CON lie-SS-CON DUR shout-N1.RLS[SG]
He falls on the bottom and starts shouting.

2.208

Jofû bu fagoxe.
jofû bu fago-xe
canoe DUR float.away-N1.RLS[SG]
The canoe is floating away.

**Summary of 2.209 to 2.218. His wife comes to the water with a hook, and pulls the canoe ashore. She take the man on her neck, carries him home and takes care of him.**

2.209

Efe nagã midaxe.
efe n-agã mida-xe
3SG LNK-wife come.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]
His wife comes downstream.
The movement is described from the perspective of the canoe, to which the wife is coming (downstream)

2.210

Kesaxe pi ügemoxe.
kesaxe pi ügem-oxe
wood long chop.off-N1.RLS[SG]
She chops off a long piece of wood.

2.211

Abu dadek kesaxe bodo onge.
a-bu da-de-k kesaxe bodo ô-ge
take-SS come-SS-CON wood arm fix-N1.RLS[SG]
She brings (the wood) and fixes a wooden arm (to it).

*Kesaxe bodo* 'arm of wood' here refers to an 'arm for the wood': a short piece of wood that she binds to the long stick, so that a hook is formed to pull the canoe towards herself. (Drabbe 1957:85, note 65).

2.212

*Onok*  
\[\text{kusumotoxe.}\]  
\[\text{ō-no-k kusumoto-xe}\]  
\[\text{fix-SS-CON cast.to.middle.of.water-N1.RLS[SG]}\]

She fixes it and moves the stick to the middle of the water.

Drabbe glosses *oto* with 'go away'. *Kusum-oto* is a composed of *kusum* 'cast' and *oto* 'go uphill' or 'go along a slopewise track', cf. section 3.5.1.

2.213

*Jofū*  
\[\text{badi kūnge.}\]  
\[\text{jofū badi kū-ge}\]  
\[\text{canoe edge put-N1.RLS[SG]}\]

She places it on the edge of the canoe.

2.214

*Kunuk*  
\[\text{abidimoxe mataxe;}\]  
\[\text{kū-nu-k abidim-oxe mata-xe}\]  
\[\text{put-SS-CON pull-N1.RLS[SG] come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]}\]

\[\text{amtadek tīge.}\]  
\[\text{a-mta-de-k tī-ge}\]  
\[\text{take-come.uphill-SS-CON moor-N1.RLS[SG]}\]

She places it and pulls so that it comes towards the shore; she brings it aside and moors.

2.215

*Kūtodok*  
\[\text{efē sē gō kūnge.}\]  
\[\text{kūto-do-k efe sē gō kū-ge}\]  
\[\text{go.downhill-SS-CON 3SG husband neck put-N1.RLS[SG]}\]
She goes down along the shore and puts her husband on her neck.

2.216

Ab' otoxe, gō kunuk
a-bu oto-xe gō ku-nu-k
take-SS go.uphill-N1.RLS[SG] neck put-SS-CON

büsiū ab' otoxe.
büsiū a-bu oto-xe
house take-SS go.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]
She takes him up along the shore, puts him on her neck and takes him up to the house.

2.217

Ab' otodok kifioxe baxe.
a-bu oto-do-k kifi-oxe ba-xe
She takes him up and makes him sit down.

2.218

Atosumoxe.
atosum-oxe
nurse-N1.RLS[SG]
She nurses him.

Summary of 2.219 to 2.223. The people that he has taken across, and who have become the cause of his bad luck, Kiawi makes them pay. They pay him dogs' teeth, pieces of shell, and half a pig. And that's the end of the story.
oxe:

To the men which he had put in his canoe and brought across he says:

In his grammatical introduction, Drabbe makes no mention of relative clauses (compare note 223 in section 5.3). This sentence, however, seems to contain a relative clause, running from the antecedent Axu up till and including onufioxe.

2.220

nu sisingenā,
nu sisī-ge-nā
1SG cause.bad.luck.to-N1.RLS-N1PL

tetebago nenoxone numoxe.
tetebago nen-oxone num-o-xe
valuables give.me-IMP.PL such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
"You have caused me bad luck and must give me valuables.", so he says.

2.221

Magi siaxasu, sūkū, amu afītamā
magi siaxasu sūkū amu afītamā
dog.teeth small.shell.pieces big.shell.piece meat half

emu kutofidik edoxenā.
emu kutof-di-k ed-oxe-nā
then lay.down.on-SS-CON give-N1.RLS-N1PL
Dog teeth, small pieces of shell, big pieces of shell, and half a pig they then lay down and give him.
Amu is used for pork or for cassowary meat. According to Drabbe's translation, it refers to pork here.

2.222

Ededek badianā.
ede-de-k ba-dia-nā
give-SS-CON sit-HIST-N1PL
They give and stay.

Drabbe glosses *badianā* with 'stay', but does not give a translation of this sentence in his summarizing translation. Drabbe’s gloss seems to suggest that this sitting refers to a staying and possibly a going to live of Aidu and Xaidu at Kiawi’s place.

For the use of the historical past at the end of a narrative, see section 2.3.3.1.

2.223

*Fede xo, tamajō.*

fede xo tamajō

NEG COP enough

There is no more, this is the end.
Text 3: Two brothers: hunter and fisher

Summary of 3.001-3.049. The two brothers; the youngest is a hunter, the eldest a fisher. Four days in a row they go out and come home in the evening, each bringing what they have caught: the youngest brings a pig or cassowary, the eldest brings fish. Each time the eldest one gets half of the animal plus the head, while the youngest gets some fishes. Each roasts his own share [of meat] and eats it. Throughout this story, both the meat and the fish are shared, but it is only the eating of the meat that is narrated, not that of the fish. The reason for this is unclear.

3.001

Efe küda efe něxo.
efe küda efe n-ěxo
3SG younger.sibling 3SG LNK-elder.brother

The story is about a younger and an elder brother.
What we find here is a typical way of referring to dyadic pairs, cf. section 3.1.4.
The listing of the main participants at the very beginning of a narrative seems a common narrative technique, and is applied in all of the texts except 8a, 8b, and 9.
This text usually refers to the elder brother by means of joxo, rather than e-ëxo. The other three cases where e-ëxo is used in this text are all in addressing another person (3.140; 3.144; 3.158). In text 6, however, we find e-ëxo used also for cases where the person is not addressed.

3.002

Efe küda wi tิงge nisi, efe
efe küda wi tî-ge nisi efe
3SG younger.sibling pig shoot-N1.RLS[SG] owner 3SG

joxo axe tิงge nisi.
joxo axe tî-ge nisi
elder.brother fish shoot-N1.RLS[SG] owner

The younger brother [is] a pig hunter, the elder brother [is] a fisher.

Drabbe remarks: so far only titles have been given, no predications ('er wordt hier niets gepraedic eerd') (Drabbe 1957:85, note 66). According to Drabbe's description, non-verbal clauses in Aghu always take a copula, cf. section 4.2.
Nisi is one of the few words that cause stress shift in the preceding word, cf. section 1.2.3 and section 3.1.3.
3.003

Efe joxo  
ba-gidi  
küto-do-k

efe joxo  
sit-next.day  
go.downhill-SS-CON

On a certain morning the elder brother goes downhill and goes and shoots fishes.

For the meaning and use of bagidi see 2.8.3.3

3.004

Efe küda  
xodok  
wi

efe küda  
xo-do-k  
wi

The younger brother goes and shoots a pig.

3.005

Tinik  
abu  
da-de-k  
büsiü

ti-ni-k  
a-bu  
büsiü

He shoots, brings it and takes it up into the house.

Note the spatial orientation here. The deictic center, which is the perspective from where the story is told, is somewhere close to the three house, at ground level. In Aghu this is a very common perspective, cf. 5.8.
PART III: TEXTS. 3. Two brothers

3.006

*Efe joxo ni dokunuk baxe.*

3SG elder.brother DAT wait-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]

He sits down and waits for his elder brother.

3.007

*Efe joxo mataxe.*

3SG elder.brother come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

His elder brother comes uphill.

3.008

*Matadek büsiü osuke.*

come.uphill-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes uphill and goes up into the house.

3.009

*Wi toxongge,*

wi toxō-ge

pig cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]

*toxonok afitamu xabā emu efè toxō-no-k afitamu xabā emu efè cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON half head then 3SG*

3SG elder.brother give-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother cuts the pig into big pieces,cuts it into big pieces and then gives half of it plus the head to his elder brother.

Drabbe remarks that *afi tam* is an expression for cutting a slaughtered or a shot animal in two parts. Related to this we find the forms *afitamu*
and *afitamä*, referring to half an animal. *Tamu* is the adverbial form, and *tamä* is a verbal noun. *Afita* *m* *x* *ab* *ä* is half of the animal plus its head (Drabbe 1957:85, note 67, cf. 3.4.2 for adverbs in -*mu* and 2.3.2.2 for verbal nouns).

3.010

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<tr>
<td><em>Ededek</em></td>
<td><em>efê</em></td>
<td><em>joxo</em></td>
<td><em>kutaxamu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>ede-de-k</td>
<td><em>efê</em></td>
<td><em>joxo</em></td>
<td><em>kutaxamu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>give-SS-CON</td>
<td>3SG elder.brother</td>
<td>in.exchange</td>
<td>3SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*naxe* | *efê* | *küda* | *toxopômu* |
| n-axe | *efê* | *küda* | toxopômu |
| LNK-fish | 3SG younger.sibling | some |

doxe.

ed-oxe
give-N1.RLS[SG]
He gives it and in exchange the elder brother gives some of his fish to his younger brother.

3.011

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<tr>
<td><em>Ededek</em></td>
<td>jâ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ede-de-k</td>
<td>jâ</td>
<td>kû-ge-nâ</td>
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<tr>
<td>give-SS-CON</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>put-N1.RLS-N1PL</td>
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doxe.

do-xe
cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]
He gives it and they put it on the fire so that it gets cooked through.

In the next two sentences, we find a specification of the process of putting the meat on the fire.

3.012

*Amu* *efigiomoxe*.
amu | *efigiom-oxe*
meat | cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother cuts (the) pork in smaller pieces.

Lit. he cuts (meat). From the context it is clear that here reference is made to the elder brother. Another interpretation is that this sentence focuses on 'one of the two, no matter whom', and that the following sentence makes clear that both are actually cutting pork. For the use of unspecified subjects cf. section 4.1.

3.013

_Efe këda_  _efë namu xamëmu_

_efë këda_  _efë n-amu xamëmu_

3SG younger.sibling  3SG LNK-meat likewise

_efigiomoxe_.

efigiom-oxe
cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother likewise cuts his share of pork in smaller pieces.

3.014

_Kimoxenä;  kimoxenä_

_kim-oxe-nä  kim-oxe-nä_

_roast-N1.RLS-N1PL  roast-N1.RLS-N1PL_

doxe  _engenä_.

do-xe  _e-ge-nä_

cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]  eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They roast it; they roast it cooked through and eat.

3.015

_Engenä  bagidi  xati mimë namu_

_ë-ge-nä  ba-gidi  xati mimë namu_

_eat-N1.RLS-N1PL  sit-next.day again morning INSTR_

_efë këda_  _midik_

_efë këda_  _mi-di-k_

3SG younger.sibling  come.down-SS-CON
xoxe.
oxo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]
They eat and the following morning the younger brother comes down and goes.
For the use of namu 'instr' in temporal expressions see 3.6.1.2.

3.016

\textit{Efe} joxo \quad \textit{xati} \quad \textit{midik}
efe joxo \quad xati \quad mi-di-k
3SG elder.brother again come.down-SS-CON

xoxe.
oxo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother again comes down and goes.

3.017

\textit{Xodok} \quad \textit{ekenä,} \quad \textit{efe}
oxo-do-k \quad e-ke-nä \quad efe
go-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL 3SG

\textit{küda} \quad \textit{woküe} \quad \textit{namu tîge.}
küda woküe namu tî-ge
younger.sibling cassowary only shoot-N1.RLS[SG]
After they have been hunting for a while, the younger brother shoots just a cassowary.

Nonfinite \textit{xodok} plus posture verb \textit{ekenä} together form a durative construction, cf. 2.4.3.3. Drabbe remarks that \textit{xodok ekena} translates as 'they keep on walking', and expresses that they are hunting or fishing (Drabbe 1957:86, note 69).
3.018

*Tinik* adek daxe.
ni-nde-k a-de-k da-xe
shoot-SS-COM take-SS-COM come-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots it and brings it.

3.019

*Abu* dahek busii ab' suke.
a-bu da-de-k busii a-bu osu-ke
take-SS come-SS-COM house take-SS go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He brings it and takes it up into the house.

3.020

*Absuduk* kifidik efe
a-b-su-du-k kifi-di-k efe
take-SS-go.up-SS-COM lay.down-SS-COM 3SG

joxo dokunuk baxe.
joxo dokû-nu-k ba-xe
elder.brother wait-SS-COM sit-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes it up, lays it down and sits down waiting for his elder brother.

Here we find *efe joxo*, as the non-subject argument of *dokû 'wait', without a postpositional case marker. In a parallel clause in 3.031, however, *efe joxo* is - again as non-subject argument of *dokû* - followed by the dative case marker *ni*.

3.021

*Efe joxo* eke ta mataxe.
efe joxo eke ta mata-xe
3SG elder.brother 3SG.FOC IN.TURN come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

His elder brother in turn comes uphill.
3.022

_Büsiü_ mataxe.

büsiü mata-xe

house come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes uphill to the house.

3.023

_Mataxe_, büsiü osuduk axe

mata-xe büsiü osu-du-k axe

come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG] house go.up-SS-CON fish

toxopòmu efe küda edoxe.
toxopòmu efe küda ed-oxe

some 3SG younger.sibling give-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes up, goes up to the house and gives some fish to his younger brother.

3.024

_Efe_ küda eke ta

efe küda eke ta

3SG younger.sibling 3SG.FOC IN.TURN

efe namu toxonge,
efe n-amu toxo-ge

3SG LNK-meat cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]

_woküe_ toxonok efe joxo

woküe toxo-no-k efe joxo

cassowary cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON 3SG elder.brother

afitamã xabã emu edoxe,
afitamã xabã emu ed-oxe

half head then give-N1.RLS[SG]
PART III: TEXTS. 3. Two brothers

efe joxo $k'$
efe joxo ke
3SG elder.brother ACC

edoxe.
ed-oxe
give-N1.RLS[SG]
The younger brother in turn cuts his cassowary meat in big pieces, he cuts the cassowary in big pieces and then gives his elder brother half plus the head, to his elder brother he gives it.

3.025
Effigiomoxenā, kimoxenā
efigi-oxe-nā kim-oxe-nā
cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL roast-N1.RLS-N1PL

doxe engenā.
do-xe ė-ge-nā
cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG] eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
They cut it, roast it cooked through and eat.

3.026
Bagidi xati efe kūda midik
ba-gidi xati efe kūda mi-di-k
sit-next.day again 3SG younger.sibling come.down-SS-CON

xoxe.
xo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]
The following day the younger brother again comes down and goes.
3.027

_Efe joxo xati midik_

Efe joxo xati mi-di-k
3SG elder.brother again come.down-SS-CON

_xoxe._

xo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother again comes down and goes.

3.028

_Xodok ekenā, efè_

xo-do-k eke-nā efe
go-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL 3SG

_küda xati wi fasike_

küda xati wi fasike
younger.sibling again pig one

_tingge._

ti-ge
shoot-N1.RLS[SG]
After they have been hunting for a while, the younger brother again shoots one pig.

3.029

_Tinik büsiü abu daxe._

ti-ni-k büsiü a-bu da-xe
shoot-SS-CON house take-SS come-N1.RLS[SG]
He shoots it and brings it home.
PART III: TEXTS. 3. Two brothers

3.030

Absuduk  būsiû  kifioxe
a-b-su-du-k  būsiû  kifi-oxe
take-SS-go.up-SS-CON  house  lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes it up and lays it down in the house.

3.031

Kifidik  efe  joxo  ni
kifi-di-k  efe  joxo  ni
lay.down-SS-CON  3SG elder.brother  DAT

dokunuk  baxe.
dokû-nu-k  ba-xe
wait-SS-CON  sit-N1.RLS[SG]

He lays it down and sits down waiting for his elder brother.

3.032

Efe  joxo  eke  ta
efe  joxo  eke  ta
3SG elder.brother  3SG.FOC  IN.TURN

mataxe.
mata-xe
come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

His elder brother in turn comes uphill.

3.033

Matadek  būsiû  osuke.
mata-de-k  būsiû  osu-ke
come.up-SS-CON  house  go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes uphill and goes up into the house.
PART III: TEXTS. 3. Two brothers

3.034

Osuduk 
axe toxopòmu efe küda
osu-du-k axe toxopòmu efe küda
go.up-SS-CON fish some 3SG younger.sibling

edoxe.
ed-oxe
give-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up and gives some fish to his younger brother.

3.035

Efe küda eke ta
efe küda eke ta
3SG younger.sibling 3SG.FOC IN.TURN

efe namu toxonge,
efe n-amu toxô-ge
3SG LNK-meat cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]

toxonok efè joxo afitamã xabã
toxô-no-k efè joxo afitamã xabã
cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON 3SG elder.brother half head

emu edoxe.
emu ed-oxe
then give-N1.RLS[SG]
The younger brother in turn cuts his pork in big pieces, he cuts it in big pieces and then gives his elder brother half of it plus the head.

3.036

Ededek amu efîgiomoxenã.
ede-de-k amu efîgiom-oxe-nã
give-SS-CON meat cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL
He gives it and they cut the pork in smaller pieces.

3.037

*Tomoxenā.*
tom-oxe-nā
roast-N1.RLS-N1PL
They roast it.

3.038

*Doxe*  
en*genā.*
doe-xe  
ē-ge-nā
cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]  
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
It is cooked through and they eat.

3.039

*Engenā*  
*bagidi*  
efe  
küda  
*xati*
ee-ge-nā  
ba-gidi  
efe  
küda  
xati
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL  
sit-next.day  
3SG younger.sibling  
again
midik  
xoxe.
mi-di-k  
xo-xe
come.down-SS-CON  
go-N1.RLS[SG]
They eat and the following day the younger brother again comes down and goes.

3.040

*Efe joxo*  
xati  
midik
efe  
joxo  
xati  
mi-di-k
3SG elder.brother  
again  
come.down-SS-CON

xoxe.
xo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother again comes down and goes.
3.041

_Efe küda ėk̡i, wi fasike_

Efe küda e-ki wi fasike

3SG younger.sibling stand-DIST.N1SG pig one

_tinge._

tī-ge

shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

After a while, the younger shoots a pig.

Although ěk̡i here is formally not part of a durative construction, it certainly has the implication of durativity here (cf. parallel cases in 3.053, 3.084, 3.094, 3.105, where the distant past is indeed used as part of a durative construction). As noted in section 2.4.3, in durative constructions distant past forms are indifferent with respect to a more distant or a more recent past. In 3.190 we will see that the myth as a whole should be read as referring to a historical (or mythical?) past, cf. section 2.3.3.1, especially the final part.

3.042

_Tinik būsiū adek_

tī-ni-k būsiū a-de-k

shoot-SS-CON house take-SS-CON

daxe.

da-xe

come-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots it and brings it home.

3.043

_Abu dadek būsiū ab’ suke._

a-bu da-de-k būsiū a-bu osu-ke
take-SS come come-SS-CON house take-SS go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He brings it home and takes it up into the house.
3.044

\textit{Ab' suduk kifidik efè}
a-bu osu-du-k kifī-di-k efè
take-SS go.up-SS-CON lay.down-SS-CON 3SG

\textit{joxo ni dokunuk baxe.}
joxo ni dokū-nu-k ba-xe
elder.brother DAT wait-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes it up and lays it down and sits down waiting for his elder brother.

3.045

\textit{Efe joxo eke ta}
efe joxo eke ta
3SG elder.brother 3SG.FOC IN.TURN

\textit{mataxe; matadek būsiü}
mata-xe mata-de-k būsiü
come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG] come.uphill-SS-CON house

\textit{osuke.}

osu-ke
go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

His elder brother in turn comes uphill; he comes uphill and goes up into the house.

3.046

\textit{Osuduk axe toxopòmu efè kūda}

osu-du-k axe toxopòmu efe kūda
go.up-SS-CON fish some 3SG younger.sibling

\textit{edoxe.}
ed-oxe
give-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes uphill and gives some fish to his younger brother.

3.047

Efe kūda eke ta
efe kūda eke ta
3SG younger.sibling 3SG.FOC IN.TURN

efe namu toxoŋge,
efe n-amu toxō-ge
3SG LNK-meat cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]

 toxonok afitamā xabā emu efe
toxō-no-k afitamā xabā emu efe
cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON half head then 3SG

joxo edoxe.
joxo ed-oxe
elder.brother give-N1.RLS[SG]

His younger brother in turn cuts his pork in big pieces. He cuts it in big pieces and then gives half of it plus the head to his brother.

3.048

Efigiomoxenā.
efigiom-oxe-nā
cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

They cut it in smaller pieces.

3.049

Eŋgenā.
é-ge-nā
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat.

Drabbe remarks: in the preceding the normal life of the two brothers has been described. It does not mean that they went fishing and hunting for
five days, and that then happened what is told in the following. We find
something similar in the myth about the two orphan girls (Drabbe 1957:86,
note 70, cf. the note at 1.068).

Summary of 3.050-3.070. On the fifth day the youngest one says that there is a palm
tree close to the well, but that his brother is not allowed to cut its young shoots. Then
he goes out, shoots a pig, and on the way home he hears that his brother is busy with
the young shoots (up in the tree). He goes to look, and tips over the ladder. The eldest
brother cries and asks for pity. The youngest, however, goes home and eats from the
pig.

3.050

Eŋgenā bagidi efe küda oxe:
ē-ge-nā ba-gidi efe küda o-xē
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day 3SG younger.sibling speak-N1.RLS[SG]

efe joxo ni oxe:
efe joxo ni o-xē
3SG elder.brother DAT speak-N1.RLS[SG]

dü bo womu eke;
dü bo womu e-ke
sago well inside stand-N1.RLS[SG]

osubu küobu ku adin'
osu-bu kūo-bu ku adi-n-e
go.up-SS carve-SS palm.shoot eat_II-N1SG-FUT

manefi numoxe.
manefi num-o-xe
not.want such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

They eat and the next day his younger brother says; he says to his elder brother:
"there is a sago tree close to the well; don't go up and carve and eat the youngest
shoot of the stem." so he says.

Imperatives cannot be negated. Instead, Aghu speakers use manefi, which
is the imperative form of mũ 'not want'. This imperative takes either a
verbal noun, or a future form as its complement. In this case, manefi has
the future form adin’ as its complement. In combination with manefi, the
Final vowel of the future, being unstressed, is often elided. Cf. the final part of section 2.5.
Bo womu here refers to the area around the well (Drabbe 1957: 86a, note 71).

3.051

**Numodok**

- **odok**
- **efe**
- **küda**

num-o-do-k  o-do-k  efe  küda
such-speak-SS-CON  speak-SS-CON  3SG younger.sibling

**midik**

- **xati**
- **xoxe**.

mi-di-k  xati  xo-xe
come.down-SS-CON  again  go-N1.RLS[SG]

So he says (he says) and the younger brother comes down and goes again.

3.052

**Efe joxo**

- **xati**
- **midik**
- **xoxe**.

efe  joxo  xati  mi-di-k  xo-xe
3SG elder.brother  again  come.down-SS-CON  go-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother again comes down and goes.

3.053

**Xodok**

- **ėki,**
- **wi**
- **tinge.**

xo-do-k  e-ki  wi  tī-ge
go-SS-CON  stand-DIST.N1SG  pig  shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

He [the younger brother] hunts for a while, and shoots a pig
For **xodok eki**, cf. 3.017 and 3.028.

3.054

**Tinik**

- **adek**
- **dadek**

tī-ni-k  a-de-k  da-de-k
shoot-SS-CON  take-SS-CON  come-SS-CON
PART III: TEXTS. 3. Two brothers

3.055

*Dadek* wi *adofioxe.*

da-de-k wi adofi-oxe

hear-SS-CON pig put.down-N1.RLS[SG]

He listens and lays down the pig.

3.056

*Faki* *daxe.*

faki da-xe

secretly come-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes secretly.

3.057

*Faki* *dadek* *etoxe:* *efè*

faki da-de-k et-oxe efe

secretly come-SS-CON see-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG

---

dake: dü osuduk bu

da-ke dü osu-du-k bu

hear-N1.RLS[SG] sago go.up-SS-CON DUR

küöxe; efe küda

küo-xe efe küda
carve-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG younger.sibling

dake.
da-ke

hear-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots it and brings it and hears: someone has gone up into the sago tree and is carving out the new shoot; the younger brother listens.

*Note that* bu *may harmonize with the following vowel, cf. section 2.4.3.2. Osuduk and kuoxe have an unspecified subject; cf. section 4.1.*
He secretly comes and sees: his elder brother has gone up and is carving out the youngest shoot of the palm.

Note that da 'come' in this sentence is followed by mada 'come from close' in the following sentence. The sequence of the two verbs refers to a gradually coming closer. Cf. the sequence of the two verbs in 1.040 and the sequence of xo 'go' and ogo 'go close' in 3.100.

The younger brother secretly comes close and throws over the ladder, he takes it and casts it away (lit. and the ladder goes up - > away).

Drabbe remarks that the sequence of pemoxo and otoxe is similar to a construction with the DS-marker -ne (Drabbe 1957:86, note 73). See section 5.4.1.2 where it is described that sequences of semifinites, as we find here, imply a change of subject. For the use of the DS marker -ne (which also implies sequentiality) see 5.4.2.2.
PART III: TEXTS. 3. Two brothers

3.059

Efe joxo titime kike:
efe joxo titime ki-ke
3SG elder.brother shout become-N1.RLS[SG]

noküda, fike nikiyamu kinu
no-küda fike nikiyamu ki-nu
1SG-younger.sibling ladder back put.up-IMP[SG]

numoxe.
num-o-xe
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother shouts: "my younger brother, put the ladder back", so he says.

Kinu is probably the imperative form of kifi 'lay down', or 'put up'.

3.060

Numoxe, efe küda
num-o-xe efe küda
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG younger.sibling

munge.
mu-ge
not.want-N1.RLS[SG]
So he says, the younger brother refuses.

3.061

Okèmu ena, edek nokü
okèmu ena e-de-k nokü
all.the.time stand.IMP[SG] stand-SS-CON die.IMP[SG]

numoxe.
um-o-xe
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
"From now on stay, stay and die", so he says.

3.062

Numoxe efe joxo ifionge.
num-o-xe efe joxo ifiõ-ge
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG elder.brother cry-N1.RLS[SG]
So he says and the elder brother cries.

3.063

Ifionek eke.
ifiõ-ne-k e-ke
cry-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS[SG]
He keeps crying.

3.064

Efè küda munuk daxe.
efe küda mû-nu-k da-xe
3SG younger.sibling not.want-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG]
The younger brother does not want [to react] and comes (home).

Munuk is also often used as an adverbial expression. More on mû- can be found in section 2.10.

3.065

Munuk dadek wi
mû-nu-k da-de-k wi
not.want-SS-CON come-SS-CON pig

adek daxe.
a-de-k da-xe
take-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG]
He refuses and comes (towards the house) and brings the pig with him.
3.066

*Buściū ab’ suke.*  
obući a-bu osu-ke  
house take-SS go.up-N1.RLS[SG]  
He takes it up into the house.

3.067

*Absuduk wi*  
a-b-su-du-k wi  
take-SS-go.up-SS-CON pig  

toxonge.  
toxō-ge  
cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]  
He takes it up and cuts the pig into big pieces.

3.068

*Toxonok efigiomoxe.*  
 toxō-no-k efigiom-oxe  
cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG]  
Het cuts it into big pieces and then into smaller pieces.

3.069

*Efigiomodok kimoxe.*  
efigiomo-do-k kim-oxe  
cut.IT-SS-CON roast-N1.RLS[SG]  
He cuts it and roasts it.

3.070

*Ēnge.*  
ē-ge  
eat-N1.RLS[SG]  
He eats.
Summary of 3.071-3.109. Next day he goes out hunting again, and shoots a pig. On the way home he hears his brother calling, but he walks on, and at home he eats (from) the pig. The day after he goes out hunting again, and still hears his brother calling. He walks on and shoots a pig. On the way back he still hears calling, but he walks on. At home he eats from the pig that he has killed. Next day he goes out, and does not hear anything anymore. He walks on and shoots a pig. On the way home he again hears nothing. He walks on and at home he eats from the pig. Next day he goes to look for his brother, who is not there anymore. He sees that the sago palm is dying. Then he walks on and shoots a pig. At home he eats from it.

In the summary presented here, it seems that Drabbe has swopped the events of day 1 and day 2. Following the text below, the following happens. At day 1, the younger brother goes out, sees his brother, walks on, shoots a pig, hears his brother again on his way back, but comes home and eats the pig. At day 2 the younger brother first shoots a pig and sees his elder brother only on the way back homewards.

3.071

*Enge*  
*bagidi*  
*xati*  
*midik*  

*e̱-ge*  
*ba-gidi*  
*xati*  
*mi-di-k*  

eat-N1.RLS[SG]  
sit-next.day  
again  
come.down-SS-CON  

*xoxe.*  

xo-xe  

go-N1.RLS[SG]  

He eats and the following day again he comes down and goes.

3.072

*Xodok*  
*dake*  
*efê*  

xo-do-k  
*da-ke*  
*efê*  

go-SS-CON  
*hear-N1.RLS[SG]*  
3SG  

*joxo*  
*okude*  
*b'*  
*ike.*  

joxo  
*okude*  
*bu*  
*i-ke*  

elder.brother  
still  
DUR  
call-N1.RLS[SG]  

He goes and hears that his elder brother is still calling.
3.073

\( B' \) ike efe küda
bu i-ke efe küda
DUR call-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG younger.sibling

dadek munuk xoxe.
da-de-k mũ-nu-k xo-xe
hear-SS-CON not.want-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

He is calling, but although the younger brother hears [his elder brother], he does not want [to come] and goes on.

For the meaning and use of mũ 'not want', cf. section 2.11.

3.074

Xodok wi tinge.
xo-do-k wi tĩ-ge
go-SS-CON pig shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and shoots a pig.

3.075

Tinik adek daxe.
tĩ-ni-k a-de-k da-xe
shoot-SS-CON take-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots and brings it (home).

3.076

Abu dadek dake,
a-bu da-de-k da-ke
take-SS come-SS-CON hear-N1.RLS[SG]

efe joxo okude b' ike.
efe joxo okude bu i-ke
3SG elder.brother still DUR call-N1.RLS[SG]

While he is bringing it home, he hears his brother still calling.
3.077

*Efe* küda munuk būsiū daxe.

Efe küda mū- nu-k būsiū da-xe

3SG younger.sibling not.want-SS-CON house come-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother does not want [to react] and comes further homewards.

3.078

*Būsiū* dadek osuke, emu

būsiū da-de-k osu-ke emu

house come-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS[SG] then

toxongge.
toxo-ge

cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes home and goes up, then he cuts [the pig] into big pieces.

3.079

*Toxonok* efigiomo xe.

toxo-no-k efigiom-oxe

cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG]

He cuts it into big pieces and then into smaller pieces.

3.080

*Kimo xe.*

kim-oxe

roast-N1.RLS[SG]

He roasts it.

3.081

*Kimo xo* doxe.

kim-oxo do-xe

roast-N1.RLS[SG] cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]

He roasts it cooked through.
3.082

_Enge._

ê-ge

eat-N1.RLS[SG]

He eats.

3.083

_Bagidi xati midik xoxe._

ba-gidi xati mi-di-k xo-xe

sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

The following day again he comes down and goes.

3.084

_Xodok ēki wi_.

xo-do-k e-ki wi

go-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG pig

tinge.

tī-ge

shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

After having gone for a while he shoots a pig.

3.085

_Abu dadek_

a-bu da-de-k

take-SS come-SS-CON

efe joxo okude b’ ike.

efe joxo okude bu i-ke

3SG elder.brother still DUR call-N1.RLS[SG]

He brings it and on the way homewards he hears that his brother is still calling.

Note that we have a nonfinite form _dadek_ followed by a verb with a different subject. We probably have to do here with the elision of a verb
of perception, *dake 'he heard', cf. 3.076 and 3.095 where we do find this verb of perception. Cf. also 6.161, which is another example of a nonfinite form followed by a verb with a different subject. For other examples of SS-forms followed by a verb with different subject see footnote 46 in section 2.3.2.1

3.086

*Munuk*  
*būšiū*  
*daxe.*  

mū-nu-k  
*būšiū*  
*da-xe*  

not.want-SS-CON  
house  
*come-N1.RLS[SG]*  

He does not want [to react] and comes home.

3.087

*Dadek*  
*osuke.*  

da-de-k  
*osu-ke*  

come-SS-CON  
*go.up-N1.RLS[SG]*  

He comes and goes up.

3.088

*Osuduk*  
*amu toxonge.*  

osu-du-k  
*amu toxō-ge*  

go.up-SS-CON  
meat  
*cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]*  

He goes up and cuts the pork in big pieces.

3.089

*Toxonok*  
*efigiomoxe.*  

toxō-no-k  
*efigiom-oxe*  

cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON  
*cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG]*  

He cuts it in big pieces and then in smaller pieces.

3.090

*Kimoxo*  
*doxe.*  

kim-oxo  
*do-xe*  

roast-N1.RLS[SG]  
*cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]*  

He roasts it cooked through.
3.091

*Enge.*

ê-ge
eat-N1.RLS[SG]

He eats.

3.092

*Enge*  
*bagidi*  
*xati*  
*midik*

ê-ge  
ba-gidi  
xati  
mi-di-k

eat-N1.RLS[SG]  
sit-next.day  
again  
come.down-SS-CON

*xoxe.*

xo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]

He eats and the following day again he comes down and goes.

3.093

*Xodok*  
*dake*  
*efê*  
*joxo*

xo-do-k  
da-ke  
efe  
joxo

go-SS-CON  
hear-N1.RLS[SG]  
3SG elder.brother

*u*  
*ani*  
*gike,*  
*munuk*

u  
ani  
gi-ke  
mû-nu-k

sound  
lost  
become-N1.RLS[SG]  
not.want-SS-CON

*xoxe.*

xo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and listens [but] the elder brother's voice has disappeared, he does not want [to look] and goes on.
3.094

Xodok čki wi
xo-do-k e-ki wi
go-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG pig

tinik adek daxe.
ti-ni-k a-de-k da-xe
shoot-SS-CON take-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG]

After he has been going for a while he shoots a pig and brings it (homewards).

3.095

Abu dadek dake efe
a-bu da-de-k da-ke efe
take-SS come-SS-CON hear-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG

joxo isiom’ u ani gi-ke.
joxo isiomu u ani gi-ke
elder.brother very/all sound lost become-N1.RLS[SG]

On the way home he listens, [but] all sound made by his elder brother has disappeared.

3.096

Munuk büsiü daxe.
mũ-nu-k büsiü da-xe
not.want-SS-CON house come-N1.RLS[SG]

He does not want [to look] and comes home.

3.097

Büsiü dadek osuduk amu
büsiü da-de-k osu-du-k amu
house come-SS-CON go.up-SS-CON meat
toxonøge.
toxø-ge
cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes home and goes up and cuts the pork in big pieces.

3.098
Toxonok efigiomoxe.
toxø-no-k efigiom-oxe
cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG]
He cuts it in big pieces and cuts it in smaller pieces.

3.099
Kimoxo doxe, enge.
kim-oxo do-xe ě-ge
He roasts it cooked through, and eats.

3.100
Enge bagidi xati midik
ĕ-ge ba-gidi xati mi-di-k
eat-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON
xoxe.
xo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]
He eats and the following day again he comes down and goes.

3.101
Xodok efe joxo ni
xo-do-k efe joxo ni
go-SS-CON 3SG elder.brother DAT
ogodok etoxe.
gogo-do-k et-oxe
go.close-SS-CON see-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes close to the place where his brother was, and watches. (lit. he goes at a short distance for his brother and watches).

Drabbe compares the combination of xodok and ogo(xe) to the combination of dadek (come-SS-CON) and mada(xe) 'come close' in 1.040: it refers to a going or coming from a distance, and a subsequent coming or going closer. (Drabbe 1957:86, note 74, referring to note 16).

3.102

Etoxene ani gike.
et-oxe-ne ani gi-ke
see-N1.RLS[SG]-DS lost become-N1.RLS[SG]

He sees [but] that he has disappeared.

3.103

Ani gike, dü mase kūnūk
ani gi-ke dü mase kū-nū-k
lost become-N1.RLS[SG] sago already die-SS-CON
eke.
e-ke
stand-N1.RLS[SG]

He has disappeared, and the sago tree is already dying.

3.104

Munuk xoxe.
mū-nu-k xo-xe
not.want-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

Then he goes (further).
3.105  
*Xodok* ēki wi  
oxo-do-k e-ki wi  
go-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG pig

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xati} & \quad \text{tįge;} & \quad \text{adek} & \quad \text{daxe.} \\
\text{xati} & \quad \text{tį-ge} & \quad \text{a-de-k} & \quad \text{da-xe}
\end{align*}
\]

Having gone for a while he again shoots a pig, takes it and comes (homewards).

3.106  
*Dadek* büsiü osuke.  
da-de-k büsiü osu-ke  
come-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]  

He comes and goes up into the house.

3.107  
*Osuduk* toxonge.  
oso-du-k toxő-ge  
go.up-SS-CON cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]  

He goes up and cuts [the meat] in big pieces.

3.108  
*Toxonok* efigiomoxe.  
toxő-no-k efigiom-oxe  
cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG]  

He cuts it in big pieces and cuts it in smaller pieces.

3.109  
*Kimoxe.*  
kim-oxe  
roast-N1.RLS[SG]  

He roasts it.
PART III: TEXTS. 3. Two brothers

**Summary of 3.110-3.152.** Next day he goes and cuts the sago palm, and takes the sago grubs out. When he is finished, he squats down on the trunk that is left, and takes grubs also out of there. When he comes deeper, he hits his brother's head. The head comes up and bites in the youngest brother's scrotum. He stops searching for sago grubs, and goes home, with his brother's head at his scrotum. There he roasts the grubs and eats from them together with his brother. Next day he goes out hunting, and when he sees a pig, he asks his brother to come off and to stand on the ground. His brother refuses. Then he shoots the pig, and again asks his brother to come off and to walk, but again he refuses. He then picks up the pig and goes home with it. Both brothers eat from it.

### 3.110

*Eŋge*  
**bagidi** xati **midik**

ē-ge ba-gidi xati mi-di-k

eat-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day again come.down-SS-CON

*xabū* axe,  
*motū* axe.

*xabū* a-xe  
*motū* a-xe

stone.axe take-N1.RLS[SG] sack take-N1.RLS[SG]

He eats and the following day he comes down again and takes a stone axe and a sack.

The axe and sack were probably stored in the tree house, which means that the going down and the taking are not told in chronological order.

### 3.111

*Emedek*  
**xoxe.**

eme-de-k xo-xe

finish-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

Then he goes.

### 3.112

*Xodok*  
**kütodok** dü üke.

xo-do-k küto-do-k dü ü-ke

go-SS-CON go.downhill-SS-CON sago fell-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and goes downhill and fells the sago tree.
3.113

**Xaxake.**

xaxa-ke
break.off-N1.RLS[SG]

It breaks.

3.114

**Xaxadek xodok mike.**

xaxa-de-k xo-do-k mi-ke
break-SS-CON go-SS-CON come.down-N1.RLS[SG]

It breaks and goes and comes down.

This is a standard way of describing the falling of a tree, and is a good illustration of the tendency in Awyu Dumut languages to have maximally one verb per clause and maximally one overt argument (cf. de Vries t.a.). Drabbe writes: "ũke xaxadek xodok mike, he chops and the tree breaks through from here (or only: starts to move) and comes down; ũ(κ) on its own means only 'chopping' and the entire sentence means no more than "he chopped the tree" (Drabbe 1957:86b, note 76).

3.115

**Kutamo sike.**

kutamo si-ke
bark.of.sago.tree take.off-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes off the bark.

That is: from the tree that he has felled.

3.116

**Sid' emoxe**

si-d em-oxe
take.off-SS finish-N1.RLS[SG]

kuxamoxe.

kuxam-oxe
split.in.two-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes it off and then splits the tree in two parts.
3.117
*Wo kimoxe.*
wo kim-oxe
sago.grub  take-N1.RLS[SG]
He takes the sago grubs [out of the tree].

3.118
*Kimidik budo kunge.*
kimi-di-k budo kū-ge
take-SS-CON plate put-N1.RLS[SG]
He takes the sago grubs and puts them on a plate.

3.119
*Kunuk xond' emo xe.*
kū-nu-k xō-de emo-xe
put-SS-CON take.out-SS finish-N1.RLS[SG]
He puts them [there] and takes them all out. (lit. he takes them out and finishes).
This is an example of the use of *emV* implying compleetive aspect, cf. 2.048.

3.120
*Dü efe bago xati kutamo*
dū efe bago xati kutamo
sago 3SG trunk again bark.of.sago.tree
*sike.*
si-ke
take.off-N1.RLS[SG]
Also from the trunk he now takes off the bark.
*After he has collected sago worms in the stem, he again (xatī) starts to collect grubs, but now in the trunk that was left after he had cut the tree. For the use of xatī also see the dictionary.*
3.121

*Pomoxe.*

pom-oxe
cut-N1.RLS[SG]

He cuts it further down.

3.122

*Ogsuke.*

ogsu-ke
go.up.close-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes up a little [on the trunk].

*For the use and meaning of ogsu, see section 3.5.1.1.*

3.123

*Bibimu*  wo  *k’ baxe.*

bibimu  wo  ke  ba-xe
crouched  THAT  ACC  sit-N1.RLS[SG]

There he sits down crouched

*Bibimu* is an example of a deverbal adverb formed from an iterative verb stem and ending in -mu, cf. section 3.4, esp. the final part of section 3.4.2. For wo plus ke used to indicate a location cf. section 3.2.4.

3.124

*Kukukukumuduk  kunge.*

kuku–kukumu-du-k  kū-ge
RED–put.IT-SS-CON  put-N1.RLS[SG]

He digs deeper and deeper into the trunk.

Drabbe remarks that the combination of an iterative nonfinite plus a semifinite verb of the same lexeme leads to a "reinforced iterative". Here this reinforced iterative indicates that he is going deeper and deeper into the trunk (Drabbe 1957:86a, note 78). Here we have to do with a root ku’, reduplicated and affixed with -mV, leading to kukumu, according to pattern II described in 2.4.1. This complex stem is reduplicated again, leading to the stem kukukukumu.
3.125

Absüdük  efe j  oxo  xabä  wüaxafukunge.
a-b-sü-dü-k  efe  joxo  xabä  wüaxafukü-ge
take-SS-go.down-SS-CON  3SG  3PL  head  hit.at-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes down and hits at the head of his elder brother.

3.126

Efe joxo  fõ  numoxe.
efe  joxo  fõ  num-o-xe
3SG elder.brother  fõ  such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

His elder brother says "fõ".

Fõ is the sound made by a skull that wants to call or talk (Drabbe 1957:86, note 79).

3.127

Musuduk  efe  küda  wobio  asike.
mu-su-du-k  efe  küda  wobio  asi-ke
come.up-SS-CON  3SG  younger.sibling  scrotum  bite-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes up and bites into his younger brother's scrotum.

3.128

Asidik  buto  kike.
asi-di-k  buto  ki-ke
bite-SS-CON  strong  become-N1.RLS[SG]

He bites strongly.

3.129

Munuk  makä  manimi-ke.
mû-nu-k  makä  manimi-ke
not.want-SS-CON  ground  go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]

Then the younger brother gets off the trunk.

Drabbe remarks in his summarizing translation that all the time the head is still at his scrotum.
3.130
Wo motü kuŋge.
wo motü kū-ge
sago.grub sack put-N1.RLS[SG]
He puts the sago grubs into a sack.

3.131
Gabü axe.
gabü axe
stone.axe take-N1.RLS[SG]
He takes his stone axe.

3.132
Munuk būsiü xoxe.
mū-nu-k būsiü xo-xe
not.want-SS-CON house go-N1.RLS[SG]
Then he goes home.
This is one of the few places where a movement towards one's house is conceived of as going rather than as coming. Cf. section 5.9.

3.133
Xodok osuke.
oxo-do-k osu-ke
go-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes and goes up (into the house).

3.134
Osuduk jā abukùŋge.
osu-du-k jā abukū-ge
go.up-SS-CON fire make.fire-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up and makes a fire.
3.135

Wo kimoxe.

wo kim-oxe
sago.grub roast-N1.RLS[SG]

He roasts the sago grubs.

3.136

Kimoxo doxe,
kim-oxo do-xe
roast-N1.RLS[SG] cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]

efe joxo edoxone eŋge.
efe joxo ed-oxo-ne ē-ge
3SG elder.brother give-N1.RLS[SG]-DS eat-N1.RLS[SG]

He roasts them cooked through, and gives his elder brother and he eats. Apparently the elder brother is still able to eat, even though he is still biting his younger brother's scrotum.

3.137

Efē kūda eke ta eŋge.
efe kūda eke ta ē-ge
3SG younger.sibling 3SG.FOC IN.TURN eat-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother in turn eats.

3.138

Bagidi xati midik xoxe.
ba-gidi xati mi-di-k xo-xe
shout-next.day again come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

The following day again he comes down and goes.

3.139

Efē joxo gobungük
efe joxo gobü-nü-k
3SG elder.brother be.together.with-SS-CON
PART III: TEXTS. 3. Two brothers

His elder brother comes down together with him and they go.

3.140

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Etoxe} & \quad \text{wi } \text{fasike} \quad \text{eke,} \quad \text{efe} \\
\text{et-oxe} & \quad \text{wi } \text{fasike} \quad \text{e-ke} \quad \text{efe} \\
\text{see-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] & \quad \text{pig} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{stand-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \quad \text{3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{küda} & \quad \text{oxe:} \\
küda & \quad \text{oxe} \\
\text{younger.sibling} & \quad \text{stand-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nëxo,} & \quad \text{midik} \quad \text{ena} \quad \text{de} \\
n-ëxo & \quad \text{mi-di-k} \quad \text{ena} \quad \text{de} \\
\text{1SG-elder.brother} & \quad \text{come.down-SS-CON} \quad \text{stand.IMP}[\text{SG}] \quad \text{COP}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{numoxe}. \\
\text{num-o-xe} \\
\text{such-speak-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}]
\end{align*}
\]

He (the younger) sees a pig standing, and the younger brother says: "my elder brother, you [let loose and ] come down and stand", so he says.

Drabbe remarks: predicative \textit{de} is used after imperatives to express something like 'let it be that' (Drabbe 1957:86a, note 80). For the use of copula \textit{de} after verbs see also section 4.4.

3.141

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Efe } \text{joxo} & \quad \text{mădii} \quad \text{numoxe}. \\
\text{efe } \text{joxo} & \quad \text{mădū} \quad \text{num-o-xe} \\
\text{3SG elder.brother} & \quad \text{not.want}_\text{II.1SG} \quad \text{such-speak-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}]
\end{align*}
\]

The elder brother says: "I do not want", so he says.
3.142

Okèmu ogodok tìnge.
okèmu ogo-do-k tì-ge
immediately go.close-SS-CON shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

Then he (the younger) goes forward a little and shoots.

3.143

Tìnge xodok kuntary.
tì-ge xo-do-k kũ-ge
shoot-N1.RLS[SG] go-SS-CON die-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots and the pig goes and it dies.

3.144

Efe küda oxe: nēxo,
efe küda oxe n-ēxo
3SG younger.sibling speak-N1.RLS[SG] 1SG-elder.brother

midik noxi numoxe.
mi-di-k noxi num-o-xe
come.down-SS-CON go.IMP[SG] such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother says: "my elder brother, you come down and go!", so he says.

3.145

Efe joxo mādū numoxe.
efe joxo mādū num-o-xe
3SG elder.brother not.want.II.1SG such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother says: "I do not want".

3.146

Efe küda okèmu wi adek daxe.
efe küda okèmu wi a-de-k da-xe
3SG younger.sibling immediately pig take-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG]
The younger brother then takes the pig and comes (homewards).

3.147

*Adek efe joxo*
*a-de-k efe joxo*
*take-SS-CON 3SG elder.brother*

gobnük  
daxenä.
gobũ-nũ-k  
da-xe-nã
be. with-SS-CON  
come-N1.RLS-N1PL

He takes it and he with his elder brother together come (homewards).

3.148

*Büsiü dadek osukenä.*
būsiü da-de-k osu-ke-nã
*house come-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL*

They come home and go up (into the house).

3.149

*Osuduk wi toxongenä.*
*osu-du-k wi toxõ-ge-nã*
*go.up-SS-CON pig cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS-N1PL*

They go up and cut the pig in big pieces.

3.150

*Toxonok efigiomoxenä.*
*toxõ-no-k efigiom-oxe-nã*
*cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL*

They cut it in big pieces and then cut it into smaller pieces.
3.151

**Kímoxenā**

kim-oxe-nā
doxe.

roast-N1.RLS-N1PL
cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]

They roast it cooked through.

3.152

**Eŋgenā**

ē-ge-nā
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat.

**Summary of 3.153-3.173.** Next day they cross the Digul-river in a canoe. When they come to a breadfruit tree that bears fruit, the youngest brother tells his brother to come off and stand. When he agrees, the youngest one climbs into the tree. He picks some fruits and casts them down. His brother lays them in a pile. Then he picks one which flies to the other side of the river. The youngest tells his brother to go and get it. The eldest brother flies away. Then the youngest brother comes down, takes five fruits from the pile, crosses the Digul by canoe, and goes home.

3.153

**Eŋgenā,**

bagidi

ē-ge-nā

ba-gidi

midik

mi-di-k

eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

sit-next.day

come.down-SS-CON

**xoxenā.**

xо-xe-nā
go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat, and the following day they come down and go.

3.154

**Xdоk**

Dǔxiāxα

xo-do-k

Dǔxiāxα

go-SS-CON

Digul.river
afì xonok onukenā.
afì xō-no-k onu-ke-nā
half sail-SS-CON go.across-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go and sail to the other side of the Digul river.

Afì 'half' is used for 'side' or 'half', and often used in case we have to do with two sides, as in the case of a river. Apparently xō can be combined with a NP (Dûxìaxa afì) expressing the target of the movement.

3.155

Onuduk tinik ogsukenā.
onu-du-k tî-ni-k ogsu-ke-nā
go.across-SS-CON moor-SS-CON go.up.close-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go across and moor (the canoe) and go ashore.
For the interpretation of ogsu see 3.5.1.1.

3.156

Ogsuduk xozenā.
ogsu-du-k xo-xe-nā
go.up.close-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go ashore and go.

3.157

Xodok xā fidik ige.
xo-do-k xâ fi-di-k i-ge
go-SS-CON breadfruit bear.fruit-SS-CON hang-N1.RLS[SG]

They go and see a breadfuit tree which is bearing fruit.

Drabbe remarks that here the use of a nonfinite form fidik is remarkable, because the subject of ige differs from that of fidik. The reason might be, according to Drabbe, that xâ can indicate both the stem and the fruits of the bread tree. (Drabbe 1957:86, note 84). While Drabbe gives a possible explanation for the use of nonfinite SS fidik, he does not explain the use of nonfinite xodok. I would be inclined to explain the use of nonfinite xodok from the fact that what follows describes what the brother sees. Xodok could be thought of as followed by a verb of perception (with same subject as xodok), which, however has been left out. Cf. footnote 46 in section 4.1.
3.158

Efe küda  oxe:  nēxo,
efe küda  o-xe    n-ēxo
3SG younger.sibling  speak-N1.RLS[SG]  1SG-elder.brother

midik        ena     de
mi-di-k      ena     de
come.down-SS-CON stand.IMP.SG COP

numoxe.
num-o-xe
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
The younger brother says: "my elder brother, come down (from my scrotum) and stand", so he says.

Here we have an example of a verbal clause embedded in a copula clause ending in de, cf. section 4.3.

3.159

Efe joxo midomoxe.
efe joxo midom-oxe
3SG elder.brother agree-N1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother agrees.

3.160

Midik  eke.
mi-di-k  eke
come.down-SS-CON  stand-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes down and stands.

3.161

Eke, efe küda xā
eke efe küda xā
stand-N1.RLS[SG]  3SG younger.sibling breadfruit.tree
PART III: TEXTS. 3. Two brothers

osuke.
osu-ke
go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
He stands, and the younger brother goes up into the breadfruit tree.

3.162
Osudukăngge.
osu-du-kgü-ge
go.up-SS-CONpick-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up and picks fruit.

3.163
Güsaxamoxemike.
güsaxam-oxemii-ke
pick.IT-N1.RLS[SG]drink-N1.RLS[SG]
He picks and fruits come down.
Note that we have singular inflection for what might be conceived of as a plural noun (Drabbe 1957:86a, note 85). In 3.1.5.2, esp. Figure v, it can be seen that smaller objects may take singular or plural subject inflection when reference is made to more than one.

3.164
Efe joxoxodokkimidik
efe joxoxo-do-kioki-mi-di-k
3SG elder.brothergo-SS-CONhold-SS-CON
aba dadekgigiokunge.
a-buda-de-kgigio̱kũ-ge
take-SScome-SS-CONput.on.a.heap-N1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother goes and takes it and comes back to put it on a heap.
Note that the SS-marker -bu here harmonizes with the preceding vowel. While harmonization of the durative particle bu 'DUR' has been described by Drabbe (cf. section 2.4.3.2), this is not the case for -bu. This is the only example of harmonized -bu in the text corpus. Apparently the deictic center is somewhere near the tree, from where the elder brother goes to collect fruit and to where he comes back.
3.165
*Fe günge.*
fe gü-ge
3SG pick-N1.RLS[SG]
He [the younger] picks one.

3.166
*Bu xoxe; bū xodok Dügü*
fly go-N1.RLS[SG] fly go-SS-CON Digul.river
*aţi onuduk mike.*
aţi onu-du-k mi-ke
half go.across-SS-CON come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
It flies away. It flies away and goes across to the other side of the Digul river and comes down.

3.167
*Efè küda efe joxo oxe:*
efè küda efe joxo o-xe
3SG younger.sibling 3SG elder.brother speak-N1.RLS[SG]
*xodok onuduk xâ*
oxo-do-k onu-du-k xâ
go-SS-CON go.across-SS-CON breadfruit
*adek do numoxe.*
a-de-k do num-o-xe
take-SS-CON come.IMP[SG] such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
The younger brother says to the elder brother: "you go across and get the breadfruit", so he says.
3.168a

_Efe joxo_  
_bū xo-xe._

3SG elder.brother  fly  go-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother flies away.

3.168b

_Efe küda_  
_xaxamu mi-ke._

3SG younger.sibling  fast  come.down-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother comes down quickly.

The adverb _xaxamu_ (see section 3.4.2) 'fast' is used to stress that the brother tries to get home before his elder brother. See also 3.170.

3.169

_Midik_  
_xā bidikimā a-xe._

come.down-SS-CON  breadfruit  five  take-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes down and takes five breadfruits.

3.170

_Adek_  
_daxe, xaxamu da-xe._

a-de-k  da-xe  xaxamu  da-xe

take-SS-CON  come-N1.RLS[SG]  fast  come-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes and comes, he comes quickly.

3.171

_Midadek_  
_jofū ogüđük._

mida-de-k  jofū  ogü-dü-k

come.downstream-SS-CON  canoe  go.in-SS-CON

_`
moneke._

mono-ke

come.to.this.side-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes downstream, goes into a canoe and comes to this side.

From 3.170 the narrator now locates himself at the same side of the river as where the house of the two brothers is located. In 3.168a, the deictic center still seems to be at the other side, from where the two brothers now have left.

3.172

Monodok    tinik
mono-do-k   ti-ni-k
come.to.this.side-SS-CON    moor-SS-CON

musuduk    daxe.
musu-du-k   da-xe
come.up-SS-CON    come-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes to this side and moors and comes ashore and comes (homewards).

3.173

Büsiü    dadek    osuke.
büsiü    da-de-k    osu-ke
house    come-SS-CON    go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes home and goes up.

Summary of 3.174-3.190. He shuts all openings, and at the entrance he hangs a big stone. The eldest one comes flying towards the house. Five times he bumps into the house and falls down, and the sixth time he bumps into the stone so that his head is crushed. The youngest one goes outside to have a look, goes into the house again, and from then on lives there alone.

It should be noted that we have to do with five attempts to get into the house, probably through all five openings (cf. note at 3.174). The fact that the younger brother has brought exactly five breadfruits suggests that he has used these breadfruits, which may reach a weight of over 20 kilograms, to close off the openings.

3.174

Osuduk    sisibumoxe.
osu-du-k    sisibum-oxe
go.up-SS-CON    close.off.IT-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes up and closes all openings of the house.

Note that sisibum is an iterative stem, cf. 2.4.1. Here it indicates a
repetitive closing off, of all the openings in the house (cf. Drabbe's summarizing translation).

3.175

*Sisibumud’ emoxe,*

to *püsiaga*

sisibumu-IT SS em-oxe to püsiaga

close.off.IT-SS finish-N1.RLS[SG] opening big

When he has closed off the house, he hangs a big stone at the entrance.

The posture verb *i*(g) is used both for lying and for hanging, cf. section 2.8.1, Table 34.
The word order is remarkable, in that the adjective *püsiaga* 'big' precedes the word that it modifies (*io* 'stone') and because the adjective and the noun are interrupted by *ikèmu*.

3.176

*Dadek baxe.*

da-de-k ba-xe

come-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes and sits down.

3.177

*Efe joxo daxe:*

efe joxo da-xe

3SG elder.brother come-N1.RLS[SG]

*fō-fō-fō-fō-fō numodok bū*

fō-fō-fō-fō-fō num-o-do-k bū

fō-fō-fō-fō-fō such-speak-SS-CON fly

daxe.

da-xe

come-N1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother comes: "fō-fō-fō-fō-fō " so he says and he comes flying.

3.178

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bū</th>
<th>dadek</th>
<th>matadek</th>
<th>büsiü</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bū</td>
<td>da-de-k</td>
<td>mata-de-k</td>
<td>büsiü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>come-SS-CON</td>
<td>come.uphill-SS-CON</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

üfū-oxe.

üfū-oxe

hit-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes flying and comes uphill and bumps against the house.

3.179

Nikiaxamu atonosüke.

nikiaxamu atonosü-ke

back fall-N1.RLS[SG]

He falls back.

3.180

Xati pemoxo mataxe,

xati pem-oxo mata-xe

again cast-N1.RLS[SG] come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

üfūomodok osüke.

üfūomo-do-k osü-ke

hit-SS-CON go.down-N1.RLS[SG]

Again he casts his body up, it bumps and goes down.

Here and in the following sentences we have a consistent use of two subsequent semifinite forms, which - as is described in 5.4.1.2 - implies a change of subject. Drabbe suggests that we might have to analyze this sequence of verbs as expressing a switch of subject between the human actor, who is the subject of pemoxo, and his body: he casts his body up (Drabbe 1957:86, note 86). I find his analysis rather likely, as this makes this sequence of semifinites analogous to other sequences of semifinites in which the first verb is conceived of as having a controller-subject, while the subject of the second verb is not controlling, but conceived of as affected by the first event (section 5.4.1.2).
3.181

\textit{Xati pemoxo mataxe}
\textit{xati pem-oxo mata-xe}
again cast-N1.RLS[SG] come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

\textit{üfüomodok osüke.}
\textit{üfüomo-do-k osü-ke}
hit-SS-CON go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
Again he casts his body up, it bumps and goes down.

3.182a

\textit{Xati pemoxo mataxe}
\textit{xati pem-oxo mata-xe}
again cast-N1.RLS[SG] come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

\textit{üfüomodok osüke.}
\textit{üfüomo-do-k osü-ke}
hit-SS-CON go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
Again he casts his body up, it bumps and goes down.

3.182b

\textit{Xati pemoxo}
\textit{xati pem-oxo}
again cast-N1.RLS[SG]

\textit{üfüomodok osüke.}
\textit{üfüomo-do-k osü-ke}
hit-SS-CON go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
Again he casts his body up, it bumps and goes down.
3.183
Xati pemoxo
xati pem-oxo
again cast-N1.RLS[SG]

üfüomodok osüke.
üfüomo-do-k osü-ke
hit-SS-CON go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
Again he casts his body up, it bumps and goes down.

3.184
Emu to kumu pemoxo mataxe.
emu to kumu pem-oxo mata-xe
then opening ACC cast-N1.RLS[SG] come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]
Then he casts his body up against the opening.
That is to say: against that stone that has been hung there (cf. 3.175).

3.185
Io üfüoxe.
io üfü-oxe
stone hit-N1.RLS[SG]
He bumps into to the stone.

3.186
Üfüoxe isiom' xabā po kike.
üfü-oxe isiomu xabā po ki-ke
hit-N1.RLS[SG] very/all head crushed become-N1.RLS[SG]
He bumps and his head gets wholly crushed.

3.187
Osüke.
osü-ke
go.down-N1.RLS[SG]
It goes down.
3.188

*Efè küda*  *midik*

*efè küda*  *mi-di-k*

3SG younger.sibling  come.down-SS-CON

*etoxe*  *efè joxo*  *xabā*  *isiom'*

*et-oxe*  *efe joxo*  *xabā*  *isiomu*

see-N1.RLS[SG]  3SG elder.brother  head  very/all

*po*  *kike.*

*po*  *ki-ke*

crushed  become-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother comes down and see that his elders brother's head has totally been crushed.

3.189

*Efè küda*  *büsiü*  *nikiaxamu*

*efe küda*  *büsiü*  *nikiaxamu*

3SG younger.sibling  house  back

*osuke.*

*osu-ke*

go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother goes back up into the house.

3.190

*Oсудuk*  *badia.*

*osu-du-k*  + ba-dia

go.up-SS-CON  sit-HIST[SG]

He goes up and stays there.

*For the use of the historical past at the end of a narrative, see section 2.3.3.1.*
Text 4: The birth of the Digul river

This story, which in Drabbe (1957) is entitled 'the birth of the Digul river' is not only about the birth of the river, but also seems to explain the invention of the canoe. In this respect it is relevant to note that the word for canoe is a loan from the Marind, who live southwards from the Aghu. After having descended from the mountains and upper foothills, and due to intense contact with the culturally dominant Marind, Aghu borrowed certain cultural practices, and terms for things associated with lowland ecology (De Vries t.a.). One of these terms is the term for canoe.

Summary of 4.01 to 4.20. The Xosaxaxiàxa-clan live in a house; husband and wife. On a certain day they go out with their dogs. When the dogs bark at a pig and chase it, husband and wife follow. They cross the Jangfo river (originally Digul, at the time just a very small river). They build a hut, eat the meat [of the animals that they have just caught] and the rest they roast. The intestines they rinse in the river.

It is not entirely clear what Drabbe means by his remark "originally Digul". Does he mean that Jangfo is the original name for the Digul river? Or that the Jangfo tributary is the place where the Digul came into existence?

4.01
Xosaxaxiàxa.
Xosaxaxiàxa
Xosaxaxiàxa
The Xosaxaxiàxa clan.

4.02
Būsiū de baxenā.
būsiū de ba-xe-nā
house COP sit-N1.RLS-N1PL
They live in a house.
For the meaning and use of de in combination with posture verbs see section 3.11.
4.03

_Efe namo efe nágā._

Efe n-amo efe n-agā

3SG LNK-husband 3SG LNK-wife

A husband and wife.

The construction _efe n'amo efe n'agā_, lit. 'her husband his wife' is typical for dyadic relationships, like father and son, husband and wife, younger and older brother or younger and elder brother, see section 3.1.4.

The listing of the main participants (preceded here, in 4.01 and 4.02, by giving the framework within which these two persons are living) at the very beginning of a narrative seems a common narrative technique, and is applied in all of the texts except 8a, 8b, and 9.

4.04

_Nangi idik xoxenā._

Nangi i-di-k xo-xe-nā
dog call-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They call the dogs and go out.

4.05

_Abu xoxenā, wi ükükenā;_

a-bu xo-xe-nā wi ükü-ke-nā
take-SS go-N1.RLS-N1PL pig bark.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

üküdük xoxenā.

ükü-du-k xo-xe-nā
bark.IT-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL

They take them with them, and they bark at a pig; they bark and go (after the pig).

From Drabbe's free translation above it is clear that _xoxenā_ refers to going after the pigs.

4.06

_Efe namo efe nagā mo_

Efe n-amo efe n-agā mo

3SG-husband 3SG LNK-wife backside
4.07

**Xodok**  
 Jaŋfo         afi  onukenā.  
 xo-do-k       Jaŋfo    afi    onu-ke-nā  
 go-SS-CON    name.of.river    half    go.across-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go and cross the Jangfo river.

*Afi* 'half' is also used to refer to the 'halves' or sides of a river. Here it refers to the other side.

4.08

**Onuduk**  
 saxakenā.  
 onu-du-k    saxa-k-enā

They cross and shoot several animals.

Drabbe (1957:86, note 88) explains that *saxa* here implies a repetitive shooting, so that they shoot several pigs and cassowaries. From 4.16-4.17 below, however, it is clear that it was (only?) pigs that they shot. In section 2.4.1 the stem *saxa* is described as an idiosyncratic iterative stem and counterpart of *tĩ* 'shoot'.

4.09

**Saxadek**  
 kifioxnā      i-ge.  
 saxa-de-k     kifi-oxe-nā     i-ge

They shoot and lay down the meat. (lit. they shoot (animals) and lay down (the meat) so that it lies down).

4.10

**Emu**  
 toxongenā.  
 emu     toxō-ge-nā  
 then   cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS-N1PL
Then they cut it into big pieces.

4.11

\[
\text{Emu xasu-axī } \quad \text{sikenā.}
\]

emu xasu-axī  si-ke-nā
then leaf.of.nibung.palm-hut twine-N1.RLS-N1PL

Then they twine a hut from leaves of a nibung palm.

It is very common in this region to quickly make a hut to serve as a shelter during the night (Lourens de Vries, p.c.).

\text{Xasu-axī} should be analyzed as a compound of type 1, described in section 3.1.1.

4.12

\[
\text{Jā abukuŋgenā.}
\]

jā abukū-ge-nā
fire make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL

They make a fire.

4.13

\[
\text{Efigiomoxenā.}
\]

efigiom-oxe-nā
cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

They cut the meat into smaller pieces.

4.14

\[
\text{Kimoxenā.}
\]

kim-oxide-nā
roast-N1.RLS-N1PL

They roast it.

4.15

\[
\text{Enge-enā.}
\]

ē-ge-nā
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat it.
4.16
*Amu toxopòmu jã kungenã.*

They put some pork on the fire.

According to Drabbe’s summary presented above, they eat part of the meat (narrated in 4.15), while they roast the rest (narrated here). Although *amu* may refer to the meat of either cassowaries or pigs, the following sentence makes clear that it is pork that they have put on the fire.

4.17
*Wi o ab’ kütodok*

They take the pigs’ intestines downhill, and cleanse them in the Jangfo river.

Drabbe writes that *wi o* (lit. pig feces) here refers to the bowels, which – as will be narrated below – they will eat. The ‘bathing’ probably refers to washing off the feces in the river. The rinsing of the bowels is the cause of the flood that follows. Even today, it is a taboo to rinse the bowels of a *wi xajo*, a white pig, in the river. This is not the only taboo linked to the *wi xajo* (Drabbe 1957:86a-b, note 89).

4.18
*Amtadek engenã.*

They bring them uphill and eat them.

Note that the (area around the) hut is the deictic center; it is towards the hut that they bring the meat.
PART III: TEXTS. 4. Origin of Digul river

4.19

Enek baxenā.
ê-ne-k ba-xe-nā
eat-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

They eat for a while.
Nonfinite plus positional verb may serve as a durative construction, see section 2.4.3.3.

Summary of 4.20 to 4.41. When it gets dark, a thunderstorm comes. Big pieces of land tear off from the shore, and the water rises. For this reason they build another hut, but the water is still rising, and the hut goes down with a piece of land. They build a new hut, and stay sitting there until it gets day. They go to have a look at the bridges, upstream and downstream, but these have disappeared.

4.20

Asū kike,
a püsiixa kike.
asū ki-ke a püsiixa ki-ke
dark become-N1.RLS[SG] rain big become-N1.RLS[SG]

It gets dark, it starts to rain heavily.
Drabbe remarks that a kĩ 'rain become' is a verbal expression for 'to rain' (Drabbe 1957:86b, note 90).

4.21

Xūba wimoxe.
xūba wim-oxe
lightning flash-N1.RLS[SG]

Lightning flashes.

4.22

Soxo duba ponūdük kütoxe.
soso duba ponū-dū-k kütoxe
ground part tear.off-SS-CON go.downhill-N1.RLS[SG]

Part of the ground tears off and goes downhill.
The translation here has been based on Drabbe's morpheme-by-morpheme glossing. Note, however, Drabbe's free translation, given above, which says: "big pieces of soil tear off from the shore".
4.23

*Oxo tadi kike.*

oxo tadi ki-ke
water big become-N1.RLS[SG]

The water rises.

Compare 4.28, which has *tadixa* instead of *tadi*; for the formation of adjectives see section 3.3.

4.24

*Otoxenà.*

oto-xe-nà
go.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go uphill.

4.25

*Otodor* tafeaxa xasu-axī

oto-do-k tafeaxa xasu-axī
go.uphill-SS-CON again leaf.of.nibung.palm-hut

*sikenà.*

si-ke-nà
twine-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go uphill and twine another hut from leaves of a nibung palm.

Another hut, after the hut twined in 4.11.

4.26

*Igenà.*

i-ge-nà
lie.down-N1.RLS-N1PL

They lie down.
4.27

Soxo  duba  abu   kütoxe.
sixo   duba   a-bu  küto-xe
ground part   take-SS   go.downhill-N1.RLS[SG]

A piece of soil takes the hut downhill.
A piece of soil takes (the hut) and goes downhill (together with the hut). In fact, this sequence is comparable in structure to the more frequent a-bu da-xe take-SS come-N1.RLS[SG]: (s)he takes (something) and comes (having the thing in the hand).

4.28

Oxo  tadixa  kike.
oxo  tadixa  ki-ke
water       big       become-N1.RLS[SG]

The water rises.

4.29

Xati  tafeaxa  otoxenā.
xati  tafeaxa  oto-xe-nā
again    again    go.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go uphill somewhat higher (lit. again they go uphill.)

4.30

Xasu-axī  sikenā
xasu-axī  si-ke-nā
leaf.of.nibung.palm-hut  twine-N1.RLS-N1PL

They twine a hut from leaves of a nibung palm.

4.35

Sidik  baxenā.
si-di-k   ba-xe-nā
twine-SS-CON   sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

They twine and stay.
4.36

*Emu sowo kike.*
Emu sowo ki-ke
then sun become-N1.RLS[SG]
Then it becomes day.

4.37

*ogodok etoxenā*
ogo-do-k et-oxe-nā
go.close-SS-CON see-N1.RLS-N1PL

*oxo isiom’ tadi püsiü kike.*
*oxo isiomu tadi püsiü ki-ke*
water very/all big very become-N1.RLS[SG]
They go a short distance and see that the water has risen very high.

4.38

*Me osoxoxenā.*
me osoxo-xe-nā
upstream go.upstream-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go upstream.

4.39a

*Etoxenā*
et-oxe-nā
see-N1.RLS-N1PL

*dobege fede kike.*
dobege fede ki-ke
bridge NEG become-N1.RLS[SG]
They see that the bridge is not there anymore.

Apparently there are two bridges near the hut: one upstream, and one downstream (Drabbe 1957: 86b, note 91, cf. section 4.41). It is not entirely clear how the two crossed the river before, in 4.07. Since the moment that they have crossed the river, there has been no mention of a
going upstream or downstream, which might indicate that they are still close to the area where they crossed. They may have waded through the water. It is from the place where they have crossed that the movements are described: osoxo(x) (4.38; go upstream); mida(x) (4.39b; come downstream); wüoxo(x) (4.40; go downstream) and da(x) (4.42; come (back)).

4.39b

Nikiaxamu midaxenä.
nikiaxamu mida-xe-nä
back come.downstream-N1.RLS-N1PL
They come back downstream.

4.40

Xati ite wüoxoxenä.
xati ite wüo-xo-xe-nä
again downstream downstream-go-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go further downstream.

4.41

Etöoxenä dobege fede kike.
et-oxe-nä dobege fede ki-ke
see-N1.RLS-N1PL bridge NEG become-N1.RLS[SG]
They see that there is no bridge anymore.

Summary of 4.42 to 4.66. Then they fell a tree, to make a canoe out of it. After seven days the canoe is ready. They spend another day to clear up a path, and lay sleepers on it. The next day the canoe is drawn into the water, and is test sailed.

Drabbe uses the word 'dwarsliggers', which translates into English as 'sleepers'. In Dutch the word is used for railway sleepers or railroad crossties, which by the time of Drabbe’s publication were usually made out of wood. From the context it can be concluded that the people who made the canoe lay small trees or sticks across the road in order to draw the canoe over them next day.
4.42

*Nikiaxamu daxenã.*
nikiaxamu da-xe-nã
back come-N1.RLS-N1PL
They come back.

4.43

*Xasu-axî*  
dadek  
jofû-kesaxe
xasu-axî  
da-de-k  
jofû-kesaxe
leaf.of.nibung.palm-hut  
come-SS-CON  
canoe-tree

ïkenã  
gaxadek
ü-ke-nã  
gaxa-de-k
fell-N1.RLS-N1PL  
break.down-SS-CON

*xodok*  
mike.
xo-do-k  
mi-ke
go-SS-CON  
come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
They come to the hut made of nibung-palm leaves, fell a tree for a canoe so that it breaks down and goes and comes down.

*Jofû*-kesaxe has been analyzed as a compound of type 1, as described in section 3.1.1.
For the sequence of ïkenã gaxadek xodok mike cf. the note at 2.118.

4.44

*Pomoxenã.*
pom-oxe-nã
cut-N1.RLS-N1PL
They cut it.

Drabbe remarks that *pom*V in this context refers to roughly carving the tree into the shape of a canoe, as - in my interpretation - is explained in the following clauses. *Su* in 4.55 below refers to chopping off parts of the side and the keel of the canoe, so that it gets the right thickness (Drabbe 1957:86b, note 93).
In 4.44-47, they work at the rear part of the canoe. In 4.48-50 they do the front part. In 4.52 they return to the rear part. The procedure thus is as follows: (A) *pom a(x)* 'hollow out' of the rear part (4.45) and the front part (4.50). (B) *Mù ku* 'make slanting' of the rear (4.46) and the front part (4.48/51). (C) *agem*V 'chop off' from the rear part (4.52) and
the front part (4.53). (D) Finally, after the canoe has been put upside
down: su' 'chop' the rear (4.56) and the front (4.57), as well as the
keel. The precise difference between agemV and su' is not clear, although
it is probably relevant to note that agemV takes place before the canoe
has been turned, and su' after.

4.45
*Pomodok* axenâ.
pomo-do-k a-xe-nâ
cut-SS-CON take-N1.RLS-N1PL
They hollow it out (lit. they cut and take (the stuff that they have cut) away).

4.46
*Mû* kuŋgenâ.
mû kû-ge-nâ
oblique put-N1.RLS-N1PL
They make it more slanting.
*Drabbe: schuin bijkappen.*

4.47
*Xabâ* mû kuŋgenâ.
xabâ mû kû-ge-nâ
lower.part.of.trunk oblique put-N1.RLS-N1PL
They make the lower part of the trunk slanting.

4.48
*Xati* wo mû kuŋgenâ.
xati wo mû kû-ge-nâ
again stem oblique put-N1.RLS-N1PL
Also the stem they make slanting.
The stem is the very most forward part of a boat or ship's bow and is an
extension of the keel itself.
4.49

Xati wo pompoxenā.

xati wo pom-oxe-nā
again stem cut-N1.RLS-N1PL
Also the stem they cut.

4.50

Pomodok axenā.
pomo-do-k a-xe-nā
cut-SS-CON take-N1.RLS-N1PL
They hollow it out.

4.51

Axenā bagidi mū kūgenā.
a-xe-nā ba-gi-di mū kū-ge-nā
take-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day oblique put-N1.RLS-N1PL
They hollow the stem out and the following day they make it slanting.

4.52

Mū kūgenā bagidi xabā
mū kū-ge-nā ba-gi-di xabā
oblique put-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day lower.part.of.trunk

agemoxenā.
agem-oxe-nā
chop.off-N1.RLS-N1PL
They make it slanting, and the next day they chop off from the lower part of the trunk.

Now that they have finished the stem, which is the front part of the canoe, they turn to the rear part.
4.53

Bagidi  xati  wo  agemoxenā.
ba-gidi  xati  wo  agem-oxide-nā
sit-next.day  again  stem  chop.off-N1.RLS-N1PL

The next day they chop from the front part of the canoe too.

4.54

Agemoxenā  bagidi  abumukun-genā.
agem-oxide-nā  ba-gidi  abumukū-ge-nā
chop.off-N1.RLS-N1PL  sit-next.day  turn.upside.down-N1.RLS-N1PL

They chop it off and the following day they turn it upside down.

4.55

Sunggenā.
sū-ge-nā
chop.on-N1.RLS-N1PL

They chop on it.
The aim here is to get the sides in the right thickness, cf. note at 4.44 above.

4.56

Xabā  sunggenā.
xabā  sū-ge-nā
lower.part.of.trunk  chop.on-N1.RLS-N1PL

They chop on the lower part of the trunk.

4.57

Sunggenā  bagidi  xati  wo
sū-ge-nā  ba-gidi  xati  wo
chop.on-N1.RLS-N1PL  sit-next.day  again  stem

sunggenā.
sū-ge-nā
chop.on-N1.RLS-N1PL
They chop and the following day they chop on the front part of the canoe.

4.58

Bagidi mubigi suŋgenā.
ba-gidi mu.bigi sū-ge-nā
sit-next.day keel chop.on-N1.RLS-N1PL

The next day they chop on the keel.

Drabbe glosses mu-bigi 'keel', suggesting that this word is a compound of mu and bigi 'bone'.

4.59

Sunuk ekenā bagidi
sū-nu-k e-ke-nā ba-gidi
chop.on-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day

abumukunënā.
abumukū-ge-nā
turn.upside.down-N1.RLS-N1PL

They chop for a while and the following day they turn it upside down (again).

4.60

Abumukunënā baxe,
abumukū-ge-nā ba-xe
turn.upside.down-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-N1.RLS[SG]

babō ükenā.
babō ü-ke-nā
sleeper fell-N1.RLS-N1PL

They turn it upside down so that it stays with the keel on the ground and fell trees to use as sleepers.

Drabbe remarks (note 94, page 86b): baxe here means: stay with the keel on the ground.

Most probably it is not without reason that the process of construing the canoe is told in so much detail. This myth not only tells about the birth of the Digul river, but also about the 'invention' of the canoe.
4.61

Üaboxofidik  widi  baga  üpomoxenã.
übaboxofí-di-k  widi  baga  úpom-oxe-nā
lay.down-SS-CON  river  shore  hit-N1.RLS-N1PL

Drabbe remarks (note 95, page 86): “the verb ü-abo-xo-fi-di-k is built up as follows. Ü = fell; a-bo = the verb stem a 'take' followed by the nonfinite SS-marker -bu, whose last vowel harmonizes with the vowel of xo 'go'. Fi = lay down. It refers to the following complex of events (1) the process of chopping the sleepers, (2) taking them in the hand while walking towards the river, (3) laying them down, at some distance of each other (4) until one reaches the river.”

They fell trees to use as sleepers, take them, go and lay them down, until they reach the river shore.

4.62

Üpomoxenã  bagidi  ketunγenã.
üpom-oxe-nā  ba-gidi  ketū-ge-nā
hit-N1.RLS-N1PL  sit-next.day  pull-N1.RLS-N1PL

They reach it and the next day they pull the canoe.

4.63

Xodok  oxo  sünüke.
xo-do-k  oxo  sünü-ke
go-SS-CON  water  go.into.the.water-N1.RLS[SG]

The canoe goes into the water.

4.64

Sikaxaxamoxenã.
sikaxaxam-oxe-nā
testsail-N1.RLS-N1PL

They sail out to test the canoe.

4.65

Nikiaxamu  amtadek  tingenã.
nikiaxamu  a-mta-de-k  tī-ge-nā
back  take-come.uphill-SS-CON  moor-N1.RLS-N1PL
They bring it back in the direction of the shore and moor. Drabbe remarks that *amta* 'bring uphill' here refers to bringing the boat ashore (Drabbe 1957: 86b, note 97).

4.66

*Tinik*  
*siake*  
*asukenā*.  

*tī-ni-k*  
*siake*  
*asu-ke-nā*  

*moor-SS-CON*  
*canoe.cable*  
*tie-N1.RLS-N1PL*  

They moor and fasten the canoe cable.

**Summary of 4.67 to 4.81.** Next day they load food and meat into the canoe, also put the dog in, and cross the river. Then they go home, share the meat, and chat a little. They have intercourse, produce offspring, and live on.

4.67

*Mataxenā,*  
*bagidi*  
*kūtoxenā*.  

*mata-xe-nā*  
*ba-gidi*  
*kūto-xe-nā*  

*come.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL*  
*sit-next.day*  
*go.downhill-N1.RLS-N1PL*  

They come uphill, and the next day they go downhill.

4.68

*Tetebago*  
*oxodū*  
*a-dek*  
*kūtodok*  

*tetebago*  
*oxodū*  
*a-de-k*  
*kūto-do-k*  

*food*  
*edible.animal*  
*take-SS-CON*  
*go.downhill-SS-CON*  

*jofū*  
*bomokungenā*.  

*jofū*  
*bomokū-ge-nā*  

*canoe*  
*put.into-N1.RLS-N1PL*  

They take food and meat, go downhill and put it into the canoe.

4.69

*Efè*  
*sē*  
*mo*  
*baxe,*  

*efe*  
*sē*  
*mo*  
*ba-xe*  

*3SG husband*  
*backside*  
*sit-N1.RLS[SG]*  

*efe*  
*nagā*  

*efe*  
*n-agā*  

*3SG LNK-wife*
mügünük  baxe.
mügü-nü-k  ba-xe
be.in.front-SS-CON  sit-N1.RLS[SG]

The husband sits in the back, the wife sits in the front.

4.70
Naŋgi  womu  k’  baxenā.
Naŋgi  womu  ke  ba-xe-nā
dog  inside  ACC  sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

The dogs sit in the middle.

4.71
Emu  osooxenā.
emu  osoxo-xe-nā
then  go.upstream-N1.RLS-N1PL

Then they go upstream.

4.72
Osoxodok  pemoxenā  onuke.
osoxo-do-k  pem-oxe-nā  onu-ke
go.upstream-SS-CON  cast-N1.RLS-N1PL  go.across-N1.RLS[SG]

They go upstream and direct the canoe so that it goes across.

Drabbe remarks that pem here means 'to direct the canoe in the right
direction', so that it goes across (Drabbe 1957: 86b, note 96).

4.73
Onuduk  tingenā.
onu-du-k  tī-ge-nā
go.across-SS-CON  moor-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go across and moor.
4.74

*Tinik* *ogsukēnā.*
tī-ni-k *ogsu-ke-nā*
moor-SS-CON go.up.close-N1.RLS-N1PL
They moor and go ashore.

*Ogsu* is one of the verbs that is used to refer to a going ashore, cf. section 3.5.1.1.

4.75

*Ogsuduk* *xozenā.*
ogsu-du-k *xo-xe-nā*
go.up.close-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go ashore and go.

4.76

*Būsīū* *xozenā.*
būsīū *xo-xe-nā*
house go-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go home.

Contrary to many other episodes in the text corpus, here we have a consistent use of words of going, and not a clear deictic center from where people GO and to where people COME; cf. section 5.9.

4.77

*Xodok* *amu kemedoxenā.*
xo-do-k *amu kemed-oxide-nā*
go-SS-CON meat share-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go and share pork.

4.79

*Kemedek* *kiasikenā.*
kemede-de-k *kiasi-ke-nā*
share-SS-CON chat-N1.RLS-N1PL
They share and chat.

Drabbe writes *kiasi* as two different words. He glosses *kia* with 'chat', but gives no gloss for *si*. It is not clear why Drabbe analyzes *kiasi* as
consisting of two words, nor is it clear which verb sí Drabbe thinks is used here.

4.80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kíasidík</th>
<th>badeke</th>
<th>jonoke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiasi-di-k</td>
<td>ba-de-ke</td>
<td>jô-no-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chat-SS-CON</td>
<td>sit-SS-CON</td>
<td>have.intercourse-SS-CON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mukunuk | badianā.
mukū-nu-k | ba-dia-nā
reproduce-SS-CON | sit-HIST-N1PL

They sit and chat and have intercourse and produce offspring and live on like that.

This is the only case in the texts where we find the connective -ke in its full form; in all other cases we find -k. For a discussion on the function of -ke cf. the last part of section 2.3.2.1.
For the use of historical past in the conclusion of a narrative see section 2.3.3.1.

4.81

Tamajô.
tamajô
enough

This is the end.
Text 5: The origin of night and tobacco

Summary of 5.01-5.13. Atumio lives in a village where it is always day. His clan mates have very thick bellies (because they never sleep and always eat). He goes and gets a bamboo stick and cuts it in pieces. With this he and his wife go downstream. After having slept on the way for four times, they lie down again for the last time. While they are lying there it gets dark.

5.01
Atumio.
Atumio
Atumio
Atumio.

The listing of the main participants at the very beginning of a narrative seems a common narrative technique, and is applied in all of the texts except 8a, 8b, and 9.

5.02
Atumio büsiü baxenā.
Atumio büsiü ba-xe-nā
Atumio house sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

Atumio and his clan mates live in a settlement. Because of the plural inflection on the verb, the subject should be understood here as referring to Atumio and his clan mates (Drabbe 1957:86, note 101). This is an example of an associative plural, cf. section 3.1.5.5.

Drabbe translates büsiü here with 'village'. As this story is placed in a (mythical) past far before the process of kampung-formation, it is more likely that reference is made here to a clearing in the woods, where people had built a number of houses. It is better, therefore, to use a more neutral term here, like 'settlement'.

5.03
Sowo nam’ ige.
sowo namu i-ge
sun only lie-N1.RLS[SG]

In this settlement it is always day.
The posture verb í(g) 'lie' is used here as a copula (Drabbe 1957:86, note 102), cf. section 2.8.2.
5.04

Atumio efe naxu kokü isiom'
Atumio efe n-axu kokü isiomu
Atumio 3SG-human belly very/all

tadixa oxo.
tadixa oxo
big COP

The bellies of Atumio's clan mates are very big.

We have to do here with a nested possessive construction: Atumio efe naxu 'Atumio's clan mates' is the first possessive construction. This NP takes the position of the possessor in a possessive construction running from Atumio through kokü. Cf. section 3.1.2.

5.05

Xoxe.
xo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]

Atutumio goes.

Xo 'go' is often used in the sense of 'go from home, go out' (Drabbe 1957:86, note 103, referring to note 10 at 1.018). Cf. the fact that in many passages the deictic center is close to the area below the house, see section 5.9.

5.06

Woki ügemoxe; amtaxe;
woki ügem-oxe a-mta-xe
bamboo chop.off-N1.RLS[SG] take-come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

efigiomoxe;
efigiom-oxe
cut.IT-N1.RLS[SG]

adek efe nágã osükenā.
a-de-k efe n-agã osū-ke-nā
take-SS-CON 3SG LNK-wife go.down-N1.RLS-N1PL

He chops off a bamboo stick, and brings it uphill; he cuts it into small pieces; he
takes the stick and he and his wife go downriver.

By cutting the stick into pieces he makes cylinders that can be used to store something. See 5.14 below.

Osü 'go down' is also used for 'going downriver', for which wūoxoxo is the more specific term. Cf. section 3.5.1.1.

Drabbe compares the use of the plural here to the use of the plural in 5.02: The combination of efe nagā with plural expression is used to express that to both the wife and the husband go down (Drabbe 1957:86, note 104).

5.07

Osükenā,
osü-ke-nā
go.down-N1.RLS-N1PL

kokūtūmu  igenā.
kokūtūmu  i-ge-nā
on.the.way  lie-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go downriver, and on the way they sleep.

As there is no mentioning of getting into a canoe, and as the word xo is also rendered by Drabbe as 'walk', they probably go on foot.

5.08

Sowo kikene  tafeaxa  xoxenā.
sowo  ki-ke-ne  tafeaxa  xo-xe-nā
sun  become-N1.RLS[SG]-DS  again  go-N1.RLS-N1PL

When it gets day they go further.

This is the only place in this narrative where it is mentioned that 'it gets day'. In all other cases, the narrator only tells that they lie down(to sleep), but avoids the - otherwise very common - expression bagidi 'next day'. This is probably not without reason, as the night has not come into existence yet.

5.09

Xati  kokūtūm’  igenā,
būsiū  kokūtūm’  igenā.
xati  kokūtūmu  i-ge-nā  büsiū  kokūtūmu  i-ge-nā
again  on.the.way  lie-N1.RLS-N1PL  house  on.the.way  lie-N1.RLS-N1PL

Again they sleep on the way, in a settlement.

Cf. note on büsiū at 5.02 above.
5.10

*Xati* büsiü kokü tüm' igenä.

xati büsiü kokü tümu i-ge-nä
again house on.the.way lie-N1.RLS-N1PL

Again they sleep in a settlement on the way.

5.11

*Xati* xodok büsiü kokü tüm' igenä.

xati xo-do-k büsiü kokü tümu i-ge-nä
again go-SS-CON house on.the.way lie-N1.RLS-N1PL

Again they go, and sleep in a settlement on the way.

5.12

*Xati* xodok okagi büsiü mo igenä.

xati xo-do-k okagi büsiü mo i-ge-nä
again go-SS-CON permanently house backside lie-N1.RLS-N1PL

Again they go, and then in the end they lie down to stay in a settlement for a few days.

Okagi is hard to translate here. It hints to somewhat more lasting compared to the preceding nights, where each time they stayed at a place for only one night; they are going to stay here for several days (Drabbe 1957:86b, note 105).

Mo seems to be used here in the sense of 'in the end, finally'.

5.13

Igenä asü kike.

i-ge-nä asü ki-ke
lie-N1.RLS-N1PL darkness become-N1.RLS[SG]

They lie down and it starts to gets dark.

*Summary of 5.14-5.21. Atumio takes the plug from the bamboo case, the nights goes into the case, and he shuts the case. He opens another case, and a cricket goes in there (crickets start to chirp at sunset). In two other cases he puts two sorts of tobacco. One gives him two types of banana, which he receives and lays aside.*
5.14

Woki fe to afamoxe womĩ
woki fe to afam-oxe womĩ
bamboo 3SG opening pull.out-N1.RLS[SG] night

ogüke.
ogü-ke
go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]

Atumio pulls out the plug from the opening of one of the bamboo cases and the night goes in.
The form ogü 'go down from a light elevation' is also used for going in, e.g. into a cave or cavity, cf. section 3.5.1.1.
In this passage the different things put in the case are all associated with the night. In the night people often sit around a fire and smoke (Lourens de Vries, p.c.).

5.15

Ogüke sibumoxe; kifioxe.
ogü-ke sibum-oxe kifi-oxe

It goes in, and he shuts off the case; he lays it down.
Sequences of semifinites often implies a change of subject, cf. section 5.4.3.

5.16

Xati woki fe to afamoxe, sia
xati woki fe to afam-oxe sia
again bamboo 3SG opening open-N1.RLS[SG] cricket

ogüke, sibumoxe; kifioxe.
ogü-ke sibum-oxe kifi-oxe

He opens another bamboo case, and a cricket goes in, he closes it off and lays it down.
PART III: TEXTS. 5. Origin of night and tobacco

5.17

\[Xati \ woki \ fe \ sumke \ ko \ bomokungge;\]
xati woki fe sumke ko bomokū-ge
again bamboo 3SG tobacco light-colored put.into-N1.RLS[SG]

to sibumoxe; kifioxe.
to sibum-oxe kifi-oxe
opening close-N1.RLS[SG] lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]
In another bamboo case he puts light-colored tobacco; he closes the opening and lays it down.

5.18

\[Xati \ woki \ fe \ afamoxe, \ sumke \ kaŋgō\]
xati woki fe afam-oxe sumke kaŋgō
again bamboo 3SG pull.out-N1.RLS[SG] tobacco dark-colored

bomokungge; sibumoxe; kifioxe.
bomokū-ge sibum-oxe kifi-oxe
He opens again another bamboo case and puts dark-colored tobacco into it; he closes the opening and lays it down.

5.19

\[Siũi \ mĩ \ edoxenan’ \ axe.\]
siũ mĩ ed-oxe-nā a-axe
banana kind.of.banana give-N1.RLS-N1PL take-N1.RLS[SG]
They give him mi-bananas and he takes them.

The unspecified 'givers' are the inhabitants of the house [where they have spent the night, WvdH], who have not been mentioned before (Drabbe 1957:86, note 106). For unspecified subjects see section 4.1.
5.20
Siū      te
siū      te
banana  kind.of.banana

edoxenan’      a-dek        kifĩõxe.
ed-oxe-nā     a-de-k       kifi-õxe
give-N1.RLS-N1PL  take-SS-CON  lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]
One gives him te-bananas and he takes them and lays them aside.

Summary of 5.21-5.32. Then he goes back home with his wife. After one night they arrive home. When they are at home, it starts to grow dark. He opens the bamboo case and the cricket comes out and sits down on a tree. He opens another case and the night comes out and immediately it gets night. His clan mates fall asleep, and when they get up next morning they ask: "What was that?". But the-man-who-brought-the-night forbids them to speak about that. Soon their bellies get flat, and they are happy about that.

5.21
Nikiaxamu daxe;      efè nagā
nikiaxamu da-xe     efe n-ágā
back  come-N1.RLS[SG]  3SG-wife

efè n-amō nikiaxamu da-xe-nā
3SG LNK-husband back  come-N1.RLS-N1PL
He comes back (homewards); the wife and husband come back (homewards).

5.22
Fitkitimu      igenā.
fitkitimu     i-ge-nā
on.the.way  lie-N1.RLS-N1PL
On the way they sleep.
5.23

\textit{Igenä}, \textit{bagidi} \textit{xati} \textit{joxo}
\begin{align*}
\text{i-ge-nā} & \quad \text{ba-gidi} \quad \text{xati} \quad \text{joxo} \\
\text{lie-N1.RLS-N1PL} & \quad \text{sit-next.day} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{3PL}
\end{align*}

\textit{büsiū} \textit{daxenā}.
\begin{align*}
\text{büsiū} & \quad \text{da-xe-nā} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{come-N1.RLS-N1PL}
\end{align*}

They sleep and next day come towards their home again.

5.24

\textit{Dade} \textit{baxenā}, \textit{sisi} \textit{kike}, \textit{woki} \textit{to}
\begin{align*}
\text{da-de} & \quad \text{ba-xe-nā} \quad \text{sisi} \quad \text{ki-ke} \quad \text{woki} \quad \text{to} \\
\text{come-SS} & \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS-N1PL} \quad \text{twilight} \quad \text{become-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \quad \text{bamboo} \quad \text{opening}
\end{align*}

\textit{afamoxe}, \textit{sia} \textit{moke;} \quad \textit{kesaxe}
\begin{align*}
\text{afam-oxe} & \quad \text{sia} \quad \text{mo-ke} \quad \text{kesaxe} \\
\text{open-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] & \quad \text{cricket} \quad \text{come.in/out-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}] \quad \text{tree}
\end{align*}

\textit{adek} \textit{baxe}.
\begin{align*}
\text{a-de-k} & \quad \text{ba-xe} \\
\text{take-SS-CON} & \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}]
\end{align*}

They come and sit (in the house), it starts to get dark, the bamboo opening opens and the cricket comes out; it sits down on a tree.

\textit{Adek \text{ba}(x)} \text{is the usual construction for birds sitting down on a branch; the bird grasps the branch and sits down (Drabbe 1957:58, note 108, referring to note 25 at 1.136).}

5.25

\textit{Woki} \textit{fe} \textit{to} \textit{afamoxe}.
\begin{align*}
\text{woki} & \quad \text{fe} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{afam-oxe} \\
\text{bamboo} \quad \text{3SG} \quad \text{opening} & \quad \text{pull.out-N1.RLS}[\text{SG}]
\end{align*}

He pulls the plug out of another bamboo case.
5.26
Afamoxe womĩ moke.
afam-oxe womiŋ mo-ke
pull.out-N1.RLS[SG] night come.in/out-N1.RLS[SG]
He pulls it out and the night comes out.

5.27
Emu womiŋ gike.
emu womiŋ gi-ke
then night become-N1.RLS[SG]
Then it gets night.

5.28
Efe naxu kunũ xandaxenā, bagidi
efe n-axu kunũ xanda-xe-nā ba-gidi
3SG-human sleep lie.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day
dotoxenā.
doto-xe-nā
get.up-N1.RLS-N1PL
His clan mates fall asleep and next day they get up.

5.29
Dotodok makeaxe de numoxenā.
doto-do-k makeaxe de num-o-xe-nā
get.up-SS-CON what COP such-speak-N1.RLS-N1PL
They get up and say: "What was that?", so they say.

5.30
Numoxenā womĩ abu daxe nisi
num-o-xe-nā womĩ a-bu da-xe nisi
such-speak-N1.RLS-N1PL night take-SS come-N1.RLS[SG] owner
PART III: TEXTS. 5. Origin of night and tobacco

xadiŋ gike, em’ ob’ oxenā
xadî gi-ke emu o-bu oxe-nā
angry become-N1.RLS[SG] then say-SS say-N1.RLS-N1PL

mafioxone numoxe.
mafi-oxone num-o-xe
not.want-IMP.PL such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

So they say and the one who has brought the night gets angry and tells them not to speak about it.

Womī abu daxe nisi is described by Drabbe as a possessive construction: 'the one who has brought the night' - cf. section 3.1.3.
Mafioxone is used to form a prohibitive. It may be preceded either by an inflected verb - as is the case here - or by a verbal noun; cf. section 2.3.2.2.

5.31
Joxo kokü isiom’ ta kikenā.
joxo kokü isiomu ta ki-ke-nā
3PL belly very/all flat become-N1.RLS-N1PL
Their bellies get very flat.

5.32
Xani kikenā.
xani ki-ke-nā
happy become-N1.RLS-N1PL
They become happy.

Drabbe remarks that the narrator forgets to say something about the bananas (1957:73b).

Summary of 5.33-5.43. He opens the cases with tobacco and sows the tobacco. It comes up, and when it has fully grown, he picks the leaves, and distributes them among his clan mates. They roast [dry, WvdH] the tobacco, and smoke it. Atumio brought the night here, and kept on living in his house forever.
5.33
Sumke afamoxe.
sumke afam-oxe
tobacco pull.out-N1.RLS[SG]
Atumio pulls the tobacco out of the cases.

5.34
Afamoxe abibiamoxe.
afam-oxe abibiam-oxe
pull.out-N1.RLS[SG] sow-N1.RLS[SG]
He takes it out and sows it.

5.35
Poki xoxe.
poki xo-xe
bud go-N1.RLS[SG]
It buds.

5.36
Poki xodok osuke.
poki xo-do-k osu-ke
bud go-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
It buds and grows.

5.37
Osudo\(k\) eke,
osu-du-k e-ke
go.up-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS[SG]

efe n\(\tilde{o}\) tonge.
efe n-\(\tilde{o}\) t\(\tilde{o}\)-ge
3SG-leaf pick-N1.RLS[SG]
When it has fully grown, he picks its leaves.
5.38
*Efè naxu kemedoxe.*
efè n-axu kemed-oxe
3SG-human share-N1.RLS[SG]
He shares with his people.

5.39
*Jā kungenā.*
jā kū-ge-nā
fire put-N1.RLS-N1PL
They make a fire.

5.40
*Xase kike sungenā.*
xase ki-ke sū-ge-nā
dry become-N1.RLS[SG] suck-N1.RLS-N1PL
It gets dry and they smoke.

5.41
*Atumio womī abu dadek*
Atumio womī a-bu da-de-k
Atumio night take-SS come-SS-CON
*kifioxe.*
kifi-oxe
lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]
Atumio has brought the night here.
*Kifioxe forms the transitive counterpart of i(g) 'lie'; while i(g) 'lie' can be used to express an existence or a being present (cf. section 2.8.1), kifioxe seems to be used here to make something exist. A common expression for 'it is night' is the expression womī ige. Cf. the expression sowo nam' ige at the beginning of this narrative (Cf. Drabbe 1957:86, note 109).*
5.42

*Efe büsiü fasikem' badek badia.*

efe büsiü fasikemu ba-de-k ba-dia
3SG house for.always sit-SS-CON sit-HIST[SG]

He has always stayed in his house.

*For the use of the historical past at the end of a narrative, see section 2.3.3.1.*

5.43

*Tamajō.*

tamajō

enough

This is the end.
PART III: TEXTS. 5. Origin of night and tobacco
Text 6: Müŋ-xo and Müŋ-xonggena: hunter and fisher

Summary of 6.001-6.049. Out of two brothers the youngest is a hunter, and the eldest a fisherman. One day both of them go out; the youngest comes home with a pig, the eldest with fish. They give each other from what they have caught, and eat from it. Next day the youngest shoots a cassowary, and when he gets hungry on the way, he eats from the cartilage that he has cut out of the hollow of the knee. Then he has to vomit, and he buries the barf in a hill made by a "forest chicken". The eldest catches fish again, and together they eat from what he has caught. The third day is the same as the first.

6.001

Müŋ-xo, Müŋ-xonggena.
Müŋ-xo  Müŋ-xonggena
Müŋ-xo  Müŋ-xonggena

Müŋ-xo and Müŋ-xonggena.
For the explanation of this title, see the note preceding 6.248.

6.002

Efe küda wi típge nisi; efe
efe küda wi tī-ge nisi efe
3SG younger.sibling pig shoot-N1.RLS[SG] owner 3SG

joxo axe típge nisi.
joxo axe tī-ge nisi
elder.brother fish shoot-N1.RLS[SG] owner

The younger of the two brothers is a (pig) hunter, the elder is a fisher.

The noun nisi causes stress shift from the final syllable of the preceding word to the penultimate syllable, cf. 1.2.3. For the use of nisi see section 3.1.3.
In the noun phrases efe kūda and efe joxo the pronoun efe functions as a possessive pronoun. The consistent use of possessive pronouns has not been rendered in the English translation, which often has a definite article. For the strong tendency of kinship terms to co-occur with possessive or personal pronouns see 3.1.3.
The listing of the main participants at the very beginning of a narrative seems a common narrative technique, and is applied in all of the texts except 8a, 8b, and 9.
6.003

Bagidi  efe küda xoxe.
ba-gidi efe küda xo-xe
sit-next.day 3SG younger.sibling go-N1.RLS[SG]

At a certain day the younger brother goes out.
For the use of bagidi and the relation with posture verbs see 2.8.3.3. Here bagidi indicates that it is after having spent the night, i.e. during the day, that the younger sibling goes out.

6.004

Efe joxo  efe ke ta xoxe.
efe joxo  efe ke ta xo-xe
3SG elder.brother 3SG FOC IN.TURN go-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother also goes.

6.005

Efe küda wi tinge.
efe küda wi tĩ-ge
3SG younger.sibling pig shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother shoots a pig.

6.006

Efe nēxo axe tinge.
efe n-ēxo axe tĩ-ge
3SG LNK-elder.brother fish shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother shoots fish.

6.007

Efe küda wi adek büşiü da-xe.
efe küda wi a-de-k büşiü da-xe
3SG younger.sibling pig take-SS-CON house come-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother brings the pig to the house.
6.008

Osduk efe nēxo ni
osu-du-k efe n-ēxo ni
go.up-SS-CON 3SG LNK-elder.brother DAT
dokunuk baxe.
dokūnu-k ba-xe
wait-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up and waits for his elder brother.

6.009

Efe nēxo eke ta
efe n-ēxo eke ta
3SG-elder.brother 3SG.FOC IN.TURN
mataxe.
mata-xe
come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]
His elder brother in turn comes uphill.

6.010

Matadek büsiū osuke.
mata-de-k büsiū osu-ke
come.uphill-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes uphill and goes up to the house.

6.011a

Efe kūda efe namu toxonge.
efe kūda efe n-amu toxō-ge
3SG younger.sibling 3SG LNK-meat cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]
The younger brother cuts his pork in big pieces.
6.011b

_Efe nēxo_ afitamu edoxe.
_efe n-ēxo_ afitamu ed-oxe
3SG LNK-elder.brother half give-N1.RLS[SG]

He gives his elder brother half of it.

6.012

_Efe nēxo_ eke ta _efe naxe_
_efe n-ēxo_ eke ta _efe n-axe_
3SG LNK-elder.brother 3SG.FOC IN.TURN 3SG LNK-fish

_efe küda_ toxopòmu edoxe.
_efe küda_ toxopòmu ed-oxe
3SG younger.sibling some give-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother in turn gives his younger brother some of his fish.

6.013

_Emu jā_ abukungenā.
_emu jā_ abukū-ge-nā
then fire make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL

Then they make fire.

6.014

_Amu efigiomoxenā._
amu efigiom-oxe-nā
meat cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

They cut the meat in smaller pieces.

*Note that amu 'meat' is used to refer to the meat of porks or cassowaries.*

6.015

_Tomodok_ engenā.
tomo-do-k ē-ge-nā
roast-SS-CON eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
They roast (it) and they eat.

6.016

\textit{Engenä} \hspace{1em} \textit{bagidi} \hspace{1em} \textit{xati} \hspace{1em} \textit{efe}
\[ê-ge-nâ \hspace{1em} ba-gidi \hspace{1em} xati \hspace{1em} efe\]
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL \hspace{1em} sit-next.day \hspace{1em} again \hspace{1em} 3SG

\textit{küda} \hspace{1em} \textit{midik} \hspace{1em} \textit{xoxe}.
\[küda \hspace{1em} mi-di-k \hspace{1em} xo-xe\]
younger.sibling \hspace{1em} come.down-SS-CON \hspace{1em} go-N1.RLS[SG]

They eat and the following day the younger brother again comes down and goes.

6.017

\textit{Xati} \hspace{1em} \textit{efe} \hspace{1em} \textit{nê xo} \hspace{1em} \textit{midik}
\[xati \hspace{1em} efe \hspace{1em} n-ê xo \hspace{1em} mi-di-k\]
again \hspace{1em} 3SG LNK-elder.come.down-SS-CON

\textit{xoxe}.
\[xo-xe\]
go-N1.RLS[SG]

His elder brother also comes down again and goes.

6.018

\textit{Efe} \hspace{1em} \textit{küda} \hspace{1em} \textit{xodok} \hspace{1em} \textit{êki}.
\[efe \hspace{1em} küda \hspace{1em} xo-do-k \hspace{1em} e-ki\]
3SG \hspace{1em} younger.sibling \hspace{1em} go-SS-CON \hspace{1em} stand-DIST.N1SG

The younger brother keeps going for a while.

\textit{êki} \hspace{1em} \textit{woküe} \hspace{1em} \textit{tiŋge}.
\[êki \hspace{1em} woküe \hspace{1em} ti-ge\]
stand-DIST.N1SG \hspace{1em} cassowary \hspace{1em} shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

\textit{The distant past is used here as part of a durative construction. In that case the past tense is neutralized, cf. section 2.4.3.3.}
He goes for a while and then shoots a casowary.

This is one of the few cases where we find a distant past form used as the 'head' in a tail-head linkage pattern. For tail-head linkage cf. section 5.6.

6.020
Tinik abu daxe.
ti-ni-k a-bu da-xe
shoot-SS-CON take-SS come-N1.RLS[SG]
He shoots it and brings it (homewards).

6.021
Kokūtūmu dia kike.
kokūtūmu dia ki-ke
on.the.way hungry become-N1.RLS[SG]
On the way he [still the younger] gets hungry.

6.022
Wokūe efe búmo-ago giomu ènge.
wokūe efe búmo-ago giomu ě-ge
cassowary 3SG knee-cartilage cut.IT eat-N1.RLS[SG]
He eats from the cassowary's cartilage from the knee, cutting off the flesh (with his teeth.)

Drabbe remarks: giomu ě = eating by cutting; every time, one bites in the meat, and cuts it at the lips (Drabbe 1957: 86b, note 110).
Giomu should be considered a participial adverb, for which see section 2.4.1.
Búmo ago can be considered a compound of type 1, as described in section 3.1.1, with ago 'cartilage' as the head. Wokūe occupies the position of the possessor in a possessive construction (for which see section 3.1.2), running from wokūe through ago.

6.023
Ènge, emu kumukaniŋ gike.
ĕ-ge emu kumukanĩ gi-ke
eat-N1.RLS[SG] then vomit become-N1.RLS[SG]
He eats, and needs to vomit.

Drabbe translates kumukaniŋ gi as 'get the inclination to vomit' (neiging
to braken krijgen). In my view, *kumukanįŋ* might be a verbal noun, although it is usually only verbal nouns with augmented *a* that express a 'be about to'. Cf. 2.3.2.2 on verbal noun + *oxo* for the expression of a state, and 2.3.2.3 for verbal nouns augmented with *a* and combined with *ki(k)-gi(k)*.

6.024

*Emu* *kumukan' axe.*

emu kumukan a-xe
then vomit take-N1.RLS[SG]

For *kumukan axe* compare the preceding sentence. Drabbe seems to take *kumukan' as a cliticized form of *kumukanįŋ*. Apparently, the combination of *kumukan(ĩ) and the verb a(x) 'take' is used as an expression for 'to vomit'.

Then he vomits.

6.025

ître a womu à *kunge.*

ître a womu à kū-ge
bird nest inside nest put-N1.RLS[SG]

He puts it [the barf] in a bird's nest.

Drabbe remarks that is immediately clear to the audience that this is the nest of a "forest chicken" [Dutch: *boskip*; probably the red jungle fowl or *gallus gallus*], consisting of a small hill. It is weird, Drabbe writes, that the word *a" is repeated again just preceding *kunge* (Drabbe 1957: 86b-87a, note 111).

6.026

*Doxodok* wi adek da-xe.
doxo-do-k wi a-de-k da-xe
pass.by-SS-CON pig take-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG]

He passes by, catches a pig and brings it with him [lit. he comes] (homewards).

The meaning of doxo 'pass by' is not entirely clear, cf. the use of doxo in 2.108, 2.157, 2.171, 2.172.

6.027

*Adek* da-dek büsiü osuke.
a-de-k da-de-k büsiü osu-ke
take-SS-CON come-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He brings it with him [lit he takes hold and comes] (homewards) and goes up to
the house.

6.028

Osuduk baxe,
osu-du-k ba-xe
go.up-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]

efe nēxo efe ke ta mataxe.
efe n-ēxo efe ke ta mata-xe
3SG LNK-elder.brother 3SG FOC IN.TURN come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up and sits, his elder brother in turn comes uphill.

6.029

Matadek būsiũ osuke.
mata-de-k būsiũ osu-ke
come.uphill-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes uphill and goes up into the house.

6.030

Osuke, efe küda efe namu
osu-ke efe küda efe n-amu
go.up-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG younger.sibling 3SG LNK-meat
toxongge.
toxō-ge
cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up, and the younger brother cuts his pork in big pieces.

6.031

Toxonok afitamu
toxō-no-k afitamu
cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON half
He cuts and gives half to his elder brother.

6.032

Efe nēxo  efe naxe efe
efe n-ēxo  efe n-axe efe
3SG LNK-elder.brother  3SG LNK-fish 3SG

ₖüda  toxopōmu edoxe.
ₖüda toxopōmu ed-oxe
younger.sibling some give-N1.RLS[SG]

His elder brother gives part of his fish to his younger brother.

Apparently the elder brother has caught something too.

6.033

Emu jā  abukunjēnā.
emu jā abukū-ge-nā
then fire make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL

Then they make a fire.

6.034

Amu efigiomoxenā.
amu efigiom-oxe-nā
meat cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

They cut the pork in smaller pieces.

6.035

Kimidik  ēngenā.
kimi-di-k ē-ge-nā
roast-SS-CON eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They roast it and eat.
6.036

_Eŋgenā_ 
bagidi         
xati            
efè kûda

e-ge-nâ       
ba-gidi         
xati            
efè kûda

eat-N1.RLS-N1PL sit-next.day again 3SG younger.sibling

_midik_ 
xoxe.

mi-di-k 
oxo-xe

come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

They eat and the next day again the younger brother comes down and goes out.

6.037

_Efè nēxo_ 
eke  
ta  
_midik_

efe n-ēxo 
eke  
ta  
mi-di-k
3SG LNK-elder.brother 3SG.FOC IN.TURN come.down-SS-CON

_xoxe._

xo-xe

go-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother also comes down and goes.

6.038

_Xodok_ 
ekenā          
efè kûda

xo-do-k        
e-ke-nâ       
efè kûda

go-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS-N1PL 3SG younger.sibling

_wi  tingge._

wi  tī-ge

pig  shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

They go for a while, and the younger brother shoots a pig.
6.039

*Tinik* adek büsiü daxe.

ti-ni-k a-de-k büsiü da-xe
shoot-SS-CON take-SS-CON house come-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots it and takes it and comes home.

6.040

*Dadek* büsiü osuke.
da-de-k büsiü osu-ke
come-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes and goes up into the house.

6.041

*Osuduk* baxe.
osu-du-k ba-xe
go.up-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes up and sits down.

6.042

*Efe ṇe xo* eke ta
efe ṇe xo eke ta
3SG LNK-elder.brother 3SG.FOC IN.TURN

*mataxe.*
mata-xe
come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother in turn comes uphill.

6.043

*Matadek* büsiü osuke.
mata-de-k büsiü osu-ke
come.uphill-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes uphill and goes up into the house.
PART III: TEXTS. 6. Hunter and fisher

6.044

Osuduk  baxe,  efe  küda
osu-du-k  ba-xe  efe  küda

efe  namu  toxonge.
efe  n-amu  toxō-ge
3SG  LNK-meat  cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes up, sits down, the younger brother cuts his pork in big pieces.

6.045

Toxonok  afitamu  efe  joxo  edoxe.
toxō-no-k  afitamu  efe  joxo  ed-oxe
cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON  half  3SG  elder.brother  give-N1.RLS[SG]

He cuts it in big pieces and gives half of it to his elder brother.

6.046

Efe  joxo  eke  ta  efe  naxe  toxopòmu
efe  joxo  eke  ta  efe  n-axe  toxopòmu
3SG  elder.brother  3SG.FOC  IN.TURN  3SG  LNK-fish  some

efe  küda  edoxe.
efe  küda  ed-oxe
3SG  younger.sibling  give-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother in turn gives some of his fish to the younger brother.

Again, the catching of the fish has not been mentioned.

6.047

Emu  jā  abukuŋgenā.
emu  jā  abukū-ge-nā
then  fire  make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL

Then they make a fire.
PART III: TEXTS. 6. Hunter and fisher

6.048

Efigiomoxenā.
efigiom-oxe-nā
cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL
They cut (the pork) in smaller pieces.

6.049

Kimoxenā  doxe
kim-oxe-nā  do-xe
roast-N1.RLS-N1PL  cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]

eŋgenā.
ê-ge-nā
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
They roast it until it is cooked through and eat.

Summary of 6.050-6.090. Next day the youngest one is ill and stays at home. The eldest one has seen a field mouse in his dreams, which has not only told him about his younger brother's vomiting, but also that a tree has grown out of his barf, and that some young women have gone there for its fruits. He goes there and sees the women eating from the ripe fruits. In the tree he builds a hut from leaves, and goes back home. Next day the two brothers go out together. The eldest one hides in his hut, and waits for the young women. When these come, he shoots one of them in the arm, so that the arrow pins her arm to the tree. He comes out of the tree, takes hold of her, and kisses her. When he goes into the hut, he has to bend deeply, so that the young woman sees that he has a wound at his anus. She flies away (the women are at the same time birds) and together with the others she goes home. Next day exactly the same happens.

6.050

Eŋgenā  bagidi  efeeding. küda
ê-ge-nā  ba-gidi  efeeding. küda
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL  sit-next.day  3SG younger.sibling

kumaŋ  gike.
kumaŋ  gi-ke
ill  become-N1.RLS[SG]
They eat and the following day the younger brother gets ill.

6.051

_Büsiü baxe._
büsiü baxe
house sit-N1.RLS[SG]
He stays at home

6.052

_Efe nēxo asü etoxe:_
efe n-ēxo asū et-oxe
3SG-elder.brother dream see-N1.RLS[SG]

_kuso-maxiko dadek oxe,_
kuso-maxiko da-de-k o-xe
field-mouse come-SS-CON speak-N1.RLS[SG]

_efe joxo oxe:_
efe joxo o-oxe
3SG elder.brother speak-N1.RLS[SG]

_gu küda kumkaniŋ gike,_
gu küda kumakaniŋ gi-ke
2SG younger.sibling vomit become-N1.RLS[SG]

_ĩ ā küokuŋki,_
ĩ ā küo-kū-ki
bird nest dig-put-DIST.N1SG

_iku ko bigi osuduk fioxe._
iku ko bigi osu-du-k fi-oxe
there kind.of.tree stem go.up-SS-CON bear.fruit-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother sees in a dream: a / the field mouse comes and says, he says to
the elder brother: "your younger brother vomited, and put the barf in a bird's
nest, and there a ko tree has come up and bears fruit."

The motive of a field mouse appearing in a dream and telling about new
life is also found in text 1.031f. In both cases the new life has come
into existence at the place where human excrement (there: blood, here: barf) has fallen down on the ground.

6.053

Fidik eke, āsē
fi-di-k e-ke ā.sē
bear.fruit-SS-CON stand-N1.RLS[SG] unmarried.woman

dadek b' ṭengenā, numoxe.
da-de-k bu ē-ge-nā num-o-xe
come-SS-CON DUR eat-N1.RLS-N1PL such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
"It is bearing fruit, and unmarried women have come and are eating", so it says.
The compound ā-sē, 'woman-husband' indicates unmarried women. This is one
of the very few exocentric compounds, cf. section 3.1.1.

6.054

Nemoxe efè nēxo midik
nem-o-xe efè n-ēxo mi-di-k
such-say-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG-elder.brother come.down-SS-CON

xo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]
So it says, the elder brother comes down and goes.

6.055

Xodok etoxe
xo-do-k et-oxe
go-SS-CON see-N1.RLS[SG]

ko mase jomuŋ gike,
ko mase jomù gi-ke
kind.of.tree already ripe become-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes and sees that the ko fruit has become ripe already, and that the unmarried women are eating.

Drabbe translates: "he builds in the tree a hut from leaves."

When he has finished twining, he comes, he comes home.

He comes and the following day in the morning he goes.
PART III: TEXTS. 6. Hunter and fisher

6.059

*Efè küda* xati *midik* *xoxe.*

3SG younger.sibling again come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

Then the younger brother comes down again and goes.

6.060

*Efè joxo* xodok *ifo* osuduk *weŋge.*

3SG elder.brother go-SS-CON hut go.up-SS-CON guard-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother goes, goes up into the hut and guards.

6.061

*Wenek* baxe.

guard-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]

He stays guarding.

6.062

*Āsè* xo *daxenā.*

unmarried.woman DST come-N1.RLS-N1PL

The unmarried women come.

6.063

*Dadek* ko *jomū* *b’* *eŋgenā.*

come-SS-CON kind.of.tree ripe DUR eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They come, and are eating the ripe ko fruit.
6.064

fé tinge.
fectĩ-ge
3SG shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots one of them.

Drabbe remarks that it is said here that he hits a woman in the arm, or, actually the wing. The women are birds, cf. note at 1.134, and eat from the fruits while they sit in the tree. According to the narrator's explanation, one of the women's wing is pierced by an arrow, so that she gets pinned to the tree. What happens here, then, is the same as what is described in 6.122 (Drabbe 1957: 87a, note 112).

6.065

Tinik uduk axe.
tĩ-ni-k u-du-k a-xe
shoot-SS.CON go.in/out-SS.CON take-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots, goes out (of his hiding place) and takes hold of her.

6.066

Adek wofũ̄nge.
a-de-k wofũ̄-ge
take-SS.CON kiss-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes hold of her and kisses her.

6.067

wofũ̄nūk büomoxe.
wofũ-nū-k büom-oxe
kiss-SS.CON stop-N1.RLS[SG]

He stops kissing her.

6.068

Nikiaxamu ifọ womu uduk püoniike.
nikiaxamu ifọ womu u-du-k püoni-ke
back hut inside go.in/out-SS.CON bow-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes back into the hut and bows.

As is clear from the following section, in which we find the younger
brother doing the same attempts as the elder is doing now, the elder brother goes into his hut to get valuables to give to the woman. He does not succeed, however. Because of what she sees, the woman flies back home (Drabbe 1959:87, note 113).

6.069
Ā sē etoxe efe noto etoxe,
ā sē et-oxe efe n-oto et-oxe
woman husband see-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-anus see-N1.RLS[SG]

peso baxe etoxe.
peso ba-xe et-oxe
wound sit-N1.RLS[SG] see-N1.RLS[SG]
The woman sees, she sees his anus, she sees that there is a wound. Interestingly, the wound is conceived of a sitting rather than lying. Cf. section 2.8.1 on posture verbs.

6.070
Etedekek emu bū xoxe.
ete-de-k emu bū xo-xe
see-SS-CON then fly go-N1.RLS[SG]
She sees and then flies away.

6.071
Bū xodok womā efe bodo ad’ badek
bū xo-do-k womā efe bodo a-d ba-de-k
fly go-SS-CON kind.of.tree 3SG branch take-SS sit-SS-CON

emu bū joxo büsiū xoxenā.
emu bū joxo büsiū xo-xe-nā
then fly 3PL house go-N1.RLS-N1PL
She flies away and sits down on the branch of a womā tree, then she and the others fly and go to their home.

Adek ba(x) is the usual construction for birds sitting down on a branch; the bird grasps the branch and sits down (Drabbe 1959:87, note 114, referring to his note at 1.136.)
6.072
Axu efe namo nikiaxamu mike.
axu efe n-amox nikiaxamu mi-ke
human 3SG LNK-husband back come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
The man, her husband, comes back down.
Drabbe remarks: the man is called 'her (future?) husband', despite of the failure of his attempt. (Drabbe 1959:87, note 115).

6.073
Munu k büsiü daxe.
mu-nux büsiü da-xe
not.want-SS-CON house come-N1.RLS[SG]
After this he comes home.
For the use of munuk to express the adverbial notion 'after' see section 2.11.

6.074
Dadek bagidi xati nikiaxamu mimį xo-xe.
da-de-k ba-gidi xati nikiaxamu mimį xo-xe
come-SS-CON sit-next.day again back morning go-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes and the next day in the morning he goes back again.
Note that the narrative is centered around the elder brother here; the youngest brother's return home is not mentioned.

6.075
Xodok uduk wenek baxe.
xo-do-k u-du-k we-ne-k ba-xe
go-SS-CON go.in/out-SS-CON guard-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes and goes in and sits guarding.

6.076
Åsē xo xati daxeness.
å.sē xo xati da-xe-nā
unmarried.woman DST again come-N1.RLS-N1PL
Again the unmarried women come.
6.077

_Dadek_ ko _b’ engenā._
d-a-de-k ko bu ë-ge-nâ
come-SS-CON kind.of.tree DUR eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They come and are eating from the ko tree.

6.078

_Xati.fe, ã fe efe bodo kumu tînge._
xati fe ã fe efe bodo kumu tĩ-ge
again 3SG woman3SG 3SG arm ACC shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

Again one, one woman he shoots with her arm (fixed to the tree; lit. a woman's arm he shoots).

For the relation between the case marker ke, ke̱mu and kumu, see 3.6.2. I analyze [ã fe] [efe bodo] as a possessive construction, which as a whole forms the direct object of tîinge, analogous to one of the final examples presented in section 3.6.2.

6.079

_Tinik_ uke.
tĩ-ni-k u-ke
shoot-SS-CON go.in/out-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots and goes out (of his hut).

6.080

_Uduk_ wofũnge.
u-du-k wofũ-ge
go.in/out-SS-CON kiss-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes out and kisses her.

6.081

_Wofũnd’ emedek_ uke.
wofũ-d eme-de-k u-ke
kiss-SS finish-SS-CON go.in/out-N1.RLS[SG]

After he has kissed her, he goes into the hut.
6.082

Uduk  püonike.

u-du-k  püoni-ke
go.in/out-SS-CON  bow-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes in and bows down.

6.083

Püonike  etoxe

püoni-ke  et-oxe
bow-N1.RLS[SG]  see-N1.RLS[SG]

oto  peso  baxe.

oto  peso  ba-xe
anus  wound  sit-N1.RLS[SG]

He bows and she sees that there is a wound on his anus.

6.084

Munuk  emu  bũ  xoxe.

mũ-nu-k  emu  bũ  xo-xe
not.want-SS-CON  then  fly  go-N1.RLS[SG]

After this she flies away.

6.085

Bũ  xodok  kesaxe  mũ  efè  bodo  axe.

bũ  xo-do-k  kesaxe  mũ  efè  bodo  axe
fly  go-SS-CON  tree  kind.of.tree  3SG  branch  take-N1.RLS[SG]

She flies and sits down on the branch of a mũ tree.

6.086

Adek  badek  emu  bũ  xoxe.

a-de-k  ba-de-k  emu  bũ  xo-xe
take-SS-CON  sit-SS-CON  then  fly  go-N1.RLS[SG]

She sits and then flies away.

Adek badek is the expression to refer to a bird sitting down e.g. at a
branch, cf. remark at 1.136.

6.087

Bu  efe  būsiū  xoxe.
bū  efe  būsiū  xo-xe
fly  3SG house  go-N1.RLS[SG]
She flies to her house.

6.088

Xobasī  nikiaxamu  uduk  xoxe,
xobasī  nikiaxamu  u-du-k  xo-xe
male  back  go.in/out-SS-CON  go-N1.RLS[SG]

būsiū  xo-xe
būsiū  xo-xe
house  go-N1.RLS[SG]
The man goes back out of the hut and goes, he goes home.

6.089

Būsiū  xodok  mungge.
būsiū  xo-do-k  mù-ge
house  go-SS-CON  not.want-N1.RLS[SG]
Drabbe remarks: mũ indicates here that the man does not want to try and
have sex again (Drabbe 1959:87, note 116).
He goes home and does not want (to try and have sex) anymore.

6.090

Ko  būoni-mike.
kō  būoni-mi-ke
kind.of.tree  let.loose-come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
The ko fruit lets hold of the tree and comes down.

Būoni is a word that is used also for e.g. a knot coming loose. Here it
refers to the coming loose of ripe fruits. The word būonimi(k) is
composed of būoni 'come loose' and mĩ(k) 'come down' (Drabbe 1959:87,
note 117; see also the remarks on verbal compounding in the introduction
to section 2.1).
For some reason, this event is lacking in Drabbe's summary presented
above. The sentence shows that the fruits are ripe, and may serve to prepare the addressees for what is going to happen from 6.116 onwards.

Summary of 6.091-6.130. The next two days the brothers go out again and in the evening they eat from the pork and the fish. But in the night after the second day the field mouse comes to say to the youngest that the fruits at his tree are ripe. Therefore next morning he goes out to make a hut in the tree, and then returns home. Next morning he sits down in his hut to wait for the women, and he shoots one of them in the arm, pinning her arm to the tree. Then he appears, kisses her, and goes back into the hut. When he bends, the woman sees that he does not have a wound. He comes out of his hut again and gives her some jewelry, which she accepts. She flies away and her fiancé goes home.

6.091

Efe küda xati bagidi midik
efe küda xati ba-gidi mi-di-k
3SG younger.sibling again sit-next.day come.down-SS-CON

xo xe.
go-N1.RLS[SG]
The younger brother comes down again next day and goes.

6.092

Efe joxo xati midik xo xe.
efe joxo xati mi-di-k xo-xe
3SG elder.brother again come.down-SS-CON go-n1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother also comes down again and goes.

6.093

Efe küda wi tînik adek daxe.
efe küda wi tî-ni-k a-de-k da-xe
3SG younger.sibling pig shoot-SS-CON take-SS-CON come-
N1.RLS[SG]
The younger brother shoots a pig and brings it.
6.094
*Būsiū*  *osuke.*
būsiū  osu-ke
house  go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up into the house.

6.095
*Absuduk*  *kifidik*  *dokunuk*  *baxe.*
a-b-su-du-k  kifi-di-k  dokũ-nu-k  ba-xe
take-SS-go.up-SS-CON  lay.down-SS-CON  wait-SS-CON  sit-N1.RLS[SG]
He takes it up, lays it down and sits waiting for a while.

6.096
*Efē*  *nēxo*  *mataxe.*
efē  n-ēxo  mata-xe
3SG  LNK-elder.brother  come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother comes uphill.

6.097
*Dadek*  *būsiū*  *osuke.*
da-de-k  būsiū  osu-ke
come-SS-CON  house  go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes and goes up into the house.

6.098
*Osuduk*  *efē*  *küda*  *efē*  *namu*
osu-du-k  efe  küda  efe  n-amu
go.up-SS-CON  3SG younger.sibling  3SG LNK-meat

toxõnge.
toxō-ge
cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up and the younger brother cuts his pork in big pieces.

6.099

_Efe nēxo _aftamu edoxe._
efe nēxo aftamu ed-oxe
3SG LNK-elder.brother half give-N1.RLS[SG]

He gives half of it to the elder brother.

6.100

_Efe nēxo _eke ta efe naxe_
efe nēxo eke ta efe n-axe
3SG LNK-elder.brother 3SG.FOC IN.TURN 3SG LNK-fish

efe kūda _toxopòmu edoxe._
efe kūda toxopòmu ed-oxe
3SG younger.sibling some give-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother in turn gives some of his fish to the younger brother.

Note the different position of toxopòmu. Its position here is the same as in 6.012, but differs from the position in 6.111.

6.101

_Jā abukungenā._
jā abukū-ge-nā
fire make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL

They make fire.

6.102

_Amu efigiomoxenā._
amu efigiom-oxe-nā
meat cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

They cut the pork in smaller pieces.
They roast it until it is cooked through and eat.

They eat and the following day the younger brother comes down again and goes.

The elder brother also comes down and goes.

The younger brother again shoots a pig.
6.107a

Wi tinik abu dadek büsiü osuke.
wi ti-ni-k a-bu da-de-k büsiü osu-ke
pig shoot-SS-CON take-SS come-SS-CON house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
He shoots a pig and brings it and goes up into the house.

6.107b

Osuduk efe nēxo ni
osu-du-k efe n-ēxo ni
go.up-SS-CON 3SG LNK-elder.brother DAT

dokunuk baxe.
dokû-nu-k ba-xe
wait-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up and sits for his elder brother.

6.108

Efe nēxo eke ta mataxe.
efe n-ēxo eke ta mata-xe
3SG LNK-elder.brother 3SG.FOC IN.TURN come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]
His elder brother in turn comes uphill.

6.109

Matadek osuduk efe küda
mata-de-k osu-du-k efe küda
come.uphill-SS-CON go.up-SS-CON 3SG younger.sibling

efe namu toxonge.
efe n-amu toxo-ge
3SG LNK-meat cut.in.big.pieces-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes uphill and goes up (into the house) and (he sees that?) the younger
brother cuts his pork in big pieces.

This is one of the few cases where we find a nonfinite form (osuduk)
followed by a verb with a different subject, cf. section 2.3.2, footnote.
6.110

Toxonok  efe nēxo  afitamu edoxe.
toxo-no-k  efe n-ēxo  afitamu ed-oxe
cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON  3SG LNK-elder.brother half  give-N1.RLS[SG]
He cuts it in big pieces and gives half of it to the elder brother.

6.111

Efè nēxo  eke ta  efè naxe  toxopòmu
efe n-ēxo  eke ta  efe n-axe  toxopòmu
3SG LNK-elder.brother  3SG.FOC IN.TURN 3SG LNK-fish some

efe küda  edoxe.
efe küda  ed-oxe
3SG younger.sibling  give-N1.RLS[SG]
The elder brother in turn gives some of his fish to the younger brother.

6.112

Ededek  emu jā  abukungenā.
ede-de-k emu jā  abukū-ge-nā
give-SS-CON then fire make.fire-N1.RLS-N1PL
He gives and then they make a fire

6.113

Amu efigiomoxenā.
amu efigiom-oxe-nā
meat  cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL
They cut the pork in smaller pieces.

6.114

Kimoxenā  doxe  engenā.
kim-oxe-nā  do-xe  ē-ge-nā
roast-N1.RLS-N1PL  cooked.through-N1.RLS[SG]  eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
They roast it until it is cooked through and eat.

6.115
Emu igenā.
emu  i-ge-nā
then  lie-N1.RLS-N1PL
Then they lie down.

6.116
Efe kūda asū etoxe, etoxe
efe kūda asū et-oxe et-oxe
3SG younger.sibling  dream  see-N1.RLS[SG]  see-N1.RLS[SG]

maxiko  dadek  oxe:  ga
maxiko  da-de-k  o-xe  ga
field.mouse  come-SS-CON  speak-N1.RLS[SG]  2SG.POS

ko  mase  jomuŋ  gike
ko  mase  jomū  gi-ke
kind.of.tree  already  ripe  become-N1.RLS[SG]

numoxe.
num-o-xe
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
The younger brother sees a dream, he sees, a field mouse comes and says: "your ko tree is already bearing fruit", so it says.

6.117
Sowo kike  dadek  ifo  sike.
sowo ki-ke  da-de-k  ifo  si-ke
sun  become-N1.RLS[SG]  come-SS-CON  hut  twine-N1.RLS[SG]
The following day by sunrise he comes to twine a hut.

Note the different perspective compared to the passage above, where it was the elder brother who twined a hut. Here the deictic center is the
place of the tree, to where the younger brother comes, and from where he goes back home. In the passage above, the deictic center was the house of the two brothers, from where the elder brother went, and to which he came back. It is only by the end of that passage, in 6.088, that the deictic center appears to have switched to the area of the tree.

6.118

_Sidik_ būsiū xoxe.
si-di-k būsiū xo-xe
twine-SS-CON house go-N1.RLS[SG]
He twines it and goes home.

6.119

_Būsiū_ xodok bagidi mimī da-xe.
būsiū xo-do-k ba-gidi mimī da-xe
house go-SS-CON sit-next.day morning come-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes home and the following morning he comes.

6.120

_Dadek_ osuduk wenek baxe.
da-de-k osu-du-k we-ne-k ba-xe
come-SS-CON go.up-SS-CON guard-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes and goes up and sits down to guard.

6.121

Ā sē xo daxenā.
ā sē xo da-xe-nā
womanhusband DST come-N1.RLS-N1PL
The unmarried women come.
For the use of xo as a definiteness marker see section 3.1.6.

6.122

_Dadek_ b’ eŋgenā,
da-de-k bu ē-ge-nā
come-SS-CON DUR eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
They come and are eating, and he shoots one of them in the arm, pinning her arm to the tree.
The gloss 'pin down' has been taken over from Drabbe. In other contexts, pomV is translated as 'cut on' or 'split'.

6.123
Tinik uke.
ti-ni-k u-ke
shoot-SS-CON go.in/out-N1.RLS[SG]
He shoots and comes out.

6.124
Uduk wofïnge.
u-du-k wofuí-ge
go.in/out-SS-CON kiss-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes out and kisses her.

6.125
Wofïnd' emedek uke.
wofú-d eme-de-k u-ke
kiss-SS finish-SS-CON go.in/out-N1.RLS[SG]
After he has kissed her he goes into his hut.

6.126
Uduk püonike.
u-du-k püoni-ke
go.in/out-SS-CON bow-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes in and bows.

6.127

\[Etōxe \quad \text{pese \ fëde \ xo.}\]

et-ōxe \quad \text{pese \ fëde \ xo}

\text{see-N1.RLS[SG] \ wound \ NEG \ COP}

She see that there is no wound.

6.128

\[Uduk \quad \text{tetebago \ adek}\]

u-du-k \quad \text{tetebago \ a-de-k}

go.in/out-SS-CON \quad \text{valuables \ take-SS-CON}

\[modōk \quad \text{eфе \ nágā} \quad \text{edoxe.}\]

mo-do-k \quad \text{eфе \ n-agā} \quad \text{ed-oxe}

\text{come.in/out-SS-CON} \quad \text{3SG \ LNK-wife \ give-N1.RLS[SG]}

He goes in and takes valuable and comes out and gives them to his wife.

Note that the woman is now called: eфе nágā, 'his wife'. Apparently the acceptance of the gifts counts as a promise to marry her. This must be the reason that Drabbe in his free translation speaks of 'his fiancé'.

6.129

\[Edōxe, \quad \text{adek} \quad \text{eфе \ nágā}\]

ed-ōxe \quad \text{a-de-k} \quad \text{eфе \ n-agā}

give-N1.RLS[SG] \quad \text{take-SS-CON} \quad \text{3SG \ LNK-wife}

\[munūk \quad \text{bū} \quad \text{xoxe.}\]

mū-nu-k \quad \text{bū} \quad \text{xo-xe}

\text{not.want-SS-CON} \quad \text{fly} \quad \text{go-N1.RLS[SG]}

He gives them, his wife takes them and after this flies away.

Drabbe points to the fact that mu`ın this context should be understood as 'finishing', and not as 'refusing' (Drabbe 1959:87, note 116). Cf. section 2.10, where it is pointed out that munūk often has an adverbal function, to be rendered in Dutch by an adverbal expression like 'after this'.
Summary of 6.131-189. Next morning the youngest one pretends to be ill, and when the eldest one has gone out, he kills two of their pigs, and cuts them in pieces. One half of one pig he lays down for his brother. He pulls out some tubers, chops some bananas, puts everything in a basket, and puts the meat on top. He makes a strap, and goes into the house for his bow and arrows and his jewelry. Then he goes out, and when it gets dark he lies down to sleep. Early in the morning he walks on, and arrives at the houses belonging to the Osueko-clan. He treads on a piece of wood, which breaks, so that an Osueko-man asks: "who is there?". He wants to walk on, but (one has put a spell on him) he does not know the way anymore; he builds a hut, roasts some meat and eats from it. In the morning he goes down from the hill, and arrives at the Osueko people's palm trees. There are fruits that have fallen down, and pigs and cassowaries have come to eat them. He shoots two of them and tells the Osueko people. When he goes out again, it is asked from one of the houses again who is there. Again he does not know the way, builds a hut, and next morning he shoots a pig and a cassowary, and again he goes to warn the Osueko people. The same is repeated twice, and he comes to here (according to the narrator to the houses of the Büsiuxatigi-clan).

He goes and the next day the younger brother gets ill.
6.132

*Kumanya* gike  *numoxe.*
kumanya  gi-ke  num-o-xe
ill     become-N1.RLS[SG]  such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

He pretends to be ill (lit. he gets ill, so he says).

Note that the verb *gike* is inflected for N1SG. *Kumanya* gike is an experiential construction, or, in the terminology of Drabbe, an 'eventive construction'. The sentence translates literally as: "it is ill (to me)", so he says (Drabbe 1959: 87, note 119; cf. section 4.1.1). For the use of a quotative construction to express a 'pretending', cf. again footnote 119, and section 5.8.

6.133

*Efe* nēxo  *midik*  *kūtoxe.*
efe  n-ēxo  mi-di-k  kūto-xe
3SG  LNK-elder.brother  come.down-SS-CON  go.downhill-N1.RLS[SG]

The elder brother comes down and goes downhill.

The deictic center has now shifted to the area below the tree house, cf. section 5.8.

6.134

*Efe* kūda  *midik*  *wi okuomu*
efe  kūda  mi-di-k  wi  okuomu
3SG younger.sibling  come.down-SS-CON  pig  two

tīnge.
tī-ge
shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

The younger brother comes down and shoots two pigs.

In an endnote (Drabbe 1959: 87, note 120, referring to endnote 53 at sentence 1.148), Drabbe points out that the two only go down from the house and do not go out. From this, Drabbe writes, we can conclude that it is house pigs that they kill.

6.135

*Tīnge*  *kūngenā*  *emu*
tī-ge  kū-ge-nā  emu
shoot-N1.RLS[SG]  die-N1.RLS-N1PL  then
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6.136

Siü   gobümoxe.

siü   gobüm-oxe
banana   chop.off-N1.RLS[SG]
He chops off some bananas.

6.137

Fi   susumoxe.

fi   susum-oxe
tuber pull.out.I-IT-N1.RLS[SG]
He pulls out some tubers.

6.138

Jaxi   sike.

jaxi   si-ke
basket put.into-N1.RLS[SG]
He puts them in a basket.

6.139

Wi   afıtamu   efê   nêxo   ni   kifioxe.

wi   afıtamu   efe   n-ê xo   ni   kifi-oxe
pig half 3SG LNK-elder.brother DAT lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]
He lays down half a pig for his elder brother.

6.140

Fi,   siü   osü-kumā   kifioxe.

fi   siü   osü-kumā   kifi-oxe
tuber banana go.down-put.in_II.VN lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]
The tubers, the banana, he lays down all the stuff that he collected.

Osü-kumä is a composed of osü 'go down' and the verb kũ 'put into'. The form as a whole is a verbal noun, used here to refer to the 'effected object', cf. the introductory part of section 2.3.2.2.

6.141

Wi musuto ke kifioxe.

wi musuto ke kifi-oxe
pig on.top ACC lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]

The pig he lays on top.

Musuto must be a spatial noun, as it is only nouns that can be followed by case markers, cf. section 3.5.2.

6.142

Kifidik emu jaxi sike.

kifi-di-k emu jaxi si-ke
lay.down-SS-CON then basket twine-N1.RLS[SG]

He lays it down and twines (the last part of) the basket.

Drabbe glosses si(k) - usually glossed as 'twine'- here with 'afvlechten', which translates into English as 'twine the last part of', or: 'twine until it is finished'.

6.143

Sid’ emedek mü kunge.

si-d eme-de-k mü kū-ge
twine-SS finish-SS-CON strap put-N1.RLS[SG]

When he has finished twining, he ties a strap to the basket.

6.144

Kunuk kifioxone eke.

kū-nu-k kifi-oxo-ne e-ke
fasten-SS-CON lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]-DS stand-N1.RLS[SG]

He ties a strap to the basket and puts it down (so that it stands).

Drabbe refers to the section where he discusses the function of the different subject marker -ne, esp. that it is often used to express the consequence or result of an action. (Drabbe 1959:87, note 121, cf. section 5.4.2.2).

The basket is formed with the use of palm leaves, twined roughly and rather high (Drabbe 1959:87, note 121). This might explain why the basket
is considered as standing rather than lying, cf. section 2.8.1, esp. Table 33.

6.145

\[\text{Büsiü osuduk efe dibisi efe siaxajo kimoxe.}\]

He goes up into the house and takes his bow and arrow and his adornments. "Dibisi 'arrow', is used as a pars pro toto for 'bow and arrow'. This is not uncommon in Aghu. (Drabbe 1959:87, note 122).

6.146

\[\text{Kimidik mike.}\]

He takes them and comes down.

6.147

\[\text{Midik munuk xoxe.}\]

After he has come down he goes.

6.148

\[\text{Xoxe fikitimu asü kike.}\]

He goes and on the way it gets dark.

6.149

\[\text{Emu ige.}\]

Then he lies down.
6.150

*Igidi*  
*bagidi*  
*mimĩ*  
*namu*  
*xoxe.*

i-gidi  
ba-gidi  
*mimĩ*  
*namu*  
xo-xe

lie-next.day  
sit-next.day  
morning  
INSTR  
go-N1.RLS[SG]

Next day in the morning he goes.

Interestingly the forms *igidi* and *bagidi* are used in sequence here. For the use of *bagidi* and *igidi* cf. section 2.8.3.3.

6.151

*Xodok*  
*Osüèko*  
*joxo*  
büsůō  
*xoxe.*

xo-do-k  
Osüèko  
joxo  
büsůō  
xo-xe

go-SS-CON  
Osüèko  
3PL  
house  
go-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes, and goes towards (the) houses of the Osueko clan.

For the structure of the passage running from here to 6.189 see the note at 6.189.

6.152

*Xodok*  
*efekokike.*

xo-do-k  
efekoki-ke

go-SS-CON  
pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and passes by (the houses of the Osueko clan).

6.153

*Kuto*  
*kesaxe*  
*isixafūnge.*

kuto  
kesaxe  
is-axafū-ge

foot  
wood  
tread.on-break-N1.RLS[SG]

His foot treads on and breaks a twig.

6.154

*Osüèko*  
fē  
*oxε:*  
*oxε*  
numoxε.*

Osüèko  
fē  
o-xe  
oxε  
um-o-xe

Osüèko  
3SG  
speak-N1.RLS[SG]  
who.is.there  
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

One of the Osueko people says: who is there?, so he says.
6.155

Numoxe, eke axine moxe,
num-o-xe eke axi-n-e m-oxe
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG.FOC go-II-N1SG-FUT do-N1.RLS[SG]

idi omang gike.
id omâ gi-ke
path ignorant become-N1.RLS[SG]

So he says, and he wants to walk on, but he does not know the way anymore.

Drabbe remarks that here we have a case where the subject is expressed by eke, even though it actually is — in Drabbe's terminology — an oblique case (Drabbe 1959:87, note 123). For my reanalysis of eke as a focused form of efe '3SG', and for the use of this form, see 3.2.3.2, where this passage is cited explicitly.

In his free translation Drabbe remarks that it is because one has put a spell on him, that the man does not know the way anymore.

For verbal nouns as complement of mV 'do' (expressing intention) see section 2.3.2.2.5.

6.156

Munuk eke sauna sike.
mù-nu-k eke sauna si-ke
not.want-SS-CON 3SG.FOC hut twine-N1.RLS[SG]

After this he makes a little hut.

This is a different type of 'hut' than ifo 'hut'. The latter type of 'hut' served to hide oneself in a tree, here the aim of the hut is to stay there at night. This also seems to be the aim of the axi’s in 6.168f.

6.157

Sidik jâ abukuŋge.
si-di-k jâ abukū-ge
twine-SS-CON fire make.fire-N1.RLS[SG]

He makes a hut and makes fire.

6.158

Oxodû jaxi abûmoxe.
oxodû jaxi abûm-oxe
edible.animal basket take.out-N1.RLS[SG]
He takes some meat out of the basket.

6.159  
*Oxodū jā kuŋge.*  
oxodū jā kù-ge  
edible.animal fire put-N1.RLS[SG]

He puts the meat on the fire.

6.160  
*Toxopòmu kimidiik eŋge.*  
toxopòmu kimi-di-k ĕ-ge  
some roast-SS-CON eat-N1.RLS[SG]

He roasts some meat and eats.

6.161  
*Enek bagidi kütodok*  
ĕ-ne-k ba-gidi kūto-do-k  
eat-SS-CON sit-next.day go.downhill-SS-CON

Osüèko joxo dü nededeko  
Osüèko joxo dü n-edeko  
Osüèko 3PL sago LNK-fruit

*wi woküe b' eŋgen ĕ tĩŋge.*  
wi woküe bu ĕ-ge-nā tī-ge  
pig cassowary DUR eat-N1.RLS-N1PL shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

He eats and the following day he goes downhill, pigs and cassowaries have come and are eating the fruit that has fallen from the sago trees that belong to the Osueko clan - he shoots.

Note that is one of the few cases where we find a nonfinite form (*kütodok*) followed by a verb with a different subject: *eŋgen*. This probably has to do with the fact that the clause from Osüèko onwards described what is perceived. This verb of perception then, which would have the same subject as the nonfinite *kütodok*, is elided. Cf. section 2.3.2, footnote.

Here we have a nice example of a nested possessive construction. Osüèko
oxo dü forms the first possessive construction, which – as a whole – the possessor position in a second possessive construction, with edeko taking the position of the possessed. Cf. Section 3.1.2.

6.162

*Tinik*  
*būsiü*  
*matadek*  
*oxe:*

tï-ni-k  
būsiü  
mata-de-k  
oxe

shoot-SS-CON  
house  
come.uphill-SS-CON  
speak-N1.RLS[SG]

*ikemedek*  
*awu*  
*okuomu*  
tine  
*numoxe.*

ikem-e-de-k  
awu  
okuomu  
tï-ne  
num-o-xe

be.there-SS-CON  
already two  
shoot-1.RLS[SG]  
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots and comes uphill to the house and says: "there are (animals) of which I have shot two", so he says.

6.163

*nemodok*  
*munuk*  
*xoxe.*

nem-o-do-k  
mũ-nu-k  
xo-xe

such-speak-SS-CON  
not.want-SS-CON  
go-N1.RLS[SG]

After he has said this, he goes.

6.164

*Xodok*  
*būsiü*  
*fe*  
*xati*  
efekoki-ke.

xo-do-k  
būsiü  
fe  
xati  
efekoki-ke

go-SS-CON  
house  
3SG again  
pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and again passes by a house.

6.165

*Kuto kesaxe  isiaxafüinge.*

kuto  
kasaxe  
is-i-axafũ-ge

foot  
wood  
tread.on-break-N1.RLS[SG]

He treads on and breaks a twig.
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6.166

Oxẽ
numoxe.
oxẽ
num-o-xe
who.is.there
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

"Who is there?", someone says.
This is one of the examples in the text where the identity of the unspecified subject cannot be deduced from the context. Drabbe translates with "someone says" (Drabbe 1957:84a, note 124). Cf. section 4.1.

6.167

Axin’
moxe
idi
omaŋ
gike.
axi-n-e
m-oxe
idi
omā
gi-ke
go_II-N1.SG-FUT
do-N1.RLS[SG]
path
ignorant
become-N1.RLS[SG]

He wants to go but does not know the way anymore.
For verbal nouns as complement of mV 'do' see section 2.3.2.2.5

6.168

Emu
xasu-axī
sike.
emu
xasu-axī
si-ke
then
leaf.of.nibung.palm-hut
twine-N1.RLS[SG]

Then he twines a hut from nibung palm leaves.

6.169

Sidik
bagidi
kūtodok
Osūèko
si-di-k
ba-gidi
kūto-do-k
Osūèko
twine-SS-CON
sit-next.day
go.downhill-SS-CON
Osūèko

joxo
dū
o
weŋge.
joxo
dū
o
wē-ge
3PL
sago
fruit
guard-N1.RLS[SG]

He twines and the following day he goes down, and arrives at a place where he keeps an eye on fruit from sago trees belonging to the Osueko clan.
Drabbe glosses weŋge with 'guard' 'Dutch: bewaken'. This suggests that the older brother intentionally keeps an eye on the tree in order to warn the people from the Osueko clan in case something goes wrong. Cf. note at 6.171 below.
6.170

\[\text{Wenek} \quad \text{woküe wi emu tiğge.}\]

\[\text{wē-ne-k woküe wi emu tī-ge}\]

guard-SS-CON cassowary pig then shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

He keeps an eye (on it) and shoots a cassowary and then a pig.

6.171

\[\text{Tinik} \quad \text{kifidik matadek oxe:}\]

\[\text{tī-ni-k kifi-di-k mata-de-k o-xe}\]

shoot-SS-CON lay.down-SS-CON come.uphill-SS-CON speak-N1.RLS[SG]

\[\text{gügu namu okuomu tinik}\]

\[\text{gügu n-amu okuomu tī-ni-k}\]

2PL LNK-meat two shoot-SS-CON

\[\text{kifidik matade numoxe.}\]

\[\text{kifi-di-k mata-de num-o-xe}\]

lay.down-SS-CON come.uphill-1.RLS[SG] such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

He shoots them and lays them down and comes uphill and says: "I have shot two of your pigs and I have layed them down and I have come uphill", so he says.

By shooting these animals, the elder brother wants to please the members of the Osueko clan, hoping that they will break the spell that has been put on him (cf. note at 6.155). Apparently, however, it is too much for him (Dutch: hij kan het niet over zich verkrijgen) to bring them the prey. Eventually, in 6.241, he will succeed in freeing himself [from the spell, WvdH]. (Cf. Drabbe 1959:87a, note 125).

6.172

\[\text{Numodok munuk xoxe.}\]

\[\text{num o-do-k mū-nu-k xo-xe}\]

such say-SS-CON not.want-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

Having said so he goes.
6.173

*Xodok* xati būsiū₂ fe efēkokike.

xo-do-k xati būsiū₂ fe efekoki-ke

go-SS-CON again house 3SG pass.by-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and again passes by a house.

6.174

*Kuto* kesaxe isi-axafūnge.

kuto kesaxe isi-axafû-ge

tfoot tree tread.on-break-N1.RLS[SG]

He treads on and breaks a twig

6.175

*Oxē* numoxe.

oxē num-o-xe

who.is.there such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

"Who is there?", someone says.

6.176

*Eke* axin’ moxone idi omāŋ gi-ke.

eke axin m-oxo-ne idi omâ gi-ke

3SG.FOC go_II do-N1.RLS[SG]-DS path ignorant become-N1.RLS[SG]

He wants to go but the path has become unknown to him.

6.177

*Munuk* emu xasu-axē sike.

mū-nu-k emu xasu-axē si-ke

not.want-SS-CON then leaf.of.nibung.palm-hut twine-N1.RLS[SG]

After this, he twines a hut from leaves of a nibung palm
6.178

Sidik bagidi kütodok
si-di-k ba-gidi küto-do-k
twine-SS-CON sit-next.day go.downhill-SS-CON

Osüèko efe dü o wenek wi
Osüèko efe dü o we-ne-k wi
Osüèko 3SG sago fruit guard-SS-CON pig

okuomu tinge.
okuomu tĩ-ge
two shoot-N1.RLS[SG]
He twines and the next day he goes downhill, keeps an eye on (some) sago fruit belonging to the Osueko people and shoots two pigs.

6.179

Tinik kifidik mataxe.
tĩ-ni-k kifi-di-k mata-xe
shoot-SS-CON lay.down-SS-CON come.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]
He shoots and lays them down and comes uphill.

6.180

Büsüię matadek oxe:
büsiü mata-de-k o-xe
house come.uphill-SS-CON speak-N1.RLS[SG]

gügu namu awu okuomu tine
gügu n-amu awu okuomu tĩ-ne
2PL LNK-meat already two shoot-1.RLS[SG]

numoxe.
um-o-xe
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes uphill to the house and says: "I have shot two of your pigs", so he says.

6.181

*Munuk*  
daxe.
mû-nu-k  
da-xe
not.want-SS-CON  
come-N1.RLS[SG]

After this he comes.

Note that the narrator uses *ma* 'come' instead of *xo(x) 'go' in the parallel sentences 6.163 and 6.172. The verb *ma* might express a shift in perspective, and express a coming closer to the location where the story was told to father Drabbe, cf. note at 6.189 below.

6.182a

*Dadek*  
*xati*
da-de-k  
xati
come-SS-CON  
again

*büsiïi  
fè  efëkokin'  
moxe.*
büsiïi  
fè  efëkokí  
m-oxe
house  
3SG pass.by_II.VN  
do-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes and again passes by a house.

For verbal nouns as complement of *mV 'do' see section 2.3.2.2.5.

6.182b

*Kuto kesaxe  
isixafüinge.*
kuto  
kesaxe  
isixafû-ge
foot  
wood  
tread.on-break-N1.RLS[SG]

His foot treads on and breaks a twig.

6.182c

*Oxē*  
*numoxe.*
oxē  
um-o-xe
who.is.there  
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

"Who is there", someone says.
6.183

Axin’ moxone idi omә gike.
axin m-oxo-ne idi omә gi-ke
go_II do-N1.RLS[SG]-DS path ignorant become-N1.RLS[SG]
He wants to go, but does not know the way.

6.184

Emu xasu-axи sike.
emu xasu-axи si-ke
then leaf.of.nibung.palm-hut twine-N1.RLS[SG]
Then he twines a hut from leaves of a nibung palm.

6.185

Sike bagidi kütodok
si-ke ba-gidi küto-do-k
twine-N1.RLS[SG] sit-next.day go.downhill-SS-CON

Osüәko eфе dü o weŋge.
Osüәko eфе dü o wә-ge
Osüәko 3SG sago fruit guard-N1.RLS[SG]
He twines and the following day he goes down and keeps an eye on fruit from sago trees belonging to the Osueko clan.

6.186

Wi okuomu tингe.
wi okuomu tи-ge
pig two shoot-N1.RLS[SG]
He shoots two pigs.
6.187

\textit{Tinik} \quad \textit{kifidik} \quad \textit{munuk}

ti-ni-k \quad \text{ki-}fi-di-k \quad \text{mu-}nu-k

\text{shoot-SS-CON} \quad \text{lay.down-SS-CON} \quad \text{not.want-SS-CON}

\textit{büsiü} \quad \textit{mataxe}.

büsiü \quad \text{mata-xe}

house \quad \text{come.up-N1.RLS[SG]}

After he has shot them and laid them down he comes uphill to the house.

6.188

\textit{Matadek} \quad \textit{oxe}:

\text{mata-de-k} \quad \text{o-xe} \quad \text{wi} \quad \text{awu} \quad \text{okuomu}

\text{come.up-SS-CON} \quad \text{speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \quad \text{pig} \quad \text{already} \quad \text{two}

tine \quad \text{numoxe}.

\text{ti-ne} \quad \text{num’o-xe}

\text{shoot-1.RLS[SG]} \quad \text{such} = \text{speak-N1.RLS[SG]}

He comes uphill and says: "I have shot two pigs", so he says.

6.189

\textit{Numodok} \quad \textit{munuk} \quad \textit{fasikem’} \quad \textit{daxe}.

\text{num-o-do-k} \quad \text{mu-}nu-k \quad \text{fasikemu} \quad \text{da-xe}

\text{such-speak-SS-CON} \quad \text{not.want-SS-CON} \quad \text{for.always} \quad \text{come-N1.RLS[SG]}

After having said this he comes here, to stay here forever.

According to the narrator (see Drabbe’s summarizing translation just above 6.131) the 'coming here' refers to a coming towards the houses of the Büsiatigi-clan.

Note the structure of the preceding passage. In 6.151 it is narrated how the older brother (OB) goes towards the houses of the Osueko clan. Then we find four cycles with more or less the same events. (1) 6.154f: (a) passing a house, (b) treading on a twig, (c) someone hears and (puts a spell on OB so that) OB does not know the way (d) OB makes hut, eats and sleeps in the hut (e) next day OB goes downhill, sees that pigs and cassowaries are eating fruit of Osueko people (f) OB kills two animals (pig or cassowary) (g) OB tells the Osueko people about the fruit and the killing and goes. (2) same in 6.165 f. (3) same in 6.173f, the only difference being that (g)' is not expressed as going but as coming (6.181). (4) same, but now the spell seems broken, as he manages to come.
Summary of 6.190-6.247. Coming to here he hears that his wife (the fiancé mentioned above) is busy placing fish traps. She goes upstream, and he goes after her to have a look at the fish traps. He hides between the buttress roots of a big tree. When his wife comes back, she attempts to get the fish trap that is furthest away [Dutch; achterste stok] out with a long stick. The man comes out of his hiding place, and takes hold of the outer end of the long stick. The woman feels this, looks back, sees him and gets afraid. But when she looks well, she sees that it is her husband. They talk for a while, and she takes the load that he is carrying. Together they go home. Having arrived home, the woman tells him to lie down in a corner and she covers him with something (the father does not know anything about the marriage yet). Then she roasts sago with pig grease, and when the cake is cooked through, she shares it with the other women in the house. With the rest she goes out. She walks for a while, and lays down a piece of sago cake. Walking back homewards she does the same at five places. She also places a piece of cake at the stairs, one up on the terrace at the entrance and one in the house. When her father comes to the house, he sees the pieces of sago cake. His daughter takes a piece, and also gives him one. While eating they go into the house, and her father asks: "Where is this (what I am eating) from?" They tell him that they do not know. When he gets angry, the man comes out of the corner where he was hiding, and the old man is happy to accept him as his son in law. His son in law gives him pork and some jewelry. Then he receives three other women.

6.190

Fasikèmu  da-de-k  da-ke  efe
fasikèmuu  da-de-k  da-ke  efe
for.always come-SS-CON  hear-N1.RLS[SG]  3SG

nagã,  ã.sè  kütodok  jobo
n-agã  ã.sè  küto-do-k  jobo
LNK-wife  woman.husband  go.downhill-SS-CON  fish.trap

sigimu  kunge.
sigimu  kù-ge
twine.IT  put-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes here to stay, and hears that his wife, the young woman, has gone down to twine fish traps.

The compound ã.sè is used to refer to an unmarried woman. Here it refers to the young woman earlier in the story, who in 6.128 was also referred to as 'his wife'.

Sigimu is formed from the iterative stem of sì(g) 'twine'. The expression sigimu kunge here refers to an iterative twining and putting the food in
the fish traps, so that the food is, as it were, twined in (Drabbe 1957: 84a-b, note 127). *Sigimu* is a participial adverb, cf. section 2.4.1. Drabbe writes that "twining HE (Dutch: hij) puts the food in." This seems to be one of the very few cases where Drabbe was mistaken; from the context and from Drabbe's free translation (see the summary above) it is clear that it is the woman placing the fish traps. According to Drabbe's summarizing translation, it is in on his way (towards the place where he wants to stay) that he sees his wife.

6.191

*Sigimu kunuk osoxoxe.*

She twines and puts down the fish traps and goes upstream.

6.192

*Efe namo dadek efè jobo etoxe.*

The husband comes and sees her fish traps.

6.193

*Etedek jā di ogüdük eke.*

He sees and goes and stands in between the buttress roots of a tree.

6.194

*Efe nagā xati nikiaxamu*

His wife comes back downstream.
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6.195

*Midadek*  
*jobo*  
*maïâ*  
*b’*

*mida-de-k*  
*jobo*  
*maïâ*  
*bu*

*come.downstream-SS-CON*  
*fish.trap*  
*most.back*  
*DUR*

Üküsümoxe.

Üküsüm-oxe

take.out.water-N1.RLS[SG]

She comes downstream and is trying to take the fish trap that is furthest away.

6.196

*Efè namo emu moke.*

*efe*  
*n-amo*  
*emu*  
*mo-ke*

3SG  
LNK-husband  
then  
*come.in/out-N1.RLS[SG]*

Then he comes out.

6.197

*Modok dadek kesaxe fume axe.*

*mo-do-k*  
*da-de-k*  
*kesaxe*  
*fume*  
*axe*

*come.in/out-SS-CON*  
*come-SS-CON*  
*wood*  
*outer.end*  
*take-N1.RLS[SG]*

He comes out and comes and takes hold of the outer end of the stick.

6.198

*Efè nagâ adbimoxe.*

*efe*  
*n-agâ*  
*a-d-bim-oxe*

3SG  
LNK-wife  
*take-SS-pull-N1.RLS[SG]*

His wife takes hold of the stick and pulls.
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6.199

*Buteaxa kike.*

buteaxa ki-ke

strong become-N1.RLS[SG]

She pulls strongly (lit. it gets strong).

6.200a

*Abum' etoxe,*

abum et-oxe

look.back see-N1.RLS[SG]

efe n amo te de kesaxe toxu axe,

efe n-am-0 te de kesaxe toxu axe

3SG LNK-husband NOM COP wood outer.end take-N1.RLS[SG]

mo kike.

mo ki-ke

afraid become-N1.RLS[SG]

She looks back, it is her husband (who) is taking hold of the outer end of the stick, and she gets afraid.

Note the way in which the recognition by the woman is narrated, in 6.200a–6.200c. The nominal clause efe namu te de should be understood as 'it is her husband'. Although this may suggest that she has recognized him, the next clause states that she first gets afraid, while it is only in 6.200c that she really seems to recognize him. After this they start to chat (6.201). Could this be a play with the knowledge of the addressees, who are informed in 6.200a that it is her husband, versus the knowledge of the participants; the outer and the inner perspective?

6.200b

*Mö kidik fumu etoxe.*

mo ki-di-k fumu et-oxe

afraid become-SS-CON good see-N1.RLS[SG]

She becomes afraid and looks (at him) well.
6.200c

_Efè namo te de._

efe n-amo te de
3SG LNK-husband NOM COP

It's her husband.

6.201

_Kíasikena._

kiasi-ke-nà
chat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They chat.

6.202

_Kíasid’ emedék tetebago efe nágà axe._

kiasi-d eme-de-k tetebago efe n-agà a-xe
chat-SS finish-SS-CON valuables 3SG LNK-wife take-N1.RLS[SG]

After they have chatted, valuables, the wife takes them from the husband.

Drabbe remarks that this is not 'the normal sentence structure', but that the sentence should be translated as in the translation given here (Drabbe 1959:87b, note 129). Cf. the introductory part of section 4.1. _Tetebago_ refers to the adornments or jewelry that he has brought with him, cf. 6.145 above.

6.203

_Axene búsiù xoñenà._

a-xe-ne búsiù xo-xe-nà
take-N1.RLS[SG]-DS house go-N1.RLS-N1PL

She takes them and they go towards the house.

6.204

_Búsiù xodok efe namo efe._

búsiù xo-do-k efe n-amo efe
house go-SS-CON 3SG LNK-husband 3SG
They go towards the house and the wife and the husband go up into the house.

6.205

Osuduk  efe  namo  kiko,  bűsiü  kiko,
osu-du-k  efe  n-amö  kiko  bűsiü  kiko
go.up-SS-CON  3SG  LNK-husband  corner  house  corner

oxene  i-ge.
o-xe-ne  i-ge
speak-N1.RLS[SG]-DS  lie-N1.RLS[SG]

They go up and the wife tells her husband to lie down in a corner, a corner of the house.

For the use of o(x) 'say' and the implication of a command see the final part of section 5.8 on quotative constructions.

6.206

Kimafüike.
kimafü-ke
cover-N1.RLS[SG]

She covers him.

6.207

Efè  nagā  oxodü  xanimie  kakekunge.
efe  n-agā  oxodü  xanimie  kakekū-ge
3SG  LNK-wife  edible.animal  grease  mix-N1.RLS[SG]

The wife mixes (sago) with pig grease.

She mixes the sago and the grease and — as is clear from 6.209 — puts them in the bark of a sago tree before she roasts them.
6.208
Kimoxe doxe.
kim-oxe do-xe
roast-N1.RLS[SG] cooked through-N1.RLS[SG]
She roasts it cooked through.

6.209
Amdadek kutamo sike.
amda-de-k kutamo si-ke
take from fire-SS-CON bark of sago tree take off-N1.RLS[SG]
She takes it from the fire and pulls off the bark.

6.210
Sidek kemedoxe.
si-de-k kemed-oxe
take off SS-CON share-N1.RLS[SG]
She takes it off and shares (of the sago bread, with the other women in the house).

6.211
Kemededek toxopòmu adek osüke.
kemede-de-k toxopòmu a-de-k osü-ke
share SS-CON some take SS-CON go down-N1.RLS[SG]
She shares and with the rest she goes down.

6.212
Osüdük xodok fikitimu dü axafüniük
osü-du-k xo-do-k fikitimu dü axafũ-nũ-k
go down SS-CON go SS-CON on the way sago break SS-CON

kifi oxide.
kifi-oxe
lay down N1.RLS[SG]
She goes down and goes and on the way she breaks off a piece of sago bread and lays it down.

6.213
*Dadek* xati fikitimu dü axafũnũk
da-de-k xati fikitimu dü axafũ-nũ-k
come-SS-CON again on.the.way sago break-SS-CON

*kifioxe.*
kifi-oxe
lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]
She comes (back) and again on the way she breaks off a piece of sago bread and lays it down.

6.214
*Xati dadek fikitimu axafũnũk*
xati da-de-k fikitimu axafũ-nũ-k
again come-SS-CON on.the.way break-SS-CON

*kifioxe.*
kifi-oxe
lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]
She comes closer and on the way she breaks off and lays down a piece of sago bread.

6.215
*Xati dadek fikitimu axafũnũk*
xati da-de-k fikitimu axafũ-nũ-k
again come-SS-CON on.the.way break-SS-CON

*kifioxe.*
kifi-oxe
lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]
She comes closer again and on the way she breaks off and lays down a piece of sago bread.

6.216a

Xati dadek fikitimu kifioxe.

xati da-de-k fikitimu kifi-oxe
again come-SS-CON on.the.way lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]

She comes closer again and on the way she lays down a piece of sago bread.

6.216b

Xati dadek fikitimu kifioxe.

xati da-de-k fikitimu kifi-oxe
again come-SS-CON on.the.way lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]

She comes closer again and on the way she lays down a piece of sago bread.

6.217

Xati dadek fike kifioxe.

xati da-de-k fike kifi-oxe
again come-SS-CON ladder lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]

She comes closer again and lays down a piece at the ladder.

6.218

Kifidik osuke.

kifi-di-k osu-ke
lay.down-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

She lays down and goes up.

6.219

Osuduk bime ikèmu xati axafûnûk

osu-du-k bime ikèmu xati axafû-nû-k
go.up-SS-CON terrace there again break-SS-CON
kifioxe.
kifi-oxe
lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]
She goes up and at the terrace at the entrance again she breaks and lays down a piece.

6.220
Büsiü kifioxe.
büsiü kifi-oxe
house lay.down-N1.RLS[SG]
In the house she lays down a piece.

6.221
Emu baxe.
emu ba-xe
then sit-N1.RLS[SG]
Then she sits down.
It is not entirely clear where she actually sits down. It is clear, however, that from 6.224 onwards the daughter is outside, with her father.

6.222
Efe neto posiü daxe.
efe n-eto posiü da-xe
3SG LNK-father old come-N1.RLS[SG]
Her old father comes.

6.223
Dadek kokütümu etoxe düi
da-de-k kokütümu et-oxe düü
come-SS-CON on.the.way see-N1.RLS[SG] sago
ige.
i-ge
lie-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes and on the way he sees the pieces of sago bread lying.

6.224

Oxe efe subā Okudukāke dü eŋge.
o-xe efe subā Okudukāke dü ĕ-ge
speak-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG daughter Okudukāke sago eat-N1.RLS[SG]
He tells his daughter Okudukake to eat sago and she does so.
This is the only place where the fiancé is mentioned with her proper name.

6.225

Eŋge isiom’ jafi püsiü oxo.
ĕ-ge isiomu jafi püsiü oxo
eat-N1.RLS[SG] very/all good very COP
She eats and it is very good.

6.226

Efe neto toxu edoxone eŋge.
efe n-eto toxu ed-oxo-ne ĕ-ge
3SG LNK-father piece give-N1.RLS[SG]-DS eat-N1.RLS[SG]
She gives her father a piece and he eats.

6.227

Efe neto xati etoxone
efe n-eto xati et-oxo-ne
3SG LNK-father again see-N1.RLS[SG]-DS

ige,
oku
i-ge oku
lie-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG.EMP
adek  eŋge.
'></p>

a-de-k  ě-ge
take-SS-CON  eat-N1.RLS[SG]

Her father again sees a piece lying, he himself takes and eats.

The use of emphatic oku probably stresses that the father now takes the sago himself, instead of receiving the sago from his daughter.

6.228

Efe  subă  xati  efe  eke  ta  eŋge.
efe  subă  xati  efe  eke  ta  ě-ge
3SG daughter  again  3SG 3SG.FOC IN.TURN  eat-N1.RLS[SG]

His daughter she also again eats in turn.

6.229

Efe  neto  eke  ta  eŋge.
efe  n-eto  eke  ta  ě-ge
3SG LNK-father  3SG.FOC IN.TURN  eat-N1.RLS[SG]

The father in turn eats.

6.230a

Xati  efe  subă  eŋge.
xati  efe  subă  ě-ge
again  3SG daughter  eat-N1.RLS[SG]

Again his daughter eats.

6.230b

Xati  efe  neto  eŋge.
xati  efe  n-eto  ě-ge
again  3SG LNK-father  eat-N1.RLS[SG]

Again the father eats.
6.231

*Emu* fike, fike *etozenan'*
emu fike fike et-oxe-na-n
then ladder ladder see-N1.RLS-N1PL-DS

*ige.*
i-ge
lie-N1.RLS[SG]
Then the ladder, they see a a piece of cake lying there.

6.232

*Xati* adek *enge.*
xati a-de-k ĝe
again take-SS-CON eat-N1.RLS[SG]
Again he takes and eats.

6.233

*Osukenā.*
osu-ke- nâ
go.up-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go up.

6.234

*Būsiui* *osuduk* *bime* *etozenan'*
büsiui osu-du-k bime et-oxe-na-n
house go.up-SS-CON terrace see-N1.RLS-N1PL-DS

*ige.*
i-ge
lie-N1.RLS[SG]
They go up into the house and at the entrance they see a piece lying.
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6.235

Xati adek enge.

xati a-de-k ė-ge

again take-SS-CON eat-N1.RLS[SG]

Again he takes and eats.

6.236

Büsiü womu ogükenă.

büsiü womu ogü-ke-nă

house inside go.down.close-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go into the house.

6.237

Ogüdük joxo neto posiü oxe:

ogü-dü-k joxo n-eto posiü oxe

go.down.close-SS-CON 3PL LNK-father old speak-N1.RLS[SG]

maketa nego k’ ioxe

maketa nego ke io-xe

where THIS ACC be-N1.RLS[SG]

numoxe.

num-o-xe

such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

They go in and their old father says: "where is this from?" so he says.

For the use of ioxe and the case marking of its arguments see 2.8.3.2.

6.238

Efe subă nu k’ oman oxo numoxe.

efe subă nu ke oman oxo num-o-xe

3SG daughter 1SG FOC ignorant COPsuch-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

The daughter says "I don't know", so she says.
6.239

*Efè neto* *isiom'* *xadiŋ* *giše.*

*eñe n-eto* isiomu *xadiŋ* gi-ke

3SG LNK-father very/all angry become-N1.RLS[SG]

The father gets very angry.

6.240

*Isiom'* *xadiŋ* *giše,* *obüofiøxenā.*

isiom *xadiŋ* gi-ke *obüofi-oxe-nā*

very angry become-N1.RLS[SG] confess-N1.RLS-N1PL

He gets very angry, and they confess.

6.241

*Efè sē* *emu moke.*

*eñe sē* *emu* mo-ke

3SG husband then come.in/out-N1.RLS[SG]

Then the husband comes out.

6.242

*Joxo neto* *xani kike.*

*joxo n-eto* *xani* ki-ke

3PL LNK-father happy become-N1.RLS[SG]

Their father becomes happy.

Note the father is now referred to as 'their father', an no longer as *efe neto* 'her father'.

6.243

*Emu nimo* *numoxe.*

emu n-imo num-o-xe

then 1SG-male.in.law such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

"My son in law" so he then says.
6.244

**Emu oxodü** efè nimo posiü edoxe.
emu oxodù efe n-imo posiü ed-oxe
then edible.animal 3SG LNK-male.in.law old give-N1.RLS[SG]

Then he [the son in law] gives his old father in law some pork.

6.245

**Siaxajo toxopòmu efè nimo posiü edoxe.**
siaxajo toxopòmu efe n-imo posiü ed-oxe
adornment some 3SG LNK-male.in.law old give-N1.RLS[SG]

He gives his father in law some adornments.

In this context, posiü is added to distinguish the father in law from the son in law, which are both referred to as imo (Drabbe 1959:87b, note 130).

6.246

**Edoxe efè nimo posiü**
ed-oxe efe n-imo posiü
give-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-male.in.law old

**Eke** ta ā tafeaxa okuomasike
**Eke** ta ā tafeaxa okuomasike
3SG.FOC IN.TURN woman again three

**edoxe.**
ed-oxe
give-N1.RLS[SG]

He gives and then the father in law gives him again three women.

6.247

**Edoxone a-xe.**
ed-oxo-ne a-xe
give-N1.RLS[SG]-DS take-N1.RLS[SG]

He gives and the son in law takes.
Summary of 6.247-6.324. The day after [or: one day], the young man shoots a cassowary, and brings that to his father in law. Next day his father goes out, and gets into a fight with others. The young man comes to help him, and hits one man in two parts (see the remark below). They go back homewards. The son in law walks in the back, and on the way a pluck of his hair remains hanging in the rattan thorns. Their enemies that come behind find the pluck of hair. They lay it high up in a tree, at the axil of a branch, and go away (see the second remark below). When they are in the house, they hear birds calling, and the young man’s son weeps and begs his father to go and have a look together. He takes his son on the back, goes uphill, and puts him down. Father climbs into a tree, and sees a big snake lying at the axil of a branch. When he gets back on the ground, he himself changes into a snake. His son goes to tell his mother. They go and have a look together, and the mother indeed sees her husband. She tells him to climb into the tree, and when he does so, he is a man, but as soon as he gets down he is a snake again. She makes him creep into a sack, brings him home, and lays him down in a corner. Next day when it gets dark he comes out of the sack and bites his son. Then he goes and drinks water at the bottom of the hill, and back home he swallows the boy. He goes away and dives into the river. Next day the woman looks for the boy, and on the ground she sees the track of her man. She follows the track, and finds him in the water. Then she comes home, and calls the others. Next day they go to the river, and kill the snake. They cut it into pieces, and everyone goes home with his part. The woman does not participate in the sharing, and also goes home. The bones that they throw away after the eating change into snakes.

According to the narrator, the person cut in two is a Siamese twin, called Müng-xauguno; Müng is the actual name, as is the name of both of brothers. Xauguno is the name which is also used for two bananas that have grown together. We could translate Müng-xauguno as “the double Mü” (Drabbe 1957: 78a). According to the narrator's explanation, the hair was spelled before it was put in the tree (Drabbe 1957: 78a).

6.248

Axe  bagidi  midik
a-xe  ba-gidi  mi-di-k
take-N1.RLS[SG]  sit-next.day  come.down-SS-CON

xodok  wokies  thige.
oxo-do-k  wokies  ti-ge
go-SS-CON  cassowary  shoot-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes and then the next day he comes down and goes and shoots a cassowary.
6.249

Tinik  abu  dadék
ţî-ńi-k  a-bu  da-de-k
shoot-SS-CON  take-SS  come-SS-CON

ab’  suduk  efè nimo
a-bu  osu-du-k  efè n-imo
take-SS  go.up-SS-CON  3SG LNK-male.in.law

posiũi  edoxe.
posiũi  ed-oxe
old  give-N1.RLS[SG]
He shoots and brings it and takes it up and gives it to his father in law.

6.250

Edoxe,  toxonok  engeñà.
ed-oxe  toxô-no-k  ē-ge-nà
give-N1.RLS[SG]  cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON  eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
He gives it, and they cut it into big pieces and they eat.

6.251

Bagidi  efè nimo  posiũi
ba-gidi  efè n-imo  posiũi
sit-next.day  3SG LNK-male.in.law  old

midik  otoxe.
mi-di-k  oto-xe
come.down-SS-CON  go.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]
The following day his old father in law comes down and goes uphill.
6.252

*Otodok*  *axu*  *kotomu*  *ükökenä.*

oto-do-*k*  *axu*  *kotomu*  *ükö-ke-nā*
go.uphill-SS-CON  human RECIPR  fight-N1.RLS-N1PL

He goes uphill and gets into a fight with others.

6.253

*Üködük*  *ek*  *efè*  *nimo*  *mo*

ükö-dü-*k*  *e-ke*  *efè*  *n-imo*  *mo*

fight-SS-CON  stand-N1.RLS[SG]  3SG  LNK-male.in.law  backside

*otoxe.*

oto-xe

go.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

While he is fighting his son in law goes uphill behind him.

6.254

*Mö*  *otodok*  *üköke.*

mo  oto-do-*k*  *ükö-ke*

backside  go.up-SS-CON  fight-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes uphill behind him and fights.

6.255

*Üködük*  *ü-töge.*

ükö-dü-*k*  *ü-tö-ge*

fight-SS-CON  stab-cut-N1.RLS[SG]

He fights and splits one of the fighters in two parts.

The word *ü-tö* is used for hitting or chopping in things like a fork. Here it is used for stabbing in between the two twins, so that they are separated. (Drabbe 1959:87b, note 131). For the idea that it is Siamese twins that are separated, cf. the first of the two notes that precede 6.248 above.
6.256

Ü-tonge efe nimo posiü
ü-tô-ge efe n-imo posiü
stab-cut-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-male.in.law old

mumu daxe.
mumu da-xe
in.the.front come-N1.RLS[SG]

He splits him, and his old father in law comes (homewards) as the first.
Note how the spatial meaning of the spatial noun 'in the front' here fades into a temporal meaning 'as the first'. Cf. the final part of section 3.5.2 on spatial nouns.

6.257

Efe nimo eke ta mo
efe n-imo eke ta mo
3SG LNK-male.in.law 3SG.FOC IN.TURN backside

daxe.
da-xe
come-N1.RLS[SG]

The son in law in turn comes behind.

6.258

Mo daxe, mekusu efe xabumu
mo da-xe mekusu efe xabumu
backside come-N1.RLS[SG] rattan.thorn3SG hair

He comes behind, and a pluck of his hair tears loose at a rattan horn (lit. a rattan thorn breaks his hear).

agemoxe.
agem-oxe
tear.loose-N1.RLS[SG]
6.259
Agemoxe, munuk daxe.
agem-oxe mû-nu-k da-xe
tear.loose-N1.RLS[SG] not.want-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG]
It tears loose, but after this he comes homewards.

6.260
Axu joxo kufè mo
axu joxo kufè mo
human 3PL enemy backside
daxenà.
da-xe-nà
come-N1.RLS-N1PL
People, their enemies, come from behind.
Or: the people from the other party (Drabbe 1957:87b, note 132).

6.261
Dadek xabumu axenà.
da-de-k xabumu axe-nà
come-SS-CON hair take-N1.RLS-N1PL
They come and (find and) take the hair.

6.262
Adek abi xato kungenà.
a-de-k abi xato kû-ge-nà
take-SS-CON bud mouth put-N1.RLS-N1PL
They take the hair and put the pluck of hair at the axil of a branch.
In his free translation, Drabbe speaks of 'the bud of a tree' as the place where they put the hair. Xato 'mouth' is the word used for the axil: the angle formed by a branch and the stem. (Drabbe 1957:87b, note 133).
According to the narrator’s explanation, the hair was spelled before it was put in the tree (Drabbe 1957: 78a).
6.263

Kunuk  midik  xoxenā.
ku-nu-k  mi-di-k  xo-xe-nā
put-SS-CON  come.down-SS-CON  go-N1.RLS-N1PL
They put it, come down (out of the tree) and go.

6.264

Efe  nimo  posiü  gobünük
efe  n-imo  posiü  gobü-nü-k
3SG LNK-male.in.law  old  be.together.with-SS-CON

munuk  büsiü  daxenā.
mu-nu-k  büsiü  da-xe-nā
not.want-SS-CON  house  come-N1.RLS-N1PL
After this, the old father in law and the son in law go together and come home.
The function of munuk in this context is not entirely clear. It should be noted that munuk is used rather frequently in this narrative, e.g. in 6.147f, where it clearly has a function in structuring the narrative.

6.265

Dadek  osuduk  baxenā.
da-de-k  osu-du-k  ba-xe-nā
come-SS-CON  go.up-SS-CON  sit-N1.RLS-N1PL
They come and go up (into the house) and sit down.

6.266

Osuduk  badek
osu-du-k  ba-de-k
go.up-SS-CON  sit-SS-CON

dakenā.  ī  bekükenā.
da-ke-nā  ī  bekü-ke-nā
hear-N1.RLS-N1PL  bird  call-N1.RLS-N1PL
They go up and sit down and listen, there are birds calling.
6.267

*Efè namoko ifionge:*

efe n-amoko iifi-ge  
3SG LNK-child weep-N1.RLS[SG]

*neto i bekükena;*

n-eto i bekü-ke-nå  
1SG-father bird call-N1.RLS-N1PL

*osüdük xodok etoxoä numoxe.*

osii-dü-k xo-do-k et-ox-oä num-o-xe  
go.down-SS-CON go-SS-CON see-N1.RLS-1PL such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

His child cries: "father, birds are calling, let's go down and see!", so he says.  
Note that he child now refers to the son of the older brother; apparently he has got a child.

6.268

*Munuk efe namoko*

mū-nu-k efe n-amoko  
not.want-SS-CON 3SG LNK-child

müfekü-ge  
take.on.back-N1.RLS[SG]

Then he takes his child on his back.

6.269

*Müfekunuk midik otoxenä.*

müfekü-nu-k mi-di-k oto-xe-nå  
take.on.back-SS-CON come.down-SS-CON go.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL

He takes it on his back and they come down and they go uphill.
6.270

Otodok  efè namoko
oto-do-k  efe n-amoko
go.uphill-SS-CON  3SG LNK-child

adofioxe,  eke.
adofi-oxe  e-ke
put.down-N1.RLS[SG]  stand-N1.RLS[SG]
They go uphill and he puts his child down so that it stands.

6.271

Efe neto  osuke.
efe n-eto  osu-ke
3SG LNK-father  go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
The father goes up.

6.272

Kesaxe osuke.
kesaxe  osu-ke
tree  go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up into the tree.
That is: the tree where the enemy has put a pluck of his hair.

6.273

Osuduk  abi etoxe  wisi ake  baxe.
osu-du-k  abi et-oxe  wisi ake  ba-xe
go.up-SS-CON bud see-N1.RLS[SG]  snake  kind.of.snake  sit-
N1.RLS[SG]
He goes up and sees an ake-snake at one of the budding branches.

6.274

Munuk  nikiaxamu mike.
mū-nu-k  nikiaxamu mi-ke
not.want-SS-CON  back  come.down-N1.RLS[SG]
Then he comes back down.

6.275

Midik soxo isiabkunge.
mi-di-k soxo isiabkù-ge
come.down-SS-CON ground tread.on-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes down and treads on the ground.

6.276

Emu wisi kike.
emu wisi ki-ke
then snake become-N1.RLS[SG]
Then he becomes a snake.

6.277

Wisi kike, efè namoko
wisi ki-ke efe n-amoko
snake become-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-child

munuk büsiü daxe.
mû-nu-k büsiü da-xe
not.want-SS-CON house come-N1.RLS[SG]
He becomes a snake, and his child then comes home.

6.278

Dadek oxe, efè napi oxe:
da-de-k oxe efe n-api oxe
come-SS-CON speak-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-mother speak-N1.RLS[SG]

neto mase wisi kike numoxe.
n-eto mase wisi ki-ke num-o-xe
1SG-father already snake become-N1.RLS[SG] such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes (home) and says to his mother: "my father has become a snake!", so
he says.
For mase see section 3.4.2.

6.279

_Efe_ napi _gobünük_

efè n-api gobū-nū-k
3SG LNK-mother be.with-SS-CON

_midik_ _otoxenā._

mi-di-k oto-xe-nā
come.down-SS-CON go.uphill-N1.RLS-N1PL

His mother and he come down and go uphill.

6.280

_Otodok_ _etoxe_ _efè sē_ _xajaŋ_

oto-do-k et-oxe efe sē xajā

go.uphill-SS-CON see-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG husband really

_gike._

gi-ke
become-N1.RLS[SG]

They go uphill and she sees that it is really her husband.

6.281

_Efe_ nagā _oxe: _ notü_

efè n-agā oxe notū
3SG LNK-wife speak-N1.RLS[SG] go.upp.IMP[SG]

_numoxe._

num-o-oxe
such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

The wife says: "go up!", so she says.
6.282

*Numoxe*  *si*  *osuke.*

so she says and he goes up (into the tree).

6.283

*Efe*  *nagā*  *etoxe*  *axu*

3SG LNK-wife  see-N1.RLS[SG]  human

His wife sees (that he has again become) a human being (when) going up.

6.284

*Osuduk*  *etedek*  *nikiaxamu*  *mike.*

She sees him going up and he comes back down.

This is one of the few cases where a nonfinite form is followed by a verb with a different subject, cf. section 2.3.2, esp. footnote 46.

6.285

*Makā*  *midik*  *emu*  *wisi*

He comes down to the ground and then becomes a snake.
6.286

\textit{Oxe}, \quad \text{motü} \quad \textit{ogüke}.

\text{o-xe} \quad \text{motü} \quad \text{ogü-ke}

\text{speak-N1.RLS[SG]} \quad \text{go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]}

At her command he goes into a sack.

6.287

\textit{Ogüdük} \quad \text{tünük} \quad \textit{baxe}.

\text{ogü-dü-k} \quad \text{tů-nü-k} \quad \text{ba-xe}

\text{go.down.close-SS-CON} \quad \text{roll.oneself-SS-CON} \quad \text{sit-N1.RLS[SG]}

He goes in, rolls himself up and stays (in the sack).

6.288

\textit{Adek} \quad \text{midaxe}.

\text{a-de-k} \quad \text{mida-xe}

\text{take-SS-CON} \quad \text{come.downhill-N1.RLS[SG]}

She brings him downhill.

6.289

\textit{Büsiü} \quad \textit{abu} \quad \textit{xodok} \quad \textit{ab’}

\text{büsiü} \quad \text{a-bu} \quad \text{xo-do-k} \quad \text{a-bu}

\text{house} \quad \text{take-SS} \quad \text{go-SS-CON} \quad \text{take-SS}

\text{suke}.

\text{osu-ke}

\text{go.up-N1.RLS[SG]}

At home she takes him and goes up (into the house).

6.290

\textit{Ab’} \quad \textit{suduk} \quad \textit{büsiü} \quad \textit{kiko} \quad \textit{ikèmu}

\text{a-bu} \quad \text{osu-du-k} \quad \text{büsiü} \quad \text{kiko} \quad \text{ikèmu}

\text{take-SS} \quad \text{go.up-SS-CON} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{corner} \quad \text{there}
She takes him up and lays him down in the corner.

Next day when it gets dark he comes out.

He comes out and bites his son.
He bites and comes down and goes downhill.

6.294

*Kütodok*  
oxo  mike.
kūto-do-k  oxo  mi-ke  
go.down-SS-CON  water  drink-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes down and drinks water.

"It is said that big snakes first drink some water when they want to eat a big chunk "in order to widen their throat". Then they go and lie in the water, for a good digestion. This is what we will see happening in the next few lines. The *wisi-ake* is not a water snake." (Drabbe 1959:87b, note 134).

6.295

*Nikiaxamu  dadek  büsiü  osuke.*
nikiaxamu  da-de-k  büsiü  osu-ke  
back  come-SS-CON  house  go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes back and goes up into the house.

6.296

*Osuduk  amoko mikunge.*
osu-du-k  amoko  mikū-ge  
go.up-SS-CON  child  swallow-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes up and swallows the child.

6.297a

*Mikunuk  munuk  osūdūk  xoxe.*
mikū-nu-k  mū-nu-k  osū-dū-k  xo-xe  
swallow-SS-CON  not.want-SS-CON  go.down-SS-CON  go-N1.RLS[SG]

He swallows and then goes down and goes.

6.297b

*Xodok  widi  kümkoxe.*
 xo-do-k  widi  kümko-xe  
go-SS-CON  river  dive-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes and dives into the river.

6.298

*Küm kodok ogüdük baxe.*
kümko-do-k ogü-dü-k ba-xe
dive-SS-CON go.in-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]

He dives, goes into the water and stays there.

6.299

*Sowo kike, efê nagâ*
sowo ki-ke efe n-agâ
sun become-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-wife

*aguke.*
agu-ke
search-N1.RLS[SG]

It gets day and his wife starts searching.

6.300

*Efê namoko ni aguke.*
efe n-amoko ni agu-ke
3SG LNK-child DAT search-N1.RLS[SG]

She searches for her child.

6.301

*Aguduk efê sê etoxe*
agu-du-k efe sê et-oxe
search-SS-CON 3SG husband see-N1.RLS[SG]

*mase efê namoko üdüük*
mase efe n-amoko ü-dü-k
already 3SG LNK-child bite-SS-CON
mikunuk xołe.
mikū-nu-k xo-xe
swallow-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

She searches and sees: her husband has bitten her child and swallowed it and gone.

6.302

Xodok etołe, efē sē mase
xo-do-k et-oxe efe sē mase
go-SS-CON see-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG husband already

xołe.
xo-xe
go-N1.RLS[SG]

He has gone and she sees: her husband has gone.

This is one of the few cases where a nonfinite is followed by a verb with a different subject, cf. section 2.3.2, esp. footnote 46.

6.303

Mase xoxene ige.
mase xō-xe-ne i-ge
already hide-N1.RLS[SG]-DS lie-N1.RLS[SG]

He has gone and (his tracks) lie.

Ige here refers to the tracks (Drabbe 1957: 87b, note 135). The same construction is used in 2.162.

6.304

Okēmu mo xołe.
okēmu mo xo-xe
all.the.time backside go-N1.RLS[SG]

She goes behind him.

Okēmu probably refers here to a 'step by step, all the time' following of the track.
6.305

Mo xodok etoxe, efe sē
mo xo-do-k et-oxe efe sē
backside go-SS-CON see-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG husband
de baxe.
de ba-xe
LOC sit-N1.RLS[SG]
She goes behind and sees, her husband is (sitting) there.
In 2.8.1 it has been set out how ba(x) 'sit' is used for living human(s) and i(g) 'lie' for animals that are usually creeping, like snakes. Note that the husband's posture here — who has turned into a snake — is portrayed by means of ba(x) 'sit'.

6.306

Oxo womu de baxe.
oxo womu de ba-xe
water inside LOC sit-N1.RLS[SG]
He is inside the water.

6.307

Etedek daxe.
ete-de-k da-xe
see-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG]
She sees him and comes.

6.308

Būsiū daxe.
būsiū da-xe
house come-N1.RLS[SG]
She comes to the house.
6.309
*Dadek* axu owimoxe.
da-de-k axu owim-oxe
come-SS-CON human invite-N1.RLS[SG]
She comes to the house and invites others.

6.310
*Dadek* mumoxenā.
da-de-k mum-oxe-nā
come-SS-CON have.a.meeting-N1.RLS-N1PL
They come and have a meeting.

6.311
*Bagidi* midik xoxenā.
ba-gidi mi-di-k xo-xe-nā
sit-next.day come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL
Next day the come down and go.

6.312
*Xodok* ügenā,
xo-do-k ü-ge-nā
go-SS-CON stab-N1.RLS-N1PL

tingenā, üfüoxenā
ti-ge-nā üfüi-oxe-nā
shoot-N1.RLS-N1PL hit-N1.RLS-N1PL

küinge.
kū-ge
die-N1.RLS[SG]
They go and stab and shoot and kill him (lit. hit him he dies).

De Vries (t.a.) remarks that "Greater Aywu speakers strongly prefer to express the notion of killing with two mini clauses, the first with the A argument as single argument of general 'hit' verb and the second mini-clause with the O argument expressed as single S argument of a 'die'
PART III: TEXTS. 6. Hunter and fisher

verb." The text corpus contains several examples of sequences of mini clauses, the first with an A argument and second with an S argument, like 2.105a, 2.149, 6.135, 7.004, 7.071, 7.078, 7.086, 7.087, 7.094. In most cases, however, the first verb has a more specific meaning than the general verb of hitting described by de Vries.

6.313

*Kūnge* ad’ bimoxenā manumusuke.

die-N1.RLS[SG] take-SS pull-N1.RLS-N1PL go.up.close-N1.RLS[SG]

He dies and they pull him up (out of the water).

*Manumusu* is used here for going up (in this context: being pulled up) along the shore. For the place of *manumusu* in the paradigm of verbs referring to movement see section 3.5.1.1.

6.314

*Emu* toxongenā.

die-N1.RLS-N1PL

Then they cut him in big pieces.

6.315

*Toxonok* efigiomoxenā.

cut.in.big.pieces-SS-CON cut.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL

They cut him in big pieces and then in smaller pieces.

6.316

*Kemedoxenā.*

share-N1.RLS-N1PL

They share (the meat).
6.317

*Kemededek adek*
kemede-de-k a-de-k
share-SS-CON take-SS-CON

*genikenā*
geni-ke-nā
go.back.home-N1.RLS-N1PL
They share and take it with them home.

6.318

*Genikenā, efe nagā*
geni-ke-nā efe n-agā
go.back.home-N1.RLS-N1PL 3SG LNK-wife

*munuk efe būsiū daxe.*
mù-nu-k efe būsiū da-xe
not.want-SS-CON 3SG house come-N1.RLS[SG]

They go back home, and then the wife - who has not taken part in the sharing of meat - comes home.

That the woman has not participated in the sharing is made explicit in Drabbe's summary, which can be found below 6.247 above. It is not entirely clear what made Drabbe conclude that the woman did not participate in the sharing. Was it the narrator's explanation to him afterwards? Or did he consider *munuk* in this sentence as an indication that the woman refused to take part in the sharing? While *munuk* may refer to a refusing, it frequently has a grammaticalized adverbial function — also in this narrative — to be rendered into English by an adverbial expression like 'after this' cf. section 2.11.

6.319

*Wisi eggenā.*
wisi ē-ge-nā
snake eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
They eat the snake.
6.320

_Enek_  _efè  bigi  giamoxenã_
ě-ne-k  efe bigi giam-oxe-nã
eat-SS-CON  3SG bone cast-N1.RLS-N1PL

_otoxe._

oto-xe
go.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]

They eat and cast his bones (so that they go) away.

For the use of singular _otoxe_ for reference to _bigi_ 'bone(s)' cf. section 3.1.5.2.

6.321

_Otoxe_  _efè  bigi  wisi_
o-to-xe  efe bigi wisi
go.uphill-N1.RLS[SG]  3SG bone snake

_kidianã._

ki-dia-nã
become-HIST-N1PL

They go away and become snakes.

This is an exception to the general rule that a sequence of semifinites implies a change of subject (section 5.4.1.2). This may explain why _efe bigi_ is repeated here, namely to avoid a reading in which the subject of _kidianã_ differs from the subject of _otoxe._

6.322

_Badianã._

ba-dia-nã
sit-HIST-N1PL

They remain snakes???

For the use of the historical past at the end of a narrative, see section 2.3.3.1.

6.323

_Fede xo._
fede xo
NEG COP
There is no more.

6.324

Tamajō.
tamajō
enough
This is the end.
**Text 7: Somu**

*Summary of 7.001-7.013. Somu lives along the upper part of the Finaghe river. He and his sister’s son and his clan mates go and fight somewhere, and he is killed. His soul first comes home. His body is tied up by oxoxoa-birds and then carried home and put below the house. The soul, which has become small like a child, sees the body below the house. The body is buried.*

7.001

*Somu*

Somu

Somu

Somu.

The listing of the main participants at the very beginning of a narrative seems a common narrative technique, and is applied in all of the texts except 8a, 8b, and 9. Somu, also *Somu posiü 'old Somu'*, where *posiü* expresses a sort of sacrality, cf. 2.063. This Somu is a sort of Supreme Being, to whom humanity owes everything. He may not have created everything, but at least he has given humanity everything or made it known to them. In the story at hand, it is also Somu who judges whether people must die or not, and the one who judges them after death. One also says that if Somu had not died, all people would have remained alive. He is not worshipped or called upon. One only speaks of him as "the grand old man". One also says that he is the *kubo*, the lower part of a stem, of all utomo (myths) and legends (*xoxodino*) (Drabbe 1957:87b, note 137).

7.002

*Finaxe me badia.*

Finaxe me ba-dia

Finaxe upstream *sit-HIST[SG]*

He lived along the upper part of the Finaxe river.

*Finaxe* or *Finaxeàxe* is another name for the Edaxa-river, which is rendered on maps as Ederah. Edaxa is the name used by Awyu people who live further to the South (Drabbe 1957:87b, note 138).

7.003

*Efe nagĩ Üküte, efe naxu jixo*  
*efe n-agĩ Üküte efe n-axu jixo*  
3SG LNK-sister's.son Üküte 3SG LNK-human 3PL
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gobünük xoxenä; axu
gobü-nü-k xo-xe-nä axu
be.with-SS-CON go-N1.RLS-N1PL human

ükükenä.
ükü-ke-nä
fight-N1.RLS-N1PL
He and his sister's son Üküte and his clan people go out together and they fight with others.

7.004
Somu ügenä künge.
Somu ü-ge-nä kũ-ge
Somu stab-N1.RLS-N1PL die-N1.RLS[SG]
Somu is killed (lit. they stab Somu so that he dies).
De Vries (t.a.) remarks that “Greater Awyu speakers strongly prefer to express the notion of killing with two mini clauses, the first with the A argument as single argument of general 'hit' verb and the second mini-clause with the O argument expressed as single S argument of a 'die' verb.” While it is questionable whether ü(g) can indeed be described as a general word of hitting, the notion of killing in Aghu is indeed generally expressed by the sequence of two mini clauses. Cf. 2.105a, 2.149, 6.135, 7.071, 7.078, 7.086, 7.087, 7.094.

7.005
Efe bono mumu daxe, büsiü daxe.
efe bono mumu da-xe büsiü da-xe
3SG soul in.the.front come-N1.RLS[SG] house come-N1.RLS[SG]
His soul comes (homewards) first, it comes homewards.
Note that the movement towards the house is perceived of here as coming (rather than going).

7.006
Efe wusoxo i-o xo xoa ifĩŋgenä;
efe wusoxo i-o xo xoa ifĩ-ge-nä
3SG body bird-kind.of.bird bind-N1.RLS-N1PL
PART III: TEXTS. 7. Somu

**kēkunuk**
daxenā,
kēkū-nu-k da-xe-nā
take.on.shoulders-SS-CON come-N1.RLS-N1PL

**büsiü**  
**ab’**  
daxenā.

**büsiü**  
a-bu  
da-xe-nā

**house**  
take-SS  
**come-N1.RLS-N1PL**

Oxoxoa-birds bind his body, take it, and bring it home.

For humans, *kek’u* refers to a carrying on the shoulders. Apparently, the carrying of the body (on the bird's back?) is perceived as similar to this.

**7.007**

*Efe* bono büsiü osuke.

**efe** bono **büsiü** osu-ke

**3SG** soul **house** go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

The soul goes up into the house.

Usually it is the area down the house which is taken as the deictic center with respect to which all movements are described. In 7.005 it has been described how the soul came towards this area, and here it is described how it actually goes up. Cf. section 5.8.

**7.008**

*Efe* wusoxo ifĩík

**efe** wusoxo ifĩ-ni-k

**3SG** body **bind-SS-CON**

**kēkunuk**  
ade

**kēkū-nu-k**  
a-de

take.on.shoulders-SS-CON  
take-SS

**daxenā.**

da-xe-nā

come-N1.RLS-N1PL

His body they bind and carry homewards.
They bring it to the area below the house and lay it down there.

Note that the soul is up in the house, while the body is buried in the area below the house, which is a culturally significant place (see the Aghu-English wordlist).

His soul looks down and sees, it looks down and sees the body.

The vowels of kedo 'eye' harmonize with the vowel of mi(k). For vowel harmony cf. section 1.3.

It is on the basis of Drabbe's free translation (see the summary above) that this sentence has been translated with a past perfect and not with a present (perfect) tense.

They bury the body.

Summary of 7.013-7.035. A feast is being prepared. Each time when a man or woman
has been away and come back, Somu says that he or she stinks. Now they (those who prepared the feast, WvdH) go downstream, and Somu’s soul goes behind them. They shut off the river with a dam, so that the water causes a flooding (agreement to get rid of Somu). When they sit down, downstream from the dam, they get ginger from Somu. They mix this with a sleep-inducing plant (something like the wati used by the Marind) and with ashes from the rattan plant (serving as salt), and then eat it. In the meantime, someone destroys the dam (this also had been agreed upon). Somu has his wooden cup and shell spoon with him. He moves these, and they change into a canoe and a paddle. With his wife he gets into the canoe, and he says to the people: I go away, but you will all follow me. No one will stay behind. Somu and his wife go downstream. On the way they sleep four times, and the fifth time they stay at the place where they have moored.

It is not entirely clear where Somu is at the moment when the river is shut off. Because Drabbe writes that the shutting is meant to get rid of Somu, one would expect him to be upstream from the dam (cf. note at 7.022). Later on in the story, however, Somu seems to be with the people, downstream from the dam, and gives them ginger (see the note at 7.025).

7.013
Su baxenā.
su ba-xe-nā
feast prepare-N1.RL-N1PL
A feast is being prepared.
Drabbe glosses su’ ba(x) with 'prepare a feast'.

7.014
Aŋ go xobasiŋ go su baxenā.
ā go xobasiŋ go sū ba-xe-nā
woman and male and feast prepare-N1.RL-N1PL
Women and men prepare a feast.
For the double use of the conjunction go see section 3.8.1.

7.015
Pafumoxe numoxe.
pafum-oxe num-o-xe
smell-N1.RLS[SG] such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]
'You stink', so he says.
Drabbe writes pafu~ and moxe as separate words, and analyzes pafu~ as a noun (if we may conclude this from the fact that he translates it with a noun) followed by m(V) 'do' as an auxiliary. It is also possible to analyze pafumoxe as one word, derived from pafu~ plus -mV, as Drabbe also does in 1.31. The nasalization of u~, which is very unusual word-
internally - could then be seen as a historical relic confirming the compound nature of the word (note that a final nasal + #m / #n links to the preceding vowel, see section 1.1.1). For verbs historically derived from affixation with mV 'do' see section 2.2.

7.016
Ā xodok ēki
ā xo-do-k e-ki
womango-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG

dadek osuke,
da-de-k osu-ke
come-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
pafumoxe numoxe.
pafum-oxe num-o-xe
smell-N1.RLS[SG] such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

After a woman has gone for a while, comes back and goes up into the house, he says: "you stink!"

7.017
Xobasī xodok ēki
xobasī xo-do-k e-ki
male go-SS-CON stand-DIST.N1SG

dadek osuke,
da-de-k osu-ke
come-SS-CON go.up-N1.RLS[SG]
pafumoxe numoxe.
pafum-oxe num-o-xe
smell-N1.RLS[SG] such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

After a man has gone for a while, comes back and goes up into the house, he says: "you stink!"

Note that Somu has been killed already. Could the stinking here allude to the (prospect) death of these people? Cf. Stasch 2001:324 as cited in de
Vries (t.a.), who describes Korowai after-death zombies as "corporeal, with rotting, disfigured, stinking bodies (...)".

7.018

*Kību*  badek  *kütoxenā.*

kibu  ba-de-k  kūto-xe-nā

singing  prepare-SS-CON  go.downhill-N1.RLS-N1PL

People prepare the feast and then go downhill.

From the following and from Drabbe's free translation above it appears that Somu goes behind these people who go downhill.

7.019

*Kūtodok*  
oxo  baga  baxenā,

kūto-do-k  oxo  baga  ba-xe-nā

go.downhill-SS-CON  water  shore  sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

*widi*  baga  baxenā.

widi  baga  ba-xe-nā

river  shore  sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go downhill and sit down at the shore of a (small) river.

Drabbe glosses *widi* here as 'small river' (Dutch: riviertje). That the river is small, is not inherent to the lexical meaning of *widi*, but clear from the context, e.g. from the fact that they manage to build a dam (which would be impossible if the river were very large).

7.020

*Widi*  ikenā.

widi  i-ke-nā

river  lay-N1.RLS-N1PL

They close off the river.

Cf. note at 7.022.

7.021

*Amidadek*  
*abūfioxenā*

a-mida-de-k  abūfī-oxe-nā

take-come.downstream-SS-CON  lay.across-N1.RLS-N1PL

They have come downstream and laid something across.

It is not entirely clear why the narrator speaks of coming downstream rather than going downstream. I would hypothesize that the narrator
describes the coming as a kind of flashback. In 7.020 it is told how they shut off the river at a certain place, and in this and the following sentence it is told how they have actually come to this place, and what they have done to shut it off. It is for this reason that I have chosen to use a perfect tense in the translation.

7.022

*Abüfidik*  
*ikenā.*

abüfi-di-k  
i-ke-nâ

lay.across-SS-CON  
lay-N1.RLS-N1PL

They have laid wood across the river and laid (soil) against it.

*Drabbe* writes: í(*k*) actually expresses the making of the dam against the wood that has just been put in the river. So the narrator first tells that the river is shut off, and then explains: first they put wood in the river, and then they throw soil against it. (*Drabbe* 1957:87b, note 140). The aim is to get rid of Somu, who apparently has gone behind them.

7.023

*Ikenā*  
*oxo*  
*pamoxe,*  
*oxo*  
*isiom'*

i-ke-nâ  
oxo  
pam-oxe  
oxo  
isiomu

lay-N1.RLS-N1PL  
water  
rise-N1.RLS[SG]  
water  
very/all

*pamoxe.*

pam-oxe  
rise-N1.RLS[SG]

They lay it and the water rises, it rises very high.

7.024

*Badek*  
*engenā;*  
*badek*  
*küma*  
*engenā.*

ba-de-k  
ē-ge-nâ  
ba-de-k  
küma  
ē-ge-nâ

sit-SS-CON  
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL  
sit-SS-CON  
ginger  
eat-N1.RLS-N1PL

They sit and eat, they eat ginger.
They mix ginger, ashes from the rattan plan and sibi-plant and eat. While they are eating, someone pierces the dam so that the river flows over. His [Somu's] cup becomes a canoe, while his spoon becomes a paddle.

The sibi-plant is a sleep-inducing plant, comparable to well-known wati's used by the Marind. Ashes from the rattan plant serve as salt (Drabbe 1957: 79b-80a, note 141).

It is Somu who makes these products - including ginger - known to the people. Drabbe writes that "this is not so clear from the story, but the narrator assures me that it was meant to say so" (Drabbe 1957: 80a, note 141).

With atikifioxe we have an example of a verb with an unspecified subject. Cf. section 4.1.
7.026
*Efè sapà agigiamo*oxe,  
efe sapà agigiam-oxe  
3SG cup move.back.and.forward-N1.RLS[SG] canoe

*gi*ke;  
*efe gisi*  
gi-ke efe gisi  
become-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG spoon

*agigiamo*oxe  
agigiam-oxe  
mov*e*.back.and.forward-N1.RLS[SG] paddle

*kike.*  
ki-ke  
become-N1.RLS[SG]

He moves his cup back and forward, and it becomes a canoe. He moves his spoon back and forward, and it becomes a paddle.

7.027
*Ogüke,*  
*efè nagà toxu*  
ogü-ke efe n-agà toxu  
go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-wife outer.end

*ogüke.*  
ogü-ke  
go.down.close-N1.RLS[SG]

He gets into the canoe, and his wife gets in at the other end of the canoe.

7.028
*Wüoxoxenà,*  
axu,  
wüoxo-xe-nà axu  
go.downstream-N1.RLS-N1PL human
They go downstream, and he says: "people, I will go downstream", so he says, "no one will stay; you will all come behind me, you will all come behind", so he says.

Although wūoxoxe has singular subject inflection, it is clear from 7.027 that both the man and the woman who go downstream.

Het goes downstream. He goes downstream and on the way he lies down to sleep.
7.030

_Bagidi_ xoxe,
ba-gidi xo-xe
sit-next.day go-N1.RLS[SG]

\textit{wüoxoxe,} \textit{xati fikitimu}
\textit{wüixo-xe} \textit{xati fikitimu}
\textit{go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]} \textit{again} \textit{on.the.way}

_ige._
i-ge
lie-N1.RLS[SG]
Next day he goes, he goes downstream, and on the way he again lies down to sleep.

7.031

\textit{Wüoxoxe,} \textit{xati fikitimu'}
\textit{wüixo-xe} \textit{xati fikitim}
\textit{go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]} \textit{again} \textit{on.the.way}

_ige._
i-ge
lie-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes downstream, and on the way he again lies down to sleep.

7.032

\textit{Wüoxoxe} \textit{xati fikitimu'}
\textit{wüixo-xe} \textit{xati fikitim}
\textit{go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]} \textit{again} \textit{on.the.way}

_ige._
i-ge
lie-N1.RLS[SG]
He goes downstream, and on the way he again lies down to sleep.

7.033

_Wū oxoxe_  
\( \text{fkitim'} \text{ i-ge.} \)

\( \text{wūoxo-xe} \text{ fkitim} \text{ i-ge} \)

\( \text{go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]} \text{ on.the.way} \text{ lie-N1.RLS[SG]} \)

He goes downstream, and on the way he again lies down to sleep.

7.034

_Fikitim'  i-ge, \text{ ikèmu fasikem'} \)

\( \text{fkitim} \text{ i-ge} \text{ ikèmu fasikèmu} \)

\( \text{on.the.way} \text{ lie-N1.RLS[SG]} \text{ there for.always} \)


\( \text{baxe.} \)

\( \text{ba-xe} \)

\( \text{sit-N1.RLS[SG]} \)

He lies down to sleep and stays there forever.

7.035

_Fasikem'  baxe, \text{ womõ xo xo mo xe.} \)

\( \text{fasikèmu baxe womõ xo xo mo xe} \)

\( \text{for.always sit-N1.RLS[SG] night pass.by.IT-N1.RLS[SG]} \)

He stays forever, and some nights pass.

**Summary of 7.036-7.066.** After some days, the wife of his sister's son dies. Her soul goes downstream, but her husband (his sister's son, WvdH) goes behind her to get her back. He finds her at Somu, who says: "here is your wife, but do not have sex with her on the way home". When they stay overnight, however, he nevertheless sleeps with her, and in the morning the woman has disappeared, and gone back downstream. The man returns to his village. Back there he dies, but his clan mates make him alive again. Again he goes downstream, and the same is repeated. The he goes to get his wife for the third time, but when he comes back again without having succeeded, he dies forever, and his soul goes downstream. When he arrives, he sees that his wife has taken another husband, and he in turn takes another woman. His uncle gives him ripe bananas to eat, and white ants.
Some nights pass and the wife of his sister's son dies and goes.  
Note that his sister's son, Üküte, was mentioned before, in 7.003.

She dies and goes, and her husband goes behind her.

He goes behind her and sees his wife sitting / being present.

The posture verbs ba(x) 'sit', i(g) 'lie' and e(k) 'stand' are also used to refer to a 'being present', cf. section 2.8.1.

Apparently the woman has arrived at Somu's place, as is clear from the following sentences.
7.039

*Efê mõ oxe: efe nagî*
efe mõ oxe efe n-agî
3SG mother's.brother speak-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-sister's.son

efe nagâ oxe: fikitimu gobûnûk
efe n-agâ oxe fikitimu gobû-nû-k
3SG LNK-wife speak-N1.RLS[SG] on.the.way be.together.with-SS-CON

*aînâ mafioxone numoxe.*
aî-nâ mafi-oxone num-o-xe
lie_II-N1PL not.want-IMP.PL such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

Mother's brother (Somu) speaks, and says to his sister's son and to his wife:
"(you may go but) do not sleep together on the way!", so he says.

For the use of imperative *mafi* plus complement as a prohibitive see the latter part of section 2.5.

Note the participant reference in this verse: all participants are being referred to by terms which express their mutual relations of kin or marriage.

7.040

*Ade daxe.*
a-de da-xe
take-SS come-N1.RLS[SG]

He takes her and comes (homewards).

7.041

*Adek bûsiï nikiaxamu daxenâ.*
a-de-k bûsiï nikiaxamu da-xe-nâ
take-SS-CON house back come-N1.RLS-N1PL

He takes her and they come homewards.
PART III: TEXTS. 7. Somu

7.042

Adek dadek kokütümü igenā.
a-de-k da-de-k kokütümü i-ge-nā
take-SS-CON come-SS-CON on.the.way lie-N1.RLS-N1PL
He takes her and comes but on the way home they lie down.

7.043

Aŋ go xu kotom' emoxenā.
ã go xu kotomu em-oxe-nā
woman and man RECIPR copulate-N1.RLS-N1PL
The woman and the man have sex.

7.044

Bagidi ā nikiaxamu xoxe.
ba-gidi ā nikiaxamu xo-xe
sit-next.day woman back go-N1.RLS[SG]
Next day the woman goes back (towards Somu).

7.045

Efè së nikiaxamu būsiū daxe.
efe së nikiaxamu būsiū da-xe
3SG husband back house come-N1.RLS[SG]
Her husband comes back home.

7.046

Dadek küŋge.
da-de-k kū-ge
come-SS-CON die-N1.RLS[SG]
He comes and dies.
7.047

*Dadek* kümge
da-de-k kù-ge
come-SS-CON die-N1.RLS[SG]

*atosumoxenā, nikiaxamu dotoxe.*
atosum-oxe-nā nikiaxamu dotoxe
nurse-N1.RLS-N1PL back get.up-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes and dies, but they nurse him and he gets back to life.

7.048

*Xati nikiaxamu wūoxoxe.*
xati nikiaxamu wūoxo-xe
again back go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]

Again he goes back downstream.

7.049

*Efe nagā nikiaxamu adek*
efe n-agā nikiaxamu a-de-k
3SG LNK-wife back take-SS-CON

daxe.
da-xe
come-N1.RLS[SG]

He brings his wife back homewards.

7.050

*Adek daxe kokūtūmu*
a-de-k da-xe kokūtūmu
take-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG] on.the.way
7.051

*Igenã, kotom’ emoxenã.*

i-ge-nā kotomu em-oxe-nā
lie-N1.RLS-N1PL RECIPR copulate-N1.RLS-N1PL

They lie down, and have sex.

7.052

*Kotom’ emoxenã efe*

kotomu em-oxe-nā efe
RECIPR copulate-N1.RLS-N1PL 3SG

*nagā xati nikiaxamu wūoxoxe.*

n-agā xati nikiaxamu wūoxo-xe
LNK-wife again back go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]

They have sex, and the wife goes back downstream.

7.053

*Efe sē nikiaxamu büsiū daxe.*

efe sē nikiaxamu büsiū da-xe
3SG husband back house come-N1.RLS[SG]

The husband comes back home.

7.054

*Dadek kūnge.*

da-de-k kū-ge
come-SS-CON die-N1.RLS[SG]

He comes and dies.
7.055

\textit{Atosumoxenā} \textit{dotoxe.}
atosum-oxe-nā doto-xe
nurse-N1.RLS-N1PL get.up-N1.RLS[SG]

They nurse him and he gets back to life.

7.056

\textit{Dotodok} \textit{xati wūoxoxe.}
doto-do-k xati wūoxo-xe
get.up-SS-CON again go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]

He gets back to life and goes downstream.

7.057

\textit{Tafeaxa wūoxoxe} \textit{efē nagā}
tafeaxa wūoxo-xe efe n-agā
again go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-wife

\textit{xati tafeaxa adek daxe.}
xati tafeaxa a-de-k da-xe
again again take-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG]

Again he goes downstream and again he brings his wife homewards.

7.058

\textit{Adek daxe kokūtümu'}
a-de-k da-xe kokūtümu
take-SS-CON come-N1.RLS[SG] on.the.way

\textit{igenā; emoxenā.}
i-ge-nā em-oxide-nā
lie-N1.RLS-N1PL copulate-N1.RLS-N1PL

He brings her and on the way they lie down, and have sex.
PART III: TEXTS. 7. Somu

7.059

Xati efe nagā nikiaxamu
xati efe n-agā nikiaxamu
again 3SG LNK-wife back

wūoxoxe.
wūoxo-xe
go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]
Again the wife goes back downstream.

7.060

Efe sē-xu nikiaxamu büsiū daxe.
efe sē-xu nikiaxamu büsiū da-xe
3SG husband-man back house come-N1.RLS[SG]
The husband comes back home.

7.061

Fasikem’ kūng'e, ision’ kūng'e.
fasikëmu kū-ge isiomu kū-ge
for.always die-N1.RLS[SG] very/all die-N1.RLS[SG]
Now he really dies, for always.

7.062

Kūnük xoxe, efe nagā wūoxoxe;
kū-nū-k xo-xe efe n-agā wūoxo-xe
die-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-wife go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]

efe namo fasikem’ kūnük wūoxoxe.
efe n-amò fasikëmu kū-nū-k wūoxo-xe
3SG LNK-husband for.always die-SS-CON go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]
He dies and goes, the wife goes downstream. The husband dies for always and goes downstream.
7.063

*Xodok etoxe efe nagā xu digim’*

xō-do-k et-oxe efe n-agā xu digimu
go-SS-CON see-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG LNK-wife man other

*axe.*
a-xe
take-N1.RLS[SG]

He goes and sees that his wife has taken another husband.

7.064

*Efē sē ā digim’ axe.*
efe sē ā digimu a-xe

3SG husband woman other take-N1.RLS[SG]

The husband then takes another woman.

7.065

*Efē mō posīū t’ edoxe*
efe mō posīū te ed-oxe

3SG mother's.brother old NOM give-N1.RLS[SG]

*enge,* siū jomū doxosi
ē-ge siū jomū doxosi
eat-N1.RLS[SG] banana ripe white.ant

*edoxe enge.*
ed-oxe ē-ge
give-N1.RLS[SG] eat-N1.RLS[SG]

His mother's brother (Somu) gives him and he eats; he gives ripe bananas and white ants and he eats.
PART III: TEXTS. 7. Somu

7.066

Enek baxe, efe mō
e-ne-k ba-xe efe mō
eat-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG mother's.brother

posiü gobünük baxenā.
posiü gobū-nü-k ba-xe-nā
old be.together.with-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

He is eating, he and his mother's brother stay together.

Summary of 7.067-7.093. Now they sit on the watch. Then someone dies (at the upper part of the Finaxe river) and his soul goes downstream. Somu gives him food, but the man does not share with the other people in the house. Because of this Somu commands him to go into a wasp nest. He does so, and the wasps sting him dead. Then the soul of an afterbirth goes downstream but Somu commands it to go into a hole under the ground. A woman dies, her soul goes downstream, she gets to eat, does not share, has to go to the wasp nest and is stung dead. Then again a man dies. When this man goes downstream and gets food, he shares with the others, and is allowed to stay in Somu's house. Again a woman goes downstream. Because she does not share with the others, she has to go to the wasps, which sting her dead. A man is killed, and at Somu's command he goes and hangs at the branch of a tree (like a mega bat). When he is hanging there and watching, another man is killed, to whom then happens the same. Also this man hangs there watching, and again a man dies. At his arrival he gets food and shares with the others, and is allowed to stay with Somu. Again a man dies, and also this man has to go to the wasp nest, because he does not share with others.

7.067

Gobnūk baxenā,

gobū-nü-k ba-xe-nā
be.with-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

gobnūk badek etcdek

gobū-nü-k ba-de-k etc-de-k
be.with-SS-CON sit-SS-CON see-SS-CON
baxenā.
baxe-nā
sit-N1.RLS-N1PL
Together they sit and watch.
It is not entirely clear what the plural subject of baxenā refers to. I would hypothesize that it refers to Somu and those who have come to stay with him: Somu’s sister’s son and his second wife, Somu’s sister and her second husband.

7.068
Etedek  baxenā   axu   mo
ete-de-k  ba-xe-nā   axu   mo
see-SS-CON  sit-N1.RLS-N1PL  human backside

kūnük   xoxe.
kū-nū-k  xo-xe
die-SS-CON  go-N1.RLS[SG]
They are watching for a while, and some time later a person dies and goes.
Drabbe glosses mo 'behind' here with 'later'; this is one of the cases where the spatial meaning has been metaphorically extended to the category of time, cf. section 3.5.2.
Drabbe adds that it is at the upper part of the Finaxe river that this person dies. He may have concluded that on the basis of the use of xo, which so far has implied a movement away from the village, which is the deictic center (see section 5.9), in the direction of Somu.

7.069
Edoxene  eŋge,   oku   gedeme
ed-oxe-ne  ě-ge   oku   gedeme
give-N1.RLS-DS  eat-N1.RLS[SG]  3SG.EMP  alone

eŋge.
ě-ge
eat-N1.RLS[SG]
Somu gives the man food and he eats, he eats from it alone.
Gedeme 'alone' implies: not sharing with others. It is because of not sharing with others that Somu tells the man to enter a wasp nest.
At Somu's command he goes up into a wasp nest.

For the use of o(x) 'say' to express a command, see the final part of section 5.8 on quotative constructions.

He goes up and they sting him, they sting him so that he dies.

Then the soul of an afterbirth goes, and goes downstream.

In a strict sense, amoko ū (+ nasalization of final ū) refers to the umbilical cord. Here, however, also the placenta is implied (Drabbe 1957:88, note 145).
At Somu's command it goes into a hole in the ground.

Soxo womu may, in other contexts, indicate "in the ground". Here, however, it refers to a hole in the ground (Drabbe 1957:88, note 146).

Later a woman dies and goes. She goes up (into Somu's house) and sits down.

The going up probably refers to going up into Somu's house, which would make this sentence analogous to 7.089, where the house is mentioned explicitly.

She goes up and sits down, Somu gives her and she eats.

She eats alone.
7.077

Oxe, obubusi joxo büsiü
o-xe obubusi joxo büsiü
speak-N1.RLS[SG] wasp 3PL house

osuke.
osu-ke
go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

At Somu's command she goes up into a wasp nest.
Drabbe translates büsiü osuke as going into the nest. On the basis of the text, however, it could possibly also be interpreted as going to the nest (without entering into it).

7.078

Osuke ügenā;
osu-ke ü-ge-nā
go.up-N1.RLS[SG] stab-N1.RLS-N1PL

ügenā kūnge.
ü-ge-nā kū-ge
stab-N1.RLS-N1PL die-N1.RLS[SG]

She goes up into a wasp nest and they sting her. They sting her and she dies.

7.079

Baxenā
ba-xe-nā
sit-N1.RLS-N1PL

xobisi kūnge; wūoxoxe.
xobisi kū-ge wūoxo-xe
male die-N1.RLS[SG] go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]

They sit and then a man dies; he goes downstream.
It is not entirely clear what the subject of baxenā refers to. It might very well refer to more or less the same group as in 7.067: Somu and those who have been allowed to stay with him.
7.080

Edoxe, siü doxosi axu
ed-oxe siü doxosi axu
give-N1.RLS[SG] banana white.ant human

kemedoxe.
kemed-oxe
share-N1.RLS[SG]
Somu gives to this man, and he shares bananas and white ants with others.

7.081

Axu kemedoxe engeña.
axu kemed-oxe ē-ge-nā
human share-N1.RLS[SG] eat-N1.RLS-N1PL
He shares with others and they eat.

7.082

Oxe, efe būsiü baxe; efe
o-oxe efe būsiü ba-xe efe
speak-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG house sit-N1.RLS[SG] 3SG

būsiü badia.
būsiü ba-dia
house sit-HIST[SG]
Somu tells him to stay in his house; he stays in his house.

In Drabbe’s free translation it says that 'he is allowed to stay in his house.'
For the use of the historical past at the end of a narrative, see section 2.3.3.1. In this narrative, the historical past is also used at the beginning (see 7.002).
7.083

_Baxe, ā kūŋge,_

ba-xe ā kū-ge

sit-N1.RLS[SG] womandie-N1.RLS[SG]

*wüoxoxe* edoxe, siü

*wüoxo-xe* ed-oxe siü

go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG] give-N1.RLS[SG] banana

doxosi ā edoxe.

doxosi ā ed-oxe

white.ant woman give-N1.RLS[SG]

He stays, and a woman dies, comes downstream, and he gives her to eat:

bananas and white ants.

7.084

_Oku gedem’ eŋge._

oku gedeme ē-ge

3SG.EMP alone eat-N1.RLS[SG]

She eats alone.

7.085

_Oxe, obubusi joxo búsiü osuke._

o-xe obubusi joxo búsiü osu-ke

speak-N1.RLS[SG] wasp 3PL house go.up-N1.RLS[SG]

At Somu's command she goes into a wasp nest.

7.086

_Osuke ügenā_

osu-ke ü-ge-nā

go.up-N1.RLS[SG] stab-N1.RLS-N1PL
kụ̃-ge.
kũ-ge
die-N1.RLS[SG]
She goes into a wasp nest and they sting her so that she dies.

7.087
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
Axu & ügenā & kūnūk & bono \\
axu & ü-ge-nā & kū-nū-k & bono \\
human & stab-N1.RLS-N1PL & die-SS-CON & soul \\
\end{array}
\]

wụ̄oxoxe.
wụ̄oxo-xe
go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]
A man is stabbed dead and his soul goes downstream.

7.088
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
Oxe, & kesaxe & efe & bodo \\
o-xe & kesaxe & efe & bodo \\
speak-N1.RLS[SG] & tree & 3SG & branch \\
\end{array}
\]

osuduk \quad tākunuk \quad i-ge.
osu-du-k \quad tākū-nu-k \quad i-ge
go.up-SS-CON \quad hang.up-SS-CON \quad hang-N1.RLS[SG]
Somu tells him to go up into a tree and to hang himself at a branch.
In his summarizing translation Drabbe makes clear that this hanging refers to hanging like a mega bat.

7.089
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
Etedek & i-ge; & ügenā; \\
ete-de-k & i-ge & ü-ge-nā \\
see-SS-CON & hang-N1.RLS[SG] & stab-N1.RLS-N1PL \\
\end{array}
\]
While he is hanging there watching, someone else is killed; again someone is killed, and his soul goes, it goes up into the house.

At Somu's command the soul hangs itself on a tree branch.

At Somu's command the soul hangs itself on a tree branch.

At Somu's command the soul hangs itself on a tree branch.
This one also hangs there watching, and again someone dies and goes; Somu gives him bananas and white ants and he eats, and shares with the others, so that he is allowed to stay in the house.

From Drabbe's translation it appears that the hanging man must be taken as the subject of baxe. I follow Drabbe in this analysis. The sentence above forms a good illustration of the use of ba(x). Even though the person is hanging, it is still possible to use the form ba(x). This is probably because posture verbs may also be used to refer to the posture in which the referent of its subject usually finds itself, cf. section 2.8.1.

7.092

Baxe, etedek baxe, tafœaxa

baxe ete-de-k ba-xe tafœaxa

axu künük wüoxoxe.
axu kū-nū-k wüoxo-xe
human die-SS-CON go.downstream-N1.RLS[SG]

This person sits watching, and again a person dies and goes downstream.

7.093

Edoxe, siü doxosi
ed-oxe siü doxosi
give-N1.RLS[SG] banana white.ant

edoxone, oku gedem'
ed-oxo-ne oku gedeme
give-N1.RLS[SG]-DS 3SG.EMP alone

enge.
ē-ge
eat-N1.RLS[SG]
Somu gives him food: bananas and white ants, and he eats alone.

7.094

Oxe, obubusi joxo būsiū
o-xe obubusi joxo būsiū
speak-N1.RLS[SG] wasp 3PL house

osuke; ügenā kūnge.
osu-ke ü-ge-nā kū-ge
go.up-N1.RLS[SG] stab-N1.RLS-N1PL die-N1.RLS[SG]

At Somu's command he goes up into the wasp house. They sting him and he dies.
Text 8a: Witchcraft I

8.001
Axu midik xoxe;
axu mi-di-k xo-xe
human come.down-SS-CON go-N1.RLS[SG]

xodok bu axe.
xo-do-k bu a-xe
go-SS-CON DUR work-N1.RLS[SG]
The man [the witch] comes down and goes; he goes and starts to do his work.
The texts about witchcraft illustrate how semifinite realis forms can be used to describe customs, and are neutral with respect to tense (Drabbe 1957:88, note 147). Cf. section 2.3.1.2.

8.002
Axu daxenã; dadek etoxenã
axu da-xe-nã da-de-k et-oxe-nã
human come-N1.RLS-N1PL come-SS-CON see-N1.RLS-N1PL

memoxe.
mem-oxe
stand.CONT_I-N1.RLS[SG]
Some people come with him; they come and keep an eye on a person who stays (working) at a certain place
A sequence of two semifinite forms within the same clause chain implies a change of subject (cf. section 5.4.3), so that the subject of memoxe is not the same as that of etoxenã. That memoxe has to do with 'keep on working' is clear from 8.003.

8.003
Kesaxe xabã tonikenã; fiko adek
kesaxe xabã toni-ke-nã fiko a-de-k
tree lower.part.of.trunk hide-N1.RLS-N1PL thing work-SS-CON
They hide behind a tree; after the person has been working for a while they come out; when they come out, the person gets afraid and they hit his neck with a piece of wood so that he will, eventually, die (lit. he dies.)

Drabbe remarks: in some way or another he is made unconscious. Then the people do to him what is described in the following sentences, so that eventually he dies (Drabbe 1957:88, note 148, cf. 8.011). Sentences like these form a good illustration of the general principle that a sequence of semifinites within the same clause implies a change of subject. We see this illustrated in the following sequences of semifinites: eke mokenā; mokenā kike; ūfūoxenā kūnge, cf. section 5.4.1.2.

8.004

Bimoxenā, mogo bimoxenā;
bim-oxe-nā mogo bim-oxe-nā
cut.open-N1.RLS-N1PL front.of.body cut.open-N1.RLS-N1PL

agifioxenā.
agifi-oxe-nā
pull.open-N1.RLS-N1PL

They cut him open, they cut open the front of his body, they pull it open.
They take the liver and the heart, and after they have cut it they take the body.

8.006

\[\text{Adek} \ já \ paxa \ adek \ kungenā.\]
\[\text{a-de-k} \ já \ paxa \ a-de-k \ kū\text{-}ge\text{-}nā\]
\[\text{take-SS-CON} \ \text{wood rotten} \ \text{take-SS-CON} \ \text{put-N1.RLS-N1PL}\]

They take the body and cut and put rotten wood [into the open place].

8.007

\[\text{Ketefi} \ bodo \ bibamedek, \ kudu \ efigiomodok\]
\[\text{ketefi} \ bodo \ bibame\text{-}de\text{-}k \ kudu \ efigiomo\text{-}do\text{-}k\]
\[\text{leg} \ \text{arm} \ \text{cut.open.IT-SS-CON} \ \text{flesh} \ \text{cut.IT-SS-CON}\]

\[\text{kimidik} \ já \ paxa \ bomokungenā.\]
\[\text{kimi-di-k} \ já \ paxa \ bomokū\text{-}ge\text{-}nā\]
\[\text{hold-SS-CON} \ \text{wood rotten} \ \text{put.into-N1.RLS-N1PL}\]

They cut the legs and the arms open, cut the flesh into many pieces, and while they hold the body, they put rotten wood into it.

8.008

\[\text{Axu} \ toxopòmu \ kūbūtoxenā, \ axu \ fē \ gesi\]
\[\text{axu} \ toxopòmu \ kūbūtō\text{-}xe\text{-}nā \ \text{axu} \ fē \ gesi\]
\[\text{human} \ \text{some} \ \text{flee.IT-N1.RLS-N1PL} \ \text{human} \ \text{3SG} \ \text{space.close}\]

\[\text{kumu edek} \ \text{fufunge;} \ \text{fufunge}\]
\[\text{kumu e-de-k} \ \text{fufū\text{-}ge} \ \text{fufū\text{-}ge}\]
\[\text{ACC} \ \text{stand-SS-CON} \ \text{blow-N1.RLS[SG]} \ \text{blow-N1.RLS[SG]}\]

\[\text{dotoxe;} \ \text{dotoxe,} \ \text{temoxe.}\]
\[\text{doto-xe} \ \text{doto-xe} \ \text{tem-oxe}\]
\[\text{get.up-N1.RLS[SG]} \ \text{get.up-N1.RLS[SG]} \ \text{flee-N1.RLS[SG]}\]

The helpers (lit. some men) flee, while one man (the witch) stays close and blows. He blows and the man gets up. When the man gets up, the witch flees.
According to Drabbe, this is a nice example of sequences of verbs. First, these verb sequences illustrate tail-head linkage. Second, this example may be taken as evidence of a tendency for semifinite forms to be used in DS conditions, cf. 8.003 above (Drabbe 1957:88, note 149). Cf. section 5.6 and section 5.4.1.2, respectively.

Gesi is a spatial noun, cf. section 3.5.2

8.009

Dotodok oxe: nu betaxa
doto-do-k oxe nu betaxa
get.up-SS-CON speak-N1.RLS[SG] 1SG outside

ide numoxe.
i-de num-o-xe
lie-1.RLS[SG] such-speak-N1.RLS[SG]

The man gets up and says: "I am lying outside!", so he says.

8.010

Munuk būsiu xoxe; xodok osuduk
mū-nu-k būsiu xo-xe xo-do-k osu-du-k
not.want-SS-CON house go-N1.RLS[SG] go-SS-CON go.up-SS-CON

jā abukungge; tosūke;
jā abukū-ge tosū-ke
fire make.fire-N1.RLS[SG] warm.oneself-N1.RLS[SG]

tosūdīuk baxe.
tosū-dū-k ba-xe
warm.oneself-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]

After this he goes home; he goes and goes up (into the house), he makes a fire; he warms himself; he warms himself and sits down.

Note that feeling cold seems to be one of the consequences of a spell; cf. 8.019 below.
8.011

Bagidi künge.
ba-gidi kũ-ge
sit-next.day die-N1.RLS[SG]
The next day he dies

8.012

Künge ifiõ tamoxenã;
kũ-ge ifiõ tam-oxe-nã
die-N1.RLS[SG] weep do-N1.RLS-N1PL

adi midik soxo küodok kũngnã.
a-di mi-di-k soxo küo-do-k kũ-ge-nã
take-SS come.down-SS-CON ground dig-SS-CON put-N1.RLS-N1PL
He dies and they cry; they bring him down and dig the ground and bury him there.

8.013

Ifiõ tamoxenã.
ifiõ tam-oxe-nã
cry do-N1.RLS-N1PL
They cry.
Text 8b: Witchcraft II

With his helpers the witch goes to the house of which he knows that his victim is sleeping there. Having arrived at the house they put a magical substance on a sharp object. The witch goes up into the house, puts a spell on the fish bone (the sharp object) and pricks it into the man. He then comes down, and goes to stand and listen from a distance. When it gets day, they hear that the victim is trembling heavily, and that he makes a fire to warm himself. When his relatives start crying because he is dying, the witch and his helpers go back home. Next day the man dies, and after people have cried about him he is buried.

8.014

Axu kunum ige,
axu kunum i-ge
human asleep lie-N1.RLS[SG]

axu jobu nisi joxo xoxenā.
axu jobu nisi joxo xo-xe-nā
human sharp.object owner 3PL go-N1.RLS-N1PL

A man is asleep, the owner of the sharp object and his helpers go out. Axu and jobu nisi are used in apposition. Jobu and nisi form a possessive construction, see section 3.1.2 and 3.1.3. The combination of the NP (axu) jobu nisi with a 3PL pronoun joxo and plural inflection on the verb shows that we have to do with an associative plural, cf. section 3.1.5.5. Drabbe remarks that jobu may refer to each sharp, pointy object, like a fish bone, a knife from bone, a nail etc. Axu jobu nisi could be translated as 'the man with the poke (poking object, or, in Dutch: 'prikkel'; Drabbe 1957:83, note 150). For nisi cf. section 3.1.3.

8.015

Xodok axe jomo fume jaxabogo
xo-do-k axe jomo fume jaxabogo
go-SS-CON fish fish.bone outer.end magic.substance

kiŋgenā.
kī-ge-nā
rub.into-N1.RLS-N1PL

They go and rub a magic substance on the outer end of a fish bone.
They put the magic substance on the bone and the witch goes up into the house, bewitches the fish bone, and pricks (the person in the house) with the bone. He stabs him and comes back down; after he has come down, the others also come (towards the house).

\[Wùfù\] is used for spelling by blowing on something and saying a formula (Drabbe 1957:88, note 151). Here the area below the tree house is taken as a deictic center, cf. section 5.8. After the witch has gone down (mi\`{d}ik), and possibly gone away, he and his helpers come (daxen\={a}) towards the house to listen. We have an example here of a nonfinite same-subject form where the plural subject of the following verb (daxen\={a}, with the helpers and the witch as subject) includes the subject of the SS-form (mi\`{d}ik and munuk, with the witch as subject). Cf. section 5.4.1.1.

They come and stand listening outside. According to Drabbe’s free translation above, it is both the witch and those who have come later who are listening.
They stand (and listen) and the next day the man is shivering; they hear that the person is shivering.

He is shivering and makes a fire to warm himself.

The man with the sharp object and his helpers listen. They keep standing and listening, and the man keeps sitting and shivering.

Drabbe remarks that *axu jobu n'axu* is the same as *axu jobu nisi* (Drabbe 1957:88, note 152).
**Dadek ekenâ** is a durative construction, as is *bogomodok ba-ki*, the first formed with a semifinite verb, the second with a finite distant past form. In a durative construction, the meaning of the distant past is neutralized to a more general past, and may even refer to the present, cf. section 2.4.3.3.

8.021

*Kiomu ige.*

kiomu i-ge

about.to.die lie-N1.RLS[SG]

He is about to die and lies down.

8.022

*Efe naxu joxo ifiõ tamoxenâ.*

efe n-axu joxo ifiõ tam-oxe-nâ

3SG LNK-person 3PL weep do-N1.RLS-N1PL

His relatives all begin to cry.

8.023

*Bagidi kụ̃nge, ifiõ tamedek*

ba-gidi kụ̃-ge ifiõ tame-de-k

sit-next.day die-N1.RLS[SG] weep do-SS-CON

*a-d mikenâ;*

a-d mi-ke-nâ

take-SS come.down-N1.RLS-N1PL

*a-d midik makâ kifîdik*

a-d mi-di-k makâ kifi-di-k

take-SS come.down-SS-CON ground lay.down-SS-CON

*sixo kũoxenâ.*

sixo kũo-xe-nâ

ground dig-N1.RLS-N1PL

The next day he dies, they all cry, and they bring him down, they lay him on the ground and dig the ground.
8.024

*Küodok*  *küod'*  *emedek*  *axu*  *adek*
küo-do-k  küo-d  eme-de-k  axu  a-de-k
dig-SS-CON  dig-SS  finish-SS-CON  person  take-SS-CON

*ab’*  *godok*  *soxo*  *kukuŋgenā.*
a-bu  ogo-do-k  soxo  kukū-ge-nā
take-SS  go.close-SS-CON  ground  put-N1.RLS-N1PL

They dig and when they are finished they take the person and bury the body.

8.025

*Kukunuk*  *soxo*  *kukuaxafungena.*
kukū-nu-k  soxo  kukuaxafū-ge-nā
put.into-SS-CON  ground  add.up-N1.RLS-N1PL

They put him in the ground and add soil on top.
Text 9: The waringin spirit

Summary. The waringin tree comes up, grows and branches off. The branches come down and grow into the ground. In the tree there's the eater of raw flesh living there. In the night he jumps from one waringin tree to the other, and shoots animals, which he eats raw. He is always eating and watching.

9.01
Keda osuke, osuduk edek
keda osu-ke osu-du-k e-de-k
waringin.tree go.up-N1.RLS[SG] go.up-SS-CON stand-SS-CON

efe namoko tetamoxe mike.
efe n-amoko tetam-oxe mi-ke
3SG LNK-child produce-N1.RLS[SG] come.down-N1.RLS[SG]

A waringin tree comes up, and when it has fully grown, it produces branches, which come down.
Drabbe writes efe b'amoko, and glosses b' with genitive 'of' (Dutch: van). He does not discuss this particle, however, so that this might be a typo. For this reason, I have written namoko instead, with the possessive linker n- instead of b'.
Note that a sequence of two semifinites - in this case tetamoxe and mike - implies a change of subject, cf. section 5.4.1.2.
Although there are more than one branches coming down, the verb mike has singular inflection. This is because less inanimate subjects may take either singular or plural inflection, cf. section 3.1.5.2.

9.02
Midik soxo
mi-di-k soxo
come.down-SS-CON ground

üpomoxe;
ü-pom-oxe
stab-split-N1.RLS[SG]
The branches come down and work themselves into the ground and stand.

Note that we have to do here with plural inflection, while the preceding sentence has singular inflection on the verb, even though the referent of the subject is the same; cf. section 3.1.5.2.

Drabbe glosses üpom as 'break into' or 'penetrate'.

The being that eats raw animals stays inside the tree. It sits there looking down.

For the use of nisi see section 3.1.3. Kidi-mi-itidik is a compound of kedo 'eye', mi 'come down' and ete 'see', with all vowels harmonizing with the vowel i in mi. Cf. section 1.3.

In the night it goes jumping from waringin tree to waringin tree.

Biakbiakmu a participial adverb, cf. section 2.4.1.

As stated in section 3.1.5.3 fe '3SG' is often used in series of
references to several tokens of the same type.

9.05
*Ogüdük* baxe.
ogü-dü-k ba-xe
go.down.close-SS-CON sit-N1.RLS[SG]
It goes into a tree and sits down.

9.06
*Badek* oxodü saxake.
ba-de-k oxodü saxa-ke
sit-SS-CON edible.animal shoot.IT-N1.RLS[SG]
It sits and then shoot animals.

9.07
*Xaxide* enge.
xaxide ē-ge
raw eat-N1.RLS[SG]
It eats them raw.

9.08
*Enigomodok* etedek
enigomo-do-k ete-de-k
eat.IT-SS-CON see-SS-CON

*basumsumoxe.*
ba-sum-sum-oxe
sit-IT-IT-N1.RLS[SG]
It always sits, eating and watching.

According to Drabbe, the very last verb of the narrative specifies the aspect of the entire text. It is through this habitual verb that the entire text — which consists of a series of clauses headed by (semifinite) forms that are not specified for aspect — should be taken as referring to habitual actions. Cf. the final part of section 2.3.1.2 for specification at the level of the entire text. For habitual aspect see section 2.4.2.
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Drabbe’s terminology

The list below is meant as a help for those who want to use Drabbe’s original publication. While the relation between Drabbe’s terminology and the one used in this publication can often be found through the use of a dictionary, in certain cases the relation is less straightforward. It is these cases that have been mentioned in the list below.

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