A GRAMMAR OF AWTUW

by

Harry Feldman
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While I am responsible for the analysis presented here and its organisation, the data it is based upon belong to the Awtuw speaking people of Kamlakwlap, Wutlakwlap, Wiyuplape, Tupumlape, and Kalaktuwalape.

I am most deeply indebted to the people of Meleylap, who allowed me to live in their hamlet for fifteen months, who helped me in many ways, and who patiently taught me their language. Among those who were most forthcoming were Yowmen, Takis, Poliw, Alto, Awkay, Awtiy, Eykii, Kampo, Keri, Mimpel, Momoy, Naytow, Osiy, Ruwmaw, Wawpey, Yinow, Napoleon, and Nimpiy. I am particularly grateful to Kewmaey, Yawur, Yakop, and Napoleon, who allowed me to tape their narratives and to Peyaw, Mimpel, and Ruwmaw, who dictated stories to me. There is no way that I can ever repay my debt to Yawur and Yakop, who helped me to transcribe texts and provided virtually all of the elicited material I have used.

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Finally, my gratitude to Tanya and Adam McConvell for their support and encouragement is unbounded.
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

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

Notational conventions

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

The canonical forms of verb roots are underlined with a broken line.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Viewed in this way, the grammatical component is central to linguistic structure. I intend here to present a comprehensive, even if not exhaustive, description of the morphology, syntax, and morphosyntax of Awtuw. Because Awtuw is a previously undescribed language, I include information on aspects of the language peripheral to my main concerns. Specifically, Chapter 1 places the
language in its social and sociolinguistic context, Chapter 2 provides an overview of Awtuw's rich phonological and morphophonological system, Chapter 11 examines the structure of a few lexical fields of general interest, and Chapter 12 describes some paralinguistic phenomena.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VILLAGE</th>
<th>MAP NAME</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kamlakwlape</td>
<td>(Kamnum)</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meleylape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wititlape</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kolaydenlape</td>
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<td>Makitlape</td>
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<td>Pelketenkla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alanowomweylape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiyuplape</td>
<td>(Wiup)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Læpínlape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalpelape</td>
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<td>Tupumlape</td>
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<td>Keylamanlape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilawtuwlape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalaktuwlape</td>
<td>(Galgatu)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wiykatuwla is located about 45 minutes' walk north-east of Meleylape and, as of early 1981, its inhabitants were planning to abandon it. The other four hamlets of Kamlakwlape are clustered within five minutes' walk of each other. Wutlakwlape's three hamlets are closely clustered about 45 minutes' walk south-east of Meleylape. Læpínlape is about 25 minutes' walk south of Meleylape and Kalpelape is another 10 minutes' walk south. The two hamlets of Tupumlape, located about two hours' walk south of Kalpelape, are adjacent to each other and all the inhabitants of Kalaktuwlape, which is about two hours' walk south-south-east of Wutlakwlape, live in a single hamlet.
Map 1: The Awtuw language area
1.2.2 Laycock (1973) has classified Awtuw as a member of the Ram 'Stock-level' Family. He further classifies this family within the Upper Sepik Super-stock of the Sepik Sub-phylum of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum. While the postulated broader relationships are tentative, there is little doubt that the three Ram Family languages are closely related (cf. Laycock and Z' Graggen 1977, Wurm 1971). Karawa, with some 53 speakers, is spoken in the village of Bulawa, directly south of the Awtuw-speaking area, and Bouye, with some 642 speakers, is spoken in the villages of Giliato, Maurom, Wokien, and Yukilo to the south-west (see Map 1).

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

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

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

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

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

After the Knights' party left, the CMML took over responsibility for Kamlakw and the surrounding area. Don MacGregor visited frequently to conduct services. In the mid-1960s, the CMML sent a school teacher to Kamlakw, but the hamlet decided to expel him after a year because they considered him excessively cruel to the children.
Since then, the CMML has sponsored several Awtuw-speaking men to attend their Bible school at Amanab, and several others have attended Bible classes in Lumi. Bill Mitchell, an American anthropologist, spent 18 months in 1970-71 in Taute doing fieldwork. His wife and two young children accompanied him on his fieldtrip and so the party had a significant impact on the people of the area. A number of articles and a monograph about Mitchell's field experiences have resulted from this fieldwork. They provide some background on the Wapei culture, which the Awtuw-speaking people participate in (see Mitchell 1973, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Houses themselves are invariably built of madow and thatched with tap. Some are built on the ground and others are raised on stilts of yiyle kal kalwa wood. The floors of raised houses are made of wudpir (TP limbum) black palm. More elaborate housing involves the use of playm mats of woven, flattened
bamboo in walls and occasionally windows. The typical house is between five and eight metres square, with a door at either end and no windows. The area between the two doors is clear, and between two and three small 'rooms' flank this corridor on either side. The rooms are separated by walls of madow about 1.5 metres high and each contains two parallel benches of madow set perpendicular to the side walls of the house. The benches are about 50 cm high and wide and between 150 cm and 200 cm long. Between each pair of benches is a cleared area about one metre wide where a fire may be built.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VILLAGE</th>
<th>(TOK PISIN NAME)</th>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taeypil</td>
<td>(Talbipi)</td>
<td>Olo</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(Taute)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tepalum</td>
<td>(Tebali)</td>
<td>Elkei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapol</td>
<td>(Parisko)</td>
<td>Yis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worke</td>
<td>(Seinim)</td>
<td>Yau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiwklaw</td>
<td>(Yukilo)</td>
<td>Bouye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puluwa</td>
<td>(Buluwa)</td>
<td>Karawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As I mentioned above, Awtuw, although it has so few speakers, has more than one dialect. In fact, there are three — the Southern dialect, the Witit dialect, and the majority dialect that I describe in this grammar. The Southern dialect, spoken in the two southernmost villages, Kalaktuw and Tupum, has two very distinct phonological features. First, it has completely neutralised the distinction made in the majority dialect between /r/ and /l/ in favour of the /l/. And second, it has replaced the word-initial /ŋ/ of the majority dialect with /l/. Thus /rarere/ want to eat in the majority dialect is /lalele/ in the Southern dialect, and /ŋale/ fish becomes /lale/.

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

Interestingly, the neutralisation of /r/ and /l/ and of /ŋ/ and /n/ are two features of child language as well as the main indicators of dialect differences.
CHAPTER 2
PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONOLOGY

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

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 The analysis of diphthongs

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

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

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

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

2. Furthermore, although any vowel may be the first in a diphthong, all diphthongs end in either /w/ or /y/. The more general descriptive statement that a diphthong may begin with any vowel and end in any semivowel is preferable
to the idiosyncratic statement that only high vowels function as syllabic coda.
The VV and unitary vowel analyses would also require a rule to transform high vowels into glides between two other vowels; a rule that the VC analysis obviates entirely. No phenomena have come to my attention that a unitary phoneme or VV analysis explains but cause difficulties for the VC analysis.

2.1.2 Consonant phonemes and their allophones

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANNER</th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>RETROFLEX</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORAL STOP</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASAL STOP</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAP</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMIVOWEL</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

/pap/ just then – /tap/ thatch
/tiw/ foliage – /kiw/ pitpit
/pare/ will peel – /kare/ will get

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

/make/ went and got – /nake/ beneath
/nale/ hole – /nale/ fish
/wan/ I – /wam/ blunt

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

/pay/ let me go – /mey/ sun
/tiw/ foliage – /niw/ ground
/kowre/ will give – /nower/ tear (object)
The alveolar tap /r/ is in free variation with a trill at the same point of articulation. The other tap /d/ is slightly retroflexed. The alveolar tap occurs only in the majority dialect and the Witit dialect. The Southern dialect substitutes /l/, as is also the case in children's speech. They are distinguished by the following minimal pair:

/romke/ their - /domke/ full

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

/d 새/ went - /t 새/ went (Dual)
/raw/ call - /taw/ tree

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

/l 새/ baked - /r 새/ them two
/l 새/ came upstream - /d 새/ went
/la/le/ tongue - /n/ale/ hold
/l 새/ came upstream - /t 새/ went (Dual)

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

/w/am/ blunt - /y/am/ bee

2.1.3 Vowel phonemes and their allophones

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high and mid front and back vowels are typically open and lax, [ɪ], [ɛ], [ʊ], [ɔ], but the front vowels are closer and tenser in diphthongs ending in /iy/ ([iɪ], [eɪ]) and the back vowels in diphthongs ending in /uw/ ([uʊ], [ɔw]). There is a variety of complex vowel harmony rules, described in 2.2.3,7,10,11, 16, which blur the distinctions among vowels in certain environments. Moreover, vowel gradation and reduction contribute to a blurring of distinctions. The high and mid back vowels appear to be marginally phonemic.

The following minimal pair distinguishes the low vowels:

/yam/ banana - /yam/ bee
The following minimal pair distinguishes the high vowels:

/diye/ shot - /duye/ built

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

The following minimal set distinguishes the front vowels:

/riw/ tally - /rew/ vagina - /raw/ they two

The following minimal pairs distinguish the back vowels.

/wam/ blunt - /wom/ oocoonut
/kowm/ comb - /kowm/ boil (on skin)

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

/pam/ slit gong - /pam/ joint
/raka/ has eaten - /roko/ did

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

/awank/ eel
/awana/ particle
/olap/ yesterday
/omak/ pandanus
/kamkam/ hard, stingy
/lam/ younger same sex sibling
/manman/ fun
/modak/ today
/mokal/ laugh

/ffiwank/ eel
/awana/ particle
/olap/ yesterday
/omak/ pandanus
/kamkam/ hard, stingy
/lam/ younger same sex sibling
/manman/ fun
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/ffiwank/ eel
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It is worth noting that schwa does not occur in words that contain high vowels whether the schwa is phonemic or reduced from an underlying /e/ or /a/.

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

| FEATURE       | p | t | d | k | m | n | ɲ | r | l | y | w | i | ə | æ | a | o | u |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CONSonantal   | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| SYllabic      | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| NASal         | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| LATeral       | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| CORonals      | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| ANterior      | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| HIGH          | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| LOW           | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| BACK          | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| RouND         | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>awwank</th>
<th>eel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awana</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olap</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omak</td>
<td>pandanus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamkam</td>
<td>hard, stingy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam</td>
<td>younger same sex sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manman</td>
<td>fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modak</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokal</td>
<td>laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ffiwank</td>
<td>eel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awana</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olap</td>
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It is worth noting that schwa does not occur in words that contain high vowels whether the schwa is phonemic or reduced from an underlying /e/ or /a/.

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

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

/ˈɪm/ night — /dəli/ bit
/ˈetiy/ pain — /pare/ will peel
/ˈəm/ lime — —
/ˈalap/ yesterday — /raka/ has eaten
/ˈən/ you two — —
/ˈəm/ you all — /dalowo/ spoke
/ˈupur/ throat — —

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

/ˈkɪnɪk/ sit!
/kenˈetwa/ extinguish!
/ˈapˈaɪre/ don't bite!
/ˈkanaˈka/ dig!
/ˈkənəˈkəp/ copulate!
/ˈkənˈpʊya/ hit!

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

/ˈkənwan/ listen — /ˈəlap/ yesterday

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

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

/pəm/ joint — /təp/ thatch
/təm/ cross cousin — /pat/ flat
/kər/ get! — /pək/ palm, sole
/mək/ went and got — /pəm/ joint
/nəl/ hole — /nən/ we two
/gəl/ fish — —
/rəm/ they — /kənpar/ peel!
/dalowo/ spoke — /kud/ bamboo species
/ləp/ village — /kɪnəl/ bite!
/wən/ I — /nəw/ urine
/yəm/ banana — /məʊ/ sun

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

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

/prawən/ small wasp
/pramənɪək/ kind of shell ring
/trənk/ barb
/trəmtrəm/ kind of small frog
/kroʊ/ kind of bird
Sequences of two or three consonants are also unusual word finally. There is only one example of a word ending in three consonants - /tiwnk/ fem. A few other words end in /nk/, although there are no examples of word-final /mp/ or /nt/ clusters. The cluster /rp/ occurs in /kinirp/ close (the door)! and two other forms of /rp/ close.

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

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

/diknækp'tætiy/ is frightening

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

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

/wiwyare/ will bathe
/rokoryska/ broken
/malware/ will descend
/wiwyare/ will incise
/wayrowre/ will float
/dotkolye/ killed

2.1.5 Stress placement

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

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

There are, however, a number of exceptions to this generalisation among words other than verbs, while verbs do not appear to follow it at all.
On trisyllabic words other than verbs, where the two tendencies would place stress on adjacent syllables, some words follow one tendency and others the other.

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

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

Affixation of a verb does affect the placement of stress.

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

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

2.2 Morphophonology

This section presents a number of ordered rules which together produce most of the phonetic forms of Awtuw words from strings of morphemes.
The rules are ordered and must apply sequentially. This is particularly important in the case of the vowel harmony rules that affect the quality of the Imperfective and Past suffixes (2.2.7 and 2.2.10). Although nearly identical in form, one must apply before, and the other after, the elision rule (2.2.9). With the exception of the vowel gradation rule (2.2.20), I have used the traditional formalisms of Generative Phonology to capture the rules concisely. But as I mentioned in Section 1.1.4, I do not mean to imply any credence in the claims of the theory. The formalism merely represents a convention to schematise morphophonological rules.

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

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

\begin{align*}
(2) & (a)\quad [\alpha F1] \\
& \quad <\alpha[+F2]>
(b) & \quad [\alpha F1] \\
& \quad <-\alpha[+F2]>
\end{align*}

Thus, the environment in (2a) will be read as either $[-F1]$, or $[+F1, +F2]$, and (2b) will be read as either $[+F1]$, or $[-F1, +F2]$. I present each rule in a separate subsection, so references to, e.g. Rule 3, refer to the rule presented in subsection 2.2.3. Note that this type of analysis produces intermediate forms that are neither phonemic nor phonetic (cf. Chomsky and Halle 1968:65). I enclose all non-phonemic forms in square brackets $[...]$.

2.2.1 /k/ deletion

/k/ \rightarrow \emptyset

\begin{align*}
\begin{cases}
C- & \text{k##} \\
\bar{V}C- & \text{k-}
\end{cases}
\end{align*}

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

/rakra-kk/ \quad [rakra-kk] \quad \text{would have cooked}
/t-tan-kk/ \quad [t-tan-k] \quad \text{would have stunk}
/rakra-kk-rere/ \quad [rakra-kk-rere] \quad \text{wanted to cook, but didn't}

The rule also deletes /k/ after any unstressed vowel, any consonant, and a morpheme boundary and before another /k/, which simplifies the conditional suffix after a k-final stem.
/mak-kk/  [mak-k]  would have said
/mak-kk-rere/  [mak-k-rere]  wanted to say, but didn't

2.2.2 Homorganic nasal assimilation 1

$[+\text{CONS}]$
$+\text{COR} \rightarrow [\text{-COR}]/(+\text{NAS})$
$+\text{ANT} \rightarrow [\text{-ANT}]/(+\text{NAS})$
$+\text{NAS} \rightarrow [\text{-COR}]/$

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

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

2.2.3 Vowel harmony 1 - Imperative prefix

$[+\text{CONS}]$
$+\text{SYL} \rightarrow \alpha \text{ BACK}/(+\text{COR})$
$+\text{LOW} \rightarrow \beta \text{ HIGH}/(+\text{COR})$
$+\text{BACK} \rightarrow \alpha \text{ BACK}/(+\text{COR})$
$[+\text{CONS}]$

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

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

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

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

2.2.4 Post-nasal stop vocalisation

$[+\text{CONS}]$
$-\text{SYL} \rightarrow [+\text{VOICED}]/(+\text{CONS})$
$-\text{NAS} \rightarrow [+\text{SIL}]$
$-\text{SIL} \rightarrow [+\text{NAS}]$

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

/k'ankan-kuw/  [k'anguw]  give!
/k'Kampo/  [k'ambo]  Kampo (man's name)
/d-wan-kay/  [d'-waŋgay]  has heard
2.2.5 /n/ deletion

\[
/n/ \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
[+\text{CONS}] \\
[+\text{COR}] \\
[+\text{ANT}] \\
[+\text{NAS}]
\end{array} \right\}
\]

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

\[
/\text{kan-naw}/ \quad [\text{kanaw}] \quad \text{wait!}
\]
\[
/\text{kan-t-natow}/ \quad [\text{katnatow}] \quad \text{bark!}
\]
\[
/\text{kan-lawey}/ \quad [\text{kalawey}] \quad \text{clear off!}
\]
\[
/\text{kan-rokra}/ \quad [\text{karokra}] \quad \text{cook!}
\]
\[
/\text{kan-dardow}/ \quad [\text{kadardow}] \quad \text{jump!}
\]

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

\[
/\text{kan-ma-ka}/ \quad [\text{kanmak}] \quad \text{go get!}
\]

cf. /\text{kan-mak}/ [kanmaka] tell!

2.2.6 Homorganic nasal assimilation 2

\[
[+\text{CONS}] + [-\text{COR}] / \quad \tilde{v} \quad [-\text{COR}] \quad (\text{OPT})
\]

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

\[
/\text{kun-puya}/ \quad [\text{kumpuya}] \quad \text{hit!}
\]

2.2.7 Vowel harmony 2 - Imperfective suffix

\[
[+\text{SYL}] \rightarrow [+\text{HIGH}] / \left\langle \begin{array}{c}
[-\text{HIGH}] \\
[-\text{LOW}] \\
[+\text{COR}]_1 \\
[+\text{CONS}] \\
\alpha \quad \text{SYL} \\
\beta \quad \text{HIGH} \\
\gamma \quad +\text{LOW} \\
\delta \quad -\text{COR}
\end{array} \right\rangle \\
\left\langle \begin{array}{c}
[+\text{CONS}] \\
[-\text{SYL}]
\end{array} \right\rangle
\]

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

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

\[
\left\langle \begin{array}{c}
[-\text{LOW}] \\
[-\text{SYL}] \\
[+\text{CONS}]_1 \\
[+\text{COR}]
\end{array} \right\rangle /y/ -
\]

/\text{d-k-eyt-ey(-m-e)}/ [\text{d-k-eyt-iy(me) }] \text{ are/were sweeping}
(2) After any sequence of consonants immediately preceded by a high vowel. That is, when alpha is [+], and beta is [+], we read the part of the environment labelled [α], and ignore those labelled [-α] and [-β].

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[CONS]} \\
+\text{SYL} \\
+\text{HIGH}
\end{array}
\quad C^\phi \quad /y/ \quad -
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[-CONS]} \\
+\text{SYL} \\
+\text{LOW} \\
-\text{BACK}
\end{array}
\quad C^\phi \quad /y/ \quad -
\]

/d-k-ıknær-ey(-m-e)/ [d-k-ıknarıy(me)] are/were breaking
/d-k-äl-ey(-m-e)/ [d-k-älıy(me)] are/were biting
/k-łat-ey(-re)/ [k-latıy(re)] are/will be pouring
/d-k-waıy-ey(-m-e)/ [d-k-waıyey(me)] are/were scraping

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

/d-k-ılya-ey/ → [d-k-ılyey] (by elision) → *[d-k-ılyiy] (by this rule)

Applying this rule before elision results in the correct form:

/d-k-ılya-ey/ → [d-k-ılyey] (by this rule) → [d-k-ıly-ey] (by elision)

2.2.8 /y/ deletion

\[ /y/ \rightarrow / \phi / \] \( \{ V \quad - \quad C \quad \# \quad \quad (\text{OBL}) \} \)

\[ V \quad - \quad (CV(C)(V)) \quad \# \quad \quad (\text{OPT}) \]

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

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

/d-k-mak-ey-m/ [d-k-mak-em] are telling
/d-k-æl-iy-m/ [d-k-æl-im] are eating
/d-k-ra-y-m/ [d-k-rame] have eaten
/d-æl-kay-m/ [d-æl-kam] have bitten
/d-k-mak-ey-m-e/ [d-k-mak-eyme] were telling
/d-k-æl-iy-m-ık/ [d-k-æl-ıymık] would have been biting
/d-k-ra-y-m-e/ [d-k-rayme] were eating
2.2.9 Vowel elision

\[ \tilde{v} + \phi / \{ 'V' \} \]

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

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

2.2.10 Vowel harmony 3 — final vowels

\[
\begin{align*}
-C\text{ONS} & \quad +\text{SYL} \\
+\text{RND} & \quad / [+\text{BACK}] \quad \text{C} \\
\text{-LOW} \\
\text{-HIGH} & \quad +\text{HIGH} \quad -\alpha
\end{align*}
\]

\[ -\text{SYL} \]

\[ +\text{RND} \]

\[ +\text{SYL} \]

\[ +\text{RND} \]

\[ +\text{SYL} \]

\[ +\text{SYL} \]

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

The first part of the rule changes the canonical /e/ of these suffixes to [ɔ] after /m/ or /w/ when the preceding vowel is a back vowel. Thus, the object forms of all plural personal pronouns, nom, om, and rom, end in /o/.

Similarly, plural forms of nouns, with the suffix -wom, condition the -o allomorph of the object suffix. The final /w/ of the third person dual pronoun raw, and the final /m/ of the generic form of nouns, with the suffix -yanim, do not condition the -o allomorph because the preceding vowels are not back.

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

/d-rom-e/ [d-rom] them
/piyren-yənîm-e/ [piyren-yənîme] dogs
/rokwe/ [rokwo] did
/d-wun-e/ [d-wune] loved
Note that this rule must follow the elision rule, as it applies to the output of that rule.

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

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

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

Applying elision first derives the correct form:

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

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

/w-\text{e}l-re/  [\text{w}elri]  will bite
/w-\text{il}-re/  [\text{wilri}]  will weave
/d-\text{e}l-e/  [\text{deli}]  bit
/d-\text{i}l-e/  [\text{dili}]  wove
/w-\text{eyt}-re/  [\text{weytri}]  will scrape
/d-\text{eyt}-e/  [\text{deyti}]  scraped
/w-\text{ak}-re/  [\text{wakri}]  belly (object)
/pi\text{yren-\text{yan}im}-e/  [\text{piyrenyanimi}]  dogs (object)
/y\text{en-\text{waw}}-e/  [\text{yenwawwi}]  two children (object)
/d-\text{eytra}-e/ → [\text{deytre}] → [\text{deytri}] will sweep

2.2.11 Vowel harmony 4 - owra-

\ [+\text{SYL}] \rightarrow \ [-\text{BACK}] \ / \ \ C \phi \ [+\text{SYL}] \ [-\text{BACK}]

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

/w-owra-ro\text{kr}a-re/  [\text{wowrarokra}re]  will cook again
/w-owra-il-re/  [\text{wewrjri}]  will weave again
/w-owra-\text{e}l-re/  [\text{wewrleri}]  will bite again
/w-owra-\text{eytra}-re/  [\text{wewreytrare}]  will sweep again

2.2.12 Epenthesis 1

\phi \rightarrow [\text{o}] / k \text{k}

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

/ro\text{kr}a-kk\text{(-rere)}/  [\text{rokrakak(-rere)}]  would have cooked (wanted to cook but didn't)
/d-k-\text{kow}-ey/  [\text{d-kakow-ey}]  is giving
2.2.13 /d/ deletion

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

/ka-d-ka-kow-ey/ [kadkakowey] isn't giving
/ka-d-k-law-ey/ [kaklawey] isn't baking
/ka-d-k-mak-ey/ [kakmakey] isn't telling
/ka-d-k-yel-ey/ [kakyeley] isn't crying
/ka-d-k-my-ey/ [kadkayey] isn't going

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

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

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

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

2.2.14 /w/ deletion

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

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

2.2.15 Vowel epenthesis 2

This rule inserts a schwa between a word-initial consonant, such as the Imperfective prefix k- in the future or the Factive prefix d-, before a consonant-initial root.
2.2.16 Vowel harmony 5

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CONS} & \quad +\text{SYL} \\
+\text{BACK} & \quad \rightarrow [\text{HIGH}] \\
-\text{HIGH} & \\
-\text{LOW} & \\
-\text{RND} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

2.2.17 Geminate reduction

\[
\begin{align*}
\alpha \text{ CONS} & \quad < [\text{-SYL}] > \\
-\alpha & \quad < [\text{-SYL}] > \\
\beta & \quad \text{COR} \\
\gamma & \quad \text{ANT} \\
\delta & \quad \text{LAT} \\
\varepsilon & \quad \text{NAS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

/w-par-re/ [par] will peel
2.2.18 Pre-rhotic stop insertion

\[ \phi \rightarrow [+\text{CONS}] [+\text{ANT}] [-\text{NAS}] [+\text{VCD}] \alpha \text{COR} \rightarrow [+\text{CONS}] [+\text{ANT}] [-\text{COR}] [-\beta \text{LAT}]\]

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

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

2.2.19 Unstressed vowel reduction

\[ [-\text{CONS}] \rightarrow [+\text{BACK}] [-\text{SYL}] [+\text{HIGH}] \alpha \text{BACK} \rightarrow [-\text{RND}] / \text{UNSTRESSED} \]

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

/da-kow-ka/ [dakowka] has given
/da-ke/ [dake] has got

2.2.20 Vowel gradation

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

'w-azy-re will go - 'kan-ey go!
'kow-re will give - 'kan-guw give!
da-'k-alw-ey is descending - 'w-olwa-re will descend
'd-ey-e came - w-i'ya-re will come
CHAPTER 3
LEXICAL MORPHOSYNTAX

3.1 Approach to parts-of-speech analysis

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>CLASS I</th>
<th>CLASS 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NC 1</td>
<td>NC 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

3.2 Major classes

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

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

It may clarify this tripartite division to represent the identifying criteria by binary features and display the specifications for each class on a matrix. (Values for features that are irrelevant to the classification are enclosed in parentheses).
Table 3.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>CLASS I</th>
<th>CLASS II</th>
<th>CLASS III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERFECT</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIQUE</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

![LEXEME Diagram]

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

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

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

3.3 Classification of substantives

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

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

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

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

(3) (a) `kokot-yámim
   all- GEN
(b) Kamlakw-yámim
   Kamům- GEN
   Kamům people
(c) Takiy-yámim
   Takiy-GEN
   people named Takiy
(d) ḃaye- yámim
   father-GEN
   fathers
(e) tiyl- yámim
   stone-GEN
   stones

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

kokot all
womyntne some
liwke much, many
dami one, a, another, the other
naydowo one
yiklyr two
urunk three
orkweynaywo four

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

(4) (a) `Kamlakw-neney
   Kamům- ADJ
(b) `Takiy-neney
   Takiy-ADJ
(c) ḃaye- neney
   father-ADJ
   having a father
(d) tiyl- neney
   stone-ADJ
   full of stones, metaphorically wealthy

The lexemes that lack this property, as illustrated in examples (4a-b), share the semantic property of referring constantly to the same token of a type, or UNIQUE REFERENCE (Foley 1986). In accordance with tradition I will call these lexemes Proper Nouns.
The other class, whose members accept the suffix as shown in examples (4c-d), share the semantic property of constantly referring to tokens of the same type, or CONSTANT REFERENCE, and I will accordingly denominate them Common Nouns.

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

(5) (a) *Kamlakw-wēw
    Kamlakw-DU
    *two people from Kamlak

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

(6) (a) *tiyl- wēw
    Stone-DU
    *two stones

(b) ḅaye- wēw
    Father-DU
    Father and someone else with him

(c) *tale- wēw
    Woman-DU
    *two women

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>QUANTIFIERS</th>
<th>PROPER NOUNS</th>
<th>COMMON NOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PERSON</td>
<td>PLACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tader__</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yənɪm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nənɛy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wēw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.3 We can now turn our attention to the second subclass of class II lexemes, those that may not follow tader this to form a single constituent. These lexemes share the semantic property of referring to tokens of different types, or SHIFTING REFERENCE. In accordance with the usual convention, I call them Pronouns.

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

(7) (a) tey ta le
    3FS woman
    the woman
(b) ro m t a le- m
    3PL woman-PL
    the women
(c) tad e-t ta le
    this-FS woman
    this woman
(d) tad u-m t a le- m
    this-PL woman-PL
    these women
(e) menetey t a le(-m)
    whatchamacallit woman-PL
    what's her/their name(s)?
(f) yeran t a le(-m)
    who? woman-PL
    what woman/women?

For the nonce we may call the class of pronouns that may agree with a following noun in number Class A, and the class that does not, Class B.
Crosscutting this distinction is the ability of some pronouns to accept the Locative suffix -ke/-e.

(8) (a) *rey-ke
    3MS-L
(b) *yeran-ke
    who?- L
(c) tader-ke
    this- L
    at this one
(d) menerey-ke
    whatchamacallit-L
    at whatchamacallit

There are thus four classes of pronouns:
(a) Personal Pronouns like rey, which distinguish number but do not take Locative marking,
(b) Demonstrative Pronouns like tader, which distinguish number and accept Locative marking,
(c) Interrogative Pronouns like yeran, which neither distinguish number nor take Locative marking, and
(d) Obliviative Pronouns like menerey, which do not distinguish number, but do take Locative marking.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>PERSONAL</th>
<th>DEMONSTRATIVE</th>
<th>INTER</th>
<th>OBLIV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tader</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

-ASPECT

+UNIQUE

+tader

+yanim

+nene

+weW

-KIN

COMMON NOUNS

PROPER NOUNS

PERSON

PLACE

-yanim

-nene

-weW

+NUMBER

-LOC

-LOC

-LOC

-LOC

-NUMBER

-DEM

PERSONAL

OBLIV

INTER

-NOUNS

QUANTIFIERS

PRONOUNS

Table 3.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>QUANT</th>
<th>PROPER NOUNS</th>
<th>COMMON NOUNS</th>
<th>PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PERSON</td>
<td>PLACE</td>
<td>KINTERM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tader</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yanim</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nene</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-weW</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 Classification of nonsubstantives

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

(9) (a) tey tale owyan
3FS woman old
the old woman
(b) rom ãwre næk
3PL house new
the new houses
(c) rey wom ayle
3MS coconut dry
the dry coconut

(10) (a) *tey eypek tale
3FS thus woman
*the thus woman
(b) *rom ãwre olap
3PL house yesterday
*the yesterday houses
(c) *rey wom yeka
3MS coconut immediately
*the immediately coconut

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

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

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

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

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

The only SPEED adjective also functions as an adverb, a property I suspect of being common for SPEED adjectives. In English, for example, one SPEED adjective, fast, not only functions as an adverb, but may not even accept the
productive adverb-deriving suffix -ly. Two other SPEED adjectives, slow and quick, which may accept -ly, regularly function adverbially without it. Those SPEED adjectives that take -ly obligatorily in adverbial function, like languid, dilatory, precipitate, rapid, and even swift may more appropriately be classified as MANNER adjectives. Like quick, kupkwap, may accept the adverb-deriving suffix, but also functions adverbially without it.

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

Table 3.5 classifies all monomorphemic Awtuw adjectives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>HUMAN PROPENSITY</th>
<th>PHYSICAL PROPERTY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lop</td>
<td>old (-HU)</td>
<td>ayle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>nenet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owtiykan</td>
<td>old (+HU) [N]</td>
<td>worne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owyan</td>
<td>old (+HU) [N]</td>
<td>knen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yitam</td>
<td>unripe, raw, wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kolakw</td>
<td>light(weight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kitokte</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kamkam hard)</td>
<td>empty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>blunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

(13) (a) ade- kwo
    here-like
    around here
The subclass that accepts the suffix is difficult to characterise in terms of semantic type, but it does include tokens of TIME and MANNER. So without speculating on the universality of the category I will call this class Adverbs.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEMONSTRATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eypek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teyepek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

The remaining category constitutes a residuum and there is therefore little need to characterise it semantically. Since the lexemes it includes are not susceptible to affixation, I call them Particles.
Particles fall into four semantic subclasses. The alternative particle, yokri perhaps is discussed further in section 9.1.2 on question-forming strategies. The Negative particle yene is discussed in section 9.2 on Negation strategies and the Focus particle po is discussed in section 9.4.1 on focusing strategies. Two of the remaining Particles, to and take, mean here. The rest all mean roughly straightaway. The particles tuwp and ap tend to gravitate to clause-initial position and yeka and awana tend to gravitate to second position.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>INT</th>
<th>ADV</th>
<th>INTERJ</th>
<th>PCL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPr CN__</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ__CN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>( - )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISOLATION</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8 and Figure 3.5 summarise the information in Tables 3.1-4 and 3.7 and Figures 3.1-4.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>SUBSTANTIVE</th>
<th>NONSUBSTANTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>COMMON NOUN</td>
<td>PROPER NOUN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KIN</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERFECT</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIQUE</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tader</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yənım</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nenej</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-waw</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ke</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(+/-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPR CN</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ CN</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wəo</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISOLATN</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3.5
3.5 Formal properties of nouns

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

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

(b) yan- wom
    child-PL
    children

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

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

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

(b) piyren-yanim
    dog- GEN
    dogs

(c) Kewmaey- yanim
    Kewmaey-GEN
    *people named Kewmaey

(d) yan- yanim
    child-GEN
    *children

(e) wokak-yanim
    tall- GEN
    the tall

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yapor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yantelale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yenankankeyke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eywe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Like other number-marked nouns, these take the pronominal forms of the object suffix and accept possessive marking.

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

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

(b) ṇamey aye- wa- rekra-ka, yiyay awtuw
mother food-only-O cook-PF game no
Mommy has only cooked greens, there's no game

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

3.6 Formal characteristics of pronouns
3.6.1 The Personal Pronouns comprise a small closed class which I exhibit in full in Table 3.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.10: Personal Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECOND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIRD -FEMALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+FEMALE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

While there is a degree of suppletion in the paradigm, we can make a few correlations between forms and the categories that they mark. The most striking regularity is that the plural forms consistently end in the segments /om/. A similar regularity occurs in the first and second person dual forms, which both end in /an/. The first person dual and plural forms both begin with /n/, while the corresponding second person forms begin in a vowel. Finally, the third person dual and plural forms, as well as the unmarked third person singular, have an initial /r/.
Wurm (1977a) has drawn attention to a remarkable consistency among the diverse languages of New Guinea in the forms of certain personal pronouns. Examining the singular forms in all three persons and the first and second person plurals, he finds that most of the pronouns marking these categories throughout New Guinea fall into one of three basic sets and that a given language will often select most of its pronouns from the same set or in a predictable way from two or all three sets. Because the pronominal forms in a given set crop up over a geographically large area and in no way restrict themselves to single genetic groupings, Wurm concludes that personal pronouns are, contrary to popular opinion, commonly borrowed from language to language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(f)  *yeran-ke
    who?- PS
    *whose?
In addition to the properties they share with number-marked nouns, personal pronouns have three distinctive morphosyntactic characteristics.

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

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

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

Second, personal pronouns may reduplicate in full to form what I call Emphatic pronouns. Such forms have two basic functions – to emphasise an argument, usually in contrastive situations, and to signal coreference with the preceding subject. In this latter case, emphatic pronouns bear the possessive suffix when the possessor is coreferential with the subject, bear the reflexive marker
when the direct or indirect object is coreferential with the subject, and mark
the subject of a succeeding clause, with or without the reflexive marker, to
mark it unambiguously as coreferential with the preceding subject (cf. 5.1,
10.6).

(24) (a) an ki- t- ik, wan-wan ñye pa- rokra
2DU IMP-DU-sit 1SG-1SG food HRT-cook
you two sit down, I'll cook the food
(b) nan da-k- owna- y, ñaw-raw-e ka- ma-puya
1DU FA-IP-sleep-IP 3DU-3DU-O IMP-GO-hit
we two are lying down, go hit THEM two!
(c) wan wâkyi ka-d- k- ñy-ey, rey-rey-e ñye kañ-kuw
1SG hunger NG-FA-IP-go-IP 3MS-3MS-O food IMP-give
I'm not hungry, give HIM the food!

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

(26) (a) Kampo yiw- e rey-rey yimay-re d- upw-o
Kampo water-L 3MS-3MS REFL- O FA-see-P
Kampo saw himself in the water
(b) Altiy rey-rey yimay-re da-k- alow-ey
Altiy 3MS-3MS REFL- O FA-IP-talk-IP
Altiy is talking to himself

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

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

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

(28) (a) rey menetey(‘*-ke) tey-ke yapor
3MS OBLIV- PS 3FS-PS husband
it was what's-her-name's husband
(b) eywe Eliw meney-e da-k- e
ancestor Eliw OBLIV- O FA-get-P
Ancestor Eliw married what's-her-name

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

OBLIVIATIVE PRONOUNS
menerey what's his name [-FEM]
menene [what's his name [-FEM]
menetey what's her name [+FEM]
There are a few generalisations to be made about the forms of demonstrative and interrogative pronouns in Awtuw. Since demonstrative and interrogative adverbs share these features, I will deal with them here as well.

Table 3.11: Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEMONSTRATIVE</th>
<th>INTERROGATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(t)ader th{进而} [-FEM]</td>
<td>yakum(oyan) what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t)adet th{进而} [+FEM]</td>
<td>yeran who?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t)adum these</td>
<td>yereman who?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t)opor that [-FEM]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t)opot that [+FEM]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t)opum those</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 3.12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ey</th>
<th>eypek</th>
<th>eywo</th>
<th>eypekwo</th>
<th>ey</th>
<th>tey</th>
<th>teypek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ade</td>
<td>tade</td>
<td>here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ader</td>
<td>tader</td>
<td>this [-FEMALE]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adet</td>
<td>tadet</td>
<td>this [+FEMALE]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adum</td>
<td>tadum</td>
<td>these</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opo</td>
<td>topo</td>
<td>there</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opor</td>
<td>topor</td>
<td>that [-FEMALE]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opot</td>
<td>topot</td>
<td>that [+FEMALE]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opum</td>
<td>topum</td>
<td>those</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(t)ey(pek)(wo) thus
(t)ade(r/t/m) here, this
(t)opo(r/t/m) there, that
3.6.4 Like the demonstratives, Awtuw interrogative pronouns and adverbs display formal similarities that suggest that they ought to be treated together. There are three basic interrogative adverbs and two pronouns, but the use of the derivational suffix -kwo allows Awtuw to express a full range of WH- questions (cf. 9.1.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yakum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakumoyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeremæn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yekak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yipke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yak-kwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakum-kwo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

3.7 Compounding

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

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

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

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

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

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

(b) apiyan+əwre
    chicken+house
    house for chickens

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

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

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

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

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

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

Example (34) illustrates compounds where the first component designates the source of the second. Example (35) shows a compound where the first component designates the characteristic inhabitants of the second.
Finally, the first component noun may denote a whole of which the second forms a part.

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

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

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

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

There is no apparent correlation between the independence of the morpheme and the independence of its meaning from that of the matrix verb root. Thus, kow the benefactive marker, which has the most clearly 'grammatical' meaning of the
morphemes in this set, is among the commonest verbs in the language used independently. But *kayna ... and go away*, one of the morphemes with the most conspicuously independent meanings, bears no resemblance to any independent verb root.

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

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

3.8 Derivation

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

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

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

Another important function of this suffix is to take up the slack left by Awutuw's closed class of adjectives. Unlike many other languages with closed adjective classes, many of the gaps in the inventory of basic adjectival
meanings are filled not by nouns or verbs (cf. Schachter to appear p.18), but rather by derived adjectives with -neney.

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

(b)  nampet-neney  
  cold- y  
  cold  

(c)  yiwe- neney  (cf. myle dry)  
  water-y  
  wet, full of water  

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

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

(b)  mypiy-kwo  
  blood-like  
  red  

(c)  nenel- wo  
  unripe-like  
  green  

Examples (40a) and (40b) illustrate the derivation of adjectives from nouns and (40c) illustrates the derivation of an adjective from another adjective. Another important function of this suffix is to derive an extremely common adjective.

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

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

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

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

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

(43)  yen-ke mymen wan-ke-kwo  
  2SG-PS knife 1SG-PS-like  
  your knife is like mine
Finally, the same suffix productively derives adverbs from nouns, demonstratives, and other adverbs.

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

(45) (a) topor-kwo
that-like
thus
(b) ader-kwo
this-like
thus

(46) (a) yarow-kwo
tomorrow-like
around tomorrow
(b) tøy-wo
near-like
sort of near

3.8.3 The number markers occur on human Common and Proper nouns in the case of -wëw DUAL and -wom PLURAL and on Place names and most common nouns and adjectives in the case of -yamim GENERIC. All three of these have the peculiar property of deriving a form with some of the morphological characteristics of a personal pronoun from a noun. Both the distribution of the number markers and the morphological properties of personal pronouns receive fuller discussion in section 3.5 and 3.6. But briefly, where nouns may not take the possessive suffix -ke, nouns bearing the number markers may. Where a subclass of nouns may take the locative suffix -a/-ka, nouns with number marking may not. And where nouns take one of the allomorphs of the object marker beginning with a consonant, number-marked nouns take the allomorphs consisting of a vowel alone.
CHAPTER 4
VERBAL MORPHOSYNTAX

4.1 Structure of the verb complex

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) -3 -2 -1 0 +2
t- ki-puya-ey
DU-IP-RC-hit- IP
(two) are hitting each other
Table 4.1: Structure of the Awtuw verb complex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slot</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-8</td>
<td>MODALITY: ka- NG, na- PT, pa- HT,ikan- IMP, wan- DB, ap- PR, nil- NDB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-7</td>
<td>REALITY: w- NF, d- FA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-6</td>
<td>LOCATION/DIRECTION: ma- MT, wa- AB, lam- DS, lom- DH, wam- UH, yam- US</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>ADVERBIAL: taw- YET, owra- AGN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3</td>
<td>DUAL: t-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>IMPERFECTIVE: k-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>RECIPROCAL: ni-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>ROOT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>COMPOUND*: -kow BEN, see 4.12 (30 items)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2</td>
<td>ASPECT: -iy IP, -kay PF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+3</td>
<td>PLURAL: -m, -nem, -mem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+4</td>
<td>CONDITIONAL: -(k)ek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+5</td>
<td>TENSE: -rere DES, -re FU, -e P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+6</td>
<td>PLURAL: -m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(4) (a) -8 -8 -7 0 +5
  *ka-na-w- alow- re
  NG-PT-NF-speak-FU
  'can't speak
Example (4a) provides the single most semantically plausible combination of affixes from the same slot available from the inventory. Nevertheless, it is entirely unacceptable, the form with this meaning being:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2 Modality marking
4.2.1 The debitive modalities

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

(1) The Hortative prefix p(a)- occurs only with first person subjects and is used in situations where the subject wishes to express a firm intention to do something in the immediate future with an implicit request for the addressee's permission or agreement. Semantically, the Awtuw Hortative bears a very close resemblance to English let-Hortatives.
As these examples illustrate, a subject pronoun may or may not occur in Hortative clauses, the person, and usually the number, of the subject being recoverable from the verb affixation. A Hortative clause may consist of the verb complex alone or may have any number of arguments and adjuncts. While the tendency for clauses to be verb final is somewhat stronger for debitive modality clauses, it is not unusual to find the verb in other positions.

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

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

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

Although it is uncommon for verbs in the other debitive modalities to enter into serialisations (cf. 10.1.2), Imperative verbs often do so.
(3) Prohibitive verbs share most of the properties of other debitive clauses, but are even more likely to be verb final.

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

(18) wawey, pêk ap- rokw-re!
MB thus PRH-do- FU
Uncle, don't do that!

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

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

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

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

(22) Wariykom war-eya!
Wariykom DB- come
Wariykom has to come!

(5) Negative Debitive forms are very uncommon both in narrative and in conversation.

(23) nil-t- owkaneyaw-p'- e, wiyum rawre d- æl- i
NDB-DU-climb try-P wasp 3DU-0 Fa-bite-P
they two couldn't try to climb, wasps bit them
4.2.2 Verbs expressing possibility or permission take the Potential prefix na-/nə-. There are no constraints on the person of the subject of a Potential verb and the subject must therefore be overt unless it is otherwise recoverable from context.

(24) Awtiy yarow Liwmi-y-e nə-w- ay-re
   Awtiy tomorrow Lumi- L PT-NF-go-FU
   Awtiy might go to Lumi tomorrow

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

Lest-type constructions also use a Potential form.

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

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

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

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

(28) Awtiy ka-w- ay-re
    Awtiy NG-NF-go-FU
    Awtiy isn't going

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

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

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

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

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

(32) *rey Liwmi-y-e kə-d- eya- ka, rey (po) Təypil- e d- eya- ka
    3MS Lumi- L NG-FA-come-PF 3MS PCL Talbipi-L FA-come-PF
    *he didn't come from Lumi, he came from Talbipi
4.3 Factivity marking

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

(34) (a) yen kan-e y
    2SG IM- go
    go!
(b) yen kan-w- ey
    2SG IM- NF-go

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

(35) (a) yile w- it- ik
    rain NP-rain-CDL
    if it had rained...
(b) yile (d-) it- ik
    rain FA- rain-CDL

(36) (a) tey w- ay-re
    3FS NP-go-FU
    she'll go
(b) tey (d-) ay-re
    3FS FA-go-FU

(37) (a) wan w- ay-rere
    1SG NP-go-DES
    I want to go
(b) wan (d-) ay-rere
    1SG FA-go-DES

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

(38) (a) rey d- ay-e
    3MS FA-go-P
    he went
(b) rey (w-) ay-e
    3MS NF- go-P

(39) (a) rey da-k- ay-e y
    3MS FA-IP-go-IP
    he's going
(b) rey (w-) k- ay-e y
    3MS NF- IP-go-IP
4.4 Conditional marking

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

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

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

4.5 Tense marking

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

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

(b) *ap-æy-e/-rere
    PR-go-P/-DES

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

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

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

4.6 Aspect marking

The Awtuw verb displays marking for two aspects — Perfect and Imperfective. The Perfect is marked by a suffix in slot +2, and the Imperfective by a circumfix, the suffixal component of which appears in slot +2. The prefixal component appears in slot -2. Except when the verb is in a truncated verb serialisation, both components of the Imperfective circumfix must co-occur (see 10.1.2).
The Imperfective marker appears on verbs depicting a situation that is durative, continuous, progressive, or iterative in nature.

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

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

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

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

Verbs with Imperfective marking may bear tense marking as well.

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

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

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

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

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

Again, verbs with Perfect marking may bear tense suffixes.

(46) (a) Yawur d- eya- kay-e wan d- uk1'-e
Yawur FA-come-PF- P 1SG FA-wake-P
Yawur had come when I woke up

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

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

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

(b) *tey d- æy
3FS FA-go
4.7 Feature analysis of modality, tense, and aspect categories

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.7.1 The first distinction we need to make is between forms marked as Debitive in illocutionary force and those that are not. Verbs of this kind depict commands, exhortations, and expressions of necessity, which do not make tense distinctions. Forms bearing the prefixes pa-, kan-, wan-, ap-, and nil- in slot -8 are marked for the feature Debitive, while those with ka-, na-, or
no prefix are unmarked. The variety of contexts in which non-Debitive forms occur and the constraints on tense marking of Debitive forms justify identifying Debitive rather than, say, Declarative, as the marked category.

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

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

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

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

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

At this stage, it will be most convenient to focus on further specifications to the left-most, non-Potential, non-Debitive branch of the diagram and return to the Potential and the Debitive branches later.
Forms on this branch distinguish Nonfactivity as marked in slot -7. Although the Nonfactive prefix w- and the Factive prefix d- both make more than one tense distinction, it is preferable to identify Nonfactive as the marked form for the purpose of this analysis.

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

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

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

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

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

![Diagram](image-url)
4.7.5 Now we can turn our attention to forms specified as Potential. Potential forms require Nonfactive marking and may bear either the Future or the Conditional suffix. Redundancy rule 1 yields all possible forms under this node.

(48) Redundancy rule 1

\[ [+\text{Potential}] \rightarrow [+\text{Nonfactive}]
\]

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

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

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

(49) Redundancy rule 2

\[ [+\text{Debitive}] \rightarrow [\text{Nonfactive}]
\]

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

(50) Redundancy rule 3

\[ [+\text{Debitive}] \rightarrow [-\text{Conditional}]
\]

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

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

(51) Redundancy rule 4

\[ [-\text{Debitive}] \rightarrow [-\alpha\text{Imperfective}]
\]

\[ [-\alpha\text{Perfect}]
\]

This rule stipulates that any form specified as Perfect will also be non-Imperfective regardless of the specifications for the other three features and that non-Perfect forms that are also non-Debitive, non-Nonfactive, and non-Nonpresent must be specified as Imperfective. In other words, forms with any Debitive or tense marking may bear either Perfect or Imperfective marking, or be unmarked for aspect, while non-Debitive forms unmarked for tense must bear either the Perfect or the Imperfective suffix.
It therefore suspends the structure illustrated in Figure 4.4a to each terminal node in Figure 4.3 except those negatively specified for all features besides Negative and the structure illustrated in Figure 4.4b to the remaining two nodes (i.e. nodes 1 and 7). (Note: IP = Imperfective)

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

(52) Redundancy rule 5

(a)  [+Debitive] \[+II \] \[\rightarrow \] [+III] 
(b)  [+Debitive] \[+Negative\] \[\rightarrow \] [\[-II\]] 
[+III]
This rule appends the structure illustrated in Figure 4.5a to each non-Negative Debitive node suspended from node 15 in Figure 4.3 and the structure in 4.5b to each Negative Debitive node suspended from node 16.

(a) Node

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{-II} \\
\text{+II} \\
\text{-III} \\
\text{+III} \\
\text{-III}
\end{array} \]

(b) Node

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{-II} \\
\text{+II} \\
\text{+III} \\
\text{-III}
\end{array} \]

Figure 4.5

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

(53) Redundancy rule 6

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

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

Node

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{+PL} \\
\text{-PL}
\end{array} \] \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{-DU} \\
\text{+DU} \\
\text{-DU}
\end{array} \]

Figure 4.6

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

4.7.11 Table 4.2 expands each relevant affix as a cluster of features. In each case, the cluster includes only the essential specifications. Specifications for other features are either specified by a positional rule or a redundancy rule, or irrelevant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa- → [+DEB, -NEG, -II, -III] (Hortative)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kan- → [+DEB, -NEG, +II, -III] (Imperative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan- → [+DEB, -NEG, -II, +III] (Debitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ap- → [+DEB, +NEG, +II, -III] (Prohibitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nil- → [+DEB, +NEG, -II, +III] (Negative Debitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na- → [+POT] (Potential)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka- → [-DEB, +NEG] (Negative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d- → [-DEB, -NFA] (Factive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w- → [+NFA] (Nonfactive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ok → [+CDL] (Conditional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-re → [+NFA, +NPR] (Future)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rere → [+NFA, -NPR] (Desiderative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e → [-NFA, +NPR] (Past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-O → [-NFA, -NPR] (Unmarked tense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kay → [+PF] (Perfect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k-ey → [-PF, +IP] (Imperfective)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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

4.8 Reciprocal marking

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

(54) (a) Nalpet Kamlakw yakruk ti-n-iy- m- e
    Taute kamnum once DU-RC-shoot-PL-P
    Taute and Kamnum once had a war (*i.e.* shot each other)
(b) *rey ti-ni-puy-e
    3MS DU-RC-hit-P
    *he shot each other*
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### Table 4.6

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4.9 Number marking

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

(55) (a) nan pa-t-ey/*p-ay(*-nem)
   1DU HR-DU-go
   let's (two) go!
(b) wan p-ay(*-nem)/*pa-t-ey
   1SG HR-go -PL HR-DU-go
   let me go!
(c) nom p-ay-nem/*p-ay/*pa-t-ey
   1PL HR-go-PL HR-go HR-DU-go
   let's go!

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

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

(56) (a) rom d-ay-(ka-)m-e
   3PL FA-go- PF- PL-P
   they had gone
(b) rom w-ay-ka-m-re
   3PL NF-go-PF-PL-FU
   they will have gone
(c) *rom w-ay-m-re(re)
   3PL NF- -PL-FU/DES
(d) rom w-ay-re(re)-m
   3PL NF-go-FU/DES-PL
   they will/want to go

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

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

(57) (a) wan-e yiyte ka-lopwa-kow-mem/-nem
   1SG-0 fence IM-open- BEN-PL /-PL
   open the gate for me!
(b) yiyte ka-lopwa-m/-nem/-nem
   fence IM-open- PL/-PL /-PL
   open the gate!
The other plural slot, +6, may be filled on any verb that has tense, but not Conditional, marking. The presence or absence of Plural marking in slot +3 has no effect on the ability of verbs with tense marking to have slot +6 full.

(58)  (a) nom w- ñy-re-m
     1PL NF-go-FU-PL
     we'll go
(b) nom w- ñy-ka-(m-)re-m
     1PL NF-go-PF-PL-FU-PL
     we'll have gone
(c) rom w- ñy-(m-)ak- rere-m
     3PL NF-go PL-CDL-DES- PL
     they wanted to go but didn't

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

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

(1) Number marking on the verb is optional in any comitative construction.
(2) Where the verb is marked for number, it may agree either with the actual number of actors, including both the subject and the comitative, or with the NP whose referent is the more numerous.
(3) If the subject is not first person dual, then the subject does not include the comitative and the number of actors must be interpreted as the total of the subject plus the number of the comitative.
(4) If the subject is first person dual and the comitative is singular, then number agreement on the verb may disambiguate the number of actors.
   (a) If the verb bears dual marking, then the dual subject includes the singular comitative.
   (b) If the verb is marked with a plural suffix, then the dual subject does not include the singular comitative and there is a total of three actors.
   (c) If the verb is unmarked for number, then the sentence will remain ambiguous as to whether there are two or three actors.
(5) If either the subject or the comitative is plural, then the verb will either have plural marking or be unmarked.

(59)  (a) Kapoy rom-e-k w- ñy-re(-m)
     Kapoy 3PL-0-I NF-go(-PL)
     Kapoy will go with them
(b) Kapoy-wom tey-e-k w- ñy-re(-m)
     Kapoy-PL 3FS-0-I NF-go-FU(-PL)
     Kapoymob will go with her
These principles account for the following facts concerning the interaction of number marking and a comitative construction.

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

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

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

If the comitative is singular, then:

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

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

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

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

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

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

(67) (a) rey yarow \- ewr'-eya-re
3MS tomorrow NF-AGN- come-FU
'he'll come back tomorrow
(b) rey yap'ar \- owr'-upw'-o
3MS kangaroo FA-AGN- see- P
'he saw the kangaroo again

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

(68) nom d- ewr'-eye- m- e, rey taw-k- owna- y- e
1PL FA-AGN- come-PL-P 3MS YET-IP-sleep-IP-P
'we returned while he was still sleeping
(69) Awtiy-wom Liwmiy-e ka-taw-ewr'-eya- ka-m
Awtiy-PL Lumi- L NG-AGN- come-PF-PL
'Awtiy and his family haven't come back from Lumi yet

4.11 Location and direction prefixes

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

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

(70) (a) tey yilmät d- il- kayn'-e
3FS string FA-twist-GO-P
'she twisted string and went away
(b) tey yilmät ma- '1- -i
3FS string MT-twist-P
'she went/came and twisted string

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

(71) (a) rey tapwo lam-k'- e
3MS fire DS- get-P
'he went downstream and got fire
(71) (b) rey tapwo lim-k'-e
   3MS fire DH-get-P
   he went downhill and got fire
(c) rey tapwo yam-k'-e
   3MS fire US-get-P
   he went upstream and got fire
(d) rey tapwo wam-k'-e
   3MS fire UH-get-P
   he went uphill and got fire

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

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

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

(73) Tey lamu-t lak-e.
   3FS Y//S-P go DS-P
   the younger sister went downstream and the elder sister had sat and hid

4.12 Compound roots

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

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

The suffixes that can fill this slot may conveniently be divided into semantic classes which I label Grammatical, 'pretend' Auxiliary, Aspectual, Quantitative, Adverbial, Consecutive, and Obstructive.
In Table 4.7, I list the morphemes that can occur in this position, and have come to my attention. Each entry includes a gloss for the suffix, and, where relevant, for the morpheme when it occurs independently. I have flagged the most common morphemes with an asterisk.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.7: 'Compound' morphemes</th>
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<td>-kow*</td>
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<td>&quot;pretend&quot; AUXILIARY' SUFFIXES</td>
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4.12.1 There is only one 'Grammatical' suffix, -kow Benefactive. I have classified it separately from the others because it has the distinctive property of increasing the number of Object NPs that can co-occur with the verb by one, specifically, a Benefactive NP. Benefactive NPs are syntactic Indirect Objects and receive further discussion in sections 5.1 and 6.2.

(74) (a) yiye ka-lopwa
fence IM-open
open the gate!

(b) wan-e yiye ka-lopwa-kow-mem
1SG-O fence IM-open- BEN-PL
open (PL) the gate for me!

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

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

(75) (a) wan tader wom- re w- owkaney-(wey)pa-re
1SG this coconut-O NF-climb- TRY- FU
I'll try to climb this coconut tree

(b) rey taw d- uwk- l- e
3MS tree FA-fell-TRY-P
he tried to fell a tree

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

(76) (a) rey aye rokr-pany- e
3MS food cook- PRETEND-P
he pretended to cook food

(b) rey aye rokr'-e?
3MS food cook- P
did he cook food?

(c) awtuw, rey da- k- pany'- ey-e
no, 3MS FA-IP-PRETEND-IP-P
no, he was just pretending

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

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

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

(78) Nom apre p- ayy-nem. Wan naw pə-mə- 'w- ney.
1PL not yet HR-go-PL 1SG piss HR-MT-excrete-FIRST
Let's not go yet. Let me go piss first.
The other two Aspectual suffixes are -imya quickly, which also occurs independently in the meaning run, and -omkur for a long time, which also occurs independently in the meaning spend a long time.

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

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

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

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

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

(a) nam-ke owyim da-ke- payk- a tapwo
1PL-get ancestors FA-get-FIRST-P fire
our ancestors got fire for the very first time

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

(c) rey æye rokr'-omkur- e
3MS food cook- LONG TIME-P
he cooked the food for a long time
4.12.5 Two of the suffixes in the Adverbial class have a property similar to the Quantitative suffixes—they may modify the subject or the object of the verb. The English glosses for example (85) reflect the ambiguity of the Awtuw sentences they gloss.

(85) (a) rom aye ampit da-k- ra- pam'-ey
3PL betelnut pepper FA-IP-eat-TOGETHER-IP
they are chewing betelnut and pepper together

(b) rom aye ampit da-k- ra- prana-ey
3PL betelnut pepper FA-IP-eat-SEPARATE-IP
they are chewing betelnut and pepper separately

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

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

(b) rey da-k- ayy-wuley-ey
3MS FA-IP-go-BADLY-IP
he's limping

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

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

Three other suffixes fall into this class.

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

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

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

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

Note that the same subject must perform both actions with -ukla and -kayna, but that with -lakna, -prik, and -newta, the object of both actions must be the same.
4.12.7 The final three suffixes attribute an obstructive purpose to the situation depicted by the root.

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

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

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

This last suffix also acts as a Consecutive suffix.

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

4.13 Conjugation classes

Aside from the six irregular verbs discussed in the next section, all Awtuw verb roots fall into one of four conjugation classes. One of these classes has five members with slightly aberrant Imperfective suffixes. The second class, with 14 members, has a prefix identical in form to the Dual prefix through most of its conjugation regardless of the number of the subject. The third is somewhat irregular in the way that it accepts the Imperfective prefix. The fourth class includes all other verbs.
4.13.1 The five members of the first class differ from other verbs in that the regular elision rule does not delete the final /a/ of the root (see section 2.2) after having conditioned the /e/ of the Imperfective suffix. Rather, the /e/ of the Imperfective suffix is deleted after the final /a/. The distinction is conveniently illustrated by contrasting the Imperfective forms of the homophonous roots ra consume and ra weave.

(92) (a) ra- re
consume-FU
will consume
(b) ra- re
weave-FU
will weave
(c) da-k- ra-k y
FA-IP-consume-IP
is consuming
(d) da-k- r e y
FA-IP-weave-IP
is weaving

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

(93) (a) ra- ka
consume-PF
has consumed
(b) da-k- ra
FA-IP-consume
is consuming (cf. 92a)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consume</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.13.2 The roots in the second class all begin with /t/ save one, t-ŋatow bark, which begins with /n/. The class includes all those that begin with /t/. Throughout the conjugation of the roots in this class, a prefix identical to the Dual prefix occurs just as it does with Reciprocal stems. As the geminate reduction rule (see 2.2) obliterates the prefix in many of the forms of the t-initial roots, I will illustrate with the paradigm of t-ŋatow as well as t- tan stink.
Table 4.9: Paradigms of t-class verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>HORTATIVE</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>DEBITIVE</th>
<th>PROHIBITIVE</th>
<th>NEG DEBITIVE</th>
<th>POTENTIAL</th>
<th>FUTURE</th>
<th>NEG FUTURE</th>
<th>FUTURE PERFECT</th>
<th>FUTURE IMPERFECTIVE</th>
<th>PERFECT</th>
<th>NEG PERFECT</th>
<th>IMPERFECTIVE</th>
<th>NEG IMPERFECTIVE</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>NEG PAST</th>
<th>PAST PERFECT</th>
<th>PAST IMPERFECTIVE</th>
<th>CONDITIONAL</th>
<th>POT CONDITIONAL</th>
<th>FRUSTRATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-tan</td>
<td>pa-'tan</td>
<td>'ka-tan</td>
<td>'wa-tan</td>
<td>ap-'tan-re</td>
<td>nil-'tan-re</td>
<td>na-'tan-re</td>
<td>ti-'tan-re</td>
<td>ti-'tan-re</td>
<td>ti-tan-kay-re</td>
<td>ti-k-'tan-ey-re</td>
<td>ti-'tan-kay</td>
<td>ti-k-'tan-kay</td>
<td>ti-k-'tan-ey</td>
<td>ka-k-'tan-ey</td>
<td>ti-'tan-e</td>
<td>ti-'tan-e</td>
<td>ti-tan-kay-e</td>
<td>ti-k-'tan-ey-e</td>
<td>ti-'tan-ok</td>
<td>'na-tan-ok</td>
<td>ti-tan-ok-'rere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stink</td>
<td>'p a-t-natow</td>
<td>'k a-t-natow</td>
<td>'w a-t-natow</td>
<td>'a p-t-natow-re</td>
<td>nil-t-'natow-re</td>
<td>na-t-'natow-re</td>
<td>ti-'natow-re</td>
<td>ti-'natow-re</td>
<td>ti-natow-'kay-re</td>
<td>ti-k-'natow-ey-re</td>
<td>ti-'natow-kay</td>
<td>ti-k-'natow-kay</td>
<td>ti-k-'natow-ey</td>
<td>ka-k-'natow-ey</td>
<td>ti-'natow-o</td>
<td>ka-t-'natow-o</td>
<td>ti-tan-ey-e</td>
<td>ti-k-'tan-ey-e</td>
<td>ti-'natow-ak</td>
<td>'na-tan-ak</td>
<td>ti-tan-ak-'rere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 4.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t-natow</th>
<th>bark</th>
<th>t-tarey</th>
<th>shoot</th>
<th>t-towll</th>
<th>lure</th>
<th>t-ta</th>
<th>plant</th>
<th>t-tow</th>
<th>lash</th>
<th>t-towrit</th>
<th>limp</th>
<th>t-tallwa</th>
<th>leap</th>
<th>t-towleyakw</th>
<th>flow</th>
<th>t-towuk</th>
<th>squat</th>
<th>t-tawll</th>
<th>pick up</th>
<th>t-towkwa</th>
<th>recline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-tan</td>
<td>stink</td>
<td>t-tawll</td>
<td>pick up</td>
<td>t-towkwa</td>
<td>recline</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(94) (a) reye akwe- ke yet-e
3M5 house-L come in/out-P
he came into/out of the house
The verbs in this class are listed in Table 4.11, along with their glosses and Imperfective forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Imperfective Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wäya</td>
<td>follow</td>
<td>di-k- wäkey'-ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lýya</td>
<td>come upstream</td>
<td>di-k- lýkey'-ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wëya</td>
<td>come down</td>
<td>di-k- wukey'-ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeäya</td>
<td>come in/out</td>
<td>da-k- yekey'-ey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

4.14 Irregular verbs

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

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

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

(b) kor-eya  
IM- come  
*come!*
4.14.2 Next is the root \( l \)lwken\( a \) ascend, whose initial segment /l/ vanishes when the Motion prefix ma- precedes the root, as indeed it frequently does.

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

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

(c) \( \hat{\text{ma}} \)-liwkena-re
    MT-ascend-FU

4.14.3 Another slightly irregular verb is ma-\( \text{wey} \) arrive, which is irregular only insofar as it requires the Motion prefix ma- and never occurs without it.

(97) (a) ma-\( \text{wey} \)-kay
    MT-arrive-PF
    has arrived

(b) \( \hat{\text{d}} \)-\( \text{wey} \)-kay
    FA-arrive-PF

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

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

(b) \( \hat{\text{d}} \)-\( \text{wey} \)-wutmak-e
    FA-arrive-P

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

(d) \( \hat{\text{d}} \)-\( \text{k} \)-wutmak-ey
    FA-IP-arrive-IP
    *is arriving here
4.14.5 *Awkey* exist does not occur in as full a range of forms as a regular verb. In fact, the form that I cite as the root, *awkey* is probably a crystalised imperfective stem formed from a root *w* and the imperfective circumfix -k--ey. If this conjecture is correct, then the initial vowel would have arisen from an epenthetic vowel regularly inserted between the factive prefix d- and the prefix component of the imperfective circumfix -k- and a regular w-metathesis rule would have reversed the order of the -k- and the -w-. The future form, w-owkey-re, which occurs only rarely, demonstrates that the form is indeed crystalised because the regular future imperfective of a root *w* would have to be *kwa-w-ey-re*. There would be no factive prefix, the non-factive prefix w- would be deleted before the -k-, and there would be no epenthetic vowel before the -k- to accept stress and condition w-metathesis. The past tense form, d-awkey-e, is much more common. The root appears very often in the Debitive wan-owkey. All three of these are formally regular for a root *awkey*. But the root occurs most frequently in a defective imperfective form unmarked for tense, d-awkey, sometimes with the Absentive prefix wa-, yielding da-w-awkey.

4.14.6 Like *awkey*, *ikiy* stay, live, be alive resembles an imperfective stem. But here if we were to assign the -k- and the -iy to the imperfective circumfix, the verb would most likely have to be derived from a root with the canonical form O, and it is difficult to see how a O-root could condition the -iy allomorph of the imperfective suffix. It seems more probable that *ikiy* derives from the imperfective of *ik* sit.

(99) (a) di-k- ik- iy
FA-IP-sit-IP
is sitting

(b) di-k- ikiy-iy
FA-IP-stay-IP
is staying

Again like *awkey*, *ikiy* most frequently occurs in a form with Factive marking but no tense or aspect marking.

(100) (a) d- awkey
FA-exist
exists

(b) d- ikiy
FA-stay
stays
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>-ik-</th>
<th>-kow-</th>
<th>-puya-</th>
<th>-rokra-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HORTATIVE</td>
<td>'pa-ik</td>
<td>'pa-kow</td>
<td>'pa-puya</td>
<td>'pa-rokr-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>'kin-ik</td>
<td>'ka-ik</td>
<td>'kan-puya</td>
<td>'ka-rokr-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROHIBITIVE</td>
<td>ap-'ik-ra</td>
<td>ap-kow-ra</td>
<td>a-puya-ra</td>
<td>ap-rokr-ya-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEBITIVE</td>
<td>'wan-ik</td>
<td>'wa-puya</td>
<td>wan-puya</td>
<td>'wa-rokr-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG DEBIT</td>
<td>nil-'ik-ra</td>
<td>nil-kow-ra</td>
<td>nil-puya-ra</td>
<td>nil-rokr-ya-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTENTIAL</td>
<td>'na-w-ik-ra</td>
<td>'na-kow-ra</td>
<td>na-puya-ra</td>
<td>na-rokr-ya-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE</td>
<td>'w-ik-ra</td>
<td>'kow-ra</td>
<td>pu'ya-ra</td>
<td>rokr-ya-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG FUTURE</td>
<td>'ka-w-ik-ra</td>
<td>'ka-kow-ra</td>
<td>ka-pu'ya-ra</td>
<td>ka-rokr-ya-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT PERFECT</td>
<td>w-ik-i'ka-ra</td>
<td>kow-ka-ra</td>
<td>puya-ka-ra</td>
<td>rokr-ka-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT IMPERFECT</td>
<td>ka-k-ik-'iy-ra</td>
<td>kow-ey-ra</td>
<td>koe-puy-ey-ra</td>
<td>koe-rokr-ya-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERFECT</td>
<td>'w-ik-ikay</td>
<td>da-kow-kay</td>
<td>du-puya-kay</td>
<td>rokr-kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG PERFECT</td>
<td>ka-ik-ikay</td>
<td>da-kow-kay</td>
<td>koe-puya-kay</td>
<td>ka-rokr-kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERFECT</td>
<td>'di-k-ik-iy</td>
<td>da-ka-kow-ey</td>
<td>du-k-puy-ey</td>
<td>da-k-rokr-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG IMPERF</td>
<td>'ka-d-ik-iy</td>
<td>ka-d-ka-kow-ey</td>
<td>ka-k-puy-ey</td>
<td>'ka-k-rokr-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>'d-ik-i</td>
<td>da-kow-o</td>
<td>'du-puy-e</td>
<td>'rokr-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG PAST</td>
<td>'ka-d-ik-i</td>
<td>ka-d-kow-o</td>
<td>'ka-d-puy-e</td>
<td>'ka-rokr-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST PERF</td>
<td>d-ik-i'kay-e</td>
<td>da-kow-ey-e</td>
<td>du-puya-ey-e</td>
<td>rokr-kay-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST IMPERF</td>
<td>da-k-ik-'iy-e</td>
<td>da-ka-kow-ey-e</td>
<td>du-k-puy-ey-e</td>
<td>da-k-rokr-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONDITIONAL</td>
<td>'w-ik-ik</td>
<td>kow-ak</td>
<td>pu'ya-kak</td>
<td>rokr-ka-kak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTL CONDTL</td>
<td>'na-w-ik-ik</td>
<td>na-kow-ak</td>
<td>na-pu'ya-kak</td>
<td>na-rokr-ka-kak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRUSTRATIVE</td>
<td>w-ik-ik-ik-rer</td>
<td>kow-ak-ik-rer</td>
<td>puya-ak-ik-rer</td>
<td>rokr-ak-ik-rer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5
GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS AND VERB CLASSES

5.1 Grammatical relations

By and large, Awtuw is a language that depends heavily on pragmatic real-world considerations in recovering the role and reference of NPs in a sentence. As a result, the identification of grammatical relations is not entirely transparent.

Case marking alone does not constitute a reliable diagnostic for the identification of grammatical relations for three reasons.

1. Although subjects never bear case marking, there are other nouns that may occur in the clause that never bear case marking either (cf. 6.1 and 5.4).
2. Object marking is obligatory on some direct objects and optional on others (cf. 6.2).
3. Although indirect objects always bear object marking, certain direct objects do so too (cf. 6.2).

Furthermore, although Awtuw's basic word order is readily identifiable as verb final, indeed as SOV, OS order and other permutations are far too common to allow word order to be of any value in identifying grammatical relations.

It is possible, nevertheless, to isolate the three relations on the basis of a more complicated statement of their case marking properties in combination with other criteria. It is important to be able to identify grammatical relations on formal grounds and without reference to verb semantics because the classification of verbs in section 5.2 relies on their ability to co-occur with NPs in various grammatical relations.

5.1.1 The subject of a clause has a number of properties that distinguish it from other grammatical relations.

1. First, as I mentioned above, the subject never bears case marking. But the complementary nouns that co-occur obligatorily with the idiomatic composite verbs discussed in 5.4 never do so either. Note that in clauses whose subject is a pronoun, a personal name, or an NP with any determiner or modifier, this problem does not arise because the noun complement of idiomatic complement constructions is always a single common noun.

A simple substitution test can distinguish the subject in any clause where there is a doubt as to its identification. The complementary noun in an idiomatic composite construction is lexically specified. So if we substitute
an appropriate pronoun coreferential with the noun in question, and the clause remains acceptable, we can be certain that that noun is the subject of the clause. If such a substitution results in an unacceptable clause, then we can identify the noun as a complementary noun.

(1) (a) yam yi w di- k- iyw'- ey
    child water FA-IP-bathe-IP
    a child is bathing

(b) rey yi w di- k- iyw'- ey
    3MS water FA-IP-bathe-IP
    he is bathing

(c) *yam rey di- k- iyw'- ey
    child 3MS FA-IP-bathe-IP
    *child he is bathing

(2) Second, only the subject of the clause can trigger person agreement in those verb forms — Hortative, Imperative, and Deitive — that are marked for person. As first- and second-person subjects, where overt, are always pronominal, and therefore readily identifiable as subjects by their lack of case marking, I will illustrate with the third person form.

(2) (a) yen-e yapor wan-ire
    2SG-O man DB- feed
    the man has to feed you

(b) *yen-e wan wan-ire
    2SG-O 1SG DB- feed
    *I have to feed you

(3) Third, only dual and plural subjects can trigger number agreement on the verb. As number agreement is obligatory with these same three verb forms, I will again illustrate with deitive forms.

(3) (a) yam- wom tale wan-puye
    child-PL woman DB- hit
    the woman must hit the children
    *the children must hit the woman

(b) yam tale- m wan-puya-mem
    child woman-PL DB- hit- PL
    the women must hit the child
    *the child must hit the woman

(c) yam- wom tale- waw wa-t- puya
    child-PL woman-DU DB-DU-hit
    the two women must hit the children
    *the children must hit the two women

4. Fourth, Awtuw refers to an antecedent through a variety of available strategies. Among these are zero anaphora, an ordinary personal pronoun, an emphatic pronoun, or an emphatic pronoun in combination with a reflexive marker. Where the pragmatics of the verb of a second clause are such that the subject of the preceding clause is at least as likely to have performed the action depicted in the second verb as the object, then it will be interpreted as the antecedent for any of these strategies.
(4) Yawur Alt iy-re du-puy-e, (rey(rey(yimay))) d- upow-ka
   Yawur Alt iy-O FA-hit-P 3MS 3MS REFL   FA-flee-PF
   Yawur hit Alt iy and (Yawur) has run away

But where the pragmatics of the second verb are such that an object of the
first clause is more likely to have performed it than the subject, then that
object will be interpreted as the antecedent of a zero or ordinary personal
pronoun subject in the second clause.

(5) Yawur Alt iy-re du-puy-e, (rey) now di-yel-e
   Yawur Alt iy-O FA-hit-P 3MS tear FA-cry-P
   Yawur hit Alt iy and he (Alt iy) cried

(6) Yawman Awt iy-re tawkway da-kow- o, (rey) d- iypud-ka
   Yawmen Awtiy-O tobacco FA-give-P 3MS FA-roll- PF
   Yawmen gave Awtiy tobacco and he (Awtiy) has rolled it

This provides yet another example of the importance in Awtuw grammar of real-
world considerations in comparison to grammatical relations. But the other two
anaphoric strategies do provide firm evidence for a category of subject. When
the subject of the second clause is an emphatic pronoun, with or without an
accompanying reflexive marker, the antecedent is invariably interpreted as the
subject of the preceding clause, regardless of what pragmatic considerations
may seem to dictate.

(7) Yawur Alt iy-re du-puy-e, rey-rey (yimay) now di-yel-e
   Yawur Alt iy-O FA-hit-P 3MS-3MS REFL tear FA-cry-P
   Yawur hit Alt iy and he, himself, cried

(8) Yawman Awt iy-re tawkway da-kow- o, rey-rey (yimay) d- iypud-ka
   Yawmen Awtiy-O tobacco FA-give-P 3MS-3MS REFL FA-roll-PF
   Yawmen gave Awtiy tobacco and he, himself, has rolled it

(5) Finally, in direct perception complements, the covert subject of the
complement may appear as the direct object of the matrix clause. The object
of the complement may not do so (cf. 10.2.3).

(9) (a) wan [Numoy aye da-k- rokra-y- re] d- ayn' - e
    1SG Numoy food FA-IP-cook- IP-O FA-smell-P
    I smelled Numoy cooking food

(b) wan Numoy:-re [s;aye da-k- rokra-y-re] d- ayn' - e
    1SG Numoy-0 food FA-IP-cook- IP-O FA-smell-P
    I smelled Numoy cooking food

(c) wan aye- re Numoy da-k- rokra-y- re d- ayn' - e
    1SG food-0 Numoy FA-IP-cook- IP-O FA-smell-P
    I smelled food being cooked by Numoy
    I smelled the food that Numoy was cooking

5.1.2 When the direct object is a pronoun or a personal name, where it is
equal in empathy to the subject, or where the referents of the subject and the
object are equally likely to have performed the action depicted in the clause
(see 6.1), it obligatorily takes object marking (cf. 6.2). An indirect object
takes object marking under all circumstances. So we can identify the common
noun or quantifier direct object of a clause with a pronominal subject, because
the clause will be acceptable whether the direct object has the object suffix
or not.
(10) tey rame(-re) du-puy'-'o
3FS man- O FA-hit- P
she hit a man

By the same token, we can identify a common noun indirect object because the clause will be unacceptable if we remove its object suffix.

(11) (a) tey rame-re tawkway da-kow- o
3FS man- O tobacco FA-give-P
she gave a man tobacco

(b) *tey rame tawkway de-kow- o
3FS man tobacco FA-give-P
*she gave a man tobacco

But we will need to apply another substitution test to identify pronominal and personal name direct objects in clauses with common noun subjects, in other words, where the direct object is higher in empathy than the subject. In such clauses, pronominal and personal name direct objects take obligatory object marking and are therefore indistinguishable from indirect objects on formal grounds without reference to information about the meaning of the verb. We cannot substitute a human common noun, because it will necessarily be equal to or higher than the subject in empathy, and therefore still require object marking. Thus we can substitute a non-human common noun for the pronoun or personal name in question. If the substituted common noun still requires object marking, then it must be an indirect object. If the clause is acceptable whether the substituted common noun bears object marking or not, then it is a direct object.

(12) (a) yren rey-e du-puy-i
child 3MS-O FA-hit-P
a child hit him

(b) yren piyr en(-re) du-puy-i
child dog- O FA-hit-P
a child hit a dog

(c) yren rey-e aye(-re) da-kow- o
child 3MS-O food-o FA-give-P
a child gave him food

(d) yren piyr en-re aye(-re) da-kow- o
child dog- O food-O FA-give-P
a child gave a dog food

(e) *yren piyr en aye(-re) da-kow- o
child dog food FA-give-P

Note that (12b-d) are grammatical whether or not the direct object (piyr en in (12b) and aye in (12c-d)) has object marking. But the clause becomes ungrammatical when the indirect object is unmarked, as illustrated in (12e).

5.1.3 In summary, then, I define the three identifiable grammatical relations as follows:

(1) The subject is that NP that never takes object marking, even when pronominal, that triggers person and number agreement on the verb, that is the obligatory antecedent of an emphatic pronoun, and that may occur as the direct object of the matrix clause in direct perception constructions.

(2) The direct object is the NP that takes optional object marking when it is a common noun and when its referent is lower in empathy than, or less likely to have performed the action than, the subject.
The indirect object is that NP that takes obligatory object marking under all circumstances.

5.2 Major classes of verb roots

A number of factors conspire to complicate the classification of Awtuw verb roots on strictly formal grounds. First, all verbs, with a few exceptions discussed in section 4.14, have precisely the same properties with regard to the affixes they may bear. Second, the four conjugation classes described in section 4.13 do not correlate with any other grammatical or semantic categories. And third, many contexts permit, or even require, the deletion of NPs.

The analysis I present here will rest heavily on the number of NPs that co-occur with various verb roots and what their grammatical relation is to the verb.

The first thing to notice is that no verb root in Awtuw always occurs without an accompanying NP. NPs may be deleted in elliptical contexts to leave a verb form alone in a clause, but in unmarked, out-of-the-blue contexts, all Awtuw verbs have at least one accompanying NP.

Before embarking on the analysis it is important to point out that the Benefactive marker -kow- may be suffixed to a wide variety of verb roots. This suffix increases the valency of the verb so that it may co-occur with a beneficiary NP in addition to any NPs that they otherwise co-occur with. In establishing the basic classification of verbs, therefore, I will be considering only those that do not bear this suffix.

Finally, it is appropriate at this stage to define the verb phrase as the constituent that includes:
- a verb form,
- any NP eligible to bear Object marking, (cf. 5.7 and 6.1-2),
- the goal or source NP with a Direction verb (cf. 5.3.1 and 5.4.1),
- the source NP with the verb ka (cf. 5.4.1 and 6.4).

5.2.1 The first distinction we can make is between those verbs that may co-occur with a direct object NP and those that may not.

(13) (a) rey(egov) taw(-re) d- uwk- o
     3MS- O tree-O FA-fell-P
     he felled a tree

(b) rey(egov) (*lape (-re)) d- imy'-e
     3MS- O village-O FA-run- P
     he ran (a village)

Note that the first NP in (13a), and the only possible NP in (13b), may not take the Object suffix although they are pronominal. They are therefore identifiable as subjects under the criteria described in the previous section.

In accordance with traditional usage, I call verbs that occur with direct objects, exemplified in (13a), transitive verbs, and verbs that do not, exemplified in (13b), intransitive verbs.

5.2.2 To complete the basic classification, we may further distinguish two types of transitive verbs — those that occur with an indirect object, and those that may only do so when marked with the Benefactive suffix.
(14) (a) Awtiy rey yan- re apiyan(-re) do-kow- o
Awtiy 3MS child-O chicken-O FA-give-P
Awtiy gave the child a chicken
(b) Awtiy (*rey yan (-re)) taw(-re) d- uwk- o
Awtiy 3MS child-O tree-O FA-fell-P
Awtiy felled (*the child) a tree
(c) Awtiy rey yan- re taw(-re) d- uwka-kow-o
Awtiy 3MS child-O tree-O FA-fell-BEN-P
Awtiy felled a tree for the child

In the interests of etymological consistency, I prefer the term bi transitive to the somewhat commoner ditransitive for verbs that take indirect objects.

5.2.3 Table 5.1 provides a few examples of verbs in each major class.

| Table 5.1 |
|---|---|---|
| **INTRANSITIVE** | **TRANSITIVE** | **BITRANSITIVE** |
| ik       sit  | aytir       fear | kow       give |
| imya     run   | upwa        see  | mak       tell |
| ay       go    | puya        hit  | ikriy     name |
| karey    spit  | ilya        boil |           |
| akra     crow  | kay         put  |           |
| t-tan    stink | yawa        dislike |

Following the pattern established in the classification of parts of speech, I represent the properties of the three major classes of verbs as binary features and display them on a matrix.

| Table 5.2: Major verb classes |
|---|---|---|
| **FEATURE** | **INTR** | **TR** | **BITR** |
| DIRECT OBJ | - | + | + |
| INDIRECT OBJ | - | - | + |

We can again exhibit the bifurcating structure of the classification as a tree.

![Figure 5.1](image-url)
5.3 Classification of intransitive verbs

5.3.1 The intransitive verbs are subject to further classification. When an NP marked with the Locative/Directional suffix (L) -ke (cf. 6.5) co-occurs with some intransitive verbs, it is interpreted as a source or goal of motion. With other verbs, it may only refer to a location.

(15) (a) rey yam (lape-ke) da-k-ay-ey
    3MS child village-L FA-IP-go-IP
    the child is going (to the village)

(b) rey yam (lape-ke) di-k-imy-ey
    3MS child village-L FA-IP-run-IP
    the child is running (in the village)

(c) tey tale (awre-ke) di-k-ik-iy
    3FS woman house-L FA-IP-sit-IP
    the woman is sitting (in the house)

(d) tey tale (awre-ke) di-k-iywatn-ey
    3FS woman house-L FA-IP-sneeze-IP
    the woman is sneezing (in the house)

I call those verbs that can co-occur with a Direction NP, as in (15a), Direction verbs.

These fall into two sets which form an interesting pattern. In one set, the Direction verb depicts a motion towards the speaker. In the other, it depicts a motion away from the speaker. The Direction NP may therefore refer to either a source or a goal, depending upon the point of view of the speaker. If the speaker adopts the perspective of being at the source of motion, he or she will select an appropriate verb from the first set. If the speaker is at the goal of motion, a verb from the second set will be chosen.

Within each set, there is a generic member, a member depicting motion with relation to a three-dimensional object, a member depicting arrival, and up/down pairs with relation to both slope and stream.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.3: Direction verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPEAKER = SOURCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-iwkena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-wey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.2 Other criteria distinguish further classes of intransitive verbs. First, certain verbs may occur as the first in a truncated verb serialisation with any Direction verb. Such verbs may co-occur with a Direction NP in this construction (cf. 10.1.2).
(16) (a) rey lape- ke d- imya-d- lak- e
    3MS village-L FA-run- FA-go DS-P
    he ran downstream to the village (cf. 15b)
(b) *rey (lape- ke) d- ik- d- lak- e
    3MS village-L FA-sit-FA-go DS-P
    *he sat downstream to the village

I call the verbs that may occur in this construction Motion verbs and list them in Table 5.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.4: Motion verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apta: fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imya: run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawey: get out of the way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owkane: climb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakre: creep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.3 We can further distinguish those intransitive verbs that may co-occur with a Location NP in a verb phrase serialisation and those that may not. The example given in (17b) is actually acceptable, but not with the intonation characteristic of this type of serialisation (cf. 10.1.5).

(17) (a) tey awre- ke d- ik- i, yilmät d- il- i
    3FS house-L FA-sit-P string FA-twist-P
    she sat in the house and twisted string
(b) *tey awre- ke da-karey-e, yilmät d- il- i
    3FS house-L FA-spit- P string FA-twist-P
    *she spat in the house and twisted string

The verbs that may occur in such serialisations have an interesting semantic property. They may depict either the posture or the action of adopting that posture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.5: Posture verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik: sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owna: lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-towpæwa: recline</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.4 Other intransitive verbs do not lend themselves to further classification on the basis of formal properties. Nevertheless, it is worth noting some of the semantic categories they express, even though they do not correlate with morphosyntactic classes.

We have already isolated Direction, Motion, and Posture verbs. Other intransitive verbs fall into the semantic categories Weather, Bodily function, Act, Event, Physical state, and Location.

The unique Weather verb il rain has the lexically specified subject yele rain.
Bodily function verbs include verbs like `iytwow vomit`, `iywata sneeze`, `iywena hiccup`, `ratow nod off`, and `ukla awaken`. I would include in this class verbs like `newliiy owna sleep` and `piy lanyə smile`, as well as animal noise verbs like `t-natow bark`.

There are a few intransitive Act verbs, like `larey shoot`. There is also a small number of Event predicates like `lamlakna fall`.

Physical state verbs include `okw be burning`, `raren be alight`, and `reyakw be bald`.

Finally, there are a few verbs that predicate location or existence. These include `akley hang`, `wayrow float`, `pama live together in a place`, `ikiy stay`, and `awkey exist`. Note that `ikiy` is also a physical state verb meaning `be alive`.

Two of the verbs in this class, `awkey` and `ikiy`, are interesting in themselves and I will discuss them further in section 5.8.

Figure 5.2 illustrates the classification of intransitive verbs.

![Figure 5.2](image)

5.4 Classification of transitive verbs

Transitive verbs fall into three main classes according to whether they derive intransitive verbs or not and whether it is the subject or the object of the transitive verb that becomes the subject of the intransitive verb.

Verb Morphology does not reflect these derivations. It is only through the argument structure of the predications the verb participates in that the derivation becomes apparent.

Some transitive verbs do not derive corresponding intransitive verbs at all. A deleted subject or object can only be interpreted as anaphoric or irrelevant. Because these verbs are always transitive, I call them cardinal transitive verbs.

(18) (a)  `rey aye rokra-kay`  
3MS food cook- PF  
he has cooked food

(b)  `aye rokra-kay`  
food cook- PF  
someone has cooked food  
*the food has been cooked
Another class derives intransitive verbs whose subject corresponds to the direct object of the transitive form. This class of verbs bears a formal resemblance to the class of English verbs that Lyons (1968:359-360) calls 'causative' verbs. I am therefore adopting his term for the corresponding class of Awtuw verbs.

On the whole, causative verbs do not permit the deletion of their object.

The third class of transitive verbs derives an intransitive verb whose subject corresponds to the subject of the transitive form. I again follow Lyons's (1968:360-361) terminology in calling verbs in this class 'object deletion' verbs.

Treating these derivational possibilities as features, we can display the basic distinctions among transitive verbs on a tree.
5.4.1 Cardinal transitive verbs

The cardinal transitive verbs fall into four subclasses. First, we can identify those verbs that can co-occur with arguments bearing Locative case marking (cf. 6.5). Most of the cardinal transitive verbs may co-occur with such NPs, but only three take such NPs as arguments. These NPs are identifiable as arguments because they must be interpreted as either a source or a goal. Locative NPs occurring with other cardinal transitive verbs are interpreted as locations.

(21) (a) rey yekne-re âwre- ke di-kay-kay
    3MS axe- 0 house-L FA-put-PF
    he has put the axe into the house

(b) rey yekne-re âwre- ke d- iknar-kay
    3MS axe- 0 house-L FA-break-PF
    he has broken the axe in the house

*he has broken the axe (in)to the house

The three roots in the Directional class are, key (1) put, key (2) remove, and lep pour.

Next, we can isolate the single verb that can co-occur with an argument in the Instrumental case (cf. 6.3) which is interpreted as a source.

(22) (a) wan topor tawkway Nimpiy-tek da-k'- e
    1SG that tobacco Nimpiy-1 FA-get-P
    I got that tobacco from Nimpiy

(b) wan topor tawkway Nimpiy-tek r'- e
    1SG that tobacco Nimpiy-1 consume-P
    I smoked that tobacco with Nimpiy

*I smoked that tobacco from Nimpiy

(c) wan rey yaw-re alme- rek d- iy- i
    1SG 3MS pig-O arrow-I FA-shoot-P
    I shot the pig with an arrow

*I shot the pig from an arrow

The root kg, is, as I said, the unique member of the Source class.

Then we can segregate those verbs that can take a predication as their complement (cf. 10.2). As example (23b) illustrates, while other cardinal transitive verbs may co-occur with similar constructions, they must be interpreted as purpose or result clauses (cf. 10.2.3 and 10.2.6).

(23) (a) wan Yawur w- ay-re-re nenam da-k- lay- ey
    1SG Yawur NF-go-FU-O thought FA-IP-bear-IP
    I think that Yawur will go

(b) wan Yawur w- ay-re-re kil d- alow- o
    1SG Yawur NF-go-FU-O speech FA-speak-P
    I spoke so that Yawur would go

*I spoke that Yawur would go

Table 5.6 lists the Awtuw complement-taking verbs with their glosses, and idiomatic complements.
Table 5.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>IDIOMATIC COMPLEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>upwa</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayna</td>
<td>smell</td>
<td>lay (1) like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay (2)</td>
<td>think</td>
<td>nenane thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awre</td>
<td>away</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arney</td>
<td>forget</td>
<td>mane ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak</td>
<td>remember</td>
<td>nenane in thought</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The balance of the cardinal transitive verbs are all actions with the exception of the one remaining static verb wun love. They do not fall into further subclasses on formal criteria. I list most of them in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alow</td>
<td>speak</td>
<td>kill speech</td>
<td>iryar</td>
<td>pass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilin</td>
<td>pull</td>
<td></td>
<td>iy</td>
<td>shoot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marpanka</td>
<td>lop</td>
<td>taw tree</td>
<td>maryow</td>
<td>awaken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moyna</td>
<td>search</td>
<td></td>
<td>otkolya</td>
<td>kill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak</td>
<td>hold</td>
<td></td>
<td>guye</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nir</td>
<td>track</td>
<td></td>
<td>t-tamkurya</td>
<td>miss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rokra</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td></td>
<td>wun (2)</td>
<td>love</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-tawllil</td>
<td>pick up</td>
<td></td>
<td>iylakna</td>
<td>hang</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weye</td>
<td>follow</td>
<td></td>
<td>nakpat</td>
<td>frighten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>way</td>
<td>carry</td>
<td></td>
<td>new</td>
<td>wait</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yele</td>
<td>stalk</td>
<td></td>
<td>jaw</td>
<td>shave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikner</td>
<td>break</td>
<td></td>
<td>owra</td>
<td>ignite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iprek (1)</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td></td>
<td>ra (1)</td>
<td>consume</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.2 Causative verbs

Causative verbs do not lend themselves to subclassification on formal morpho-
syntactic grounds. Each of them, when transitive, depicts an action with a
more or less clearly defined end point, and typically results in a state.
When intransitive, they depict a situation where the subject undergoes a
process with a definable end point.

Many causative verbs have lexically specified objects, or a very small class of
permissible objects. Table 5.8 lists a number of the verbs in this class,
along with examples of their specified objects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>SPECIFIED OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>okw (2)</td>
<td>sing-sing</td>
<td>riwtow ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-tow (2)</td>
<td>strike</td>
<td>pam slit gong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aden</td>
<td>sew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akia</td>
<td>dig</td>
<td>uy hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alwa (3)</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td>wate seed, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etwa</td>
<td>extinguish</td>
<td>tapwo fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eytra</td>
<td>sweep</td>
<td>e.g. øwre house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il</td>
<td>net</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilya</td>
<td>boil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir</td>
<td>sharpen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irp</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>e.g. øwre house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irpud</td>
<td>roll, fold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laina</td>
<td>paint</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iaw</td>
<td>bake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay (3)</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td>yam child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>logwa</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>øwre house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra (2)</td>
<td>braid</td>
<td>e.g. take ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-ta</td>
<td>plant</td>
<td>wiye garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-tow (3)</td>
<td>lacerate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ud</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uwk</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uy</td>
<td>build</td>
<td>øwre house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wany</td>
<td>scrape</td>
<td>yamo sago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worya</td>
<td>wash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.3 Object deletion verbs

The object deletion verbs comprise a small class and are not susceptible to further subclassification. Table 5.9 lists the six object deletion verbs that have come to my attention (see 5.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ROOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æl (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æyyiri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5 Bitransitive verbs

There are only seven underived bitransitive verbs in Awtuw. These are subject to subclassification on much the same basis as were the transitive verbs. Some of them derive transitive verbs whose direct object is the same as the direct object of the bitransitive clause. Others derive transitive verbs whose direct object is the same as the indirect object of the bitransitive form. One verb does not derive a transitive verb at all. I call these classes indirect object (IO) deletion, object deletion, and cardinal bitransitive verbs, respectively.

5.5.1 One verb, kow give, does not derive an ordinary transitive verb. If either the direct or the indirect object is missing from a clause, it is either recoverable from context or irrelevant.

(24) (a) Yawur yen-e aymen-re kow-re
Yawur 2SG-O give-FU
Yawur will give you the knife

(b) Yawur aymen-re kow-re
Yawur give-FU
Yawur will give someone the knife
*Yawur will give the knife

(c) Yawur yen-e kow-re
Yawur give-FU
Yawur will give you something
*Yawur will give you

5.5.2 Three bitransitive verbs derive transitive verbs whose direct object corresponds to the direct object of the bitransitive verb. These are mak say, tell, yarna ask, and irkey apportion.

(25) (a) Ruwmay Yawur w- æy-re-re wan-e da-mak-e
Ruwmay Yawur 1SG-O FA-tell-P
Ruwmay told me that Yawur would go
Two of these verbs, mak say, tell and yarna ask may take complement clauses, as in example (25) (cf. 10.2.2 and 10.2.5). The second of these may also occur with an ordinary direct object NP in the sense ask about, if the object is human, or ask for, if not. Example (26) illustrates that when there are two human NPs, the clause is systematically ambiguous as to which NP is the direct, and which is the indirect object. But when a single human NP occurs as the object, it is obligatorily interpreted as the direct object unless another direct object is recoverable from context, as exemplified in (26b).

The third verb in this class takes only non-sentential NPs as direct objects.

5.5.3 The object deletion verbs are ikriy name, ira feed, and imalek teach. The last of these takes an imperfective nominal construction as its complement (cf. 10.2.3).

Finally, ira feed, typically takes a direct object that is edible, although mythical characters sometimes give each other inedible substances to eat.

(25) (b) Ruwmay Yawur w- aye-re-re da-mak- e
     Ruwmay Yawur NF-go-FU- O FA-tell-P
     Ruwmay said/told someone that Yawur would go

(c) Ruwmay wan-e de-mak- e
     Ruwmay 1SG-O FA-tell-P
     Ruwmay told me something

(26) (a) Ruwmay Yawur-re wan-e di-yarn'-e
     Ruwmay Yawur-O 1SG-O FA-ask- P
     Ruwmay asked me about Yawur/Yawur about me

(b) Ruwmay Yawur-re di-yarn'-e
     Ruwmay Yawur-O FA-ask- P
     Ruwmay asked about Yawur
     Ruwmay asked Yawur for it/about him/her

(c) Ruwmay tawkway-re wan-e di-yarn'-e
     Ruwmay tobacco-O 1SG-O FA-ask- P
     Ruwmay asked me for the tobacco

(27) rom aye (nam-o) w- irkay- re
     3PL food IPL-O NF-apportion-FU
     they'll apportion the food (to us)

(28) tey wan-e (yilmat da-k- nak- ey-re) w- imalek-re
     3FS 1SG-O string FA-IP-hold-IP-O NF-teach- FU
     she'll teach me (to make string figures)

(29) raw riwtale yan- re (Kampo(ñ-re) d- ikriy-e
     3DU couple child-O (Kampo- O) FA-name- P
     the couple named the child (Kampo)

Finally, ira feed, typically takes a direct object that is edible, although mythical characters sometimes give each other inedible substances to eat.

(30) (rey yamo(-re)) nemet tey-ke yan- re di-k- ir- iy
     3MS sago- O mother 3FS-PS child-O FA-IP-feed-IP
     the mother is feeding her child (the sago)
5.6 Classification of verbs

We can now represent the structure of the classification of all verbs as a tree.

![Verb Classification Tree]

Figure 5.4

5.7 Benefactive verbs

The Benefactive marker -kow-, transparently derived from the root kow give (cf. 3.7, 4.12, and 10.1), has the property of increasing the number of objects a verb may co-occur with by one. An intransitive verb so marked would be able to co-occur with one object, a transitive verb with two, and a bitransitive verb with three. As in English and many other languages, the Benefactive NP may refer to an entity on whose behalf or for whose benefit the action is performed.

(31) tapwo an-e da-k- okwo-kow-ey
    fire 2DU-O FA-IP-burn-BEN-IP
    the fire is burning for you two (for your benefit)

(32) Wawpey yen-e yaw da-ka- kow-o
    Wawpey 2SG-O pig FA-get-BEN-P
    Wawpey got a pig for you (behalf/benefit)

(33) Kukrown yen-e yilmut da-k- nak- ey-re w- iymaley-re
    Kukrown 2SG-O 1SG-O string FA-IP-hold-IP-O NF-teach- FU
    Kukrown will teach you to make string figures for me
5.8 Idiomatic composite constructions

A small number of Awtuw verb roots occur in idiomatic composite constructions with an obligatory, lexically specified noun which may not accept object marking. Some roots only occur in such constructions, others occur in other constructions in different meanings. As I mentioned earlier, this class of verbs intersects the categories of transitivity. Most of the verbs in this class depict intransitive bodily processes. Often the complementary noun resembles an 'internal accusative' in that its meaning does not contribute to the meaning of the composite because the verb root alone conveys the whole meaning and there is no apparent derivational relationship between the noun and the verb.

(34) tey ewkit(*-re) de-k- owk- ey
    3PS cough- 0 FA-IP-cough-IP
    is she coughing?/does she have a cough?

The complementary noun in these composite constructions is restricted in the modification it may accept. Only an Intensifier may co-occur with it.

(35) (a) Awkay mokol(*-re) (yapor) de-wun- a
    Awkay laugh- 0 very FA-love-P
    Awkay laughed (a great laugh)/(really laughed)

(b) Awkay (*dani) mok l (*waruke) (*urunk) de-wun- a
    Awkay other laugh big three FA-love-P
    Awkay laughed (*another/*a big/*three laugh(s))

One of the verbs in this class iy excrete, conditions one of two complementary nouns — riy faeces and naw urine.

(36) wan riy/ naw(*-re) pe- mæ-'w- ney
    1SG faeces/urine-O HRT-go-excrete-first
    let me go shit/piss first!

Table 5.10 presents a full list of the bodily process verbs that fall into this class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iw</td>
<td>excrete</td>
<td>riy faeces, naw urine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iywa</td>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>yiw water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>layga</td>
<td>smile</td>
<td>piy point, tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awka</td>
<td>cough</td>
<td>ewkit cough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pud (hug)</td>
<td>blink</td>
<td>new eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wun (love)</td>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>mokel laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td>now tear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the other verbs that participates in an idiomatic composite construction is an intransitive verb.

(37) karpen ram(*-re) d- omw- ka
    basket full? 0 FA-full-PF
    the basket is full
The complementary noun, ram, that co-occurs with mw full does not occur in any other context, which makes it difficult to gloss.

Three members of the class, away lay like, want, mane (ear) arney forget, and nenam-e nak (hold in thought) remember, are cognition verbs and may take nominal objects or complement constructions (cf. 10.2).

(38) (a) yen tader yamo(-re) away(<-re) da-k- lay- ey
   2SG this sago O like? O FA-IP-bear-IP
do you like this sago?
   (b) rey tawkway da-k- ra- y- re away(<-re) lay- ka
   3MS tobacco FA-IP-consume-IP-O like? O bear-PF
   he likes to smoke

(39) wan yen-e/w- ay-re-re mane(<-re) d- arney- kay
   1SG 2SG-O/NF-go-IP-O ear- O FA-forget-PF
   I've forgotten you/to go

The third of these is unlike any of the others in the class in requiring its complement to bear Locative marking.—nenam thought-L.

(40) wan yen-e/w- ay-re-re nenam- e nak- okay
   1SG 2SG-O/NF-go-IP-O thought-L hold-PF
   I remember you/to go

A fourth cognition verb, nenam say (bear thought) think, may take complements only.

(41) rey d- ay-ka-re wan nenam lay- e
   3MS FA-go-IP-O 1SG thought bear-P
   I thought he had gone

5.9 Existence and possession

The most ubiquitous state verb is the irregular verb awkey, whose morphological peculiarities are described in 4.14. When awkey acts as an intransitive verb, what it predicates is the existence of a non-human entity in a place.

(42) wanklow awre- ke d- awkey
    turtle house-L FA-exist
    the turtle is in the house

(43) yaw d- awkey tade
    pig FA-exist here
    here is some pig

(44) rey kelaklow yankeyke d- awkey-e
    3MS bell small FA-exist-P
    the little bell was [still] around

Examples (42) and (43), which are quoted from narratives, illustrate that the category awkey is sensitive to is humanness and not animacy, because the pig in (42) is dead, but the turtle in (43) is alive. Under certain circumstances — when a non-human NP refers metaphorically to a human — the subject of awkey may be human.
wan-e piyren-yan  rey  wan-owkey  
1SG-O dog-child there DB-exist  
the puppy has to stay there for me

Here piyren-yan is a metaphor for a promised bride.

More commonly, posture verbs absorb the functions of awkey for human subjects. In other words, in expressing the location of a human being, the additional category of posture is obligatory.

Yawmen  aعر- ke da-k- owna-y  
Yawmen house-L FA-IP-lie-P  
Yawmen is lying down in the house

Takiy  taw- wey-e di-k- iwrek-ey  
Takiy tree-base-L FA-IP-stand-IP  
Takiy is standing at the base of the tree

modak Altiy  di-k- ik- iy rey  
now  Altiy FA-IP-sit-IP there  
Altiy is sitting there now

There is one verb that constitutes an exception to the general rule stated above, unless we construe the category of posture very broadly. This is ilikiy live in a place, stay.

modak Wutpey  d- ilikiy ade  
now  Wutpey FA-live here  
now Wutpey lives here

Wawpey ka-d- ay-ka, rey d- ilikiy te  
Wawpey NG-FA-go-PF 3MS FA-stay here  
Wawpey hasn't gone, he's staying here

Finally, the root pama live together occurs with plural subjects only.

rey lape- ke yam- wom-wo da-pama-kay-e  
3MS village-L child-PL-only FA-live-PF-P  
only children had lived in the village

From the meaning of awkey illustrated above, i.e. the existence of a non-human entity in a place, one would expect it to participate in a possessive construction with the human possessor in the Object case. And this does, indeed, happen.

wan-e tawkway d- awkey  
1SG-O tobacco FA-exist  
I have (some) tobacco

But this is not the usual possessive construction. It is far more common to find awkey acting precisely as if it meant have, with the possessor unmarked for case. Where awkey displays number agreement, as it usually does not, it agrees in number with the possessor.

wan tawkway d- awkey  
1SG tobacco FA-exist/have  
I have (some) tobacco
(54) nom ay d- awkey/d- awke-m
    1PL betelnut FA-have/ FA-have-PL
    we have (some) betelnut

(55) rey yekne urunk d- awkey/*d- awke-m
    3MS axe three FA-have/ FA-have-PL
    he has three axes

In such constructions, the possessed NP never has object marking. But one would
not expect object marking on an indefinite low-empathy object in a clause with a
high-empathy subject (cf. 6.1 and 6.2). Possession of a definite NP is expressed
in a verbless predication with a possessive NP acting as the predicate of a
definite subject referring to the possession (cf. 8.3.2).

(56) (a) wan-ke piyren d- awkey
    1SG-PS dog FA-exist
    I have a dog

(b) rey piyren wan-wan-ke
    3MS dog 1SG-1SG-PS
    the dog is mine
Case marking in Awtuw distinguishes two classes of substantives. Personal pronouns and nouns marked for number may take possessive, but not locative marking (see 3.6.2). Nouns unmarked for number, Demonstratives, Quantifiers, Obliviatives, and Interrogatives may take locative marking but not possessive marking. A third person personal pronoun must follow such substantives and bear possessive marking for them (see 7.6). The pronoun agrees with the possessor in number and if singular, optionally in gender.

This section considers primarily the functions of the case markers, which I list here, for convenience, together with their allomorphs. Further discussion of the morphophonological alternations affecting these suffixes is to be found in section 2.2.10, and there is a discussion of the formal properties of nouns and pronouns in sections 3.5 and 3.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object (O)</td>
<td>-re/-te/-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental (I)</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive (P)</td>
<td>-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative (L)</td>
<td>-e/-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative (V)</td>
<td>-wo/-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This analysis assumes that functions are to be assigned to forms — the formal case markers delimit the cases and each case has one or more syntactic or semantic functions.

Whitehead (1981) has developed a typology for case marking in Papuan languages based on the distribution of case markers in nouns and pronouns and their functions in marking Agents (=transitive subjects = A (Dixon 1979)), Actors (= S), Patients (= O), Recipients and Benefactives. Awtuw's case marking system, for both full NPs and pronouns, as well as its pronoun marking, falls into his class IIb, which includes those languages, 19 per cent of his sample of 35, that have zero marking on As and Ss and a case marker on Os. Like 13 per cent of the sample, Awtuw marks Benefactives, Recipients, and Patients in the same way (see Feldman and Seiler 1983).

6.1 Unmarked case

The Subject of the clause, as identified above in section 5.1, is always unmarked.

(1)  
\begin{align*} 
  \text{rey d- ey- e} \\
  \text{3SG FA-come-P} \\
  \text{he came} 
\end{align*}
Predicate NPs are also unmarked.

(3) Miytiy yene tukre rame, rey wokak rame yapor
Miytiy NEG short man 3MS tall man very
Miytiy isn't a short man, he's a very tall man

As we saw in Chapter 5, any Object, including the recipient of a ditransitive verb or the beneficiary of a verb with benefactive marking, may accept Object marking. This section will examine under what circumstances Object marking is obligatory, and under what circumstances it is optional.

In order to describe the relative tendencies of NPs to bear Object marking, we must first develop an Empathy hierarchy. NPs conforming to the types to the left are higher in empathy than those to the right. Object NPs of the highest empathy always take Object marking. Those of the lowest empathy rarely take Object marking, and those in between have a greater or lesser propensity to take it. This depends particularly upon whether or not the object NP is definite, and the relative empathy of the object and the subject. The conditions under which object NPs take Object marking are discussed in detail in section 6.2.

\[
\text{[PRO]} > \text{[PrN]} > [\text{+HUMAN}] > [\text{+ANIMATE}] > [\text{-ANIMATE}]
\]

Figure 6.1

The Object of a clause is optionally marked when it is lower in empathy than the Subject (cf. 6.2). Consequently, low-empathy Common noun Objects are frequently unmarked.

(4) yaw rom d- ir- m- e
pig 3PL FA-chase-PL-P
they hunted pig

(5) Waypawiy kelaklow da-ka- a
Waypawiy bell FA-get-P
Waypawiy got a bell

6.2 Object case

The Object suffix (0) has two forms:

On Nouns unmarked for number, including personal and place names, on demonstratives, on interrogatives, and on forms of the verb, it appears as -re[-FEMALE]/-tel+[FEMALE]. The [+FEMALE] form occurs optionally where the referent is female, the [-FEMALE] form elsewhere. (See 2.2.10 for a discussion of the factors conditioning the quality of the suffix vowel.)

(6) (a) yaw-re
pig-o
(b) opor-re
that-o
(c) Peyaw-re
Peyaw-o
(6) (d) **Nap eyre-te**
    **Nap eyre-O(F)**

(e) **tey dow-k- l- ey-re rame**
    3SP FA-IP-angry-IP-O man
    she was an irritable person

On personal pronouns, nouns marked as [+DUAL] -wrew or [+PLURAL] -wom, and nouns or adjectives marked as [+GENERIC] -yanim, the form is -e/-i/-o/-ə, again determined by morphophonemic considerations.

(7) (a) **nan-e**
    1DU-O
    us two

(b) **am- o**
    2PL-O
    you

(c) **Witit yanim-i**
    Witit-GEN- O
    Witit people

(d) **Mowke-wrew-i**
    Mowke-DU- O
    Mowke and someone

(e) **yan- wom-o**
    child-PL- O
    children

All Object NPs consisting of a Pronoun of any type, Demonstrative, Interrogative, Obliviative, or Personal, take Object marking obligatorily. Example (8b) illustrates that the obligatory interpretation of an unmarked pronoun is as the Subject.

(8) (a) **rey yapor an- e/ram-o/tader-re/yeran-re du-puy-e**
    3MS man 2DU-O/3PL-O/this- O who?- O FA-hit-P
    the man hit you two/them/this one/who?

(b) **rey yapor an/ rom/tader/yeran du-puy-e**
    3MS man 2DU/3PL/this/ who? FA-hit-P
    you two/they/this one/who? hit the man
    cf. *the man hit you two/them/this one/who?*

A clause with two unmarked pronouns is ungrammatical, as in (9b).

(9) (a) **wan rey-e du-k- puy-ey**
    1SG 3MS-O FA-IP-hit-IP
    I'm hitting him

(b) **wan rey du-k- puy-ey**
    1SG 3MS FA-IP-hit-IP
    *I'm hitting him/*he's hitting me

All Object NPs that include a Personal Name also take obligatory Object marking. An unmarked Personal Name can only be interpreted as the Subject.

(10) (a) **rey piyren Kampo-re d- æl- i**
    3MS dog Kampo-O FA-bite-P
    the dog bit kampo
(10) (b)  rey piyren Kampo d- ál- i
    3MS dog    Kampo FA-bite-P
Kampo bit the dog
cf. *the dog bit Kampo

Two unmarked Personal Names in a clause can only be interpreted as conjoined Subject NPs.

(11) (a) Yowmen-re Yawur du-k- puy-ey
    Yowmen-O Yawur FA-IP-hit-IP
Yawur is hitting Yowmen

(b) Yowmen Yawur du-k- puy-ey
    Yowmen Yawur FA-IP-hit-IP
Yowmen and Yawur are hitting [someone]
Yowmen and Yawur hit [customarily]
cf. *Yawur is hitting Yowmen/*Yowmen is hitting Yawur

When the Object is equal to or higher than the Subject in empathy, it must take the Object suffix (cf. examples (8) and (10)). When two unmarked NPs co-occur in a clause, the one that is higher on the empathy hierarchy is again obligatorily interpreted as the Subject.

(12) (a) tey tale- re yaw d- ál- i
    3FS woman-O pig FA-bite-P
the pig bit the woman

(b) tey tale yaw(-re) d- ál- i
    3FS woman pig-O FA-bite-P
the woman bit the pig
cf. *the pig bit the woman

When two unmarked NPs equal in empathy co-occur in a clause, they are interpreted as conjoined Subjects.

(13) (a) piyren-re yaw di-k- ál- iy
    dog-  O pig FA-IP-bite-IP
the pig is biting the dog

(b) piyren yaw di-k- ál- iy
    dog pig FA-IP-bite-IP
the dog and the pig bite
cf. *the dog is biting the pig/*the pig is biting the dog

Common Noun Objects whose referents are either human or definite tend to bear case marking.

(14) (a) wawey nam-o yaw ma-kow- ka... nayer yaw-re da-kay-e
    MB 1PL-O pig GO-give-PF  father pig-O FA-put-P
Uncle has given us a pig... Father put the pig away

(b) lamu- r lamu- t-te da-k- ø
    Y/S15M Y/SB-F-O FA-get-P
the younger brother took the younger sister

When an Object is overtly marked as definite by a demonstrative, a personal pronoun, or a possessive in the Determiner slot (cf. 7.3), it is especially likely to bear case marking, even if the intrinsic empathy of the noun is low.
(15) nemet rey tapwo-uyk- re d- ayn- e  
    mother 3MS fire- small-o FA-smell-P  
    [his] mother smelled the odour of fire

But if the Subject is higher on the empathy hierarchy than the Object and the 
Object is a common noun, Object marking is optional even where the referent of 
the NP is both human and overtly definite.

(16) yen topor tale yikiyar yipke do-k- e  
    2SG this woman two  where FA-get-P  
    where did you get those two women?

In bitransitive clauses, the Indirect Object takes Object marking obligatorily. 
Indirect Objects are almost invariably Pronouns or Personal Names. But Common 
noun Indirect Objects do not have the same freedom to occur unmarked as do 
Direct Objects and it was for this reason that I recognised the category in 5.1.

It follows that pronominal Indirect Objects will invariably take Object marking.

(17) Nam-o yaw ma-kow- ka rey  
    1PL-O pig GO-give-PF 3MS  
    he has come and given us some pig

Similarly, Indirect Objects that are Personal Names always bear Object marking.

(18) Kampo-re wan tawkway do-kow- o  
    Kampo-O 1SG tobacco FA-give-P  
    I gave Kampo tobacco

What makes it necessary to recognise Indirect Objects as a category is that 
they must be marked even when they are Common Nouns.

(19) yan- wom-o rom yaw-re do-kow- o  
    child-PL- O 3PL pig-O FA-give-P  
    they gave the pig to the/some children

Indeed, the Indirect Object must be marked even if it is lower in empathy than 
the Direct Object.

As example (20a) illustrates, both the Direct and the Indirect Object may bear 
Object marking.

(20) (a) yapor-re wan Kampil- te do-kow- o  
        man- O 1SG Kaempiy-O FA-give-P  
        I gave Kaempiy to a man

(b) ?rey yapor wan Kampil- te do-kow- o  
        3MS man 1SG Kaempiy-O FA-give-P  
        ?I gave the man to Kaempiy

Included in the category of Indirect Objects are both the Recipient NP that 
co-occurs with a bitransitive verb and the Benefactive NP that co-occurs with 
a verb marked as Benefactive with kow.

(21) Meytow-re Kapol- tale- re d- irka-kow- o  
    Meytow-O Parisko-woman-O FA-get- give-P  
    he bought a Parisko woman for Meytow

In those rare situations where a bitransitive verb bears the Benefactive 
suffix, all three Object NPs may be marked. The verb kow give may not bear 
the homophonous Benefactive suffix.
This suffix also occurs optionally on the verb of a subordinate clause, including relative clauses, complements, and, oddly, subject complements (cf. 10.2.4).

The Instrumental suffix -k is always attached to a form with the Object suffix as mentioned below in section 6.4.

6.3 Possessive

The Possessive suffix (P) -ke/-kə occurs only on the same set of substantives as does the vowel-initial allomorph of the Object suffix, i.e. pronouns and nouns with number marking.

The Possessive suffix marks NPs bearing a range of semantic relations, such as:

1. Alienable possession, i.e. possession of animals, land, things, etc.

2. Inalienable possession, i.e. possession of body parts or kin.

3. The place of origin.

(22) wan Yawur-re Awti-y-re tawkay(-re) di-yænə-kow-o
    1SG Yawur-O Awtiy-O tobacco- O FA-ask- BEN-P
    I asked Yawur for tobacco for Awtiy/
    I asked Awtiy for tobacco for Yawur

(23) rey Yownmen-re d-upw-o rey-ke øye de-k- ra-γ- re
    3SG Yownmen-O FA-see-P 3SG-PS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O
    he saw Yownmen eating

(24) (a) rom-ke
    3PL-P
    their

    (b) Yawur-waw-ke
    Yawur-DU- P
    Yawur and someone’s

    (c) Kamlaxk-yənim-ke
    Kamnum- GEN- P
    the Kamnum people’s

(25) (a) Karowpe-yənim-ke niw
    Karoupe-GEN- P ground
    the Karoupes’ land

    (b) wan-ke pływ-ren-yən
    1SG-P dog- child
    my puppy

(26) (a) wan-ke maklaxe
    1SG-P head
    my head

    (b) Mowke-waw-ke nemet
    Mowke-DU- P mother
    the mother of Mowke and someone (i.e. his brother)

(27) (a) wîye rey-ke mæn
    garden 3MS-P tulip
    tulip from the garden
(27) (b) maw rey-ke yiyay
bush 3MS-P game
game from the bush

(c) Taupil rey-ke rame
Talbipí 3MS-P man
man from Talbipí

(4) The subject of a nominalised verb also may occur with possessive marking (cf. 10.2-3).

6.4 Instrumental/Comitative

The Instrumental/Comitative (I) marker -k is always attached to a form with Object marking. The form of this suffix does not vary.

(28) (a) Kewmey- ra-k
Kewmaey-O- I
with Kewmaey

(b) yekne-re-k
axe- O- I
with an axe

(c) wan-e-k
1SG-O-I
with me

(d) Mokael- te-k
Mokael-O- I
with Mokael

(1) This suffix marks all Instruments.

(29) rey taw yekne-re-k d- ukw- o
3SG tree axe- O- I FA-fell-P
he fell the tree with an axe

(2) It also marks all Comitatives. Section 4.9 contains a discussion of the effects of comitative NPs on number marking on the verb.

(30) Yawepiy-re-k aye do-k- ra- y- e
Yawepiy-O-I food FA-IP-eat-IP-P
he used to eat food with Yawepiy

(3) The personal source of getting with the verb ka get bears the Instrumental/Comitative suffix (cf. 5.6).

(31) Siyipik-yanim-e-k tapwo da-k'- e
Sepik- GEN- O-I fire FA-get-P
[we] got fire from the people of the Sepik

(4) Finally, the verb in temporal clauses is marked as Instrumental/Comitative (cf. 10.3).

(32) rey d- ey- e nom aye do-k- ra- taw- ey-wa- re-k
3SG FA-come-P we food FA-IP-eat-start-IP-just-O- I
he came just as we were starting to eat
6.5 Location/Direction

The Location/Direction suffix (L), has the form -ke/-ko/-ke after vowels and -e/-o/-o after consonants. The vowel quality of the suffix is determined by a vowel harmony rule described in 2.2.10. It occurs on NPs referring to places, including Demonstratives, but never on personal pronouns. It may occur on an adjective or an intensifier if it is the last word in such a noun phrase, as in (33d) and (33e).

(33) (a) Kamlakw-o
   Kamnum-  L

(b) Witit-i
   Witit-L

(c) wāré- ke
   house-L

(d) wiyałape yapo-ke
   river very-L
   to/from/at a real big river

(e) kapem waruke-ke
   pond big-  L
   to/from/at a big pond

The Location/Direction suffix marks the source or the goal of motion, if it is a place, i.e. a place name, a direction, or denotes some physical locality, e.g. a house, a road, a river, a part of a house or a tree, etc. It also marks the location of a state, process, or action, again provided that the NP refers to a place. The meaning of the associated verb determines the interpretation of Locative NP as either location or direction, and if direction, whether from or to. Thus, unless the clause contains a Direction verb, the Locative NP will refer to a location. If the clause contains the verb ay go, one of the other Goal verbs (cf. 5.2) or a serialisation with ay, then the Locative NP will refer to a goal. And if the clause contains the verb eya come, one of the other Source verbs (cf. 5.2), or a serialisation ending in eya, then the Locative will be a source. There are a number of 'location' nouns that commonly compound with other nouns to make the reference of the Locative more explicit (cf. 3.7.2). The following list includes all such nouns that have come to my attention.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>or</th>
<th>top</th>
<th>or-e</th>
<th>above, on top of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diyake</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>diyake-ke</td>
<td>under, beneath, below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇake</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>ṇake-ke</td>
<td>far under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tseytay</td>
<td>near</td>
<td>tseytay-e</td>
<td>near (touching)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teywake</td>
<td>near</td>
<td>teywake-ke</td>
<td>near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lukw</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>lukw-o</td>
<td>inside, between, among</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niw</td>
<td>ground</td>
<td>niw-e</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurne</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>wurne-ke</td>
<td>in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yekmak</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>yekmak-e</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amole</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>amole-ke</td>
<td>beside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yil</td>
<td>edge</td>
<td>yil-e</td>
<td>alongside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepiyw</td>
<td>side (house)</td>
<td>tepiyw-e</td>
<td>next to a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talten</td>
<td>end (house)</td>
<td>talten-e</td>
<td>in front/back of a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodank</td>
<td>corner (house)</td>
<td>kodank-e</td>
<td>at corner of a house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(34) (a) ãwr' + or
   house + top
   roof

(b) ãwre rey-k' or (-e)
   house 3MS-PS top-L
   (on) top of a house

(c) ãwr' + or - e
   house + top -L
   on top of a house/on a roof

(35) piyren yikiyr ãwre+ diyake-ke da-k- owna- y
    dog two house+under-L FA-IP-sleep-IP
    two dogs are sleeping under the house

Locative NPs are almost exclusively adverbial in nature. Awtuw speakers will occasionally accept a Locative NP as a nominal modifier, but with noticeable reluctance. Such constructions are therefore clearly not felicitous, and almost certainly not grammatical.

(36) (a) *rey tiwle- ke taw
   3MS mountain-L tree
   *the tree on the mountain

(b) *rey taw tiwle- ke
   3MS tree mountain-L
   *the tree on the mountain

A restrictive relative clause, as in (37a), or a non-restrictive relative clause, as in (37b), are the only structures available to express such notions.

(37) (a) rey tiwle- ke di-k- iwrek-ey-re taw
   3MS mountain-L FA-IP-stand-IP-O tree
   the tree that is standing on the mountain

(b) rey taw, tiwle- ke di-k- iwrek-ey
   3MS tree mountain-L FA-IP-stand-IP
   the tree, which is standing on the mountain

6.6 Vocative

The Vocative suffix (V) occurs only when the speaker wishes to attract the attention of the addressee (cf. 12.3). It does not mark nouns in the course of conversation. The only nouns that accept this suffix are personal names and kinship terms that bear no number marking.

(38) ḡaye- wo, yen ker-eya
    father-V 2SG IMP-come
    Daddy, come here!

(39) Yowmen-a, yen tawkway kan-ka ker-eya
    Yowmen-V 2SG tobacco IMP-get IMP-come
    Yowmen, bring some tobacco!
Awtuw word order is, on the whole, very free. Where the constraints are most rigid is within the Noun Phrase. This chapter describes the constituents of the NP, their possibilities of co-occurrence, their order, and the permissible permutations of canonical order.

7.1 Schematic of NP structure

We can begin with a simple presentation of a few rules that describe the structure of the Awtuw NP. These expansion rules do not represent a commitment to generative theory, but rather a convenient schematic representation of the basic structure of the Awtuw NP.

1. \( NP \rightarrow NP\ (NP^*)\ ) (CASE MARKER)
2. \( NP \rightarrow (DETERMINER)\ (NOM^*)\ (QUANTIFIER)\)
3. \( DET \rightarrow \{\begin{array}{l} KINSHIP\ TERMINER \\
QUANTIFIER \\
POSSESSIVE\ NP \\
PRONOUN \end{array}\)
4. \( POS \rightarrow \{\begin{array}{l} (NP)\ PERSONAL\ PRONOUN \\
N-NUMBER\ MARKER \\
A-\text{yanim} \end{array}\) -ke
5. \( NOM \rightarrow \{\begin{array}{l} (S)\ (CN\ (NM)\ (AP)) \\
A-\text{yanim} \\
PrN\ (\text{yanim}) \\
PrN\ (NM) \end{array}\)
6. \( AP \rightarrow (ADJECTIVE)\ (INTENSIFIER)\)

I will defer discussion of rule 1 and begin with the expansion of the simple NP. As I mentioned, there are a number of constraints on the co-occurrence of various constituents within the NP, and I will describe these as they become relevant in the course of the ensuing discussion.

7.2 The minimal NP

In Chapter 3 we saw that a large and internally complex class of lexemes, which we denominated Substantives, can be identified by precisely this criterion—
ability to occur as the unique constituent of an NP. This class includes all Nouns - Common nouns, Kinship terms, Personal Names, and Place Names - and all Pronouns - Personal Pronouns, Demonstrative Pronouns, Interrogative Pronouns, and Obliviative Pronouns.

We can begin by illustrating simple NPs and examine the more complicated structures later. Rule 2 stipulates than an NP may consist of either a Determiner, a Quantifier, or a constituent I have designated Nominal.

7.2.1 Example (1) illustrates Quantifiers in the role of sole constituent of an NP.

(1) (a) kokot d- ay-ka
    all RL-go-PF
everyone has gone

(b) yikiyr ma-wey-e
    two arrive-P
two arrived

7.7.7 Next we can look at the expansion of the Determiner as the sole constituent of the NP. At this point it is relevant to mention that there is a constraint that prevents a Kinterm from occurring as the Determiner of any NP that does not have a Personal name in the Nominal constituent. Furthermore, since an NP with a Quantifier as the sole constituent in the Determiner slot is indistinguishable from one with a Quantifier as the sole constituent in the Quantifier slot, examples (2) and (3) illustrate only Pronouns and Possessives as expansions of the Determiner.

(2) (a) yen-ke waruke
    2SG-PS big
    yours is big

(b) rey wokak rame rey-ke waruke
    3MS tall man 3MS-PS big
    the tall man's is big

(3) (a) yen waruke
    2SG big
    you're big

(b) tader waruke
    this big
    this one's big

(c) yeran waruke?
    who? big
    who's big?

(d) meneray waruke
    OBLIV big
    whatchamacallit is big
Examples (2) and (3) display the following structures:

```
[2]  NP
     |   DET
     |   POS
     |   PPR
     yen -ke

[3]  NP
     |   DET
     |   PRO
     yen
```

7.2.3 We can now turn to the expansions of the NOM given in rule 5. To begin with, the NOM may consist of an Adjective marked with the Generic suffix -yënım. Bare adjectives may not occur as the only constituent of NOM, as was pointed out in 3.3.

(4) (a) wokak- yënım
tall- GEN
tall people
(b) yitam- yënım
generouš-GEN
generouš people

Next, the NOM may expand to a Place name, as shown in example (5).

(5) Täypil waruke
Talbipi big
Talbipi is big

A Place name may carry the Generic suffix.

(6) Worke- yënım d- æy-ka
Seitinim-GEN RL-go-PF
the people from Seitinim have gone

A Personal name, with or without number marking, can also fill the NOM slot.

(7) (a) Awkay d- æy-e
Awkay RL-go-P
Awkay went
(b) Altiy-wom d- æy-m- e
Altiy-PL RL-go-PL-P
Altiy-mob went

The NOM can also expand to S (cf. 10.2), which may be any clause, although there are constraints on its complexity. Example (8) illustrates this structure.

(8) (a) tey wan-e [Yawur d- æy-ka-re] da-mak-a
3FS 1SG-O Yawur RL-go-PF-O RL-say-P
she told me that Yawur had gone
(b) yen rom-o [w- æy-re-re] de-yërna-ka
2SG 3PL-O RL-go-FU-O RL-ask-PF
have you asked them to go?
It can also expand to a Common noun, with or without number marking or an Adjective phrase, as illustrated in example (9).

(9) (a) tiyl waruke
stone big
the stone is big
(b) tiyl- yəmim waruke
stone-GEN big
the stones are big
(c) tiyl tipraykwo waruke
stone black big
the black stone is big
(d) tiyl- yəmim tipraykwo waruke
stone-GEN black big
the black stones are big
(e) tale waruke
woman big
the woman is big
(f) tale- m waruke
woman-PL big
the women are big
(g) tale medaye waruke
woman good big
the good woman is big
(h) tale- m medaye waruke
woman-PL good big
the good women are big

The structures exemplified in (9a-h) are displayed in [9].

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[9] [a/e]NP [b/f]NP [c/g]NP [d/h]NP \\
\text{NOM} & \text{NOM} & \text{NOM} & \text{NOM} \\
\text{CN} & \text{CN} & \text{NM} & \text{AP} \\
tale & tale- m & tale medaye & tale- m medaye \\
\end{array}
\]

7.2.4 Finally, NOM may expand to an S and any of the structures involving a Common noun displayed above

(10) d- ay-ka-m- re tale- m medaye waruke
RL-go-PF-PL-O woman-PL good big
the good women who have gone are big

Example [10] displays the structure of the NOM in (10).
While I exemplify the functions of an S in the structure of the NP in this chapter, as in examples (8) and (10), I defer detailed discussion of such Ss to 10.2.7.

7.3 Constraints on the Determiner

As Rule 3 shows, there are four potential candidates for inclusion in the Determiner slot, a Kinship term, a Quantifier, a Pronoun, and a Possessive NP.

7.3.1 As I mentioned above, there is a constraint pertaining to Kinship terms — if a Kinship term occurs as the Determiner, then there must be an unmodified Personal Name in the Nominal slot. The members of the class of Kinship terms are isolated formally in 3.3 and listed exhaustively, with some discussion, in 11.1. Example (11) illustrates this constraint and [11] displays the structure of (11a).

(11) (a) eywe Wiltiw
ancestor Wiltiw
Grandpa Wiltiw

(b) eywe Kamnwn
*ancestor man
*ancestor man

While example (12a) might be interpreted as a case of a Kinship term determining a Quantifier as displayed in [12a1], (12b) illustrates that [12a2] is a more plausible analysis.

(12) (a) eywe yikiyr
ancestor two
two grandparents
7.3.2 There are four formally distinguishable classes of Pronouns, any of
which may occur as the Determiner of an NP. Any pronoun may determine any
Quantifier or a Nominal that expands to one of the following.
a. (S) (CN(NM)(AP))
b. PLN -yənim
  c. A -yənim
Example (13) illustrates each class of pronoun determining a Quantifier.
(13) (a) rəm koŋok
  3PL all
  all them
(b) tədũ-m orkwewnaywo
  this-PL four
  these four
(c) yeran yikiyr?
  who? two
  who two?
(d) meneɾey urunok
  OBL three
  what's their three names
Example (14) illustrates each class of pronoun determining a Nominal expanded
as S CN NM AP.
(14) (a) rəm d- əy-ka-m- re yən- wom waruке
  3PL RL-go-PF-PL-O child-PL big
  the big kids who have gone
(b) topo-m d- əy-ka-m- re yən- wom waruке
  that-PL RL-go-PF-PL-O child-PL big
  those big kids who have gone
(c) yeran d- əy-ka-m- re yən- wom waruке?
  who? RL-go-PF-PL-O child-PL big
  which big kids who have gone
(d) meneɾey d- əy-ka-m- re yən- wom waruке
  OBL RL-go-PF-PL-O child-PL big
  what's their face big kids who have gone
Example (15) illustrates each class of pronoun determining a Nominal expanded as PlN-yanim.

(15) (a) rom Meley-yanim
3PL Meley-GEN
the people from Meley

(b) tadu-m Meley-yanim
this-PL Meley-GEN
these people from Meley

(c) yeran Meley-yanim?
who? Meley-GEN
which people from Meley?

(d) menerey Meley-yanim
OBL Meley-GEN
what's their faces from Meley

Example (16) illustrates each class of pronoun determining a Nominal expanded as A-yanim.

(16) (a) rom wokak-yanim
3PL tall- GEN
the tall

(b) tadu-m wokak-yanim
this-PL tall- GEN
these tall people

(c) yeran wokak-yanim?
who? tall- GEN
which tall people?

(d) menerey wokak-yanim
OBL tall- GEN
what's their face tall people

Two classes of Pronoun are more restricted in their ability to determine Nominals. Interrogative and Obliviative pronouns may not determine either Place Names or Personal Names. For our purposes, number marking on Personal Names is irrelevant.

(17) (a) *yeran/*menerey Yawur
who? OBLIV Yawur
*who/*what's-his-name Yawur

(b) *yakum/*menerey Wutlakw
what? OBLIV
*what/*whatchamaacallit Gutaiye

Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns may determine Personal names and Place names without number marking, as shown in example (18).

(18) (a) rey/tader Awtiy
3MS/this Awtiy
(this) Awtiy

(b) rom/tadu-m Wutlakw
3PL/this-PL Gutaiye
the/these people from Gutaiye
Personal Pronouns and Demonstrative Pronouns, which are freer to determine a variety of Nominal structures, bear number marking. The Demonstratives exhibit a plural/non-plural distinction and may agree with their referent in number. If the referent of the Nominal is singular or dual, the Demonstrative must be unmarked for number, and if the referent of the nominal is plural, the Demonstrative may bear plural marking.

The Personal Pronouns make an obligatory three-way distinction in number. A plural Nominal conditions a plural Personal pronoun in its Determiner, a dual Nominal, a dual Determiner, and a singular Nominal, a singular Determiner.

Furthermore, non-plural Demonstratives, third person singular Personal Pronouns, and the Obliviatives exhibit a Female/non-Female distinction. If the referent of the Nominal is either animate and male, or inanimate, then the Determiner must be in the non-Female form. But if the referent of the Nominal is female, the Determiner may be either Female or non-Female.
The last point I want to make here with regard to the Pronouns is the function of the third person Personal Pronouns. These are by far the most common determiners in any discourse. Their function is to mark an NP as definite, which accounts for their ubiquitoussness. While definite NPs need not be determined by such a pronoun, all NPs determined by rey, tey, ræw, or røm are definite.

7.3.3 Quantifiers are more constrained than Pronouns in the range of Nominals they may determine. A Quantifier may not determine any Nominal that is otherwise quantified in any way, either by a Quantifier in the Quantifier constituent or by number marking on the Noun. Furthermore, a Quantifier may not determine any Proper Noun or S. Quantifiers may only determine otherwise unquantified Common nouns.

(23) (a) "kokot Yawur/Tæypil(-yænim)/uy d- akla-ka-m- re all Yawur/Talbipi-GEN hole RL-dig- PF-PL-O *all Yæwun(s)/Talbipi(people)/who have dug a hole
(b) "kokot yan- wrew/yæn- wom/yæn urunk all child-DU/ child-PL/ child three *both/all/three children

There is one Quantifier nevertheless worthy of special discussion. Like the other Quantifiers, dænì may occur in either the Determiner or the Quantifier component.

When dænì determines an NP, it means one, another, the other.

(24) (a) dænì rame monokene
      another man bad
      another bad man

(b) dænì yan
      another child
      another child

When it appears in the Quantifier constituent of an otherwise determined NP, it retains this meaning.

(25) opo- m æwre dænì
     that-PL house other
     those other houses

But if it occurs as the Quantifier of an undetermined Nominal, then it marks the NP as indefinite.

(26) (a) tale owyan dænì
      woman old a
      an old woman

(b) wom æyle dænì
    coconut dry a
    a dry coconut

It is conceivable that the basic meaning of an NP with dænì in any position is that the referent of that NP is not the most salient instance of the type that the NP denotes (Avery Andrews, pc).
What is odd is that when dânı seems to be most determiner-like semantically, when it signals indefiniteness, it must occur in the Quantifier slot, where we would expect it to be less determiner-like. And when it occurs as a Determiner, it has the less determiner-like meaning. It may be possible to explain this in terms of dânı's predilection to mean precisely one, in this position. Dânı substitutes for the numeral naydowowo one in many contexts. Indeed, naydowowo only one, alone appears to occur much more frequently than the bare numeral, probably because dânı is the unmarked form for one.

Once we have established that dânı as a Quantifier is very much like the numeral one, it requires no great leap to see how it has come to mean a, as the numeral one has in many other languages.

For example, in Tongan, despite a three-way distinction of referentiality — the article ha 'non-referential' contrasting with the article e/he 'referential' which in turn contrasts with the article e/he with an accompanying shift in stress to the last vowel in the NP 'definite' — the commonest way of marking an NP as non-referential is to use a construction with the numeral.

(27) māi fo‘i suluka e taha
give-me NOUN CL cigarette NUM CL one
give me a cigarette

Awtuw has a construction precisely parallel to the Tongan.

(28) wan-e tawkway dânı kaŋ-kuw
1SG-O tobacco one IMP-give
give me a cigarette

7.3.4 Possessive NPs may determine any Nominal or Quantifier without restriction.

(29) (a) nom-ke Altiy
1PL-PS Altiy
our Altiy
(b) nom-ke Kamla kw
1PL-PS Kammum
our Kammum
(c) nom-ke yaw
1PL-PS pig
our pig
(d) nom-ke ɲaye
1PL-PS father
our father
(e) nom-ke urunk
1PL-PS three
our three
(f) nom-ke d- əy-ka-m- re
1PL-PS RL-go-PF-PL-O
our having gone
Three types of lexemes may take Possessive marking. Any noun with the plural suffix -m may take Possessive marking. Forms with the dual, plural, and generic suffixes also accept the Possessive suffix. And all Personal Pronouns are eligible to take -ke.

Nouns unmarked for number, including Proper and Place names, demonstratives and interrogatives are followed by the possessive form of a third person personal pronoun. The pronoun carrying possessive marking agrees in number and gender with the referent of the NP in accordance with the principles discussed above.

(30) Menyew rey-ke yar  
PrN he- PS ancestor  
Menyew's ancestor

(31) Taepipil rey-ke trewel  
P1N he- PS trouble  
Talbipi's trouble

(32) nemane-t tey-ke wom  
elder- F 3FS-PS coconut  
[her] elder sister's coconut

Examples (30-32) illustrate the following structure:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(30) Menyew rey-ke yar} \\
\text{PrN he- PS ancestor} \\
\text{Menyew's ancestor}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(31) Taepipil rey-ke trewel} \\
P1N he- PS trouble \\
Talbipi's trouble
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{(32) nemane-t tey-ke wom} \\
elder- F 3FS-PS coconut \\
[her] elder sister's coconut
\end{array}
\]

A Possessive NP may embed another Possessive NP.

(33) Wiykatuw-yanim-ke owyim- ke kil  
P1N- GEN- PS ancestors-PS story  
the story of the ancestors of the people of Wiykatuw

Example (33) displays the structure of (33).
7.4 Structure of the Adjective phrase

As indicated in rule 5 above, only an NP with a Common noun in the Nominal constituent may include an Adjective phrase. Example (34) illustrates the ungrammaticality of co-occurrences of Adjective phrases with Personal names, Place names, and Adjectives with the generic suffix. Note that I defer discussion of multiple Nominal constituents to section 7.6.

(34) (a) Ḧewmaey (waruke) (yapor)
        Kewmaey big very
        *a (very) big/quite the Kewmaey

(b) Ḧamnum (waruke) (yapor)
        Kammun num big very
        *a (very) big/quite the Kammun

(c) Ḧitam- yenim (waruke) (yapor)
        generous-GEN big very
        *(very) big/quite the generous people

Note that these constructions are only ungrammatical in the interpretation of the adjective phrase as attributive. Otherwise identical utterances with predication intonation are perfectly acceptable.

Any lexical item identifiable as an Adjective by the criteria described in Chapter 3, except the Intensifiers, may fill the Adjective slot. Intensifiers have a slot of their own.
Rule 6 stipulates that an Adjective phrase may consist of either an Adjective or an Intensifier, or both. Example (35) illustrates all three possibilities and [35] displays their structure.

(35) (a) yompurkay waruke
    young man big
    a big young man

(b) yompurkay vapor
    young man very
    quite the young man

(c) yompurkay waruke vapor
    young man big very
    a very big young man

Note that one of the Intensifiers, yankeyke a little, slightly is also a DIMENSION Adjective meaning small, and a Quantifier meaning a little (quantity), and may occur in either the Adjective or the Intensifier slot.

(36) (a) tiyl yankeyke
    stone small
    a small stone

(b) tiyl worne yankeyke
    stone light little
    a rather light stone

Yankeyke may double as an Intensifier in tongue-in-cheek contexts if the Adjective is not yankeyke.

(37) (a) ulwun waruke yankeyke yankeyke, tenk-tapem-kwo
    python big slightly slightly tank-trunk-CMP
    a very slightly big python, like a rain tank

(b) tale yankeyke mede/yapor/yankeyke
    woman small very/very/ slightly
    a very/slightly small woman

(c) *tale yankeyke yankeyke yankeyke
    woman small slightly slightly
    *a very slightly small woman
7.5 Word order permutations

When a Common noun is high in empathy, Adjectives often, and more complex Adjective phrases sometimes, precede it. Examples like (38) and (39) motivate the abbreviated Empathy hierarchy in (40).

(38) (a) waruke tale
        big  woman
        big  woman

        (b) ³waruke piyren  (c) ³waruke taw
        big  dog          big  tree

(39) (a) wuwkliwke tale
        long woman
        tail woman

        (b) wuwkliwke piyren  (c) ³wuwkliwke taw
        long dog          long  tree
        long dog

(40) Abbreviated Empathy Hierarchy
    [+HUMAN] > [+ANIMATE] > [-ANIMATE]

In fact, certain classes of adjectives have a strong tendency to precede high empathy nouns. VALUE adjectives, e.g. monokene bad, AGE adjectives, e.g. owyən old, and HUMAN PROPENSITY adjectives, e.g. yitam generous are most likely to precede the nouns they modify, other classes of adjectives, as in (41d) and (41e), do so too.

(41) (a) yitam rame
        generous man
        generous man

        (b) mede rame
        good man
        good man

        (c) owtykayən tale
        old     woman
        old woman

        (d) yankeyke tale
        small   woman
        small woman

        (e) kupkwap tale
        fast    woman
        fast woman

Most PHYSICAL PROPERTY adjectives either may not co-occur with human nouns, as in (41f), or become HUMAN PROPENSITY adjectives in such constructions, as in (41h). When a PHYSICAL PROPERTY adjective, as such, modifies a human noun, it tends to depersonify that noun, reducing it in empathy. So these are more likely to follow the noun, as in (41j).

(f) ³tale wam
    woman blunt
    *blunt woman
Occasionally, a full Adjective Phrase will precede the noun, as in (42a). But it is more common for the Intensifier to follow the Noun, as in (42b).

(42) (a) yanyankeyke mede nemet
tiny real mother
real tiny mother
(b) waruke rame yapor
big man very
very big man

(43) ulwun waruke yapor/mede/yankeyke
python big very/ very/slightly
a very/slightly big python

7.6 Nominal serialisation

The Awtuw Noun Phrase as I have analysed it here is constrained as to the amount of information it can accommodate. In particular, no Adjective Phrase contains more than one adjective. The question inevitably arises as to how a speaker modifies a noun when it is necessary to attribute more than one property to that noun.

The answer to this question resides in an explanation of the multiple NPs that Rule 1 permits, and the multiple nominal constituents that Rule 2 permits. I have coined the term nominal serialisation to describe this phenomenon.

7.6.1 Where an NP enters into a construction of this sort, it most frequently serialises a nominal constituent consisting of a noun and an adjective.

(44) (a) rey tukre rame, kalakw rame, yitam rame
3MS short man, quiet man generous man
the short, quiet, generous man

Example [44a] displays the structure of (44a).
The Determiner in this NP prevents any ambiguity from arising with regard to co-referentiality. If the three NPs were not co-referential, the most idiomatic construction would concatenate equative predications (cf. 8.4), as in (44b).

(44) (b) (urunk rame), dâni rame tukre rame, dâni rame...
three man one man short man one man
(three men), one man is short, one man is...

Example (44c) illustrates the consequences of concatenating NPs quantified with a numeral.

(c) (yîyle dâni mak orkweynaywo rame), tukre rame urunk,
hand a plus four man short man three
(nine men), three short men, three quiet men,
kalakw rame urunk, yîtam rame urunk
quiet man three generous man three
and three generous men

7.6.2 The second NP may also consist of a more fully expanded Nominal constituent, including a Clause constituent (S) (cf. 10.2.8).

(45) owyím- ke kil [[Wiykatuw+owym rokw-payk- e-re] kil]
ancestors-PS story Wiykatuw+ancestors do- first-P-O story
a traditional story that the ancestors of Wiykatuw originally told

The structure of this NP is displayed in [45].
7.6.3 The second NP may also consist of an unadorned Clause constituent functioning as a non-restrictive Relative clause, as in (46). Example [46] displays the structure.

(46) [[[rey nàwer] [wiye-taw du-k-uwk-iyy-re]]
3MS father garden-tree RL-IP-fell-IP-O
the father, who was felling a garden tree

Appositional relative clauses may also be verbless predications as in example (47).

(47) [[[dàmi rame] [yày tilink-neney]]
another man skin ringworm-y
another man, who had ringwormy skin

Where the subject of the relative clause is deleted by co-reference with the head noun, a predicated Adjective Phrase must be fully expanded to [Adjective Intensifier], as in example (48).

(48) (a) [wiytape yapor] waruke yapor
river very big very
real big river
(b) [wiytape yapor] waruke
river very big
(c) [wiytape waruke] yapor
river big very

7.6.4 The second NP in a serialisation may also include a Determiner in such non-restrictive constructions as (49).

(49) [[[rom uy d-akla-ka-m-re rame] [urunk rame]]
3PL hole RL-dig- PF-PL-O man three man
the three men who had dug the hole
7.6.5 Probably the single most pervasive form of NP serialisation places an NP consisting of a Determiner in serial with a more fully expanded NP.

\[(50) \text{[[wom æyle] [topor] -re]}\]
\[\text{coconut dry that- 0}\]
\[\text{that dry coconut}\]

\[(51) \text{[[tapwo] [rey-rey] -ke]}\]
\[\text{fire 3MS-3MS- PS}\]
\[\text{his very own fire}\]

\[\text{NP}\]
\[\text{NP}\]
\[\text{CASE MARKER}\]
\[\text{DET}\]

This non-restrictive strategy is used to permit NPs other than Personal Pronouns and number-marked nouns to accept possessive marking.

\[(52) \text{[[wiye] [rey] -ke]}\]
\[\text{garden 3MS- PS}\]
\[\text{garden's}\]

\[(53) \text{[[Yawur] [rey] -ke]}\]
\[\text{Yawur 3MS- PS}\]
\[\text{Yawur's}\]

\[(54) \text{[[tadet owtykayam tale] [tey] -ke]}\]
\[\text{this old woman 3FS- PS}\]
\[\text{this old woman's}\]

7.7 Case marking

7.7.1 Under ordinary circumstances, any case marking will occur on the last word in the NP, as stipulated in rule 1. Quantifiers, Intensifiers, and Adjectives, as well as nouns and pronouns, may all carry the case marking for the NP.

\[(55) \text{(a) wutyæn ðæni-ke}}\]
\[\text{basket a- L}\]
\[\text{into a basket}\]

\[(b) \text{wiytape yapo-ke}}\]
\[\text{river very-L}\]
\[\text{to the really big river}\]

\[(c) \text{nam-ke ole waruke-re}}\]
\[\text{1PL-PS bush big- O}\]
\[\text{our big bush}\]
There are two peculiar constructions that bear discussion in this context. Both have low functional loads and are probably arcane literary devices. In one case, two full NPs in a co-ordinate construction take a single case marker on the end of the second, as in example (56).

(56) Wapawiy d- iwrek-e ʔaye Takiy eywe Wiltiw-re new naw-o
    Wapawiy RL-stand-P father Takiy ancestor Wiltiw-O eye wait-P
    Wapawiy begot [my] father, Takiy and his elder brother, Wiltiw

In the other, we find two NPs co-ordinated, with separate case marking on each, where the semantic relation between them is possessive, as in examples (57) and (58).

(57) tapwo-re uyk- re rey d- ayn- e
    fire- O odour-O 3MS RL-smell-P
    he smelled the fire and the odour

(58) piylake-re alworaw-re kan-uwpam
    tooth- 0 mouth- 0 IMP-look-PL
    examine the teeth and mouth

A more idiomatic way of expressing (57) would involve an overtly possessive construction, as in (59a), or a tatpurusa compound (cf. 3.7.1), as in (59b).

(59) (a) tapwo rey-ke uyk- re rey d- ayn- e
    fire 3MS-P odour-O 3MS RL-smell-P
    he smelled the odour of the fire

(b) tapwo+uyk- re rey d- ayn- e
    fire+ odour-O 3MS RL-smell-P
    he smelled the odour of fire
CHAPTER 8

VERBLESS PREDICATIONS

By identifying diagnostic criteria and applying them sequentially as we have done elsewhere, we can segregate verbless predications into types.

Several of the distinctions I make in this classification rely heavily on the analysis of the structure of the Noun Phrase which I have presented in detail in Chapter 7.

8.1 Locative predications

First, we can separate out those predicates that consist of a locational particle. There is only a small set of items that can occur in this position and I list them exhaustively here.

to here
(t)ade here
rey there
(t)opo there
yipe where?

(1) (a) namey yipe
mother where
where's Mommy?

(b) namey yipke
mother where
'where's Mommy?

(c) tey po tade
3FS PCL here
she's here

(d) tey po òwre- ke
3FS PCL house-L
'she's in the house

Note that Locative NPs and the Interrogative yipke where are not eligible candidates for Locative predicates. Other types of locational predications require a verb, as mentioned above in the discussion of òwkey and iliy (5.9), and will be discussed further below.
8.2 Non-locative predications

Next, we can distinguish among those verbless predications which do not have one of the five locational adverbs and particles as predicate. Some of these have a full NP as their predicate, as in example (2), while others have only an Adjective phrase, a possessive, or a comparative, as in example (3).

(2) tader wokak rame po wan-ke ḥaye
   this tall man PCL 1SG-PS father
   this tall man is my father

(3) Miytiy po wokak
   Miytiy PCL tall
   Miytiy is tall

8.3 Ascriptive, possessive, and comparative predications

We can distinguish among predicates that do not consist of a full NP between those whose only constituent is an Adjective Phrase on the one hand, and those that have either a possessive or a comparative, on the other.

8.3.1 I call the subclass that has only a bare Adjective Phrase as its predicate Ascriptive predications because its semantic function is to ascribe a property to its subject.

(4) Miytiy po wokak (yapor)
   Miytiy PCL tall very
   Miytiy is (very) tall

(5) wan-wan-ke yan mede
   1SG-1SG-PS child good
   my own child is good

A common type of ascriptive predicate has a possessed or unpossessed body part as its subject.

(6) (nan-ke) yay nampet-neney
   IDU-PS skin cold- ADJ
   our (two) skin is cold

A more complex embellishment of the Ascriptive predication has the unusual feature of the possessor of the body part appearing as an Object. As example (7) shows, such constructions may also have peripheral NPs, in this case, a Locative NP.

(7) wiytape-ke po nan-e yay nampet-neney
    river- L PCL 1DU-O skin cold- ADJ
    we two were cold in the river

A semantically similar type of predication has the possessor of the body part unmarked for case. This makes analysis ambiguous. We could analyse the unmarked possessor as the subject and the noun and adjective as constituents of a single NP in a classificatory predication (cf. 8.4.1). But I believe that it is preferable to analyse the adjective alone as an ascriptive predicate whose subject is the body part. This leaves the syntactic function of the unmarked possessor in some doubt, but unmarked possessors are common in constructions with ḥaye (cf. 5.10). Moreover, the structural and semantic parallel between
this construction and those exemplified in (6) and (7) is too strong to ignore. The semantic parallel with a classificatory predicate, on the other hand, is non-existent.

(8) nan yay nampet-neney
    IDU skin cold- ADJ
    we have cold skin/feel cold

8.3.2 Possessive predications have a possessive NP as their predicate. These predicates have the formal property of bearing the Possessive marker -ke and the semantic property of identifying the possessor of the subject (cf. 5.9).

(9) (a) tader piyren wan-wan-ke
    this dog 1SG-1SG-PS
    this dog is mine

(b) topor piyren Miytiy rey-ke
    that dog Miytiy 3MS-PS
    that dog is Miytiy's

8.3.3 Comparative predications have a comparative NP as their predicate. They share the formal property of bearing the Comparative marker -kwo and the semantic property of comparing their subject to a standard of comparison.

(10) (a) Yawur po Kewmaey- kwo
    Yawur PCL Kewmaey-CMP
    Yawur is like Kewmaey

(b) Yen-ke aymen wan-ke-kwo
    2SG-PS knife 1SG-PS-CMP
    your knife is like mine

In another comparative construction the predicate consists of an NP marked with -kwo as the standard of comparison in apposition to an ascriptive predicate denoting the parameter of comparison.

(11) yen-ke aymen parpar, rey-ke-kwo
    2SG-PS knife sharp 3MS-PS-CMP
    your knife is as sharp as his

(12) topor yaw kupkwap piyren-kwo
    that pig fast dog- CMP
    that pig is as fast as a dog

8.4 NP predications

We can distinguish those predicates that consist of an NP that includes a Quantifier from those that consist of an unquantified NP.

8.4.1 Predicates that consist of a quantifier NP have two functions. Those that occur without a subject predicate the existence of that NP and those that occur with a subject denote possession of the predicate by the subject. In either case, this type of predication appears to arise from the deletion of a verb. Where the quantifier is awtuw none, the deleted verb is rguw do, and if the quantifier is not awtuw, then the deleted verb is auxkey exist (cf. 5.10).
(13) (a) modak tapwo liwke
    now fire much
    now there is a lot of fire
(b) aye awtuw
    food none
    there are/were no vegetables
(14) (a) wanklow kanel liwke
    turtle fat much
    a turtle has a lot of fat
(b) nom-ke owyim mowkə tapwo awtuw
    1PL-PS ancestors before fire none
    once, our ancestors had no fire

8.4.2 Unquantified NP predicates fall into two further subclasses depending upon whether the NP is definite or not.

The former class equates the subject with the predicate and I call such predicates Equative predicates.

(15) (a) tader wokak rame po wan-ke ñaye
    this tall man PCL 1SG-PS father
    this tall man is my father
(b) wan-ke ñaye po tader wokak rame
    1SG-PS father PCL this tall man
    my father is this tall man
(16) tey tale po Napeyre
    3FS woman PCL Napeyre
    the woman is Napeyre

Because of the semantic nature of this type of predication, the roles of subject and predicate are interchangeable, as illustrated in (15a) and (15b).

The other subclass, whose predicate consists of an indefinite NP, has the semantic property of assigning its subject to a class, so I label these Classificatory predications.

(17) wan po rameyən
    1SG PCL human being
    I'm a human being
(18) Wiykatuw-lape lape waruke
    Wiykatuw-village village big
    Wiykatuw is a big village
(19) Miytiy po wokak rame
    Miytiy PCL tall man
    Miytiy is a tall man

8.5 Classification of verbless predications

We can represent the classification of verbless predication types as a tree structure.
8.6 Word order in verbless predications

The word order in verbless clauses is far more rigid than in other types of predications. Most types of verbless predications do not permit variation of word order, as shown in examples (20a-e).

(20) (a) *yipe nanye (cf.(1))
   where mother
   *where's Mommy?
(b) *modak liwke tapwo (cf.(4))
   now much fire
   *now there is a lot of fire
(c) *kanel liwke wanklow (cf.(6))
   fat much turtle
   *a turtle has a lot of fat
Because of the nature of the equative relation, the subject and predicate of an Equative clause are interchangeable. Possessive and Comparative predicates may precede their subjects with a change in intonation, as in examples (20f) and (20g).

(f) wan-wan-ke tader piyren (cf. (15))
1SG-1SG-PS this dog
this dog is mine

(g) Kewmaey- kwo po Yawuru (cf. (16))
Kewmaey-CMP PCL Yawuru
Yawuru is like Kewmaey

8.7 Complement-taking verbless predications

There is one final predication type that bears some resemblance to some of the Idiomatic Composite constructions described above (cf. 5.9), on the one hand, and to the verbless body part constructions (cf. 8.3.1), on the other. All such predicates denote Cognitive states.

8.7.1 Two of the four predicates may be regarded as participating in more or less straightforward Ascriptive predications that happen to take complements (see 10.2.5).

(21) tey Yawuru d- ay-ka(-re) nenffin- nene
3FS Yawuru FA-go-PF- O thought-ADJ
she thinks that Yawuru has gone

(22) (a) tey Yawuru d- ay-ka(-re) neknek-nene
3FS Yawuru FA-go-PF- O know- ADJ
she knows that Yawuru has gone

(b) tey apwo di- k- il- iy(-re) neknek-nene
3FS bag FA-IP-net-IP- O know- ADJ
she knows how to net bags

(c) tey yen-e neknek-nene
3FS 2SG-O know ADJ
she knows you

8.7.2 We saw in the discussion of Idiomatic Composite predicates (5.9) that nenffin thought occupies the same position in the nenffin lay construction as do nouns in other predications of the same type. Its ability to take -nene here provides further evidence for believing nenffin to be a noun. The adjective-deriving suffix on neknek in example (22) suggests that it may be a noun denoting 'knowledge'. But as the next example illustrates, neknek can occur
as the predicate without derivation or any verb with which to participate in a composite construction, making the gloss 'knowledge' appear most improbable and casting doubt upon its part-of-speech affiliation.

(23) (a) tey Yawur d- ay-ka(-re) neknek
3FS Yawur FA-go-PF- O know
she knows that Yawur has gone
(b) tey apwo di-k- il- iy(-re) neknek
3FS bag FA-IP-net-IP- O know
she knows how to net bags
(c) tey yen-e neknek
3FS 2SG-O know
she knows you

8.7.3 Finally, there is a predicate that I am inclined to regard as a defective verb. Arene takes none of the verb morphology described in Section 4, but neither does it accept any other affixation except the optional plural marker -m. It cannot even take -neney, as neknek and nen�n can, nor can it modify a noun attributively. I will not speculate further upon its part-of-speech membership, but simply exemplify its use.

(24) (a) rom/tey Yawur d- ay-ka(-re) arene
3PL/3FS Yawur FA-go-PF- P not know
they don't/she doesn't know Yawur has gone
(b) rom/tey apwo di-k- il- iy(-re) arene
3PL/3FS bag FA-IP-net-IP- O not know
they don't/she doesn't know how to net bags
(c) rom yen-e arene(-m)
3PL 2SG-O know- PL
they don't know you
9.1 Questions
Awtuw has three basic strategies for forming questions. Yes-no questions are distinguished from declarative clauses by a change in intonation contour. Alternative questions are formed by postposing the particle yokri *perhaps* to each alternative. WH-questions are formed by substituting one of the set of interrogatives, which begin with /y/ in Awtuw, for a constituent.

9.1.1 While each word stress in a declarative sentence is uttered at approximately the same pitch, in a yes-no question, the last word stress in the clause is appreciably higher in pitch than the others and the pitch of any syllables following that stressed syllable falls markedly as a result. Constituents in a yes-no question have the same freedom of order as in a declarative sentence.

(1) (a) tey Tąypil-e d-eya-ka
3FS Talbipi-L FA-come-PF
she's come from Talbipi or has she come from Talbipi?
(b) Tąypil-e d-eya-ka tey
(c) d-eya-ka tey Tąypil-e
(d) tey d-eya-ka Tąypil-e
(e) Tąypil-e tey d-eya-ka
(f) d-eya-ka Tąypil-e tey

(2) (a) Wawpey Yawmn-re du-puy-e
Wawpey Yawmen-O FA-hit-P
Wawpey hit Yawmen or did Wawpey hit Yawmen?
(b) Wawpey du-puy-e Yawmn-re
(c) Yawmn-re Wawpey du-puy-e
(d) Yawmn-re du-puy-e Wawpey
(e) du-puy-e Wawpey Yawmn-re
(f) du-puy-e Yawmn-re Wawpey

Yes-no questions frequently include the particle yokri *perhaps*. This particle may not occur clause initially and most commonly occurs clause finally. When it occurs clause medially, yokri has the effect of focusing the constituent it follows.
Yes-no questions also have the same focusing strategies available to them as do declarative sentences as described in section 9.4.

In answering an affirmative question, owo means yes — it acknowledges the accuracy of the proposition presupposed by the question.

In answering affirmative yes-no questions, awtuw no denies the accuracy of the proposition presupposed by the question. Awtuw also functions as a predicate meaning lack, be absent.

Awtuw and owo in answers to negative questions are completely ambiguous and must be accompanied by a clause, usually consisting of a single verb without arguments expressing the real-world situation.

9.1.2 Alternative questions are formed by concatenating yokri with the alternatives, yokri following each alternative. Any constituent may enter into such constructions, including a verb phrase. The alternatives need not be adjacent, as shown in example (8b).

(3) Wawpey Yawm-o du-puy-e yokri?
   Wawpey Yawmen-O FA-hit-P perhaps
   did Wawpey hit Yawmen by any chance?

(4) Wawpey yokri Yawm-o du-puy-e?
   Wawpey perhaps Yawmen-O FA-hit-P
   was it Wawpey who hit Yawmen?

(5) Wawpey Yawm-o yokri du-puy-e?
   Wawpey Yawmen-O perhaps FA-hit-P
   was it Yawmen Wawpey hit?

(6) (a) Täy pil- yänim ma-taw-wey- ka-m?
   Talbipi-GEN GO-YET-arrive-PF-PL
   have the Talbipi people arrived yet?

   (b) owo (ma-wey- ka-m)
       yes GO-arrive-PF-PL
       yes, they’ve arrived

   (c) awtuw (ka-ma-taw-wey- ka-m)
       no NG-GO-YET-arrive-PF-PL
       no, they haven’t arrived yet

(7) (a) Täy pil- yänim ka-ma-taw-wey- ka-m?
   Talbipi-GEN NG-GO-YET-arrive-PF-PL
   haven’t the people from Talbipi arrived yet?

   (b) awtuw/owo ka-ma-taw-wey- ka-m
       no/ yes NG-GO-YET-arrive-PF-PL
       no/yes, they haven’t arrived yet

   (c) awtuw/owo yakruk ma-wey- tay- ka-m
       no/ yes long time GO-arrive-FINISH-PF-PL
       no/yes they arrived a long time ago

(8) (a) Altiy yokri Yawur yokri Takiy-re du-puy'-e?
   Altiy PCL Yawur PCL Takiy-O FA-hit- P
   was it Altiy or Yawur who hit Takiy?
The answer to an alternative question will ordinarily consist of an echo of the correct alternative preceded by the focus particle po. Thus the answers to the questions in examples (10) and (12) might be:

[10] (wan) po Wutlakw-o (w- ay-re)
1SG PCL Gutaiye-L NF-go-FU
(I'm going) to Gutaiye

[12] (rey) po Yawur-re ((tawkway) da-kow- o)
3MS PCL Yawur-O tobacco FA-give-P
(he gave tobacco) to Yawur

9.1.3 WH-questions are formed using the set of interrogative adverbs and pronouns described in 3.6.4 and tabulated here for convenience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9.1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADVERBS</td>
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<tr>
<td>yok</td>
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<td>yekak</td>
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<td>yekwo</td>
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<tr>
<td>yakumkwo</td>
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<td>yipe</td>
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<td>yipke/yiperke</td>
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The adverb yipe where? occurs only as the predicate in a verbless question and as such is constrained to occur clause finally (see 8.2).
(14)  
(a)  namyi yipe?  
  mommy where?  
  where's Mommy?  
(b)  yipe namyi

Otherwise, constituents in a WH-question have the same freedom of order as they 
do in other types of clauses. In particular, there is no requirement, though 
there may be a slight tendency, for the interrogative to occur clause initially.

(15)  
(a)  yen yekak w- ay-re?  
  2SG when NF-go-DES  
  when do you want to go?  
(b)  yekak yen w-ay-re?  
(c)  w-ay-re yen yekak?

The interrogative pronouns take nominal case marking and may replace a nominal 
constituent in any role.

(16)  
  yeran Awtiy-re du-puya-ka?  
  who? Awtiy-O FA-hit-PF  
  who has hit Awtiy?

(17)  
  Keriy yeremen-re du-puya-ka?  
  Keriy who?-O FA-hit-PF  
  who has Keriy hit?

(18)  
  yen yeran-re aye do-kow-0?  
  2SG who?-O food FA-give-P  
  who did you give food to?

(19)  
  Naytow maaw- e d- ayy-ka yeran-te- k?  
  Naytow bush-L FA-go-PF who?-O(F)-I  
  who(F) has Naytow gone to the bush with?

Interrogatives may replace more than one constituent in such a question.

(20)  
  yeran yekak yakumoyam rokw-re?  
  who? when? what? do- FU  
  when will who do what?

The answer to a WH-question will ordinarily consist of the word that will most 
suitably replace the interrogative in the question. When the interrogative 
bears case marking, the answer too will usually have it, even if the answer 
consists of only a single word. It is common, though not quite as common as 
in answers to alternative questions, for the particle po to focus the answer.

[18]  (wan) (po) Yawur-re ((aye) do-kow-0)  
  1SG PCL Yawur-O food FA-give-P  
  (I gave food) to Yawur

9.2 Negation

Awtuw has two basic negation strategies. The negative prefix ka-/ka- may fill 
the first slot in the verb complex to negate any verbal predicate. And the 
negative particle yene may negate any constituent, including a predicate 
nominal or adjective, a verb, or even a negative verb, that it precedes.
There are also two special portmanteau morphemes that code the negatives of the second and third person debitive modalities, the Prohibitive prefix (PR) ap- and the Negative Debitive (NDB) prefix nil-, respectively. These are discussed in 4.2.

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

(21) Awtiy kë-w- ay-re  
     Awtiy NG-NF-go-FU  
     Awtiy isn't going

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

This strategy may be used to contrast verbs, verb phrases, or subjects, although it is more common to find yene negating constituents.

(23) Numoy kë-d- k- ay-ey, rey po d- ikiy  
     Numoy NG-FA-IP-go-IP 3MS PCL FA-stay  
     Numoy isn't going, he's staying

(24) Numoy kë-d- k- ay-ey, po wan de-k- ay-ey  
     Numoy NG-FA-IP-go-IP PCL 1SG FA-IP-go-IP  
     Numoy isn't going, I am

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

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

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

(27) *rey Liwmi-e kë-d- eya- ka, rey (po) Tæypil- e d- eya- ka  
     3MS Liwmi- L NG-FA-come-PF 3MS PCL Talbipi-L FA-come-PF  
     *he hasn't come from Lumi, he's come from Talbipi

(28) wan æwre nak-re ka-d- uwpo, wan (po) æwre lop-re d- uwpo  
     1SG house new-O NG-FA-see-P 1SG PCL house old-O FA-see-P  
     I didn't see a new house, I saw an old house

9.2.2 The negative particle yene may negate any constituent of the clause that it precedes, including the verb. Because yene is associated with a particular constituent, it frequently has somewhat more of a contrastive force than a negation of the entire clause using the morphological strategy. Compare, for example, example (29) with example (26) above.

(29) wan yene Yawmen-re du-puy-e, wan Naytow-re du-puy-e  
     1SG NG Yawmen-O FA-hit-P 1SG Naytow-O FA-hit-P  
     I didn't hit Yawmen, I hit Naytow
There is a similar contrast between examples (30) and (27).

(30) rey yene Liwmiy-e d- eya- ka, rey Tæypil- e d- eya- ka
    3MS NG  Lumî- L FA-come-PF  3MS Talbipi-L FA-come-PF
    he hasn’t come from Lumî, he’s come from Talbipi

9.2.3 When yene negates a morphologically negative verb, the meaning of the resulting double negation includes both negatives. The morphological negative is in the scope of yene, which cancels rather than emphasises its meaning.

(31) Yawur yene kâ-d- k- ñy-ey...
    Yawur NEG NG-FA-IP-go-IP
    Yawur isn’t not going...

[31] (a) *...rey d- ñkiy
    3MS FA-stay
    ...he’s staying
(b) ...rey da-k- ñy-ey
    3MS FA-IP-go-IP
    ...he’s going

9.3 Reflexives

Certain verbs allow reflexivisation to take place. Only patients, recipients, and benefactives may reflexivise. Possessors and commitatives may not. The two reflexivisers yim ay and yelow, must always follow the reduplicated form of a pronoun co-referential with the subject. They take Object marking optionally. The word order in reflexive clauses is rigidly S REFL (O) V.

(32) (a) Osiy rey-rey yimay(-re) d- upwo-ka
    Osiy 3MS-3MS REFL- O FA-see- PF
    Osiy has seen himself
(b) Osiy rey-rey yelow(-re) d- upwo-ka
    Osiy 3MS-3MS REFL- O FA-see- PF
    Osiy has seen himself
(33) (a) wan wan-wan yimay(-re) ñye da-kow- ka
    1SG 1SG-1SG REFL- O food FA-give-PF
    I have given myself some food
(b) wan wan-wan yelow(-re) ñye da-kow- ka
    1SG 1SG-1SG REFL- O food FA-give-PF
    I have given myself some food
(34) (a) Numoy rey-rey yimay(-re) tawkway d- iyupud-kow- ka
    Numoy 3MS-3MS REFL- O tobacco FA roll- give-PF
    Numoy has rolled himself a cigarette
(b) Numoy rey-rey yelow(-re) tawkway d- iyupud-kow- ka
    Numoy 3MS-3MS REFL- O tobacco FA roll- give PF
    Numoy has rolled himself a cigarette
(35) Numoy rey-rey yimay-ke nemet- te du-puya-ka
    Numoy 3MS-3MS REFL- PS mother-O FA-hit- PF
    Numoy has hit his own mother
The yellow/yimay reflexive construction has a very low functional load — there are no examples whatsoever in the corpus of narrative I have collected. This is in part because in many of the cases where one might expect frequent reflexivisation, for example with a verb like wash, the reflexive is lexicalised, in this instance by water bathe.

(36) (a) Wayekaw tey- tey yimay(-re) de-warya-ka
    Wayekaw 3FS-3FS REFL- O FA-wash- PF
    Wayekaw has washed herself

(b) Wayekaw yiw d- iywa- ka
    Wayekaw water FA-bathe- PF
    Wayekaw has bathed

Another factor contributing to the low frequency of such reflexives is that in benefactive constructions where one could conceivably occur, the benefactive NP is more likely to surface as a possessive.

[34] Numoy rey-rey-ke tawkway d- iypud-ka
    Numoy 3MS-3MS-PS tobacco FA-roll- PS
    Numoy has rolled his own cigarette

9.4 Focusing

Although constituent order within a clause carries no information about the case roles of the nominal constituents, neither does it appear to bear information about the relative focus of the various constituents. The two most common methods of focusing a constituent are sentence stress and the particle po, usually used in concert with each other.

9.4.1 The ubiquitous particle po occurs in virtually every other sentence in Awtuw. In most cases the focused constituent, whose stressed syllable receives sentence stress, follows po.

(37) (a) yen lape- ke w- ikiy-re?
      2SG village-L NF-stay-FU
      are you staying in the village

(b) awtuw, wan po 'w- ay-rere
      no 1SG PCL NF-go-DES
      no, I want to go

But there are two main classes of exceptions to this generalisation. This particle has a slight tendency to gravitate to second position, or at least to avoid occurring clause initially, and will therefore sometimes focus a preceding clause-initial constituent.

(38) (a) yen w- ay-rere?
      2SG NF-go-DES
      do you want to go?

(b) awtuw, 'Napeyre po w- ay-rere
      no  Napeyre PCL NF-go-DES
      no, Napeyre wants to go
It may also occur clause finally with the effect of focusing the entire clause, often to express astonishment or vehemence.

(39)  
(a)  yen w-ay-rere?  
(b)  owo, wan w- ay-rere po  
yes 1SG NF-go-DES PCL  
yes, of course I'm going!

(40)  
rey maw- e eywak- rame d- upw-o, rey-e d- iy- e po  
3MS bush-L sorcery-man NF-see-P 3MS-O FA-shoot-P PCL  
he saw a sorcerer in the bush and he shot him!

It is possible to focus more than one constituent in a clause using po.

(41)  
(a)  yen lape- ke w- ikiy-re?  
2SG village-L NF-stay-FU  
are you staying in the village?  
(b)  awtuw po, wan po 'liwmi-e po 'w- ay-re po  
no PCL 1SG PCL Lumi- L PCL NF-go-FU PCL  
absolutely not, I'm going to Lumi of course!

9.4.2 Awtuw uses four other focusing strategies, all of them much rarer than po. The simplest of these is topicalisation, which entails extracting the focused constituent with a pause between the extracted constituent and the rest of the clause.

(42)  
(a)  Takiy, tader awre d- uy- kay  
Takiy this house FA-build-PF  
Takiy, he's built this house  
(b)  tader awre d-uy-kay, Takiy

The topicalised constituent may appear either to the right or to the left of the clause.

(43)  
(a)  yekne-re-k, Keriy rey taw d- uwk- o  
axe- O I Keriy 3MS tree FA-fell-P with an axe, Keriy felled the tree  
(b)  Keriy rey taw d-uwk-o, yekne-re-k  
(44)  
(a)  Kampo-re, wan awre d- uy- kow- o  
Kampo-O 1SG house FA-build-give-P  
Kampo, I built a house for  
(b)  wan awre d-uy-kow-o, Kampo-re

Note that appositional intonation over the extracted constituent and the associated pause, represented here by a comma, are necessary components of this construction. Without them, the resulting permutation of word order would have no particular focusing effect.
9.4.3 Dislocation differs from topicalisation only in that a pronominal copy of the focused constituent remains behind in the body of the clause.

(45) (a) Peyaw, rey yaw-re d- iy- e
       Peyaw 3MS pig-O FA-shoot-P
       Peyaw, he shot a pig

The dislocated element may appear to the right or to the left of the clause from which it was extracted.

(b) rey yaw-re d-iy-e, Peyaw

The dislocation strategy may be used to focus any nominal constituent, but not pronominal, adverbial, or verbal constituents.

(46) (a) rey yaw, Altiy rey-e d- iy- e
       3MS pig Altiy 3MS-O FA-shoot-P
       the pig, Altiy shot him

(b) Altiy rey-e d-iy-e, rey yaw

(47) (a) Tuwaltin-lape, Mimpel rey d-ikiy
       Tuwaltin-village Mimpel there FA-stay
       Tuwaltin, Mimpel lives there

(b) Mimpel rey d-ikiy, Tuwaltin-lape

(48) (a) *Yapun-wo, wan eywo Liwmiy-e d- ay-e
        alone-ADV 1SG thus Lumi- L FA-go-P
        alone, I went to Lumi that way

(b) *wan Liwmiy-e eywo d-ay-e, yapun-wo

9.4.4 Awtuw forms clefts by extracting a nominal constituent for focusing from a clause, predicing that constituent to a third-person pronoun agreeing with it in sex and number, and modifying it with a restrictive relative clause formed from the balance of the original clause.

(49) (a) Altiy yaw waruke d- iy- e
       Altiy pig big FA-shoot-P
       Altiy shot a big pig

(b) rey Altiy [yaw waruke d- iy- e-re]
       3MS Altiy pig big FA-shoot-P-O
       it's Altiy who shot a big pig

The clefted constituent may appear to the right or to the left of the relative clause.

(c) [yaw waruke d-iy-e-re] rey Altiy

This strategy may also focus any nominal constituent.

(50) (a) rey tader yaw [Yawmen d- iy- e-re]
       3MS this pig Yawmen FA-shoot-P-O
       it's this pig that Yawmen shot

(b) [Yawman d-iy-e-re] rey tader yaw

(51) (a) rey Tæypil [Piynane d- ey- e-re]
       3MS Talbipi Piynane FA-come-P-O
       it's Talbipi that Piynane came from

(b) [Piynane d-ey-e-re] rey Tæypil
9.4.5 Finally, Awtuw can focus constituents by pseudoclefting. In this construction, a nominal constituent is extracted from the clause, a generic noun is predicated to it, and that noun heads a relative clause formed from the rest of the original clause.

(52) Liwmiy rey lape [Kewmaey d- ay-ka-re]  
Lumi 3MS village Kewmaey FA-go-PF-O  
Lumi is the village Kewmaey has gone to

Pseudoclefts with the focused constituent to the left do not focus subjects. In pseudoclefts to the right, which may focus any nominal constituent, the focused element appears alone to the right of the clause after a pause, while the inserted head noun remains on the left.

(53) rey lape [Kewmaey d- ay-ka-re], Liwmiy  
3MS village Kewmaey FA-go-PF-O Liwmiy  
the village Kewmaey has gone to is Lumi

(54) tey tale [tader apwo d- il- i-re], Kukron  
3FS woman this bag FA-net-P-O Kukron  
the woman who netted this bag is Kukron
CHAPTER 10
INTERPREDICATE AND INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS

Awtuw displays a wide variety of constructions for relating predicates. These range from the strategy described in section 3.7.3 and 4.14, which fuses roots within a single verb complex, to strategies that conjoin clauses with separate sets of NPs and completely independent specification for verbal categories.

This chapter describes the formal properties of each construction and relates them to their semantic functions.

The constructions fall into five distinct categories. Serialisation constructions concatenate verb roots, verb forms, or verb phrases whose subjects are obligatorily co-referential to code diverse semantic functions ranging from an increase in valency to a sequence of actions.

Nominal constructions subordinate a verb phrase or a full clause as a constituent of an NP performing a nominal or adjectival function. In these constructions, the tense of the subordinate verb is either determined by the construction or interpreted as relative to the tense of the matrix verb. Nominal constructions code a variety of relations ranging from so-called psych-action complements, such as 'remember to...', to cause clauses, including relative clauses.

Adverbial constructions code actions contemporaneous or sequential to the action coded by the matrix verb. They are formally similar to nominal constructions in some respects. But where a nominal clause is marked as subordinate with the suffix -re, an adverbial clause bears the suffix -rek. Moreover, the subject of an adverbial clause may not occur as the object of the matrix clause, as is possible in certain nominal constructions. And an adverbial clause functions adverbially rather than nominally or adjectivally.

Conditional constructions juxtapose two interdependent clauses which must bear identical future or conditional marking.

Co-ordination constructions juxtapose two or more entirely independent clauses to code simultaneous, consecutive, and unspecified relations among predicates.

10.1 Serialisations

Awtuw has six serialisation strategies. The first and most tightly-knit construction concatenates verb roots within a single verb complex. The second appends a form of a direction verb to a truncated, suffixless form of another verb. The third concatenates repetitions of the same verb form. The fourth concatenates full verb forms, the fifth concatenates verb phrases, and the sixth concatenates an Imperfective verb form with a full clause.
10.1.1 Root compounds have received ample discussion and exemplification in section 4.12. Because of their position in the structure of the verb complex, no affixation can intervene between compounded roots, so it is inconceivable that compounded roots should differ in their specification for any category marked by verbal morphology. And since such compounded roots function syntactically as a single predicate, they must share all arguments and adjuncts.

10.1.2 The second strategy involves the serialisation of a truncated verb form with a direction verb. There are two types of truncated verb serialisation.

In the first type the first verb consists of a full set of prefixes and any verb root, but no suffixation whatsoever. The second verb consists of a full verb complex whose root must be ___go. Speakers often reiterate the form of ___ as many as five times or more, but only the last verb bears suffixation. The semantic function of this strategy is to depict prolonged continuous or habitual aspect.

(1)  
(a) ram-o yay d- a+ d -ay-e  
3PL-O skin FA-bite+FA-go-P  
their skin kept itching

(b) teypekwo do-k- rokw+da-k- ay-ey  
thus FA-IP-do+ FA-IP-go IP  
he goes on doing the same thing

(c) raw nenam t- lay+ t- ay+t- ay+t- ay-e  
3DU thought DU-bear+DU-go+DU-go+DU-go-P  
they two thought and thought

(d) wan-ke wanklow-re yakumkwo ka-ma-t- rokw+ka-t- ay-kow-kay?  
ISG-PS turtle- 0 what? NG-GO-DU do+ NG-DU-go-BEN-PF  
what haven't you two kept going and doing to my turtle?

Nothing may intervene within this type of serialisation. The single tense marker, if any, has scope over the entire serialisation, as does any directional prefix or root compound, as illustrated in (1d). Example (1b) shows that if the first verb has the Imperfective prefix, then the final verb must be an Imperfective form. Similarly, any Negative prefix must occur on both verbs, as shown in (1d).

One variation on this strategy involves the repetition of full forms of ___ after a truncated verb, with the same semantic function, as shown in example (2).

(2)  
d- ewr- i- i d- i+d- ay-e daye daye  
FA-again-twist-P FA-twist+FA-go-P went went  
she twisted [string] again and kept twisting

The second type is formally very similar to the first. But there are three major differences. First, in this strategy only two verbs may enter into the serialisation. Second, the first verb must be either ka get, lay bear, way carry, one of the other verbs of carrying, or one of the manner of motion verbs, e.g. imya run, towkaney climb (cf. 5.4.2). And third, the second verb may be any of the Direction verbs.

When the first verb is ka get, the second verb depicts a sequential action deriving a form meaning 'take' or 'bring'.
Where the first verb is a verb of carrying or a manner of motion verb, the construction specifies direction and allows an accompanying source or goal NP.

Example (5) illustrates the distinction between a manner of motion verb alone and such a verb in this construction, where there is a Locative NP in the clause.

The interpretation of the Locative NP as source or goal depends upon the point of view of the speaker and the class of the directional verb. Thus, the NP in (5b) gets goal interpretation if the narrator adopts the perspective of being outside the village and source interpretation if the narrator adopts the point of view of someone within the village (cf. 5.3.1).

Similarly, the Locative NP in (6) will be a goal if the speaker adopts inside perspective, and a source if the narrator views the situation from outside.

10.1.3 The third strategy repeats identical full forms of a single 'lexical' verb form, with the same semantic function as the first type of truncated verb serialisation – to depict continuous or habitual aspect.

This construction has a characteristic intonation where each repetition of the verb is pronounced with a low pitch, and the final syllable of the last repetition is protracted and has a rising pitch.
10.1.4 The next strategy concatenates between two and five full verb forms. Nothing may intervene between the verbs in this type of serialisation.

Although each verb is fully inflected, they do not select categories independently. Every verb must bear the same tense marking. Typically, each verb will bear the same aspect marking as well. But since one or more of the verbs may be serialisations of a truncated verb with -m, which is itself a mark of aspect, there does not appear to be a constraint that a single aspect must have scope over the entire serialisation.

As nothing may interrupt the serialisation, the same argument or set of arguments will apply to every verb.

(8) rey yaw-re ti-na-kow+ d- -m- e re- m- e
    3MS pig-O DU-RC-give+FA-go-PL-P eat-PL-P
    they kept sharing the pig and ate

(9) rey yaw-re rom da-way- m- e, da-ka+ d- -m- e m- m- e
    3MS pig-O 3PL FA-carry-PL-P FA-get+FA-go-PL-P MT-slice-PL-P
    they carried the pig, took it, and sliced it

(10) yakum-re-k w- itwa-re ra- re?
    what?-O- I NF-boil-FU eat-FU
    what would they boil and eat it with?

The intonation characteristic of this serialisation strategy involves a high pitch on the penultimate syllable of each serialised verb falling over the ultimate, with no pause between verbs, as shown in example [10].

![Intonation example](image)

10.1.5 The next serialisation strategy concatenates verbs and their objects. A single subject has scope over the entire serialisation, and as in the preceding strategy, all the verbs must be marked for the same tense.

(11) (a) [raw] kiw t- iwy'e nalak t- em- e
    3DU pitpit DU-cut- P abika DU-pick-P
    they two cut pitpit and picked abika

(b) raw kiw t- iwy'a-re nalak t- em- re
    3DU pitpit DU-cut- FU abika DU-pick-FU
    they two will cut pitpit and pick abika

(12) rey raw-e d- -m- e, yaw+task d- ir+ d- -m- e
    3MS bush-L FA-go-P pig+track FA-follow+FA-go-P
    he went to the bush, went on following pig tracks,
    yaw d- iy- e do-way+ d- -m- e, lape ke wutmak-e
    shot and carried away a pig, and arrived in the village

There is an intonation characteristic of this strategy that clearly distinguishes it from the preceding construction on the one hand, and from other strategies with either a reiterated subject, a change of subject, or a change of tense on the other.
In this case, the intonation rises over the penultimate syllable of each verb in the serialisation, except the last, and remains high over the lengthened ultimate syllable, followed by a brief pause. When the subject changes or is repeated, the intonation falls from a high pitch over the penultimate syllable to a low pitch over the last. Example [11] illustrates the intonation contour over example (11) and example (13) shows the intonation contours over two similar sentences.


(13) (a) raw kiw tiwye, raw nalak teme

(b) raw kiw tiwye, yen (po) nalak teme

they cut pitpit, and you picked abika

10.1.6 The last strategy resembles a participial construction in certain respects. Although there is no actual participial form in Awtuw, an Imperfective form unmarked for tense functions like one in this construction. The situations depicted by the two verbs are interpreted as simultaneous. The tense of the second verb has scope over the unmarked first verb.

The ability of a subject to occur with the second, tense-marked, verb distinguishes this construction from the one described in 10.1.5.

The verbs accept independent aspect and directional marking, as shown in example (14a). Examples (14b) and (14c) illustrate that Adverbs and Location/Direction NPs have scope over only one of the verbs.

(14) (a) eypek da-k- rokw+da-k- ay-ey, (rey) yuwp+ tapwo lam-k'-e

thus FA-IP- do+ FA-IP-go-IP (3MS) kunai+fire DS- get-P

continuing in this way, he got the kunai fire downstream

(b) eypek yiw+ yil- e da-k-rokw+da-k-ay-ey, (rey) yuwp-tapwo ... river+edge-L

continuing along the river in this way, ...

(c) eypek da-k-rokw+da-k-ay-ey, (rey) yuwp+tapwo kupkwap lam-k'-e

quickly

continuing ..., he quickly got the kunai fire downstream

10.2 Nominal constructions

There are six types of nominal constructions in Awtuw, all of which involve a predication as a constituent of an NP.

10.2.1 Reanalysis of case markers

The constructions to be discussed in this section all share two formal properties, a suffix homophonous with the Object marker on the embedded verb and permutability of the embedded predication with relation to the matrix clause. A number of them share a third, the ability of the subject of the embedded predicate to take possessive marking.
1. The subordinate verb in any nominal construction may optionally bear the suffix -re. As I will discuss in section 10.3, verbs in adverbial constructions may bear the suffix -re-k. These two suffixes are homophonous with the object and instrumental/comitative case markers, respectively (see Chapter 6).

While a number of the constructions discussed in this section are, in fact, direct object complements, it is interesting that subject complements, although marginal, may take -re, as shown in section 10.2.4. Relative clauses may also take this suffix. It would appear therefore that this case marker has been at least partially reanalysed as a subordination marker. But since -re retains its object-marking function in many cases, I will continue to gloss it as such. There is no convincing evidence that the Instrumental/Comitative suffix has undergone a similar reanalysis.

2. The embedded predications discussed in the subsequent sections may, like most constituents of an Awtuw clause, occur clause initially or finally, as well as clause medially. For the most part, I will exemplify only the clause medial construction, but I will insert illustrative examples of these constituents in other positions from time to time.

3. Many of these constructions allow the expression of the subject of the embedded predicate with possessive marking. Wherever this is possible, I mention it explicitly and exemplify the phenomenon.

10.2.2 Future complement constructions

The first three constructions we will be examining require a verb with future marking in the nominal clause. These constructions express desire or lack of desire to do something, remembering or forgetting to do something, asking or telling someone to do something, and purpose. In each case, the future-marked verb depicts an action that must take place after the situation depicted by the matrix verb. This makes the future marking seem semantically natural.

1. In one of these, the covert subject of the nominal clause must be co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause. Although Awtuw lacks an infinitive form, this bears a close resemblance to an infinitive construction.

In this construction, the future verb functions as the complement of the other verb, as signalled by the Object suffix. The Object-marked verb may have an object of its own, but it has no overt subject as it is necessarily co-referential with the subject of the other verb.

There is a limited class of roots that can occur as the matrix verb in this construction, specifically, a subset of the cognition verbs. This class includes the two preference verbs, away lay like and yawa don't like, don't want when they mean like/want to and not like/want to.

(15) Kampiy lape ke w ikiy-re-re de-yaw'- o
    Kaempiy village-L NF-stay-F O FA-not want-P

Kampiy doesn't want/like to stay in the village

The two memory verbs mane arney (ear) forget and nenam-e nak (hold in thought) remember enter into this construction when they mean remember/forget to.

(16) (a) wan aye ra- re-re mane d- arney- kay
    1SG food eat-FU-O ear FA-forget-PF

I've forgotten to eat
Awtuw uses the same construction to express purpose when the embedded subject is co-referential with the matrix subject. In this construction the matrix verb may be any root and the embedded verb bears future marking and the object suffix.

A variant of this construction allows away lay like, want to take an object-marked future complement whose subject is a possessive NP co-referential with the matrix subject.

2. In the second construction, the covert subject of the object-marked future verb is obligatorily co-referential with the indirect object of the matrix verb.

Again, only a limited class of predicates may take this construction. This class includes the two speech verbs *yɔŋŋa* ask and *māk* tell when they mean ask to and tell to.

Note that the indirect object of the matrix clause can not intervene between Liwmiye and wayrere.

The preference verbs can also participate in this construction.

3. Finally, purpose clauses, like the purpose structures described above, always have a verb in the future. In this construction, however, there are no co-reference restrictions.

The subject of such a purpose clause may bear possessive marking.
10.2.3 Imperfective complement constructions

Two types of complements require an imperfective form. In one case, the imperfective verb depicts a skill that is known, not known, or taught. In the other, it depicts a situation that is perceived directly while it is going on. The imperfective form is semantically well-suited to such imperfective situations.

1. The first type allows the two knowledge quasi-verbs neknek know and arene don't know to occur in the meaning (not) know how to.

(23) (a) Altiy-wo take da-k- r'- ey-re neknek
    Altiy-only bow stop FA-IP-plait-IP-O know
    only Altiy knows how to plait bow stops

(b) Altiy-wo neknek take da-k- r'- ey(-re)
    Altiy-only know bow stop FA-IP-plait-IP-O
    only Altiy knows how to plait bow stops

The verb jymley teach, show also takes this construction.

(24) Kukrown wan-e yilmat da-k- nak- ey-re d- jymley-e
    Kukrown lSG-O string FA-IP-hold-IP-O FA-teach- P
    Kukrown taught me to make string figures

2. Direct perception complements have their verbs in the imperfective with object marking and their covert subjects are co-referential with the matrix direct object. The perception verbs that take such complements are wan hear, gYQ smell, and 2e see.

(25) wan Numoy-re aye da-k- rokra-y- re d- ayn'- e
    1SG Numoy-O food FA-IP-cook- IP-O FA-smell-P
    I smelled Numoy cooking food

It is not possible for the matrix object to refer to the object of the embedded verb in this construction. Example (26a), while grammatical, exemplifies not a direct perception complement, but a relative clause. Note that it is possible to insert a perfect verb form, which is not a feature of this construction, in (26b). Example (26c) shows that an unambiguous relative clause construction is synonymous with (26a).

(26) (a) wan aye- re Numoy da-k- rokra-y- re d- ayn'- e
    1SG food-O Numoy FA-IP-cook- IP-O FA-smell-P
    I smelled the food that Numoy was cooking

(b) wan aye- re Numoy rokra-kay-re d- ayn'- e
    1SG food-O Numoy cook- PF- O FA-smell-P
    I smelled the food that Numoy had cooked

(c) wan Numoy da-k- rokra-y- re aye- re d- ayn'- e
    1SG Numoy FA-IP-cook- IP-O food-O FA-smell-P
    I smelled the food that Numoy was cooking

When the complement subject is overt, it occurs as a possessive pronoun co-referential with the matrix direct object.

(27) Osiy Takiy-re d- uwp-o rey-ke aye da-k- rokra-y- re
    Osiy Takiy-O FA-see-P 3MS-PS food FA-IP-cook- IP-O
    Osiy saw Takiy cooking food
Perception verbs can also take direct perception complements whose subject is marked as possessive. In this case, the complement itself serves as the unique direct object of the matrix clause.

(28) (a) Osiy Takiy rey-ke aye də-k- rokra-y- re d- uwp-o
Osiy Takiy 3MS-PS food FA-IP-cook- IP-O FA-see-P
Osiy saw Takiy's cooking food
(b) Osiy Takiy d- uwp-o rey-ke aye də-k- rokra-y(-re)
Osiy Takiy FA-see-P 3MS-PS food FA-IP-cook- IP-O
Osiy saw Takiy's cooking food

10.2.4 Subject complements

Subject complements, which are unusual in Awtuw, and whose predicate may only be a predicate NP or adjective phrase, also have an imperfective verb form that may be marked with -re.

A nominal construction with an imperfective verb form may function as the subject of certain types of verbless predication. This construction occurs very infrequently.

(29) (a) Poytin antante ñow di-k- yel-ey(-re) monokene yapor
Poytin always tear FA-IP-cry-IP-O bad very it's very bad that Poytin always cries
(b) ñay də-k- ra- y(-re) wan-ke lake
betelnut FA-IP-eat-IP-O 1SG-PS bone
chewing betelnut is my thing

It is surprising that the only available strategy for forming subject complements can accept object marking. It would appear that -re has become partly generalised as a marker of subordination and that on those rare occasions when called upon to produce a subject complement, Awtuw speakers are therefore inclined to mark the clause with the subordination marker.

10.2.5 Indirect discourse, inferential perception, and cognition

In this construction, the verb marked with -re may bear any tense marker and may carry a full set of arguments and adjuncts. This strategy has three major functions. It is used for inferential perception complements, for indirect discourse complements, and for indirect cognition complements.

Whatever the semantic function, clauses of this sort have in common the feature that the tense of the complement is relative to the tense of the matrix verb.

Thus, if the matrix verb is present, i.e. unmarked, then an unmarked complement verb refers to an event contemporaneous with the speech event, a past complement verb to an event prior to it, and a future complement verb to an event subsequent to it.

(30) (a) rey rom yaw di-k- itwar-e- m- re də-k- mak-ey
3MS 3PL pig FA-IP-bake- IP-PL-O FA-IP-say-IP
he says that they are baking a pig
(b) rey rom yaw di-k- itwar-e- m- e-re də-k- mak-ey
3MS 3PL pig FA-IP-bake- IP-PL-P-O FA-IP-say-IP
he says that they were baking a pig
Similarly, if the matrix verb is past, then an unmarked complement verb refers to a contemporaneous event, a past complement verb to a prior event, and a future complement verb to a subsequent event.

And if the matrix verb is future, then the tense marking of the complement verb again refers to time with relation to the time of the matrix verb.

A perfect form in the complement has much the same semantic effect as a perfect form in an independent clause. In the latter case it may refer to an event completed prior to the speech event, in the former, to an event completed prior to the time indicated by the tense of the complement verb, which is determined in turn by the tense of the matrix verb.

In example (34) each perfect complement verb indicates that the baking is complete at the time referred to by the tense. So in (34a), the unmarked tense of the complement verb refers to a time contemporaneous with the time of māk say. In (34b), the past tense of the itwar bake refers to a time prior to the time of the matrix verb, and the perfect indicates that the baking was completed at that time. And in example (34c), the perfect of the complement verb indicates that the baking will be complete at the time referred to by the future.
(34) (c) rey rom yaw w- itwar-ka-m- re-re dα-k- mak-ey
3MS 3PL pig NF-bake- PF-PL-FU-O FA-IP-say-IP
he says that they will have baked a pig

The same kinds of interpretation apply to complements of matrix verbs in other tenses. The glosses in example (35) are not precisely equivalent to the Awtuw they gloss. Example (35a) means that they will have finished baking the pig at a time subsequent to the time he said it, which is of course prior to the time of the speech event. Example (35b) means that at some time before he says it, they will have finished baking the pig.

(35) (a) rey rom yaw w- itwar-ka-m- re-re dα-mak-e
3MS 3PL pig NF-bake- PF-PL-FU-O FA-say-P
he said that they would have baked a pig

(b) rey rom yaw d- itwar-kay-e-m- re mak-re
3MS 3PL pig FA-bake- PF- P-PL-O say-FU
he will say that they had baked a pig

As is common in comparable constructions in other languages, there is also a relativity of person in the complement, because the narrator relates the act of perception, speech, or cognition from his or her own point of view. So, for example, if Takiy utters the sentence in example (36) to Yawur, Yawur would report the speech to Napeyre as in example [36a] and to Takiy as in example [36b].

(36) 'wan Napeyre-te tawkway kow- re'
1SG Napeyre-O tobacco give-FU
'I'll give Napeyre some tobacco'

[36] [a] Takiy wan-e yen-e tawkway kow- re-re dα-mak-e
Takiy 1SG-O 2SG-O tobacco give-FU-O FA-say-P
Takiy told me that he would give you some tobacco

[b] yen wan-e tey-e tawkway kow- re-re dα-mak-e
2SG 1SG-O 3MS-O tobacco give-FU-O FA-say-P
you told me that you would give her some tobacco

1. Perception verbs take this type of complement in the sense that the perception enables the subject to infer the situation depicted by the complement. Thus Kampo in example (37) did not actually observe his father going, but his observations enabled him to surmise that his father had gone.

(37) Kampo rey-rey-ke ńawar d- āy-kay-e-re d- uwp-o
Kampo 3MS-3MS-PS father FA-go-PF- P-O FA-see-P
Kampo saw that his father had gone

2. The two speech verbs also take this construction, as illustrated in the preceding examples and here in (38).

(38) 'wan (Naytow-re) Yawur mαw- e d- āy-e-re dα-mak-e
1SG (Naytow- ) Yawur bush-I, FA-go-P-O FA-say-P
I told (Naytow) whether Yawur went to the bush

The interpretation of the complement is as indirect speech — the speaker merely reports the narrated speech event, and does not attempt to reproduce it.
3. All the cognition verbs, including the preference verbs, can enter into this construction.

(39) tey Awtiy Taypil-e w- ewr'-eya- re-re nenam di-k- lay- ey-e 
3FS Awtiy Talbipi-L NF-AGN- come-FU-O thought FA-IP-bear-IP-P
she was thinking that Awtiy would return from Talbipi

Complements of this type often occur sentence finally with their subject appearing as the direct object of the matrix verb. Perception and cognition verbs can take this construction, preference and speech verbs do not.

(40) (a) wan Osiy-re da-wan- e taw d- uwk- o-re
1SG Osiy-O FA-hear-P tree FA-fell-P-O
I heard that Osly felled a tree
(b) rey Numoy-re neknek Liwmiy-e w- ay-re-re
3MS Numoy-O know Lumi- L NF-go-FU O
he knows that Numoy will go to Lumi
(c) *rey Numoy-re de-yaw'- o Liwmiy-e d- ay-e-re
3MS Numoy-O FA-not want-P Lumi- L FA-go-P-O
*he doesn't want that Numoy went to Lumi
(d) rey Numoy-re da-mak-e Liwmiy-e d- ay-e-re
3MS Numoy-O FA-say-P Lumi- L FA-go-P-O
he told Numoy that someone went to Lumi
*he said that Numoy went to Lumi

This construction does not permit the complement subject to occur as a possessive pronoun.

(41) *rey Numoy-re neknek rey-ke Liwmiy-e d- ay-e-re
3MS Numoy-O know 3MS-PS Lumi- L FA-go-P-O
*he knows that Numoy went to Lumi

10.2.6 Cause and result clauses

Awtuw uses a superficially similar strategy to form cause and result clauses. These clauses may also have object marking on the verb and possessive marking on the embedded subject. But their subjects never occur as the direct object of the matrix verb and the tense of the embedded clause is not relative to the tense of the matrix clause.

(42) (a) Yawur Peyaw awtuw rokwo-ka-re rey-e tawkway da-kow- o
Yawur Peyaw none do- PF-O 3MS-O tobacco FA-give-P
Yawur gave Peyaw tobacco because he had run out
(b) Peyaw rey-ke awtuw rokwo-ka(-re) Yawur rey-e tawkway da-kow- o
Peyaw 3MS-PS none do- PF- O Yawur 3MS-O tobacco FA-give-P
Yawur gave Peyaw tobacco because he had run out
(c) Yawur Peyaw awtuw rokw-re-re rey-e tawkway da-kow- o
Yawur Peyaw none do- FU-O 3MS-O tobacco FA-give-P
Yawur gave Peyaw tobacco because he will run out
(d) Yawur Peyaw rey-ke awtuw rokwo-ka-re rey-e tawkway da-kow- o
Yawur Peyaw 3MS-PS none do- PF-O 3MS-O tobacco FA-give-P
Yawur gave Peyaw tobacco because he had run out
(43) (a) Yawur Peyaw-re tawkway da-k-ow-re rey awtuw rokw-o
   Yawur Peyaw-O tobacco FA-give-P-O 3MS none do- P
   Peyaw ran out of tobacco so Yawur gave him some
(b) Yawur Peyaw-re tawkway da-kow- re rey awtuw rokw-re
   Yawur Peyaw-O tobacco FA-give-P-O 3MS none do- FU
   Peyaw will run out of tobacco so Yawur gave him some
(c) Yawur Peyaw-re tawkway da-kow-re rey awtuw rokw-re
   Yawur Peyaw-O tobacco FA-give-p-O 3MS none do- FU
   Peyaw will run out of tobacco so Yawur gave him some

10.2.7 Relative clauses

Relative clauses have much the same structure as the complements discussed in
the preceding paragraphs. Relative clauses typically occur between a
determiner and a noun, and while there is no restriction on their tense, the
most common relative clauses are those with an imperfective verb unmarked for
tense as in example (44a).

(44) (a) rey kil da- k- a-low- ey-re rame lakna-kay
       3MS speech FA-IP-speak-IP-O man die- PF
       the talkative man has died
(b) rey yen tawkway da-k'-a-re rame(-re-k) lakna-kay
       3MS 2SG tobacco FA-get-P-O man- I die- PF
       the man you got tobacco from has died
(c) rey [yapaar] d- uwpo-kay-re rame lumwo-wo d- ay-e
       3MS kangaroo FA-see- PP-O man slow- ADV FA-go-P
       the man who had seen the kangaroo walked slowly

This same strategy is used to relativise all positions on the NP Accessibility
Hierarchy except possessives (Keenan and Comrie 1977, 1979). Examples (44a) and
(44c) illustrate relativisation on a subject, and (44b), on a source of getting
with instrumental marking. Example (45a) illustrates relativisation on a
direct object, (45b) on an indirect object, (45c) on a beneficiary, (45d) on a
comitative, (45e) on an instrument, and (45f) on a locative.

(45) (a) tey wan d- uwpo-o-re tale Wutlakw-o d- likiy
       3FS ISG FA-see-P-O woman Gutaiye-L FA-stay
       the woman I saw lives in Gutaiye
(b) rey wan tawkway da-ka-kow- ey-e re rame lakna-kay
       3MS ISG tobacco FA-IP-give-IP-O man die- PF
       the man I used to give tobacco to has died
(c) tey Yawur aare- d- uy- kow-kay-re tale w- eya- re
       3FS Yawur house-FA-build-BEN-PF-O woman NF-come-FU
       the woman Yawur has built a house for will come
(d) rey wan d- ey'-e-re rame aye da-k- ra- y
       3MS ISG FA-come-P-O man food FA-IP-eat-IP
       the man I came with is eating
(e) rey wan taw d- uwk-o-re yekne perper mede
       3MS ISG tree FA-fell-P-O axe sharp very
       the axe I felled the tree with is very sharp
Another strategy leaves a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause. This strategy relativises all positions on the Hierarchy including possessives, as shown in example (46).

(46) rey rey-ke piyr en wan-e d- æl- i-re rame løkna-keay
3MS 3MS-PS dog 1SG-O FA-bite-P-O man  die- PF
the man whose dog bit me has died

In yet another strategy, the head noun takes case marking appropriate to its role in the relative clause. This construction can also relativise all positions except possessives.

(47) (a) tey Yawur æwre d- uy- kow-kay-re tale- re w- eya- re
3FS Yawur house-FA-build-BEN-PF- O woman-0 NF-come-FU
the woman Yawur has built a house for will come
(b) rey wan taw d- uwk- o-re yekne-re-k perper mede
3MS 1SG tree FA-fell-P-O axe- O- I sharp very
the axe I felled the tree with is very sharp

It is possible to summarise the attributes of the three constructions in terms of two principles:

1. A resumptive pronoun must carry possessive marking when relativising on a possessive NP.
2. The head noun may bear the case marking of the position from which it was relativised when there is no resumptive pronoun.

The head noun of any relative clause may occupy any syntactic position in the matrix clause, as illustrated in example (48).

(48) (a) rey æye da-k- ra- y- re rame-re wan d- uwpo-0
3MS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O man- O 1SG FA-see-P
I saw the man who is eating
(b) rey æye da-k- ra- y- re rame-re wan tawkway da-kow- kay
3MS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O man- O 1SG tobacco FA-give-PF
I gave tobacco to the man who is eating
(c) rey æye da-k- ra- y- re rame-re wan æwre d- uy- kow- kay
3MS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O man- O 1SG house FA-build-BEN-PF
I have built a house for the man who is eating
(d) rey æye da-k- ra- y- re rame-re k wan d- eya- kay
3MS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O man- O- I 1SG FA-come-PF
I came with the man who is eating
(e) rey yen da-ka- kay-re yekne-re-k wan taw d- uwk- o
3MS 2SG FA-get-PF- O axe- O- I 1SG tree FA-fell-P
I felled a tree with the axe that you have taken
(f) rey yen d- uy- e-re æwre-ke yæn- wom da-k- owna- m
3MS 2SG FA-build-P-O house-PL child-PL FA-IP-sleep-PL
the boys sleep in the house that you built
A relative clause can follow the head noun with appositional intonation and non-restrictive sense, a matter I have discussed in 7.6.

(49) rey rame(-re-k) (rey) aye da-k- ra- y- re wan d- eya- kay
    3MS man- O- I 3MS food FA-IP-eat-IP-O 1SG FA-come-PF
    I came with the man, who is eating

10.3 Adverbial constructions

An adverbial construction marks the verb of the embedded clause with the instrumental/comitative suffix -re-k. The verb in such a clause selects all verbal categories but tense and illocutionary force independently of the matrix clause and has its own set of arguments and adjuncts. Its tense is relative to the tense of the matrix verb.

The subject of a verb marked as instrumental may appear with possessive marking.

(50) nom yen-ke ma-wey- e-wa- re-k- kil d- allow+d- ay-ka-m
    1PL 2SG-PS go-arrive-P-just-O- I speech FA-talk+FA=go-PF-PL
    we have gone on talking since you arrived

Sequence of tenses in this construction is quite different from the sequence of tenses described above in section 10.2.5. Here an embedded verb must either bear the same tense marker as the matrix verb, or no tense marking at all.

A matrix verb of any tense may embed a verb unmarked for tense.

(51) (a) rey wan da-k- aye-ey-re-k di-ik- i
    3MS 1SG FA-IP-go-IP-O -I FA-sit-P
    he sat down when I was going

(b) rey wan da-k- aye-ey-re-k di-ik- iy
    3MS 1SG FA-IP-go-IP-O- I FA-IP-sit-IP
    he is sitting down while I am going

(c) rey wan da-k- aye-ey-re-k w- ik- re
    3MS 1SG FA-IP-go-IP-O- I NF-sit-FU
    he will sit down when I am going

A future matrix verb may also embed a future form, and a past matrix verb can embed a past form.

(52) (a) *rey wan d- aye-re-k w- ik- re
    3MS 1SG FA-go-P-O- I NF-sit-FU
    *he'll sit down when I went

(b) rey wan w- aye-re-re-k w- ik- re
    3MS 1SG NF-go-FU-O- I NF-sit-FU
    he'll sit down when I go

(53) (a) rey wan d- aye-re-k di-ik- i
    3MS 1SG FA-go-P-O- I FA-sit-P
    he sat down when I went

(b) *rey wan w- aye-re-re-k di-ik- i
    3MS 1SG NF-go-FU-O- I FA-sit-P
    *he sat down when I will go
But an unmarked matrix verb can only embed another verb unmarked for tense.

(54)  
(a) *rey wan d- ay-e-re-k di-k- ik- iy  
   3MS lSG FA-go-P-O I FA-IP-sit-IP  
   *he's sitting down when I went  

(b) *rey wan w- ay-re-re-k di-k- ik- iy  
   3MS lSG NF-go-F-U-O I NF-IP-sit-IP  
   *he's sitting down when I'll go  

(c) rey wan da- k- ay-ey-re-k di-k- ik- iy  
   3MS lSG FA-IP-go-IP-O I NF-IP-sit-IP  
   he's sitting down while I go  

(d) rey wan da- ay-ka-re-k di-k- ik- iy  
   3MS lSG FA- go-PF-O I NF-IP-sit-IP  
   he's sitting down when I've gone

As I mentioned in section 4.12, Awtuw's ability to code a variety of aspectual and adverbial categories in compounding roots and elsewhere in the verb complex compensates for its lack of conjunctions. These categories, along with regular aspect marking and the adverbial prefixes in slots -5 and -4, make it possible to form a wide variety of temporal clauses.

An embedded clause with imperfective marking is typically interpreted as a while-clause. The adverbial prefix taw- still can reinforce this interpretation.

(55) yen nom aye taw- k- rokra-y- m- e-re-k lape- ke ma-vey- e  
   2SG lPL food still-IP-cook- IP-PL-P-O I village-L GO-arrive-P  
   you arrived in the village while we were still cooking food

An imperfective matrix verb and an embedded perfect verb result in a structure analogous to an until-clause. This interpretation is strengthened by the addition of the compounding root taw- begin to the matrix verb.

(56) nom yen w- eya- kay-re-re-k kil ka-k- alow- taw'- ey-re-m  
   1PL 2SG NF-come-PF- FU-O I speech NG-IP-speak-begin-IP-FU-PL  
   we won't start talking until you have arrived

And an embedded past verb combines with an ay serialisation (see 10.1.2) with perfect marking to form a since-clause.

(57) nom yen ma-vey- e-wa- re-k kil da-alow+d- ay-ka-m  
   1PL 2SG go-arrive-P-just-O I speech FA-talk+FA-go-PF-PL  
   we have gone on talking since you arrived

Clauses with Instrumental marking may occur in any position in the matrix clause - either medially, as in examples (50) and (52), or initially as in (58), or finally, as in (59).

(58) yen-ke ma-vey- e-wa- re-k nom kil da-alow+d- ay-ka-m  
   2SG-PS go-arrive-P-just-O I 1PL speech FA-talk+FA-go-PF-PL  
   we have gone on talking since you arrived

(59) nom kil da-alow+d- ay-ka-m yen-ke ma-vey- e-wa- re-k  
   1PL speech FA-talk+FA-go-PF-PL 2SG-PS go-arrive-P-just-O I  
   we have gone on talking since you arrived
10.4 Conditional constructions

Awtuw has two types of conditional sentences. Future conditionals have verbs marked for future in both the protasis and the apodosis, as in (61), and counterfactual conditionals have verbs marked as conditional in both clauses, as in (60) and (62). In either case, there is a strict constraint that the two interdependent clauses bear the same marking for tense and modality, although each verb selects aspect, direction, and negative marking independently. Moreover, each verb carries an independent set of arguments and adjuncts.

(60) ye le w- it- ik, wan ka-w- a y-ak
rain NF-rain-CDL 1SG NG-NF-go-CDL
if it had rained, I wouldn’t have gone

(61) ye le w- it- re, wan ka- w- a y-re
rain NF-rain-FU 1SG NG- NF-go-FU
if it rains, I won’t go

(62) yen topor rame-re ka-w- owpa-kak, wan maw- e w- a y-kay-ak
2SG that man- O NG-NF-see- CDL lSG bush-L NF-go-PF- CDL
if you hadn’t seen that man, I would have gone to the bush

The protasis always precedes the apodosis in such constructions, as in (63).

(63) wan ka-w- a y-ak, ye le ka-w- it- ik
1SG NG-NF-go-CDL rain NG-NF-rain-CDL
if I hadn’t gone, it wouldn’t have rained
*if it hadn’t rained, I wouldn’t have gone

10.5 Co-ordinated clauses

In addition to the various serialisation and subordination strategies described in the preceding sections, Awtuw can concatenate fully independent clauses. One such clause is never embedded in the other, nor may either clause bear case marking. Each clause is always entirely acceptable on its own.

Unlike the previously described strategies, where the tense of the verb in one clause was dependent upon the tense of the other - either determined by the construction, or relative to the time of the matrix verb, the tense of each clause in co-ordinate constructions is independent of the other. The tense of every verb has absolute time reference.

Furthermore, the clauses in these constructions are independent with respect to illocutionary force. One clause may be in a debitive or potential modality, or be a question, while the other is not.

(64) wan Liwmiy-e d- e ya- kay, yen po yipke w- a y-re
1SG Lumi- L FA-come-PF 2SG PCL where FA-go-FU
I’ve come from Lumi, and where are you going?

(65) an ki-t- ik ta, wan po aye ma- rokra-kow-re
2DU IM-DU-sit here 1SG PCL food GO-cook- BEN-FU
you two sit here and I’ll go cook you some food
10.5.1 When two or more co-ordinated clauses have the same verb as their predicate, the verb of the second and subsequent clauses may be deleted.

(68) Awtiy yaw-re d- iy- e, Mimpel komkoran-re, Yawur kewyane-re
Awtiy pig-0 FA-shoot-P Mimpel bat-0 Yawur cassowary-0
Awtiy shot a pig, Mimpel a bat, and Yawur a cassowary

Indeed, when the verb is recoverable from context, it may be deleted altogether.

(69) (a) om yipke w- ay-re-m
2PL where NF-go-FU-PL
where are you all going?

(b) wan Liwmiy-e, Yawur Tąypil- e, Altiy Wutlakw-o
1SG Lumi-L Yawur Talbipi-L Altiy Gutaiye-L
I'm going to Lumi, Yawur to Talbipi, and Altiy to Gutaiye

10.5.2 There are three types of co-ordinate construction that deserve special discussion.

Comparative clauses involve the verb ereyer surpass in the second clause.

(70) (a) rey lalal da-k- rokw-ey, yaw d- eryer- kay
3MS noise FA-IP-do- IP pig FA-surpass-PF
he makes more noise than a pig

(b) rey lalal da-k- rokw-ey, yaw rey-e d- eryer- kay
3MS noise FA-IP-do- IP pig 3MS-O FA-surpass-PF
he makes less noise than a pig

Direct discourse clauses follow a speech verb and one of the ((t)ey)(pek)(wo) adverbs thus. Unlike indirect discourse complements, they never take case marking or occur clause medially. Tense and person are not relative to the tense and person in the matrix clause.

(71) rāw ey de-yarn'-e, 'yen po wokrampe yokri'
3DU thus FA-ask-P 2SG PCL troll PCL
they two asked, 'are you a troll?'

Manner and degree clauses involve a special construction with the expression yen eywo make you would say/think with an indirect discourse complement in the imperfective.
(72) rey lalal da-k- rokw-ey yen eywo mak-re yaw da-k- ra- y-re
3MS noise FA-IP-do- IP 2SG thus say-PU pig FA-IP-eat-IP-O
he makes noise like a pig eating
he makes as much noise as a pig eating

In most cases, it would be far more idiomatic to use a construction with an NP
bearing the comparative suffix -kwo (cf. 8.3.3).

(73) rey lalal da-k- rokw-ey yaw-kwo
3MS noise FA-IP-do- IP pig-like
he makes noise like a pig
he makes as much noise as a pig

10.6 Co-referential NPs

In any of the constructions discussed above that do not entail specific
co-reference constraints, the possibility of confusion arises. Awtuw
compensates for this in large measure pragmatically by interpreting the
antecedent of a deleted NP as the most plausible NP available.

(74) Kampo Poytin-te du-puy'-e, now di-yel-e
Kampo Poytin-o FA-hit- P tear FA-cry-P
Kampo hit Poytin and she cried

In this case the antecedent of the missing NP in the second clause is
interpreted as the object of the first — Poytin got hit, so she must be the
one who cried.

When two or more NPs are equally likely candidates for the role of antecedent
of a deleted NP, the default interpretation is that it is the subject of the
preceding clause.

(75) Kampo Poytin-te du-puy'-e, d-upoka+d- ay-e
Kampo Poytin-o FA-hit- P FA-flee+ FA-go-P
Kampo hit Poytin and fled

When the antecedent is the subject of the preceding clause, but it is not the
most plausible candidate, an emphatic pronoun must occur in the second clause
(cf. 5.1.1).

(76) Kampo Poytin-te du-puy'-e, rey-rey now di-yel-e
Kampo Poytin-o FA-hit- P 3MS-3MS tear FA-cry-P
Kampo hit Poytin and he, himself, cried

10.7 Correlation of forms and functions

Table 10.1 correlates the various constructions relating predicates and clauses
in Awtuw with their semantic functions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECT</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>FUNCTIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Root compounds</td>
<td>Benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Pretend' auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Quantitification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Consecutive action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Obstructive purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Truncated verb serialisation</td>
<td>Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Direction</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Repetition serialisation</td>
<td>Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Full verb concatenation</td>
<td>Simultaneous action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Consecutive action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Verb phrase concatenation</td>
<td>Consecutive action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Present imperfective</td>
<td>Simultaneous action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Future complement</td>
<td>Jussive</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Psych-action'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Imperfective complements</td>
<td>'know how'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'teach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Direct perception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Subject complement</td>
<td>Subject complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Sequence of tense complement</td>
<td>Indirect discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indirect cognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inferential perception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cause and result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>Head noun</td>
<td>Relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>-rek suffix</td>
<td>Temporal clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Interdependent</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Co-ordination</td>
<td>Consecutive action</td>
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<td>5.2</td>
<td>eyver</td>
<td>Comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ey mak</td>
<td>Direct discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yen eywo makre</td>
<td>Manner, degree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 11
LEXICAL FIELDS

11.1 Terminology of kinship and affinity

11.1.1 We can begin the discussion of kinship and affinity terms by listing them in full along with a gloss, the plural form, and the form used for relations to other than the speaker, if any. Figure 11.1 illustrates the denotation of most of these terms for the most direct link to a male ego. Note that a triangle in Figures 11.1-6 represents a male and a circle, a female. A circle within a triangle represents a person of either sex and a triangle within a circle, a person of the opposite sex to the person represented by a circle within a triangle. An affine to whom the name taboo (see below) applies is represented by a shaded circle or triangle.

Note the following abbreviations used in this section:

- B brother
- C child
- D daughter
- F father
- H husband
- M mother
- P parent
- S son
- Sb sibling
- Sp spouse
- W wife
- Z sister

11.1.2 We can identify the focus of a kinship term as the kinsman a speaker refers to as \([KT]\) mede real \([KT]\) and represent the meanings of the foci componentially in terms of the following semantic features.

(a) Affine — specified \([+\)] if the named relative is related to Ego through a marriage link.

(b) Ascending generation — specified \([+\)] if the named relative's generation is prior to Ego's or if the relation involves a link between two other relatives in an ascending generation.

(c) One generation — specified \([+\)] if the named relative is one generation removed from Ego or related through a link between two other relatives one generation removed from Ego.

(d) Brother/sister — specified \([+\)] if the relation involves any link between brother and sister.

(e) Prior birth — specified \([+\)] if the named relative is older than the same sex sibling through whom he or she is related to Ego. The relevant same sex sibling may be Ego.

(f) Female — specified \([+\)] if the named relative is female.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERM</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th>NON-FIRST PERSON</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ŋaye</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>ŋaye-wom</td>
<td>ŋawər</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ŋamey</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>ŋamey-wom</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>neme</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. lam</td>
<td>younger /</td>
<td>lam lamim</td>
<td>lamur</td>
<td>lamut</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. yaye</td>
<td>older /</td>
<td>yaye-wom</td>
<td>nemaner</td>
<td>nemanet</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. napre</td>
<td>opposite sex sibling</td>
<td>napre-wom</td>
<td>napre-r</td>
<td>naper</td>
<td>naper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. eywe</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
<td>(owyim)</td>
<td>yar</td>
<td>-?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ьян</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>ьян-wom</td>
<td>ьеан</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. yenkeyke</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
<td>yenkeykim</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. waway</td>
<td>mother's brother</td>
<td>waway-wom</td>
<td>yane r</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. mame</td>
<td>father's sister</td>
<td>mame-wom</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mame t</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. elne</td>
<td>parents /'s son</td>
<td>elne-wom</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. ene</td>
<td>parents y/</td>
<td>ene-wom</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tamyən</td>
<td>MB child</td>
<td>tamyən-yənim</td>
<td>tamor</td>
<td>tamot</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. yawyən</td>
<td>sister's child</td>
<td>yawyən-yənim</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. yapor</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>yapum</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. talet</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>talem</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. rer</td>
<td>WB, ZH (MS)</td>
<td>ewerim</td>
<td>ewrerən</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. yətkəlne</td>
<td>BW, HZ (FS)</td>
<td>yətkəlne-yənim</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. təpiyne</td>
<td>MBDH</td>
<td>təpiyne-yənim</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. yenan</td>
<td>child's spouse</td>
<td>yenan-wom</td>
<td>yenaner</td>
<td>yenanet</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. ayram</td>
<td>xSpx</td>
<td>ayram-yənim</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. walne</td>
<td>xSpP, CSPx</td>
<td>walne-yənim</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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</table>
Figure 11.1: Simplified diagram of kin and affines
Table 11.2: Feature specifications for kinship term foci
(A specification of [0] may be either [+1 or [-].)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERM</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>AFFINE</th>
<th>ASCEND</th>
<th>1 GEN</th>
<th>B/S</th>
<th>PRIOR</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
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<td>ṇaye</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇamey</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam</td>
<td>younger same sex Sb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaye</td>
<td>older same sex Sb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napre</td>
<td>opposite sex Sb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eywe</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣan</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yenankankeyke</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waway</td>
<td>mother's brother</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>mame</td>
<td>father's sister</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elne</td>
<td>parent's same sex Sb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ene</td>
<td>parent's younger SSSb</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawyen</td>
<td>sister's child</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yapor</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talet</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rer</td>
<td>WB, ZH (ms)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vætkælne</td>
<td>BW, HZ (fs)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tæpiyne</td>
<td>MBDH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yenan</td>
<td>child's spouse</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayram</td>
<td>xSpP</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walne</td>
<td>xSpP, CSpx</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.1.3 Next, referring to Figures 11.1-6, we can examine the extensions of these terms to other kin and affines. Figures 11.2 and 11.3 illustrate kinship and affinity through members of Ego's generation for male and female egos respectively. Figure 11.4 shows kinship through members of the first ascending generation for a male ego. And Figures 11.5 and 11.6 illustrate the relations through the parents of Ego's mother and father respectively, also for a male ego. Note that all members of the second and higher ascending generations are eywe, and, with the exception of Ego's mother's and Ego's parents' mothers' patrilines, all members of the second and higher descending generations are yenankankeyke.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11.3: Extensions of kinship and affinity terms (male Ego)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABBREVIATIONS:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ṣaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ṣamey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. lam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. yayę</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. napre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. eywe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. yän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. yenankankeyke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. waway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. elne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. ene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tamyăn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. yawyăn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. yapor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. talet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. rer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. yätłkalne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. tăpiyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. yenan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. ayram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. walne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 11.2: Kin and affines through Ego's generation (Male Ego)
Figure 11.3: Kin and affines through Ego's generation (Female Ego)
Figure 11.4: Kin and affines through first ascending generation (Male Ego)
Figure 11.5: Kin through mother's parents (Male Ego)
Figure 11.6: Kin through father's parents (Male Ego)
11.1.4 There are several interesting features of this system. First, and most conspicuous, is that the term for mother's brother, waway, is not the same as that for mother's brother's son, tamym. Second, these two terms alternate in subsequent generations. Thus mother's brother's son's son is again waway, his son is tamym, his son waway again, and so forth.

Next, parents' mother's brother's son's descendants are all eywe grandparent regardless of generation. Thus, Ego's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son, who is of the same generation as Ego's grandchildren, is still grandparent to Ego. A male ego may marry his eywe, who is the only relative he may marry. Conversely, a female ego may marry her yenankkeyke grandchild who is the only relation she may marry.

Fourth, there are three special terms for affines, to all of whom the name taboo applies (cf. 11.1.7) and all of which are reciprocal. Tapiyne is mother's brother's daughter's husband or wife's father's sister's son. Ayram is Ego's opposite sex sibling's spouse's opposite sex sibling. And walne is Ego's opposite sex sibling's spouse's parent or child's spouse's opposite sex sibling. Note that these are not the only affines whose names Ego may not pronounce.

Fifth, Ego's parents' older same sex siblings are addressed and referred to by the same term as grandparents.

Finally, there are two sets of terms for parents' younger same sex siblings. Mother's younger sister may be either namye mother or ene parent's younger same sex sibling while father's younger brother may be either naye father or ene. In neither system, however, is father's brother the same as mother's brother.

This makes classification of the system in terms of the first ascending generation terms problematical. Leaving aside the problem of identifying parents' older same sex siblings with parents' parents, the two co-existing sets of terms for parents' siblings remain problematical. In one case, the terms for father and father's (younger) brother are the same, naye, and contrast with the term for mother's brother, waway - a bifurcate merging system. In the other, the term for father, naye, contrasts with both the term for father's (younger) brother, ene, and that for mother's brother - a bifurcate collateral system (Lowie 1968). Either of these classifications ignores two apparently significant facts - the problem of parents' older same sex siblings remains, and, in the second system, the term for father's younger brother identifies him with mother's younger sister.

There is less difficulty in classifying the Awtuw system according to cousin terms (Murdock 1949:223). This system is unambiguously an Iroquois type. The terms for parallel cousins identify them with siblings and contrast with the terms for cross cousins. Father's older brother's son, mother's older sister's son, and (male) Ego's older brother are all yaye, father's younger brother's son, mother's younger sister's son and Ego's younger brother are all lam, while mother's brother's son and father's sister's son are both tamym.

11.1.5 Next we can look at what various kin and affines call Ego. Several of the terms are reciprocal, others are in a one-to-one relation, and a few are in a one-to-many relation.
Table 11.4: Reciprocity of kinship and affinity terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If Ego calls X:</th>
<th>then X calls Ego:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ṣaye</td>
<td>←→ yәn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ṣamey</td>
<td>←→ yәn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. lam</td>
<td>←→ yaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. yaye</td>
<td>←→ lam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. napre</td>
<td>←→ napre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. eywe</td>
<td>←→ yenankeyke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. yәn</td>
<td>←→ ṣamey, ṣaye, mame, ene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. yenankeyke</td>
<td>←→ eywe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. waway</td>
<td>←→ yawyәn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. mame</td>
<td>←→ yәn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. elne</td>
<td>←→ elne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. ene</td>
<td>←→ yәn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tamәn</td>
<td>←→ tamәn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. yawyәn</td>
<td>←→ waway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. yapor</td>
<td>←→ talet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. talet</td>
<td>←→ yapor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. rer</td>
<td>←→ rer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. yәtkәlne</td>
<td>←→ yәtkәlne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. tәpiyne</td>
<td>←→ tәpiyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. yenan</td>
<td>←→ ṣaye, ṣamey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. ayram</td>
<td>←→ ayram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. walne</td>
<td>←→ walne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.1.6 The birth order of children can be specified by four compounds with yәn. These are not, strictly speaking, part of the system of kinship terminology. They are only used in enumerating one’s children or in specifying the birth order of a particular group of siblings.

watik+yәn (sprout+child)  first child
 takle+yәn  second child
 luwk+yәn (middle+child)  middle child
 palmo+yәn  last child
11.1.7 There is a name taboo associated with various affinal relations. The form this taboo takes is that ego may not pronounce the personal names of anyone standing in the appropriate relation to him or her—Awtuw speakers typically have from three to six personal names—either in reference or in address.

All name taboos are reciprocal, whether the terms by which ego and the specified affine address each other are reciprocal or not. Thus, ego and his sister's husband's sister call each other ayram and may not pronounce each other's names. But although ego calls his wife's mother ġamey and she calls him yenan, they still may not pronounce each other's names. Affines in a name-taboo relationship address and refer to each other by the name of the relation.

Moreover, ego may not address or refer to any namesake of the relevant affines by the tabooed name. Generally, anyone who is not in a name-taboo relation with ego will have at least one personal name that does not overlap with the personal names of those who are in such a relation to ego. Note that the namesake of someone in a name taboo relation with ego may pronounce ego's name, provided ego is not a namesake of someone in a name-taboo relation with that person.

Finally, where an affine in a name-taboo relation to ego has a personal name that is also a common noun or one that resembles a common noun closely, ego may not use that common noun. Affines in a name-taboo relation to ego are represented by filled triangles and circles in Figures 11.1-7.

We can illustrate this with reference to the data in Figure 11.7.

![Figure 11.7: Illustration of application of name taboo](image)

In the case that Figure 11.7 illustrates, ego's mother's brother's wife, who stands in the relation name to ego, is named Rose. Ego's name is not in a name-taboo relation. Ego's wife's mother, who is in a name-taboo relation, is also named Rose. Therefore, when ego marries tanya, he may no longer address or refer to his mother's brother's wife by the name Rose. Furthermore, he may no longer use the common noun rose, but must use a paraphrase. Fortunately, most Awtuw speakers and members of the groups with whom they intermarry have, as I mentioned above, several names. And personal names that resemble common nouns are comparatively rare. Note that ego's mother's brother's wife, Rose, may still pronounce ego's name, provided ego is not the namesake of someone in a name-taboo relation to her.

The affines whose names ego may not pronounce include walne opposite sex sibling's spouse's parent, ayram opposite sex sibling's spouse's opposite sex sibling, tāpiyne mother's brother's daughter's husband, and yenan child's spouse.
In addition, the name taboo applies to specific individuals who Ego calls lam younger same sex sibling, yaye older same sex sibling, naye father, and ngamey mother. Specifically, a male Ego may not pronounce the name of his wife's mother, ngamey, his wife's father, naye, his younger brother's wife, lam, or his wife's older sister, yaye. A female Ego may not pronounce the names of her husband's parents, ngamey and naye, her younger sister's husband, lam, or her husband's older brother, yaye.

It is worth stressing that the taboo on pronouncing the names of specific affines does not entail any other speech taboos. Ego may speak to or about those in a name taboo relation to him or her freely. Indeed, the virilocal residence pattern typical in the Awtuw-speaking area ensures that any male Ego is normally in frequent, if not constant, contact with his younger brother's wife. And any female Ego is in contact with her husband's parents and older brothers.

11.1.8 In addition to other kin relations, two agemates of the same sex may enter into one of two special fictive kin relations voluntarily. These are called marap and milwane and pairs of agemates who have elected to enter into such a relation address and refer to each other by the name of the relation. To enter into a milwane relation, the agemates involved will share a galip nut that has two kernels. There is no comparable ceremony associated with the marap relation, although in other respects they are similar.

11.2 Colour terminology

Awtuw has eight colour terms which I list below along with their glosses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11.5 Awtuw colour terminology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. kiywo-kwo white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. tipray-kwo black (soot-like)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. a3ypi-kwo red (blood-like)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. kowlaw-kwo yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. nene-l-wo green (unripe-like)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. apotaw-kwo blue (like a kind of blue dye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ayle-kwo grey (dry-like)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. tuwp-kwo purple (like a kind of berry)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is apparent from the data in Table 11.5, each of the terms ends in the productive suffix -wo/-kwo like. All save two, kiywo-kwo white and kowlaw-kwo yellow are transparently derived from other lexemes.

Berlin and Kay (1969) have developed and defended a hypothesis that the foci of colour terms do not vary significantly from language to language, and that languages select their basic colour terms from a limited inventory in a predictable manner.

They define the concept of a basic colour term (p.6) as a term that is:

(a) monolexemic — the meaning is not predictable from the meanings of its components,
(b) autonomous — it is not included within the meaning of another colour term,
(c) generally applicable — not restricted to a small class of entities, and
(d) psychologically salient —
   i. occurs early in elicitation of colour terms
   ii. has stable reference
   iii. occurs in all idiolects.

Using these criteria, all of Awtuw's colour terms except kiywo-kwo white and kowlaw-kwo yellow are immediately identifiable as non-basic under criterion (a), although they do, in fact, meet the other criteria.

We can identify those two terms as basic colour terms because, although they bear a productive suffix, or at least something formally indistinguishable from one, their meaning is not predictable.

The data on Awtuw colour terminology were elicited using the same colour chart that Berlin and Kay used in their study. As they suggest, there is remarkable consistency among speakers as to the foci of the various colour terms and an even more remarkable inconsistency regarding the extensions of the terms.

The foci of Awtuw's eight terms are all within the ranges Berlin and Kay predict on the basis of the sample they examined. But Awtuw appears to violate their proposed universal ordering of colour terms.

If we restrict our attention for the present to the two terms that fit the definition of basic colour terms most closely, the terms for white and yellow, we find that they violate Berlin and Kay's first 'distributional restriction': 'All languages contain terms for black and white.' (p.2).

Turning to the other colour terms, although they are not basic under Berlin and Kay's definition, we find that for the most part they conform to Berlin and Kay's predictions, which are summarised in Figure 11.8.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{white} & < \text{red} < \text{green} < \text{blue} < \text{brown} < \text{purple} \\
\text{black} & < \text{yellow} < \text{pink} < \text{orange} < \text{grey}
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 11.8: Berlin and Kay's rule for the distribution of colour terms

Awtuw does, in fact, have terms for the first four positions on the hierarchy. The presence of terms from the last slot on the hierarchy would constitute a serious violation if it did not have such terms. But there is one additional violation — Berlin and Kay predict that a language with a seventh term will have a term for 'brown' and that languages with any of 'purple', 'pink', 'orange', or 'grey' will add those terms after 'brown'. Awtuw's violation, whose import is in some question because the terms involved are polymorphemic, is in having terms from the last category without having a term for 'brown'. The terms mypiykwo red and nenelew green are used by Awtuw speakers in referring to the brown segment of the colour chart. Figure 11.9 exhibits the foci of Awtuw's eight colour terms on a representation of Berlin and Kay's colour chart. The strip at the left consist of a range of greys without hue. The colours on the body of the chart range from red on the left to purple on the right and from light at the top to dark at the bottom. All Awtuw speakers consulted unhesitatingly selected the border of the chart, which is whiter than any of the individual chips on the body of the chart proper, as the focus of kiywokwo white.
1. kiywo-kwo  white  5. nenel-wo  green  
2. tipray-kwo  black  6. apotaw-kwo  blue  
3. æypi-y-kwo  red  7. æyle-kwo  grey  
4. kowlaw-kwo  yellow  8. tuwp-kwo  purple  

(Numerals in the top margin are for reference only.)

Figure 11.9: Foci of Awtuw colour terms
11.3 Numeration and measurement

11.3.1 Numerals

Awtuw has four basic counting numerals. These combine productively with yiyle hand, riwe foot, and rame man to form numerals as high as 419. But in practice, Awtuw speakers seldom use vernacular numerals in excess of 20.

There are several reasons for this. First, for most purposes, Awtuw speakers do not concern themselves with precision of numeration - liwke a lot and yankeyke a little, few are ordinarily sufficiently accurate. Second, in counting cash, Awtuw speakers and their neighbours use a variety of denominations obviating the need for large numerals (see below 11.3.3). And finally, all Awtuw speakers are fluent in Tok Pisin and use Tok Pisin numerals freely in all contexts.

Table 11.6 lists the numerals from one to 20 and examples of higher numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Table 11.6: Awtuw numerals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nay dowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yikiyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>urunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>orkweynaywo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yiyle dami (one hand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yiyle dami yiyle mak (nay)dowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>yiyle dami yiyle mak yikiyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>yiyle dami yiyle mak urunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yiyle dami yiyle mak orkweynaywo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr (two hands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe mak (nay)dowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe mak yikiyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe mak urunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe mak orkweynaywo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe dani (two hands, one foot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe dani riwe mak (nay)dowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe dani riwe mak yikiyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe dani riwe mak urunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe dani riwe mak orkweynaywo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe yikiyr (two hands, two feet or rame+taw naydowo one man+tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>yiyle yikiyr riwe yikiyr, rame dani, yiyle yikiyr riwe dani, riwe mak yikiyr (or) rame+taw naydowo, rame dani, yiyle yikiyr, riwe dani, riwe mak yikiyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>rame+taw yikiyr, rame dani, yiyle mak urunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?419</td>
<td>rame+taw yiyle yikiyr riwey yikiyr, rame dani, yiyle yikiyr, riwe dani, riwe mak orkweynaywo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no ordinal numerals in Awtuw. Any numeral may derive a distributive adverb by reduplicating.

(1) stua tawway urunk-urunk de-ka-kow-ey
    shop tobacco three-three FA-IP-give-IP
    the shop sells cigarettes in threes/three at a time

11.3.2 Counting gestures

Awtuw speakers count on their figures and toes beginning with the right hand open and closing each finger in turn, beginning with the little finger. If counting above five, the process is repeated on the left hand. If counting above ten, one then begins pointing at the toes of either foot, again beginning with the little toe, and continuing in the same way on the other foot. When the occasion arises to count beyond 20, the speaker elicits the assistance of the addressee.

It is interesting to note that orkweynaywo four is clearly derived from orkwey little finger although the little finger is in fact the first finger used in counting.

11.3.3 Counting money

The basic unit of currency is the siliyn (shilling) or mak (mark) ten-toea piece. Since almost all transactions involve multiples of ten toea, it is common to omit any specification of the denomination. The nature of a transaction provides enough information for speaker and addressee to be able to recover the appropriate denomination.

(2) (a) tader yilmät yakwo
    this string how much?
    how much is this string?

    (b) (mak) urunk
    mark three
    three (marks) (=30 toea)

(3) (a) tader yekne yakwo
    this axe how much
    how much is this axe?

    (b) (pawn) urunk
    pound three
    three (pounds) (=6 kina)

(4) (a) yen-ke talet-te yakwo de-kow-ka
    2SG-PS wife-0 how much? FA-give-PF
    how much have you paid for your wife?

    (b) (tawap) rame+taw yikeyr, rame dami, yiyle yikeyr
        stick man+tree two man one hand two
        fifty (stieks) (=500 kina)

Using these three denominations—siliyn or mak ten toea, pawn two kina, and tawap or piwsi ten kina, there is little occasion to use large numerals in describing cash transactions. Fractions of a siliyn, when they arise, are expressed either as a number of toea, or as sikispeniy five toea.
11.3.4 Time
Awtuw makes an eight-way distinction among days counting from the present, as shown in Table 11.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11.7: Days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nikirmey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11.8 lists the times of day.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11.8: Times of day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umkurkwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may dikliweney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piyren dupuyaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawayte*may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawayte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may makalwey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imlukw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Periods of time are expressed in terms of im night(s), wiyk week(s), yilmake moon, month(s), or yia year(s).

Days of the week and months of the year are all borrowed from Tok Pisin.

Other temporal adverbs are shown in Table 11.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11.9: Temporal adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mowkwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reyek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emtemte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modak-yarow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaltuwp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.4 Body part terminology

Awuwa constructs body part terms by compounding the name of the area of the body, e.g. riwe foot, with the name of a component type, e.g. limkew digit. These two terms compound to form riwe+limkew toe. As with other tatpurusa compounds (cf. 3.7.2), these compounds may enter into further compounds, e.g. [riwe+limkew]+poke toenail.

Table 11.10 lists the major divisions of the body, Table 11.11, the names of component types, and Table 11.12, bodily substances.

### Table 11.10: Divisions of the body

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yay</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mak(lake)</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolay</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapem</td>
<td>trunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wak</td>
<td>abdomen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiyle</td>
<td>hand, arm (to shoulder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riwe</td>
<td>foot, leg (to hip)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 11.11: Component types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(mow)yay</td>
<td>skin (cf. yay body)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lum</td>
<td>muscle, fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenlay</td>
<td>tendon, blood vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pam(puy)</td>
<td>joint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiw</td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poke</td>
<td>eyelid, nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naley</td>
<td>hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piy</td>
<td>point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pak</td>
<td>underside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yekm</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limkew</td>
<td>digit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 11.12: Bodily substances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>æypi</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owyiw</td>
<td>pus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuryiw</td>
<td>mucous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wutil+yiw</td>
<td>snot (nose+water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nay</td>
<td>urine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riy</td>
<td>faeces, vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wole+yiw</td>
<td>semen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rew+kanel</td>
<td>vaginal secretion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yake</td>
<td>sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiik</td>
<td>breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nay</td>
<td>tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new+yiw</td>
<td>tear (eye+water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laikwey</td>
<td>saliva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapley</td>
<td>spit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that Awtuw distinguishes *mucous within the body*, wuryiw, from *wutilyiw snot that has dripped or been sneezed out*. A similar distinction applies between *lakkey saliva in the mouth* and *tapley saliva spat out*.

11.5 Biological terminology
Awtuw divides the plant and animal kingdoms into several classes. Some of these are large, subdivided classes, while others include only a variety of species all of which are denoted by the single superordinate term. While this is not an appropriate place to list biological terms at length, it is worth mentioning the major classes of plants and animals. Where speakers have identified a particular species as focal to a class, I mention that as well.

11.5.1 Botanical terminology
1. *met vine* - includes all climbing plants. The focal species is *talkey*, a species I have not been able to identify. This class subsumes *naklay cane*, which in turn subsumes at least seven named species, of which *pammuw* is focal.
2. *keyt bamboo* - includes 12 bamboo species, of which *kud* is focal.
3. *tiwnk fern* - includes a large variety of species, all referred to only as *tiwnk*.
4. *tuluk fungus* - includes at least eight species of ground and tree fungi. All named fungi are edible.
5. *taw tree* - includes a wide variety of mostly useful plants which are subdivided further. The term includes both large and small plants with both ligneous and non-ligneous stems. The focal species is *yelaw (TP ton) Pometia pinnata*.
6. *yawnow weed* - includes a large variety of mostly useless plants. The focal species is *uluw (TP kunai) Imperata arundinacea*.

11.5.2 Zoological terminology
Awtuw divides the animal kingdom into ten large classes. Several species do not appear to be included in a more comprehensive class. In other cases, all species share the generic name and have no specific names.

1. *yi* - includes all birds, including *kewyane cassowary*, and *komkoran bat*. The focal species of bird is the *komon eagle*.
2. *wulak* - includes all snakes, including water snakes, but not eels. There are at least 17 named species, of which *ulwun python* is focal.
3. *apiy* - includes all lizards, geckos, and skinks, including legless species. The class subsumes at least 19 named species, of which *wunkir*, a species of monitor, is focal.
4. *gale* - includes at least ten named species of fish, including *awank eel*, but not other aquatic animals, i.e. snakes, frogs, crustaceans, and mollusks.
5. **yiyay** — includes all mammals except bats, but including käwletken a gliding marsupial. This class subsumes at least three subclasses, tawyekyaw tree marsupials, tekel or telpewy ground marsupial, and mokel rat.

6. **yowkey** — includes at least 12 named species of frogs.

7. **wuwp** — includes several named species and a number of unnamed species of beetle.

8. **menatiyum** — includes at least 14 named species of ants and termites.

9. **ilkil** — includes several species of flies.

10. **wiyum** — includes many named species of wasps, bees, and hornets.

A number of animals are apparently not subsumed under any of the listed classes. Among these are:

1. kapow grub
2. yumnil millipede
3. poprow caterpillar
4. pedak cockroach
5. yiwelkey mosquito
6. yekeitwayt butterfly, moth
7. wukum snail
8. kolkoy crab
9. modyer crayfish
10. mweymoy worm
11. wanklow turtle
CHAPTER 12
PARALANGUAGE

12.1 Greetings and farewells

Traditionally, Awtuw has no formulaic greetings. The arrival of a person is acknowledged by calling his or her name, kinship term, or quasi-kinship term. One does not of course address by name those affines who are in a name taboo relationship with Ego (cf. 11.1.7). Nowadays Awtuw speakers will typically use greetings borrowed from Tok Pisin and often even substitute Tok Pisin for vernacular kin terms.

(1) gut moning nau, Osiy/waway
    good morning now Osiy/mother's brother
    good morning, Osiy/mother's brother!

(2) apinun tru, poroman/yenankeyke
    afternoon real agemate/grandchild
    good afternoon, agemate/grandchild!

(3) gutnait nau, yiytay/wannem
    goodnight now namesake
    goodnight, namesake!

The vernacular formula for parting is reypapwo finished accompanied by the addressee's name and optionally by an imperative appropriate to what the addressee is about to do. Tok Pisin greetings are in common use in this context, but because there is a satisfying vernacular alternative, they have not become as ubiquitous as they have as greetings. Generally when a group of people leaves, or remains, one says reypapwo to each of them individually.

(4) Reypapwo! Powkil, reypapwo. Kan-ey!
    goodbye Powkil goodbye IMP-go
    Goodbye, Powkil, go!

(5) (a) Reypapwo! Ka-m- owna- m!
    goodbye IM-GO-sleep-PL
    Goodnight! (addresssee leaving)

(b) Owo. Reypapwo, Peyaw! Kan-w- owna!
    yes goodbye Peyaw IMP-ABS-sleep
    Goodnight, Peyaw! (addresssee remaining)

Note that (5a) and (5b) are the usual formulas for saying 'goodnight' and are reciprocal. (See 4.10 for the ma- and wa- prefixes. The response to a greeting or a farewell always begins with owo yes, also illustrated in example (5b).
Owo *yes* is a general acknowledgement. As mentioned above, it is always used in response to a greeting or farewell. It is also used to acknowledge other commands, including summonses. Awtuw *no* is a general denial. See section 9.1.1 for a discussion of owo and awtuw in response to yes-no questions.

12.2 Interjections

12.2.1 The main interjections of surprise are *yiykay* and *yiy*. The former expresses a milder degree of surprise usually at something someone has said. The latter is a reaction to a more startling experience, the sudden appearance of a snake, for example. The second syllable of *yiykay* is quite long and with rising pitch. The final segment of *yiy* is usually long and partially devoiced, ending in a lamino-alveolar fricative.

A further interjection, atepaye *far out*, expresses approving amazement.

12.2.2 A lenis bilabial trill with egressive velar air is a common interjection of dislike or distaste.

12.2.3 Awtuw has borrowed a number of interjections from Tok Pisin, including olaman *far out!* and tarangu *what a shame!*

12.3 Calling people

12.3.1 In Awtuw-speaking communities, each person has several names, a practice that overcomes two problems. First, on the birth of a child, a number of his relations will want the child to bear his or her name. By giving the child the names of all those who request the honour, the parents avoid conflicts that would arise out of the slight offered to those whose requests they denied. And second, Ego may not pronounce the names of people who bear one of a number of affinal relations (cf. 11.1). Having a variety of names makes it possible for all who do not themselves stand in a name-taboo relation to Ego to address or to call ego by name, even if Ego should be the namesake of someone who does bear such a relation.

12.3.2 Nicknames are formed from the first one or two syllables of the full name. Similar shortening can apply to the kinship terms *qamey* mother and *qaye* father — ŋam and ŋay, respectively.

Warqi — Wariykom Yaw — Yawur

12.3.3 One calls individuals from a distance by shouting their name with the last syllable protracted and in a falsetto pitch. If the addressee is within the same hamlet, one calls the Vocative form of their name, kinship term, or quasi-kinship term with a rising pitch on the suffix -wo or -ə.

12.3.4 Signals on the pam (TP garamut slit gong) have three main functions — to summon specific groups of people (by lineage), to announce specific events, e.g. a satu game, and to control nature, e.g. to stop the rain.
12.3.5 A protracted note on the tawur conch or keyt+tawur bamboo transverse flute is a general summons.

12.4 Calling animals

12.4.1 All dogs in an Awtuw-speaking community have individual names. There are separate sets of names for male and for female dogs. The syllable [ʔəs] or [ʔəsə] is used, concatenated with the dog's name, to call the dog.

12.4.2 Each pig in an Awtuw-speaking community has an individual name. Females have a different set of names from males. Awtuw speakers call their pigs by interspersing their name with a prenasalised, lax, voiced, protracted bilabial trill followed by a nasalised low front vowel. A syllable consisting of a glottal stop and a nasalised low front vowel may intervene between sequences of name + [m̥ə].

12.4.3 Chickens are called with a protracted voiced, apical-alveolar trill uttered with a high pitch followed by a series of very tense bilabial fricatives with egressive velar air.

12.5 Gestures, nods, and shrugs

12.5.1 Awtuw speakers typically point with pouted lips, sometimes accompanied by a fortis bilabial trill with egressive velar air. One occasionally points with the index finger.

12.5.2 Shrugging, wuləy dəkəkramkey, indicates I don't know, I don't have any, or disagreement. It involves raising one shoulder and simultaneously inclining the head to the side of the raised shoulder.

12.5.3 Holding the hand in a fist with the thumb extended upwards is derogatory or insulting.

12.5.4 Shaking the head from side to side, rotating on the neck vigorously indicates disagreement. When performed slowly, the same gesture expresses sympathy.

12.5.5 Raising the eyebrows and holding them raised momentarily indicates agreement.

12.5.6 Raising the eyebrows and simultaneously tilting the head back slightly indicates incomprehension.

12.5.7 Ignorance is signalled by pressing the lips together while turning down the corners of the mouth and lowering the head as if to pull it down to the shoulders.
12.5.8 Nodding the head forwards indicates a continued interest in a narrative addressed to the gesturer.

12.6 Clicks and grunts

12.6.1 Awtuw speakers indicate the complete unacceptability of an utterance or an action by the grunt [ʔmʔʔm:] (preglottalised syllabic [ʔ], voiceless [m], preglottalised long syllabic [ʔm:] with high pitch on the first syllable and low pitch and stress on the second).

12.6.2 [ʔɑ̃hɑ̃] indicates continued interest in narrative. (Preglottalised, nasalised [ɑ̃], [h], stressed, nasalised [ɑ̃] with rising pitch).

12.6.3 Sympathy can be signalled by [ʔai′ya] with the second syllable stressed and rising in pitch.

12.6.4 Any low or mid vowel or syllabic nasal with rising pitch indicates incomprehension.

12.6.5 Ignorance can be signalled by [ʔmy] pronounced with a falling pitch.

12.6.6 Agreement is indicated by [ʔvʔvʔ] where the first syllable is stressed and has high pitch and the second has low pitch. V may be any mid or low vowel or syllabic nasal, as long as the two vowels are the same. The vowels may or may not be nasalised.

12.6.7 Disagreement is indicated by [ʔmʔm:] or [ʔhʔh:] with a mid pitch over both syllables.

12.6.8 An apical-alveolar click or a fortis bilabial trill also indicate disagreement.

12.6.9 A sharp intake of breath through rounded lips either indicates agreement or acknowledges some difficulty, typically a difficulty that the addressee has just pointed out.
APPENDIX A: TEXTS

Yawki The story of the pig by Napeyre (recorded 5.1.81).

Yaw rom d-ir d-ay-m-e mur+ waruke-re rom d-iy-m-e.
pig 3PL FA-follow FA-go-PL-P tusk+big-0 3PL FA-shoot-PL-P
They were hunting a pig and they shot a big one.

D-iy-m-e da-ka d-eya m-e rom d-kay-kay-m-e.
FA-shoot-PL-P FA-get FA-come-PL-P 3PL FA-put-PF-PL-P
When they had shot it they took it and brought it home and put it away.

Yem- wom d-ewra-1k-m-e d-ay-m-e rom wurit+opyakay da-ka-m-e.
child-PL FA-AGN sit-PL-P FA-go-PL-P 3PL frond+spine FA-get-PL-P
The children, who were sitting again, went and got some coconut-frond-spines.

New-re ti-taw-m-e tader po eywe rey-ke new-kwo.
eye-O DU-stab-PL-P this PCL ancestor 3MS-PS eye-CMP
They stabbed him in the eye so he would be half-blind.

ancestor 3MS-PS eye-ADV 3MS-3MS pig FA-arise- P FA-search-P
Half-blind, the pig got up and searched.

"Wan-ke maflake yipe? yiyle yipe? riwe-yak yipe?"
1SG-PS head where? hand where foot-? where?
"Where's my head? Where's my hands? Where's my feet?"

Da-ka- pama- work-e.
FA-get-TOGETHER-ALL-P
They got all his parts together.

Rey t-ot-e d-ay-e.
3MS FA-join-P FA-go-P
He put himself back together and went.

Rom d-okw-m-e tarepe da-ka-m-e, rom d-okw-m-e.
3PL FA-dance-PL-P drum FA-get-PL-P 3PL FA-dance-PL-P
They danced. They got a drum and danced.

D-okw-m-e d-ay-m-e kapem waruke-ke ma-alwa-worka-m-e.
FA-dance-PL-P FA-go-PL-P pond big-L MT-descend-ALL-PL-P
They all danced down to a big pond.

Ma-alwa-worka-m-e rom.
MT-descend-ALL-PL-P 3PL
They all went down.
Once upon a time, our ancestors had no fire.

Okay, our Wiykatuw ancestors, Menyew's grandfather.

(Wudpey-re kan- yerna- weypa-m), e:, Wawriy.

Menyew rey- ke yar, Wawriy, nenam ey de-k- lay- ey.

Menyew's grandfather, Wawriy, that's what I'm thinking.
Once upon a time we had no fire. The people of Wiykatuw had no fire.

All us Kamnum people, and Wiup, and Gutaeye, we had no fire.

Menyw eyre-ke yar eyre-ke nemet yilmät d- il- lakt'-e.

Menyw 3MS-PS ancestor 3MS-PS mother string FA-twist-DOWN- P

Menyw's grandfather's mother twisted string.

Kampaw yiyle däni eyeke d- iwright-e.

dish  hand  one  Thus  FA-stand-P

Five dishes stood like this.

Orait tey lak- e yuwp+ tapwo-ke, rey tapwo lam-k' - e.

Okay  thus  go-DS-P kunai+fire- L  3MS  fire  DS- get-P

Okay, he went downstream to the kunai fire like this, and he got fire.

Yilmät d- il- i dili dili dili m- alw'- o kampawo däni-ke.

string  FA-twist-P  MT-descend-P dish  one- L

She went on twisting string into one dish.

D- ewrw- 'l- i d- il+ d- äy- e däye däye kampawo däni ram d- am- o.

FA-AGN- twist-P FA-twist+FA-go-P  dish one full  FA-fill-P

She kept on and on twisting string – one dish was full.

Orait Wiytape- re bihainim rokw-o. D- äy-e däye rey d- own'- e.

okay Wiytape-O follow do- P  FA-go-P  3MS  FA-sleep-P

Okay, he followed the Sibi River. He walked and walked, then slept.

Nemet yilmät-re do-wa-nak- p'- e tader-kwo tə.

mother string-O  FA-AB-hold-TRY-P this- CMP here

His mother tried to hold the string in his absence like this.

Crait imik rey d- owr'-ukl'- e yilmät da-k'- a.

okay morning 3MS FA-AGN- arise-P string FA-get-P

Okay, in the morning, he got up again and got the string.

Yilmät da-k'- a rey däye däye däye däni- ke ma- 'w n'- e.

string  FA-get-P 3MS went went went other-L  MT-sleep-P

He got the string and walked and walked and slept in another place.

Teypekwo da-k- rokw+dak- äy+dakay+dekay-ey yuwp+tapwo lam-k'- e.

Thus  FA-IP-do+ FA-IP-go+go+ go- IP kunai+fire DS- get-P

Continuing in this way, he got the kunai fire downstream.

Motke nem-ke owyim tey da-k- mak-ey-e "yuwp+tapwo".

before 1PL-PS ancestors thus  FA-IP-say-IP-P "kunai+fire"

That's what our ancestors used to say, "kunai fire".

D- äy-e tapwo- re uyk- re rey d- ayn'- e rey lamalakn'- e.

FA-go-P fire- O  odour-O 3MS  FA-smell-P 3MS  fall- P

He went, and when he smelled the odour and the fire, he fell down.

Rey lamalakne. A: tapwo waru+ke yapor.

3MS  fall  oh fire  big  very

He fell down. Oh the fire was very big.
Yuwptapwo yapor da-k- okw- ey-e. kunai+fire very FA-IP-burn-IP-P
Quite a kunai fire was burning.

Rey tapwo reyke da-k'-a, man+ tapwo-re da-ka+ lak- a. 3MS fire there FA-get-P tulip+fire- O FA-get+go DS-P
He got the fire there, he got the tulip fire and went downstream.

Nemet d- uwp-o yilmat yaltuwp laya+ lay'- e. mother FA-see-P string again come US+come US-P
His mother saw that the string came back upstream.

Yilmat laya+ lay'- e m- alw'- o kampawo-ke. string come US+come US-P MT-descend-P dish- L
The string came and came and descended in the dish.

Kampawo daye daye daye dan i ram d- omw- o. dish went went went other full FA-full-P
It went on like that and another dish was full.

Daye daye daye kampawo dan i ram d- omw- o. went went dish other full FA-full-P
It went on and another dish was full.

Do-mak-e, "wank-ke yan reypapwo de-k- ey'- ey, taytay ma-vey- e". FA-say-P 1SG-PS child finish FA-IP-come-IP nearly MT-arrive-P
She said, "My son is already coming, he's almost arrived."

Nemet rey tapw'-uyk- wa- re d- ayn'- e lamlekn'-e. mother 3MS fire+ odour-just-0 FA-smell-P fall- P
His mother just smelled the odour of fire and fell down.

A: rey d- uwp'-o opo- m awre uyk d- ayna- kay-e, oh 3MS FA-see- P that-PL house odour FA-smell-PF- P
Oh, he saw that those houses had smelled the odour,

d- imya+d- eya- kay-e, ma-lamlakna-kay-e. FA-run+ FA-come-PF- P MT-fall- PF- P
had come running and had fallen down.

Opo- m awre dan i d- uwp-o-kay-e tapwo+uyk- re ma-lamlakna-kay. that-PL house other FA-see- PF- P fire+ odour-O MT-fall- PF- P
Those other houses had seen it and fallen down from the smell of fire.

D- uwp'-o kokot awre rom ma-lamlakna-worka-m- e. FA-see- P all house 3PL MT-fall- ALL- PL-P
He saw that every house, they all fell down.

Rom d- owra- 'kla- worka-m- e. 3PL FA-AGN- arise-ALL- PL-P
Then they all got back up.

Rom d- ukla- worka-m- e rey tapwo da-ka+ d- aye-m- e. 3PL FA-arise-ALL- PL-P 3MS fire FA-get+FA-go-PL-P
They all got up and brought the fire.

"Yiy! mede tapwo! atepaye!"
wow! real fire far out!
"Wow! Real fire! Far out!"
Okay, they got a pig and baked it on the fire and tried eating it.

"O:ta! medaye ta!" mowke nom nenel aye de-k- ra- m- e.

Oh here good here before 1PL raw food FA-IP-eat-PL-P

"Oh yes! That's nice!" Once we used to eat food raw.

Mowke nom nenel aye de-k- ra- m- e.

before 1PL raw food FA-IP-eat-PL-P

Once we used to eat food raw.

Yaw nom d- iy - m- e tyle da-way- kay-m- e.

pig 1PL FA-shoot-PL-P stone FA-carry-PP- PL-P

We shot pigs, having carried stones.

Møy du-puy'-e nom aypi-neney da-k- ra- y- m- e.

sun FA-hit- P 1PL blood-ADJ FA-IP-eat-IP-PL-P

The sun hit it, and we used to eat it bloody.

Tapwo d- okw- o, rom aye reyke d- ilya-m- e, dilyame ra- pa- m- e.

fire FA-burn-P 3PL food there FA-boil-PL-P boiled eat-TRY-PL-P

Once there was fire burning, they boiled greens there. They boiled and ate.

Kewlake-re rom du-puya-m- e tur tur tur.

chest- 0 3PL FA-hit- PL-P thump thump thump

They beat their chests - thump, thump, thump.

Nom mowke owyim arene, nom eywo da-k- mak-ey-e "yuwp+tapwo".

1PL before ancestors not know 1PL thus FA-IP-say-IP-P kunai+fire

Before, our ancestors didn't know, we used to say "kunai fire".

Siypik-yanim-ik tapwo da-k'- a.

Sepik- GEN- I fire FA-get-P

He got fire from the Sepik people.

Nom-ke Wiykatuw da-ka- payk- e tapwo.

1PL-PS Wiykatuw FA-get-FIRST-P fire

Our Wiykatuw ancestors originally got fire.

Modek tapwo liwke rok'-work-e ade.

today fire much do- ALL- P here

Now we all made a lot of fire here.

Nom tapwo-neney, mowke nom tapwo awtuw.

1PL fire- ADJ before 1PL fire none

We have fire, but once we had no fire.

Orait nom yenankeyke modek de-wa-pama-ka ta.

okay 1PL grandchild today FA-AB-live-PF here

Okay, today we grandchildren live together here, the ancestors are gone.

Mowke nom Kamlakw tapwo awtuw. Nom nelaya da-pama-kay-m- e.

before 1PL Kamnum fire none 1PL nothing FA-live-PP- PL-P

Once, we Kamnum people had no fire. We had lived with nothing.

Ki 1 yank ey ke, tapwo rey-ke stori eypekwo.

story little fire 3MS-PS story thus

And that's the way the little story of fire goes.
Young woman by Yawur (recorded 30.12.80).

Raw ŋawer - re-k d- ay-m- e wiye- ke.
3DU father-O- I FA-go-PL-P garden-L
They went to the garden with their father.

Raw yam+ nay- nene yikiyr ŋawer dowo.
3DU child+skirt-ADJ two father with
The two girls with their father.

Rom d- ay-m- e wiye- ke yew ayle ma-kay- m- e.
3PL FA-go-PL-P garden-L yam dry MT-remove-PL-P
They went to the garden and removed dry yams.

ŋawer wiye- ke yew ayle do-wa-ka-kay- ey-e.
father garden-L yam dry FA-AB-IP-remove-IP-P
The father was removing dry yams from the garden.

Raw yam- wraw yikiyr, nayen+yan- waw yikiyr, raw waruke, muy- nene yikiyr.
3DU child-DU two female+child-DU two 3DU big breast-ADJ two
The two children, the two girls, they were already grown, both had breasts.

Raw d- iwrek-e ŋawer- re de-mak-e.
3DU FA-stand-P father-O FA-say-P
They stood up and said to their father,

"ŋaye, nan-e yekne kan-kuw." Raw yekne do-k'- e.
dad 1DU-O axe IM-give 3DU axe FA-get-P
"Dad, give us an axe." They got an axe.

Dispela taw kapow, rey ŋawer wiye+ taw du-k- uwk-iy-re,
this tree bug 3MS father garden+tree FA-IP-cut-IP-O
This tree-bug, which the father was cutting a garden tree for,

kapow-re do-k- par- klak- ey-e.
bug- O FA-IP-peel-HERE AND THERE-IP-P
he was peeling [bark] for tree bugs here and there.

Do-k- par- klak- ey-e, rey wiye+ lwuk- o.
FA-IP-peel-HERE AND THERE-IP-P 3MS garden+heart-L
He was peeling around in the middle of the garden.

Taw+ mowyay+meratkey lamlekn-e talow+uy- e m- alw- o.
tree+skin+ rubbish fall- P taro+ hole-L MT-descend-P
Pieces of bark fell into the taro hole.

ŋawer rey mokre l'- o, "ay ay wan-ke wiye- ke.
father 3MS cause angry-P hey hey 1SG-PS garden-L
The father got mad because of this, "Hey, don't do that

topor-kwo ap-t- rokw-re talow+uy. An ka-t- lawiy!"
that- CMP PR-DU-do- FU taro+ hole 2DU IM-DU-clear
to the taro hole in my garden! You two clear off!

Raw-e l'- o+d- ay-e. Raw d- iwrek-e d- uwpo-ke.
3DU angry-P+FA-go-P 3DU FA-stand-P FA-flee- P
He was angry at them. They stood up and fled.

Rey tawdow waruke tawtyaw-wa- ke. Raw mo-t- elw'- o rey yiwi- e,
3MS brook big near- just-L 3DU MT-DU-descend-P 3MS water-L
There was a big brook nearby. They went down to that water.
They grabbed fish going downstream. They went on grabbing fish.

They were climbing the root in the mud.

They said, "Oh, aren't these fish big? Let's grab!"

They tried and tried to grab one, but didn't get any.

They went downstream again and grabbed a root and stood there.

"Let's go back upstream and look at that big fish sticking in the mud."

He was doing this to the mud.

They went back down the root by hand.

They tried to grab for fish around again. They tried

They failed to grab it.

Okay, the elder sister stood up and said to the younger,

"You be quiet and go back downstream."

She saw this old woman.
"Wuwoy! Rameyən owtikayən talerame!"

wow person old woman

"Wow! There's an old woman!"

Lanut d- ey'- e-re raw t- ewra-te-nak- panya- klak- e,

younger FA-come-P-0 3DU DU-AGN- DU-hold-PREND-HERE AND THERE-P

When the younger sister came, they pretended to grab fish again.

Nemanet d- alow- kow-o,

elder FA-speak-BEN-P

The elder sister said,

"Iy! Rameyən. Tale owyən dəni rey yiluk rey ti-k-tow-ey."

oh person woman old other 3MS mud there IP-thrash-IP

"Oh! A person! Some old woman is thrashing up the mud over there."

Tuwpu

tey raw-e de-mak-e,

straightaway 3FS 3DU-O FA-say-P

Straightaway, she said to them,

"A: an yakumoye te-ka'- kay? ȵale te-k- nak- ey?"

ah 2DU what DU-get-PF fish DU-IP-hold-IP

"Ah! What have you two been doing? Catching fish?"

De-mak-e, "Nan ȵale te-k- nak- ey po."

FA-say-P 1DU fish DU-IP-hold-IP PCL

She said, "We've been catching fish."

"An yok t- ey'- e?"

2DU how DU-come-P

"How did you come here?"

"Ey nan-e gaye lo+ d- ay-e, nan rey- ke ti-yəky'- e."

thus 1DU-O father angry+FA-go-P 1DU there-L DU-come DS-P

"Our father was angry at us, so we came downstream from there."

"A: ke-taw- t- eye- pe."

ah IM-YET-DU-come-TRY

"Ah! Try coming further!"

Rāw t- ey'- e kil t- alow- ney- m- e raw te-yarn'- e,

3DU DU-come-P speech DU-speak-FIRST-PL-P 3DU DU-ask- P

They came after they spoke and asked,

"Yen yakumoyam, rameyən o: o: wokrampe?"

2SG what person or or troll*

"What are you? A human being, or...or a troll?"

De-mak-e, "Iy, wan po rameyən!"

FA-say-P ee 1SG PCL person

She said, "Ee! I'm a human being!"

Rāw-e de-yarn'- e, "An?" tə-mak-e, "Iy, nan po rameyən!"

3DU-O FA-ask- P 2DU DU-say-P ee 1DU PCL person

She asked them, "And you?" "Ee, we two are human!"

*A wokrampe is a fabulous creature made of stone that lives near water and devours passersby. Under the circumstances, I feel that troll is an appropriate gloss.
First they spoke to each other and they said,

"Nan t- ewra-t- k- yakey-ey."

"We're going back upstream."

They said, "Okay, go back upstream!"

They went upstream and saw that there was no brook.

It had become constricted.

They searched upstream and went downstream. But there was no road.

There was a precipice on one side and a big mountain on the other.

The brook and the path that they were coming downstream on were gone.

They couldn't try and climb, wasps bit them.

They kept on thinking that this old woman had a little road.

They stood up and asked, "Do you have a road?"

"Ah! Sure I have a road."
They went with the old woman.

"Po ke-t- eye wan-ke lape- ke. P- ay-nem."

They followed on and on until they arrived in her village.

"You two come to my village! Let's go!"

"Poke-t- eye wan-k e la pe- ke. P- rey-ne m."

"You two come to my village! Let's go!"

They followed on and on until they arrived in her village.

The two sons saw them and said,

"Oh, Mom, where did you get those two women?"

"I got them at the river."

The younger brother married the younger sister and the elder the elder.

The two brothers got the bride price and gave it to the two sisters.

They took it and went to their own village and came back again.

Their parents had looked after a coconut tree for them.

They didn't eat the coconuts, they just looked after the tree.

When a dry coconut fell, the other little child said,

"Mommy, let me go get that dry coconut!

They had looked after a coconut tree for them.

They didn't eat the coconuts, they just looked after the tree.
The two big ones were going and standing up, the two elder sisters.

He said to his mother,

"Yaye- waw yikiyr po rey!" Tey now di-yel-kow-o.

"Yaye- waw yikiyr po rey!" Tey now di-yel-kow-o.

"That's your two elder sisters!" She cried for them.

She went on asking them, "Where did you two go and live, my two children?"

"Ee, we have gone and lived downstream.

We've brought rings for you.

We came to give you the brideprice for them."

They gave it their parents.

They came back to their own village.

And that's the end of the story of the young women.
ABBREVIATIONS:

**Arguments**
- A = Transitive subject
- So = Source
- O = Direct Object
- L = Locative
- R = Recipient/Addressee
- S = Intransitive Subject

**Class**
- BF = bodily function (intransitive)
- BITR = cardinal bitransitive
- CAUS = causative (transitive)
- COMP = complement-taking (transitive)
- DIR = direction (intransitive)
- DIR2 = direction (transitive)
- DO DEL = direct object deletion (bitransitive)
- INTR = unclassified (intransitive)
- IO DEL = indirect object deletion (bitransitive)
- MOT = motion (intransitive)
- O DEL = object deletion (transitive)
- POS = posture (transitive)
- SOURCE = source (transitive)
- TR = cardinal transitive

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<td>POS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>owna</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>BF</td>
<td>newtyi y eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slip</td>
<td>wureray</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smell</td>
<td>ayna</td>
<td>AO</td>
<td>COMP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smile</td>
<td>lanya</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>BF</td>
<td>piy teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sneeze</td>
<td>iywatna</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>BF</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>speak</td>
<td>alow</td>
<td>AO</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>kil speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spit</td>
<td>karey</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>BF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squat</td>
<td>t-towuk</td>
<td>S(L)</td>
<td>POS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stalk</td>
<td>yæley</td>
<td>AO</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>iwr ek</td>
<td>S(L)</td>
<td>POS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steam</td>
<td>idwar</td>
<td>O(A)</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stink</td>
<td>t-tan</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strike</td>
<td>t-tow (2)</td>
<td>O(A)</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>pæn slit gong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweep</td>
<td>eytra</td>
<td>O(A)</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>mære house, niw ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>MOT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>think</td>
<td>lay</td>
<td>AO</td>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>nenæn thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throw</td>
<td>iprek (1)</td>
<td>AO</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tie</td>
<td>ud</td>
<td>O(A)</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>track</td>
<td>nir</td>
<td>AO</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vomit</td>
<td>iwtow</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>BF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wait</td>
<td>naw</td>
<td>AO</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>worrya</td>
<td>O(A)</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weave</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>O(A)</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>e.g. karpen basket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C: BASIC VOCABULARY – ENGLISH-AWTUW
(Based on Comrie and Smith 1977:66-71.)

| 1. all | kokot |
| 2. and | (TP na) |
| 3. animal | (yi yay game cf. 11.5) |
| 4. ashes | kaypiw |
| 5. at | (-e/-ke 'Locative/Directional' (cf. 6.5)) |
| 6. back | yekmak (cf. 6.5, 11.4) |
| 7. bad | monokene |
| 8. bark | taw+mowyay tree+skin |
| 9. because | (TP olsen) |
| 10. belly | wek (cf. 11.4) |
| 11. big | waruke |
| 12. bird | yi (cf. 11.5) |
| 13. bite | nil |
| 14. black | tipray-kwo soot-like (cf. 11.2) |
| 15. blood | aypiy (cf. 11.4) |
| 16. blow | iyamna |
| 17. bone | lake (cf. 11.4) |
| 18. breast | muy (cf. 11.4) |
| 19. breathe | yi yk liwkena/m-alwa wind ascend/descend |
| 20. burn | okw (S= tapwo fire) alwa be hot |
| 21. child | yan (cf. 11.1) |
| 22. claw | limkew-poke (fingernail cf. 11.4) |
| 23. cloud | awktiil |
| 24. cold | nampet(-neney) (cf. 8.7) |
| 25. come | eya (cf. 4.14, 5.4) |
| 26. count | riw mak tally (cf. 11.3) |
| 27. cut | iwyax |
| 28. day | may sun (cf. 11.3) |
| 29. die | lakna |
| 30. dig | akla |
| 31. dirty | wunene neney |
| 32. dog | piyren |
| 33. drink | yi w ra (consume water) |
| 34. dry | ayle |
| 35. dull | wam (blunt) |
| 36. dust | kayputeri |
| 37. ear | mane (cf. 11.4) |
| 38. earth | niw ground, soil |
| 39. eat | aye ra (consume food) |
| 40. egg | yi+wate (bird+egg) |
| 41. eye | new (cf. 11.4) |
| 42. fall | lam lakna |
| 43. far | tomta |
| 44. fat | kanel, lum (cf. 11.4) |
| 45. father | naye/ njawar (cf. 11.1) |
| 46. fear | aytir |
47. feather yi+tiw (bird+hair)
48. few urunk-kwo (three-like)
49. fight t-qi-puya (hit each other) t-qi-ly (shoot each other)
50. fire tapwo
51. fish nale (cf. 11.5)
52. five yiyle dani (one hand) (cf. 11.3)
53. float wjow
54. flow t-towleyakw
55. flower wale
56. fly apta
57. fog awktil (cloud)
58. foot riwe(-yak) (cf. 11.4)
59. four orkweynaywo (cf. 11.3)
60. freeze —
61. fruit taw+wate (tree+egg)
62. full ram omw
63. give kow
64. good medaye
65. grass periyayawnow
66. green nenel-wo (unripe-like) (cf. 11.2)
67. guts ripat (cf. 11.4)
68. hair tiw (cf. 11.4)
69. hand yiyle (cf. 11.4)
70. he rey (cf. 3.6)
71. head maklake (cf. 11.4)
72. hear wan
73. heart wurne (cf. 11.4)
74. heavy yiylekolke
75. here taka, te, ade, tade
76. hit puya
77. hold nak
78. horn (TP kowm)
79. how yok (cf. 9.1)
80. hunt yiyay moyna/ir (look for/follow game)
81. husband yapor, yenkay (cf. 11.1)
82. I wan (cf. 3.6)
83. ice —
84. if (TP sapos cf. 10.4)
85. in (-e/-ke 'Locative') (cf. 6.5)
86. kill otkolya
87. knee pampwey (cf. 11.4)
88. know neknek(-neney) (cf. 10.2)
89. lake kapem
90. laugh mokal (yun)
91. leaf taw+tiw (tree+hair)
92. left side atkwak
93. leg riwe (cf. 11.4)
94. lie owna
95. live ikiy, pama
96. liver wurne+waw (cf. 11.4)
97. long wokak, wukliwe
98. louse nin
99. man/male yapor, yenkay, rame male X X-rokwo
100. many liwke
101. meat lum (fat)
102. moon yilmake
103. mother namey/nem (cf. 11.1)
104. mountain tiwle
105. mouth alworaw, raw+nale (call+hole cf. 11.4)
106. name yeniyi
107. narrow kenken
108. near teywake
109. neck kolay (cf. 11.4)
110. new nak
111. night im (cf. 11.3)
| 112. **nose** | wutil (cf. 11.4) |
|�� 113. **not** | yene (cf. 9.2), ka- (cf. 4.2.3) |
| 114. **old** | owtyikyan, owyan [+HUMAN], lop [-HUMAN] |
| 115. **one** | naydowo (cf. 11.3) |
| 116. **other** | dani (cf. 7) |
| 117. **person** | rameyan |
| 118. **play** | manman ka |
| 119. **pull** | ilin |
| 120. **push** | ikirit |
| 121. **rain** | yele (ị) |
| 122. **red** | aypiy-kwo (blood-like cf. 11.2) |
| 123. **right** | medemede true, yirin yeka correct ap rey just so |
| 124. **rightside** | yiyle+mede (real hand) |
| 125. **river** | wiytape |
| 126. **road** | nuwp |
| 127. **root** | taw+ten (tree+tendon) |
| 128. **rope** | mat (vine cf. 11.5) |
| 129. **rotten** | pumpum rokw, t-ten (stink) |
| 130. **round** | pomkewe |
| 131. **rub** | iytwey |
| 132. **salt** | wow (coconut shell ash) |
| 133. **sand** | telman |
| 134. **say** | mąk (cf. 10.2) |
| 135. **scratch** | rank |
| 136. **sea** | (TP solwara) |
| 137. **see** | owpa (cf. 10.2) |
| 138. **seed** | wate |
| 139. **sew** | ađen |
| 140. **sharp** | parpaar |
| 141. **short** | tukre |
| 142. **sing** | riwitow gkw (perform a ceremony) |
| 143. **sit** | ik |
| 144. **skin** | yęy (cf. 11.4) |
| 145. **sky** | męy (sun) (cf. 11.3) |
| 146. **sleep** | newty丢失na |
| 147. **small** | yankeyke |
| 148. **smell** | ayną, uyk (odour) |
| 149. **smoke** | tipelyow |
| 150. **smooth** | wereye |
| 151. **snake** | wulaek (cf. 11.5) |
| 152. **snow** | — |
| 153. **some** | womyátne (cf. 11.3) |
| 154. **split** | bąmpel (cf. 11.4), kärý |
| 155. **split** | uwwa |
| 156. **squeez** | naktanęy |
| 157. **stab** | t-tow |
| 158. **stand** | iwrek |
| 159. **star** | wuwp, towlow |
| 160. **stick** | tawap |
| 161. **stone** | tiyl |
| 162. **straight** | peteyta-kwo |
| 163. **suck** | am.trade |
| 164. **sun** | męy |
| 165. **swell** | lawa |
| 166. **swim** | wa |
| 167. **tail** | țun |
| 168. **that** | opor, topor |
| 169. **there** | rey, opo, topo |
| 170. **they** | raw (DU), rom (cf. 3.6) |
| 171. **thick** | wawar-neney |
| 172. **thin** | periyaw-kwo |
| 173. **think** | neney lay, neney-neney (cf. 8.8, 10.2) |
| 174. **this** | ader, tader (cf. 3.6) |
| 175. **thou** | yen (cf. 3.6) |
| 176. **three** | urunk (cf. 11.3) |
177. **throw**  iprik
178. **tie**  dag
179. **tongue**  lale (cf. 11.4)
180. **tooth**  piylake (cf. 11.4)
181. **tree**  taw (cf. 11.5)
182. **turn**  porya
183. **two**  yikiyr (cf. 11.3)
184. **vomit**  iwtow
185. **walk**  ay (go)
186. **warm**  tapwo-neney (fire-y)
187. **wash**  warya
188. **water**  yiw
189. **we**  nan (DU), nom (cf. 3.6)
190. **wet**  yiw-neney (water-y)
191. **what**  yakum(oyam) (cf. 9.1)
192. **when**  yekak (cf. 9.1)
193. **where**  yipe, yipke (cf. 9.1)

194. **white**  kiwy-o-kwo (cf. 11.2)
195. **who**  yeran, yereman (cf. 9.1)
196. **wide**  wawerneney
197. **wife**  talet (cf. 11.1)
198. **wind**  yiyk
199. **wing**  last
200. **wipe**  nakalalna
201. **with**  -k 'Instrumental/ Comitative' (cf. 6.3)
          dowo (together)
          pokneney (mixed with)

202. **woman**  tale
203. **woods**  maw, ole
204. **worm**  mweymoy (cf. 11.5)
205. **ye**  an (DU), om (cf. 3.6)
206. **year**  (TP yia)
207. **yellow**  kowlaw-kwo (cf. 11.2)
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