

# *A grammar of Hatam*

*Bird's Head Peninsula, Irian Jaya*

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# **A GRAMMAR OF HATAM**

**Bird's Head Peninsula, Irian Jaya**

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The basic cover design is also by Ian Scales. The motif was drawn by Malcolm Ross after the stylised representation of a design on Lapita pottery found by Roger Green in the Reefs–Santa Cruz Islands (source: Matthew Spriggs (ed.), *Lapita design, form and composition*. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.)



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But with just the permission and support of the governmental authorities it is hard to study a regional language such as Hatam. During my first visit to Manokwari, Rogier Gruys gave me many useful suggestions about whom I should contact. So, before I even travelled to Hatam territory, I visited the office of World Wide Fund for Nature, where various Hatam speakers were employed. The director, Daud Womsiwor, arranged for me to meet with Yohanes Wonggor and Marinus Mandacan, both from Mokwam. They taught me a few useful expressions in Hatam, and supplied me with a letter in Hatam about regulations for the nature reserve. Yohanes read it on tape and gave me the meaning in Indonesian.

In Minyambou I was welcomed by the missionaries of The Evangelical Alliance Mission, Dick and Char Griffiths and Walter and Dianne Kennedy. My thanks are due to them for their hospitality and their help. The TEAM director in Manokwari, Elmer Lorenz, graciously allowed me to use the organization's address and infrastructure to keep in contact with people in my home country.

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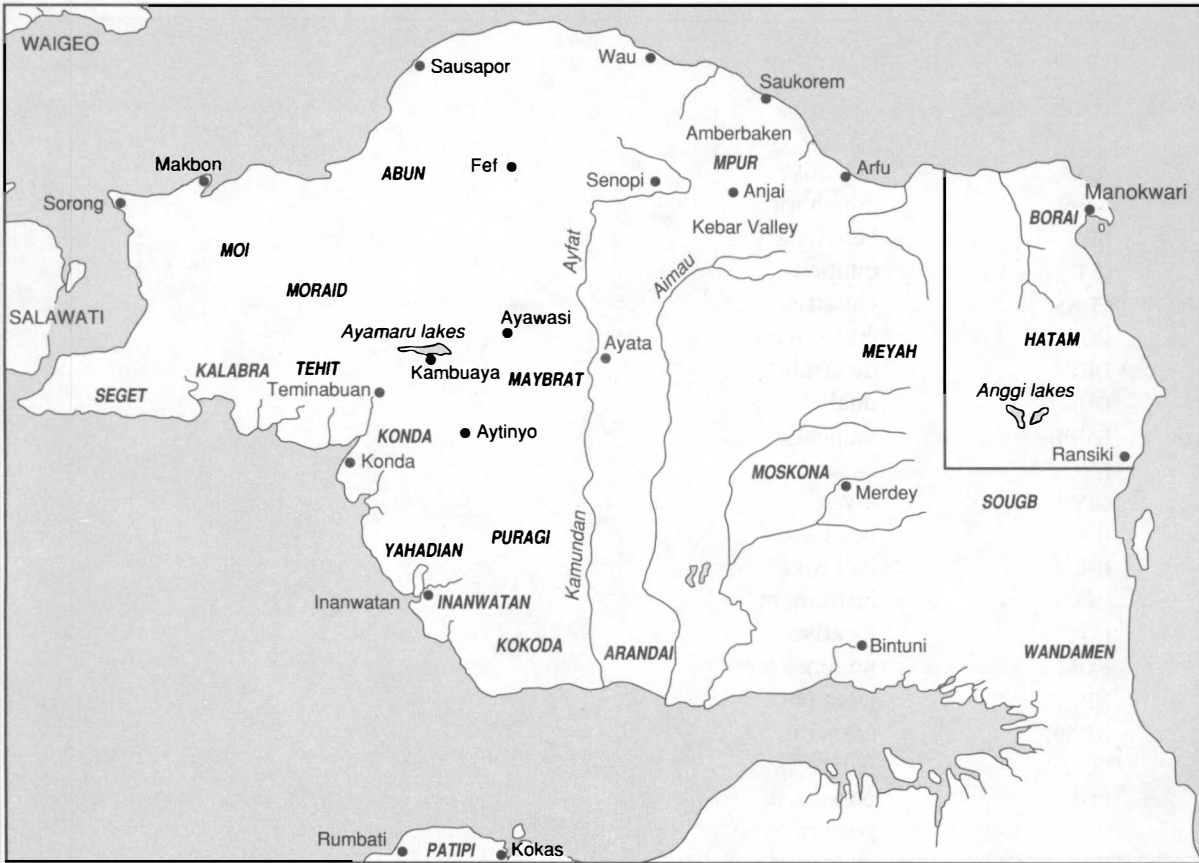
these difficult texts, but also was able to answer my many questions regarding morphological and syntactic complexities. When he was not at Minyambou during my second visit in 1995, I found his cousins Yakonias Iwou and Yoas Iwou willing to help me with my questions. But Hans Iwou, living then at Maruni, could again answer some remaining questions, when I returned from Minyambou to Manokwari in December 1995.

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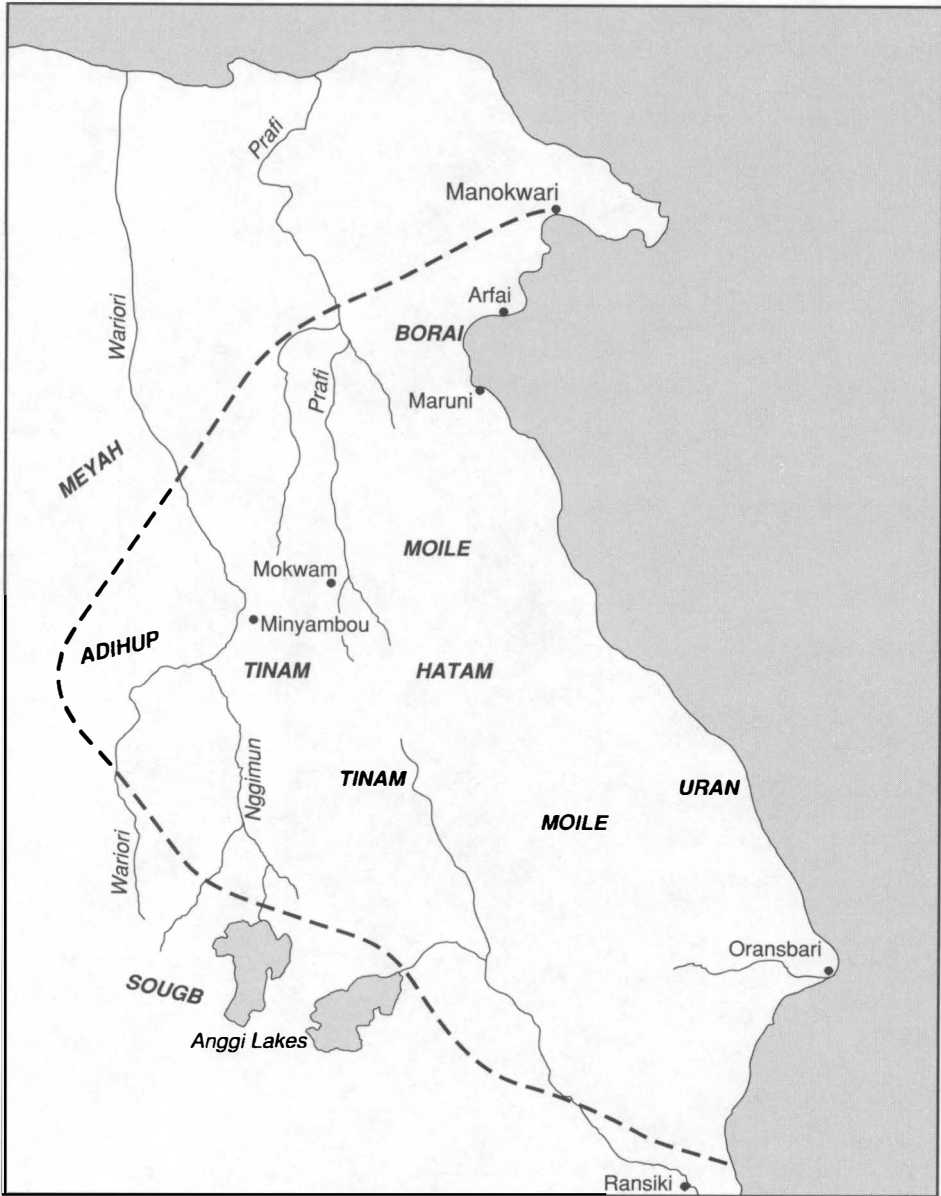
# *Abbreviations*

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ADJ	adjective
ANA	anaphoric
BEN	beneficiary
CIT	citation
CLASS	classifier
COLL	collective
DET	determiner
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic
EXC	exclusive
GIV	given
HN	head noun
INC	inclusive
INS	instrument
LOC	locative
NOM	nominaliser
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
PL	plural
POS	possessive
POST	posterior
PUR	purposive
Q	question marker
QUOT	quote introducer
RC	relative clause
RECIP	reciprocal
REL	relative marker
SG	singular
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person



**Map 1:** The area of the Hatam in the eastern Bird's Head in relation to the Cenderawasih Bay



Map 2: Approximate locations of Hatam dialects





# 1 Introduction

---

## 1.1 Background

When the multidisciplinary program ISIR was conceived at the end of 1992, the focus was on the south-west of the Bird's Head peninsula of Irian Jaya. At the same time, we realised that a detailed study of languages spoken in the eastern part of the Bird's Head was necessary if we wanted to obtain a more complete picture of the so-called West-Papuan phylum and other language groups in this area. One intriguing target was what was known as a phylum-level isolate in the eastern part of the Bird's Head: Hatam.

Not much was known. We knew that missionaries of TEAM (The Evangelical Alliance Mission) were working on a bible translation in that language, but no linguistic description was available. The oldest information on the language was a (very) short article by Loukotka, which contains a few words of the language.<sup>1</sup> Cowan (1953) does not contain any Hatam material. He presents some data on what he calls Mansibaber, which can be identified as Meyah or related Moskona, and Manikion (equated with Mantion), which can be identified as Sougb.

In Voorhoeve (1975) and Wurm and Hattori (1981) Hatam and Borai are treated as related languages, clearly separate from neighbouring language groups. In later publications, Borai has disappeared and Hatam is listed as an isolate (Voorhoeve (1987a, 1987b), Silzer and Heikkinen (1991)). In fact, Voorhoeve (1987b:91) substitutes the name Tinam for Hatam and Silzer and Heikkinen (1991:50) include Borai together with a number of other names as alternatives for Hatam.

Similarly, not much was known about Manikion or Mantion, Meyah or Moskona. As the ISIR program started in 1993 we learned that members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics were active in Meyah (and Moskona), and that Manikion was in fact a derogatory term for people who call themselves Sougb. In Sougb also, TEAM missionaries were involved in bible translation, but no linguistic description was available.

Our plan, then, was to try to increase our knowledge of these languages, either through our own fieldwork or through material from SIL linguists. The main question was: What kind of language is Hatam? Related questions were: What is the status of Borai? Does it exist as a separate language? Is it possible to get some more information on Sougb?

The answer to the first question is found in this monograph, with some preliminary information on the related questions provided in this introduction (see §1.2).

---

<sup>1</sup> Inspection of that list after I have collected data on Hatam myself suggests that Loukotka's source was from

## 1.2 Hatam and its linguistic neighbours

Hatam is spoken by approximately 16,000 people living in the Arfak mountains, south of Manokwari in the Bird's Head area of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. According to Griffiths (1994 and pers.comm.), the language comprises five dialects: *Tinam*, *Miriei* (or *Moille*, as in Craven and De Fretes 1987; *Moile* in Tim PSL Uncen 1989), *Adihup*, *Uran* and *Moi*.<sup>2</sup> Hans Iwou (principal of the Primary School at Minyambou) claimed that Tinam and Adihup are virtually the same, Moille and Uran (Waran) are similar to each other, but clearly distinct from Tinam, and Moi (also known as *Mansim* in Indonesian) is quite different. The latter language variety, also called *Moi Brai*, was characterised as a mixture of Hatam and Biak, spoken by a small group of people. *Moi Brai* turned out to be equivalent to *Borai*, apparently a transcription of *Brai* with an epenthetic vowel. This language is still known by a few people near the coast. It does seem to be related to Hatam, with some Biak-Numfor features as well. See Reesink (forthcoming b). In *Borai* or *Moi Brai* one refers to the language by *mor moi*, while *mor pin* is 'bahasa Nufor' = the 'Nufor language' and *mor brer* refers to 'Indonesian'. In Hatam on the other hand, *ni-hyet mor* '3SG-voice *mor*' refers to 'Indonesian'. Apparently the term *mor*, which meant 'language' to the *Moi Brai*, had the connotation 'foreign' to the other Hatam groups, such as *Miriei* and *Tinam*.

The origin of the name Hatam is not clear. Pouwer (1958:40) suggests that the word has a Numfor origin: *atam* 'thatch of pandanus leaves'. Possibly it is an outsider's interpretation of *ni-hyet tinam* '3SG-speech *tinam*' as a native speaker of Tinam would refer to his/her language. Tinam is the major dialect, in which the New Testament has been published (by Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia in 1993). It is easily understood and spoken by speakers of the other dialects. A systematic dialect study has not been done, but it seems that the major difference between *Miriei* and *Tinam* is a regular correspondence between /s/ and /h/, as in *Miriei sab* and Hatam *hab* for 'bird', *sum* and *hum* 'fire', and so on. It is the Tinam dialect that is the object of this study. I have no further information on variation between the other Hatam dialects. Neighbouring language groups are Sougb and Meyah. The Sougb are called *Tuig* in Hatam, and the Meyah are called *Sreu*.

Typologically, Sougb, Meyah and Hatam appear to be very similar to each other and to other languages of the so-called West Papuan Phylum: SVO word order, verbal morphology limited to subject prefixation, Noun-Adjective-Determiner in the NP, Genitive-Noun order in possessive constructions, and the use of prepositions (see also Reesink 1996). Lexically the languages have very little in common, although a few items suggest a remote genetic relationship between Hatam and the East-Bird's Head family, which comprises Sougb and the closely related languages Meyah and Moskona. See Reesink (1998).

All languages of the (eastern) Bird's Head have at least a few words of Austronesian origin, presumably from Biak-Numfor, such as *pas* 'rice', *sansun* 'clothes' and *wonggor* 'crocodile'. Hatam has borrowed extensively. How old those loans are is hard to say at the moment. Items such as *pikor* 'school', *las* 'day', *pinak* 'send' are probably quite recent, but others, such as *mai* 'loincloth' (Numfor *mar*) and *hup* 'highlands' (Numfor *sup*) could be quite old. See Reesink (1998). An assessment of the relationship between Hatam and Biak-Numfor would need more information on what seems to be the 'missing link', the nearly extinct language *Borai*.

<sup>2</sup> The <i> in Tinam and Adihup represents a schwa.

### 1.3 Some anthropological notes

In this section I will relate some information on the origin of the people speaking Hatam and their social organisation in different groups (or families) and land rights.

Various sources suggest that the Hatam trace their origin to somewhere near the headwaters of the Wariori river (Tim PSL Uncen 1989:7; Pouwer 1958:59), which in Hatam is *Udop*. Perhaps this area was just an intermediate station during their travel from their original homeland further south-west, where the Rawara and Timoforo rivers join into the Sebjar (Pans 1960:25, 41). According to the oral tradition, near the headwaters of the Wariori river is a place called *Sen Mimbran* (*sen* 'sungai' = river; *mimbran* 'alang-alang' = 'tall, coarse grass', according to the folk etymology given in Uncen 1989:5), where a short snake lived in a cave, looking after a dog, *Rinyap*. Although the origin story of the Iwou family which I obtained is quite short and leaves a number of events unexplained, it does agree with information given in the Uncen report and the accounts in both Pouwer and Pans. A number of Hatam families trace their descent to the short snake, for example the Iwou (*wou(k)* = 'snake') and/or this dog.

Descendants of the earliest ancestors, identified by name of different families, like Iwou, Ayok, Mandacan, etc., spread out from the headwaters of the Wariori to the Anggi lakes, and further north-west throughout the Arfak mountains and to the coast. The latter are equated with the Moile, divided over a number of families, such as the Wonggor.

These families are referred to by the Hatam term *pung*, in Griffiths (1994:66) glossed as 'ancestor, lineage', in the Uncen report and by my informants unsystematically rendered as *fam*, *marga*, *keluarga*, *keret*, which are all roughly translatable as 'family', or *suku* 'tribe'. Pouwer (1958:37) gives the Hatam term *poeng-ě-kom* (= *pung-a gom* 'family-CIT one'), as meaning 'a number of (localised) kin groups with a common origin'.<sup>3</sup> He wrestled with the vague and contradictory ways in which this term was used. It seems to me that basically his understanding of *pung* was correct. The confusion arises mainly when indigenous relationships are expressed in local Malay, when loan words such as *fam* (Dutch 'familie'), Biak *keret*<sup>4</sup>, or Indonesian *suku* 'tribe' are used to capture the various extensions of the concept *pung*. The concept of *pung* seems to be applicable to ever-increasing concentric circles defining an in-group, depending on who the out-group is. Thus, the smallest unit of *pung* is the group of people as defined by Pouwer. A larger unit may comprise a whole dialect or language group, when for example the Tinam are set off against the Miriei, or the Mirei and Tinam together against the Meyah.

Since Hatam follows an ambilineal system of descent, one can trace one's *pung* through either father or mother in order to lay some claim on a piece of land. Thus, according to the Uncen report (Tim PSL Uncen 1989:8), land is owned by a group of descendants of an ancestor who had originally claimed a piece of land by laying out his garden in an area demarcated by some natural boundary, such as a mountain or river. Ownership of land implies at least the right to lay out gardens, to cut wood for housing, to hunt. People belonging to other families may walk freely through such an area, but they may not make use of its resources. The land is inherited by male descendants, although female descendants are

<sup>3</sup> The original quote is in Dutch: "Beide termen [given by Pouwer as Hatam "poengěkom" and Manikion "idjohoeta hom"] worden in hun gevarieerde betekenis in het plaatselijk Malies weergegeven met "fam" of zelfs "kèrèt"! Algemeen gesteld duiden zij een verre, al dan niet traceerbare verwantschap aan. Zij worden niet toegepast op leden van eigen verwantengroep, waarmee de relatie nauw en veelal traceerbaar is" (Pouwer 1958:38).

<sup>4</sup> Originally from Salawati *jilet* 'family', according to I.S. Kijne in a personal letter to F. Kamma (16 March 1954).

allowed to make use of the land (Uncen 1989:32-33). Occasionally, land was (and is) 'sold' for *kain timur* and pigs, but this does not mean that ownership of the original family has completely disappeared. As an example, the Uncen report refers to a Sougb man who bought land at Minyambou, or Hatam people from Hingka who settled at Warbederi, originally owned by the Mansim. That means that the new owner may not sell the land to a third party without the consent of the original owners (Uncen 1989:34). In other words, when words like 'sell' and 'buy' are being used with respect to the land, it is mainly the use of land that is being traded for money, *kain timur* or pigs. Land itself is an inalienable property, owned by people who are linked to the original owner, through a particular narrative.

Traditionally, an oldest brother with his immediate family occupied a large house together with the families of younger brothers/cousins. Larger villages were hardly present, even in the 1950s (Pouwer 1958:15). Marriage was based on sister-exchange, later developed into an indirect sister-exchange with bride price (Pouwer 1958:22, 41); see for example the text *Kain timur* in the Appendix. Settlement is mainly, but not exclusively, patrilocal. To which *pung* a person claims to belong, depends on where one's parents live. When a man dies, his possessions are inherited by his wife and his children.

The children may include adopted children (Hatam *awag* = Indonesian *budak*), who are seen as legal children, not as slaves or servants. Both the Uncen report (p.37) and information I obtained from Yoas Iwou<sup>5</sup> state explicitly that the Hatam only bought children; they did not themselves sell them. Children would be bought from the Meyah and Moskona, or from further to the west. Compare Pans (1960:47), who suggests that representatives from Hatam and Aymaru (i.e. Maybrat speakers) would meet each other near the Kamundam, probably trading in *kain timur* as well. Two accounts from descendants of such *awag* I recorded at Minyambou suggest that those children may have come from further away, obtained through a transaction or fighting.

For example, Erens Morum ( $\pm$  45 years old) tells that the Mandacan bought his great-grandfather (whose name he doesn't know) from the *suku* Marum, who lived between Merdey and Sorong (possibly Maybrat?). He was sold for food (taros) since there was a great famine in that area. Later his son Tamun was sold by the Mandacan to the Dowansiba people (= Sougb) near Catubou in exchange for weapons and poison (sorcery materials). The Dowansiba took care of him until the Second World War. Then Erens' father came to dance at Coisi, and married a woman from the *suku Hatam* (as Indonesian loanwords in a Hatam account), and so Erens and his siblings have become part of the Hatam.

Similarly, Isak Mandacan (age  $\pm$  60 years) from Sinaitosi apparently has Moskona ancestors. He tells about people from the headwaters of the Wariori (Ambailim), either Hatam or Sougb, who joined those from a place called Mokngomsa to fight with the *Sidai* (Hatam for Moskona) at Mesrei. The Moskona lived on limestone rock. They shot Isak's grandfather and captured Isak's father when he was still young (*mahan bigyo* 'adolescent not-yet') and brought him to the 'village' Ambailim, at the headwaters of the Wariori.

I will not try to give a synopsis of the names of groups (*pung*) given by various Hatam informants or those given in the World Wildlife Fund publication (Craven and De Fretes 1987) and in the Universitas Cenderawasih study (Tim PSL Uncen 1989). Some families are said to make up the *suku* Moile, others are related to the Sougb or Meyah, other groups are claimed to be exclusively Tinam. What has become clear so far is that there is a high degree of intermarriage between Tinam and Sougb, so that many Tinam speakers are also fluent in Sougb. Quite a few Hatam speakers have a Meyah mother, and can speak that language as

<sup>5</sup> The information may not be independent, since Yoas was one of the contributing informants of the Uncen report.

well. Pouwer (1958:41) concludes that mutual contacts between Hatam, Sougb and Meyah have been far more extensive than the strong sense of in-group versus out-group would have led one to believe. He notes that the Moile restrict their intertribal marriages mainly to the Hatam (read: Tinam), but that there are many marriages between Hatam (= Tinam) and Manikion (read: Sougb) or Meyah.

The end of Yairus' story about Digomang (see Appendix) suggests that some of the Ullo actually intermarried with people from the islands east of the Bird's Head: the Biak saw smoke at Mibou, got in their canoes to have a look and sent one of their women to marry Ullo, even though they did not know each other's language. This may be a mythical account of intermarriage between Hatam and people from the coast or from the islands in the Cenderawasih Bay, which could be an explanation of the claimed mixed nature of Borai. Compare also Pans (1960:44-45) who concludes on the basis of various historical sources, as well as oral tradition, that Hatam and Moiree people had moved to the coastal areas, where they found the Borai and Waraan tribes. The latter groups had already mixed considerably with islanders, like the Numfor and Biak speakers. These mixed groups further decreased in number and distinctiveness through sickness, fighting and intermarriage with the Hatam (and Moile) population.

Marriage of Hatam men with women from the islands is not limited to the past. For example, the cousins Hans and Yoas Iwou married women from Serui and Numfor respectively.

This sketchy data on families and intermarriages suggests that the language has had some influences from both directions: from the Sougb-Meyah-Moskona family to the south-west, as well as from the Biak-Numfor-Wandamen groups to the east. In the course of this study I will point out various features that seem to be due to these influences.

To conclude these anthropological notes, the Hatam kinship system will be presented. Important factors in the kinship terminology of Hatam are 'age' and 'same sex'. In Ego's own generation ( $G^0$ ), if Ego and sibling are of the same sex, age determines the choice of the referring term. If Ego and sibling are of different sex, other terms, undifferentiated for age, are used. This is also the case when sex of the linking relative is opposite to Ego's. In other words, cross-cousins are referred to with special terms, undifferentiated for age. A special relationship (as in so many New Guinea societies) exists between mother's brother and sister's child.

Terms for relations across two or three generations are reciprocal: (great-)grandparents refer to their (great-)grandchildren according to ego's sex, but do not differentiate the sex of their (great-)grandchildren. These terms are also used by the (great-)grandchildren, but now disregarding their own sex. The various kinship terms will be given in two sets: the consanguinal relations will be given for both male and female ego in Table 1.1. The second set (Table 1.2) gives the affinal relationships. This table shows that same or different sex and reciprocity are also important factors in the system of affinal relations. The relations in parentheses have not been explicitly elicited. The following abbreviations are used:

G = generation; superscripts indicate Ego's own generation ( $^0$ ), and ascending ( $^+$ ) and descending ( $^-$ ) generations; e = elder; y = younger; B = brother; Z = sister; F = father; M = mother; S = son; D = daughter; Ch = child; H = husband; W = wife.

Table 1.1: Consanguinal relations

ego is male	ego is female
G <sup>0</sup>	
<i>kindig</i> = eB, FeBS, (FBeS)	eZ, FBeD, MZeD
<i>kinjoi</i> = yB, FyBS, (FByS)	yZ, FByD, MZyD
<i>kwohop</i> = Z, FBD, (MZD)	<i>kijam</i> = B, FBS, MZS
<i>tom</i> = FZCh, MBCh	MBCh, (FZCh)
G <sup>+1</sup> : no difference between sex of ego:	
<i>cig</i> = F, FB, FFBS, etc.	
<i>mem</i> = M, FZ, MZ, FBW, MBW, MMZD, etc.	
<i>mum</i> = MB, MFS, MMS	
G <sup>-1</sup> : sex of linking relative is relevant:	
<i>mot</i> = S, BS, FBSS	S, ZS, (MZS)
<i>misop</i> = D, BD, FBSD	D, ZD, (MZD)
<i>nggwo</i> = ZCh	BCh
G <sup>-2</sup> :	
<i>ngyon</i> = SCh, Dch	<i>drot</i> = SCh, DCh
G <sup>+2</sup> :	
<i>ngyon</i> = FF, MF	FF, MF
<i>drot</i> = FM, MM	FM, MM
G <sup>-3</sup> :	
<i>digup</i> = SChCh, DChCh	<i>digai</i> = SChCh, DChCh
G <sup>+3</sup> :	
<i>digup</i> = FFF, FMF, MFF, etc	FFF, FMF, MFF
<i>digai</i> = FFM, FMM, MFM, etc.	FFM, FMM, MFM

Table 1.2: Affinal relations

*ceb* = husband (H);  
*nem* = wife (W);  
*dohoi* = male's ZH, WB; and female's HZ, BW. In other words, in-law of same sex as Ego;  
*sen* = male's BW, WZ; and female's ZH, HB. In other words, in-law of opposite sex;  
*mang* = father-in-law; son-in-law;  
*ngyot* = mother-in-law; daughter-in-law.

#### 1.4 Data collection and presentation

This grammar is based on data collected during two short periods of fieldwork, 15 October–30 November 1994 and 8 November–11 December 1995, in Minyambou, in the *kecamatan* Warmare, *Kabupaten* Manokwari, Bird's Head, Irian Jaya. These periods were too short to afford extensive trekking through the area in order to obtain data on dialectal differences. Instead, I stayed in Minyambou and collected word lists there and in adjacent Mbenti. From a few speakers I obtained texts from the oral tradition. But I also recorded a long personal narrative (Yoas Wonggor from Mbenti) and a sermon, given by Habel Iwou in the church at Minyambou. These narratives in natural speech could be checked and elaborated on with the excellent help from the principal of the primary school at Minyambou, Hans Iwou. The dictionaries compiled by Dick Griffiths allowed me fast access to the vocabulary of Hatam. A first result of this research was published as 'Explorations in Bert's Head: Hatam' in Baak et al. (1995).

Having done some preliminary analysis on this material I returned to the Hatam area in the fall of 1995 to verify and increase my data. A few other texts were recorded, some myths, a short historical account of events during the Second World War, and two short texts about 'slave'-trade in the Eastern Bird's Head.

In order to test phonological problems, a number of short sentences with contrasting items were pronounced by three different speakers, who were prompted in Indonesian. In order to investigate the status of verb sequences I took sentences from the recorded texts, changed them into a negative, or a relative construction, manipulated presence or absence of certain affixation, and asked native speakers what these sentences meant in Indonesian, or whether they could be used in a particular situation. The result of this method is that most examples in this grammar are taken from natural speech, but that the discussion on relative clause and scope of negation relies more heavily on elicited material. As much as possible, especially where deemed significant to stress natural language use, I have indicated in brackets from which recorded text an example is taken. The text references include texts which have not been included in this volume.

Throughout this volume I attempt to follow, as much as possible, the established orthography as employed in the published Hatam material, such as the New Testament. The most obvious discrepancy concerns the spelling of the negative. In the established orthography this is *bi* 'not', but since I believe the word resembles items spelled with final *-ig* (for example, often a noticeable friction following the high vowel—see §2.3 for further details), I have chosen for the spelling *big*.

In spite of the additional information obtained during my second visit to Minyambou, many questions remain. In particular, the extent of the phonemic status of geminate consonants cannot be unequivocally stated. Likewise, the status of various elements described in the morphology and syntax is rather dubious. This is no surprise, of course, considering that my analysis is based on fieldwork of only eleven weeks. In a sense, it could be considered to be rather presumptuous to attempt to write a grammar on the basis of such a short exposure to a language. While I was in the process of revising an earlier version of this grammar, an even more presumptuous account of the language was published.

Based on a short trip, Donohue (1997) published a Hatam phonology and grammatical notes. He does not recognise high vowels in the language, nor any contrast between single and geminate consonants. He also posits a series of labio-velar consonants, for which there is no evidence. His *ykpe* 'house' refers to a compound *ig-bei* 'house-under'. There are quite a few data in his paper which show the typical misunderstandings a first survey invariably contains. For example, he identifies the nasal in *nggwen* 'sick' and *kney* 'bad' as the same element,

signalling a strong denial. In fact, there are no other items that relate in the same way as *kei* 'good' and *kənei* 'bad', which suggests that the formal similarity is just accidental. The word for 'sick', *nggwen*, is one of many that begin with a homorganic nasal, but *gwen* does not exist, as far as I know. So far, a semantic constant between lexical items that differ only in the presence or absence of an initial homorganic nasal could not be established. To be fair, it may be that his data are from a different dialect, spoken near the Anggi lakes, which may have a Beneficiary marker *yp*, or a coreferential subject marking prefix *ho*. In the Tinam dialect, I have not found anything that suggests a particular morphology to indicate something like a switch-reference mechanism. This is not the place to make an evaluation of every item in Donohue's paper. The value of a description depends to a degree on the time one has been exposed to a language. In other words, the present work too may contain a number of misunderstandings and wrong analyses, which may show up after a more thorough acquaintance with the language.

This monograph does not pretend to give more than a preliminary description of Hatam and I have refrained from extensive discussions of a theoretical nature. This applies in particular to the phonology, which at first glance appeared to be quite simple, but does contain a number of problematic issues related to the stress pattern. In the area of syntax, a theoretical discussion regarding serial verb constructions is avoided. I have simply tried to arrange my data in such a way that some arguments bearing on that topic can find some corroboration. Following the chapters on phonology and grammar, I present a few texts, with annotations.



# 2 Phonology

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## 2.0 Introduction

Hatam is a language with a strikingly rhythmic pattern, roughly alternating unstressed and stressed syllables. This will be illustrated and discussed in the final section of this chapter. A number of problems with regard to the phonological segments are tied up with this pattern. The contrasts for the consonants and vowels that I consider to be phonemic, as represented in Tables 2.1 and 2.2, are limited to monosyllabic words. They will be given in §2.1. Although Griffith's dictionary (1994) lists words with geminates for both voiced and voiceless bilabial and velar stops, voiced palatal stop and the lateral, I have not found decisive evidence for all of these. Hence, I have given the suspicious elements in parentheses. The status of geminates will be discussed in §2.2.

In word-final position, the distinction in voicing of consonants is neutralised. This will be shown in §2.3. In phonemic transcriptions, therefore, I use the convention of symbolising archiphonemes in capitals. In §2.4 I discuss the phonemic status of the palatal series, which has a more restricted distribution than stops and nasals of other points of articulation. Whereas the discussion in §2.1–§2.4 is limited to monosyllabic words, the following topics concern polysyllabic items. In §2.5 the preconsonantal nasals will be presented, and in §2.6 the unspecified vowel in unaccented syllables. The vocoid sequences in §2.7 provide further evidence for the consonantal approximants and phonetic realisation of the unspecified vowel. In §2.8 the possible consonant clusters are illustrated. The facts from §2.2–§2.8 will be summarised in a discussion of the syllable structure (§2.9), which will then allow us to appreciate the iambic stress pattern that Hatam utterances display, to be discussed in §2.10.

Occasionally, I refer to words in the orthography which is used in Griffiths (1994) and other published Hatam materials. In those cases the Hatam items are given in italics. In the orthography both *r* and *l* occur, even though there is no phonemic contrast. Word-finally, the orthography appears to distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants, such as *g* and *k*, even though voicing is neutralised. The unaccented vowel (§2.6) is orthographically represented as *i*, and the (alleged) geminates by double consonants, such as *tt*, and so on.

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**Table 2.1:** Consonants

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	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop vl	<i>p</i> [ph, pφ, φ]	<i>t</i> [th]	<i>c</i> [ch]	<i>k</i> [kh, kx]	
vd	<i>b</i> [b, p]	<i>d</i> [d, t]	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i> [g, k]	
geminate	<i>pp</i> (bb)	<i>tt</i>	(jj)	<i>kk</i> (gg)	

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
geminate	<i>mm</i>	<i>nn</i>			
fricative		<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
liquid		<i>r</i> [r, l]			
geminate		(ll)			
approximant	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

**Table 2.2: Vowels**

	front	central	back
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
low	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>

**2.1 Contrasts**

**2.1.1 Consonants**

(i) Stops

The voiceless stops are mostly aspirated, although the Voice Onset Time following them is not very long ( $\pm 20-60$  msec), which means that the aspiration does not need to be heavy. In some cases voiceless stops may be realised as affricates (bilabial and velar) or even fricatives (bilabial).

/p/ has the allophones [ph], [pɸ], and [ɸ] in free variation; for example, /puT/ ‘finished’ may be realised as [phut], [pɸut], or [ɸut]. The same observation holds for other words with initial /p/. /b/ is always realised as [b].

/p/ vs /b/	/puT/	finished	/buT/	to bark a tree
	/puy/	to tell	/buy/	to hit
	/peK/	to acquire	/beT/	moon
	/pri/	to jump	/bri/	to clamber

/t/ is always realised as [th], /d/ as [d]:

/t/ vs /d/:	/tuT/	along	/duT/	to drink; warm
	/taP/	to close.wall	/daT/	to pierce
	/tuyK/	Sougb	/duyK/	coconut
	/ti/	NOM	/di/	REL

/c/ and /j/ are always realised as [c] and [j] respectively:

/c/ vs /j/:	/coy/	to enter	/joy/	to be busy; want
	/ce/	to agree	/je/	you.PL
	/cuK/	to order	/juK/	to descend

/k/ is realised as [kh] or [kx] in free variation, thus /key/ 'good' is [khey] or [kxey]. /g/ is always [g].

/k/ vs /g/:	/kaw/	to open	/gaw/	above
	/kon/	to lift up	/gom/	one

### (ii) Nasals

Nasals contrast according to four places of articulation, in both word-initial and word-final position, except for the palatal /ñ/, which only occurs word-initially. The nasals do not have allophonic variations.

/m/ vs /n/:	/ma/	to get	/na/	you.SG
	/maŋ/	many	/naŋ/	to run away
	/mem/	for	/nem/	crushed
final:	/dem/	enough	/nden/	slanting
	/hom/	to weed	/hon/	to stop
/m/ vs /ñ/:	/mem/	for	/ñey/	name
	/moŋ/	thread	/ñoP/	taste
/m/ vs /ŋ/:	/maT/	vagina	/ŋaT/	to see
	/moT/	son	/ŋoT/	to tie
final:	/hom/	to weed	/hoŋ/	bark (for walls)
	/mam/	interior	/maŋ/	many
/n/ vs /ñ/:	/ney/	breath	/ñey/	water
	/ne/	TOP marker	/ñe/	we
	/na/	you.SG	/ñan/	wide
/n/ vs /ŋ/:	/non/	to shoot	/ŋon/	heart
	/naP/	to sew	/ŋaP/	to yawn
final:	/nden/	slanting	/ndeŋ/	wet
	/bon/	to make	/boŋ/	to sleep
	/cin/	a pair	/triŋ/	cave

### (iii) Fricatives

Contrasts for the fricatives /s/ and /h/ are as follows.

/s/ is a grooved alveolar fricative with no allophonic variation.

/s/ vs /t/:	/su/	to extend arm	/tuK/	to pound, hit
	/soP/	woman	/tom/	walking stick
	/ser/	keep out	/ter/	different
	/siT/	rains	/tiT/	to stretch out hand
final:	/ris/	to deceive	/riT/	deformed
	/bos/	float	/boT/	rafters
	/kes/	to let go	/keT/	to insert

/h/ is a glottal fricative, which has a voiceless variant word-initially. It contrasts with /s/ in this position in just a few words<sup>1</sup>.

/s/ vs /h/:	/sar/	['sara]	lattice	/hara/	[ha'ra]	to request
	/sa/	[sa]	we two	/haP/	[hap]; [haba]; [ha]	bird <sup>2</sup>

/h/ does not occur word-finally. There are a number of seemingly monomorphemic words which do have medial /h/, which is then realised with voicing [fi]. In all of them /h/ occurs between identical vowels, for example:

/dahaT/	[dafiath]	to break (tr. or intr.)
/bihi/	[bifi]	some; other
/mahan/	[mafian]	adolescent
/dohoy/	[dofioy]	in-law of same sex <sup>3</sup>

#### (iv) Approximants

/r/ is realised as an alveolar flap [r] or a lateral approximant [l] in free variation. Thus, in isolation one may hear either [rim] or [lim] for 'to roll'. But in monomorphemic sequences no [l] is attested directly following a consonant. There seems to be some preference for [l] in utterance-initial position and [r] elsewhere. For example, the preposition *leu* 'from', the related conjunction *lene* 'and then' are invariably pronounced as [lew] and [lenɛ] when starting a sentence or resuming after a pause. In fast speech following consonants, one would get [rɛw], [rɛnɛ], as in /mbuT rew/ 'he goes from = he leaves' [mbudrɛw] and /noK rene/ 'it then = so' [nogrɛnɛ]. But it seems that no strict rule can be given. The same speaker may realise /mbuT rew/ 'walk; go from' as either [mbudrɛw] or [mbut<sup>></sup> lew]. Indonesian *selalu* 'always' can be given as [selaru], [seraru], [selalu].

/r/ vs /d/:	/ran/	track	/da/	I
	/ruT/	ripe (corn)	/duT/	warm
	/dor/	to run	/roK/	to push
/w/ vs /b/:	/waK/	to marry	/baK/	to; for
	/wey/	to call (spirit)	/bey/	under(neath)
	/wiT/	banana	/biT/	to accompany
/y/ vs /g/:	/yaw/	to crow	/gaw/	root
/y/ vs /j/:	/yem/	to eat	/jem/	to call
/y/ vs /w/:	/yaw/	to crow	/waw/	fish

<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, there seems to be a regular correspondence between /s/ and /h/ in the Miriei and Tinam dialects. Where the former has /s/, the latter has /h/: Miriei [sap<sup>></sup>] 'bird' equals Tinam [hap<sup>></sup>], [sum] 'fire' equals [hum], [sam] 'star' equals [ham], etc.

<sup>2</sup> Final stops, especially the bilabial one, are easily elided. Thus [hab] 'bird' or [nab] 'pig' are often pronounced without their final consonant: [ha] and [na].

<sup>3</sup> Possibly these forms are in fact bimorphemic, since /da-/ or /do-/ may derive, through regressive vowel harmony, from /dV-/ 'relative marker'; /bV-/ may be either 'instrument' or 'purposive marker'; and finally /mV-/ may be 'nominaliser' (see morphology sections). But this is no more than conjecture, since there is hardly any evidence for independent forms without such prefixes.

## 2.1.2 Vowels

/i/ is a close unrounded high front vowel, which in closed syllables may be realised as a more opened front vowel [ɪ], as in /kin/ = [kɪn] '(together) with'. The difference in vowel quality between [kɪn] 'together' and [k:i:n] 'to chisel' is most likely due to the preceding consonant; see §2.2.

/e/ is an open unrounded low front vowel [ɛ], which may be realised as slightly higher [e] in positions adjacent to a [+High] vowel. Thus, /reu/ 'from' = [lɛw] or [rew]; /ñey/ 'water' = [ñey]; /mem/ 'for' = [mɛm]; /ñe/ 'we' = [ñɛ].

/a/ is an open central vowel, which in closed syllables is slightly more central [ɐ] and in open syllables more fronted [a]: /kan/ 'to know' = [kɛn]; /pa/ 'to laugh' = [pa].

/o/ is an open rounded low back vowel [ɔ], which is realised as slightly higher [o] in positions adjacent to [+High] vowels. Thus: /gom/ 'one' = [gɔm] and /how/ 'wind' = [how].

/u/ is a close rounded high back vowel.

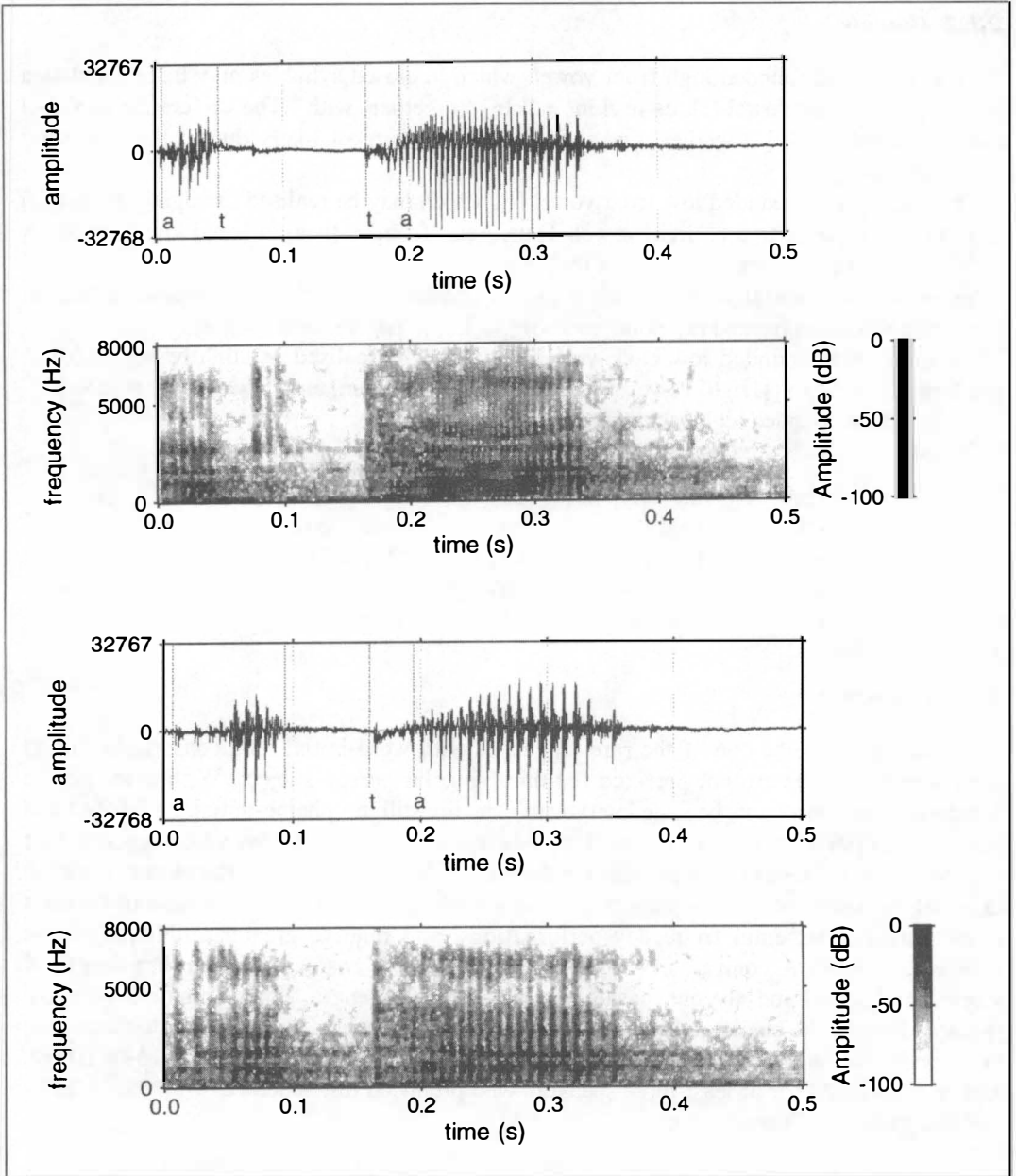
These five vowels are contrasted in the following sets:

/him/	the very one	/biT/	to follow
/hem/	cold	/beT/	to wait, save
/ham/	to bite	/baT/	COLLECTIVE
/hum/	fire	/buT/	to bark a tree
/hom/	to weed	/boT/	rafters

## 2.2 Gemimates

Hatam seems to be one of the rare languages with word-initial long consonants. Initial consonants of verbs are not prefixed for third singular person subject. With other person categories, the consonants become intervocalic, but are still morpheme-initial. Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:94) refer to the work by Abramson on Pattani Malay who suggested that "the perceptual clues that compensate for the lack of information about the closure duration in initial voiceless unaspirated stops might include intensity of the stop burst, rate of formant transitions, fundamental frequency perturbations, and relative greater amplitude of the following vowel". A contrast in length for nasals is more easily perceived than length of stops. The bilabial and alveolar nasals contrast clearly in length. The geminate lasts about twice as long as the single nasal,  $\pm 120$ – $130$  msec versus  $\pm 60$ – $70$  msec. In addition to the duration of the nasal, the pitch on the vowel following the geminate is about 15 to 20 Hz. higher. This holds for at least three speakers who produced test sentences with *i-mai* '3PL-die' and *i-mm̄ai* '3PL-embarrassed'.

/m/ vs /mm/:	[mɛy]	to die	[mmɛy]	to be embarrassed
	[mun]	thing	[mmun]	dark; night
	[mɛm]	for	[mmɛŋ]	leaf
/n/ vs /nn/:	[na]	you.SG	[nna]	ignore
	[nɛm]	to warm up	[nnɛm]	deaf



**Figure 2.1:** Difference in duration between /t/ and /t/. Waveform and spectrogram of the words *a-ta* ‘2SG-plant’ (upper picture) and *a-tta* ‘2SG-side of body’ (lower picture) on the same time scale, as produced by Hans Iwou. The segments of the words are indicated in the waveforms at their onsets.

As far as the plosives are concerned, the contrast between single and geminate variants is not always clearly just a matter of closure duration—that is, the time of absence of noise between preceding vowel and the burst of the stop. In a few cases, the closure duration of [t:] in *tin* ‘be afraid’, *tei* ‘carry’, *tto* ‘promise’, and *tta* ‘side’ is indeed roughly twice as long as

that of [t] in *tinei* 'prepare', *tou* 'watch', *ta* 'to plant', as illustrated in Figure 2.1.<sup>4</sup> The formant structure in the closure of [t:] in /a-tta/ 'your side' may be due to tongue positioning after the airflow had already been stopped. For a similar realisation of [t:] in /i-tto/ 'they-promise' the spectrogram shows 90 msec. of real silence following 50 msec. of weak vibration, again indicating a long closure time before the release of the stop. In most realisations of these contrasts the burst of the geminate appears louder, while the following vowel has a slightly higher pitch.

In addition to these observations made on elicited material, specifically designed to test the presence of geminates, and obtained from three different speakers, there is evidence from natural speech. One speaker's natural speech shows a duration of 140 msec. for /tt/ in *ttin* 'be afraid' versus 70 msec. for /t/ in [bətɛy] *bitai* 'four' (this intervocalic [t] is probably due to bimorphemicity). Another speaker distinguishes /kk/ in /kka/ 'angry' with a duration of 144 msec. from the much shorter /k/ in *kan* 'know' (50 msec.).<sup>5</sup> In many instances of natural speech the contrast is less pronounced. For example, the phonetic realisation of /kin/ 'with' and /kkin/ 'hoe' in example (2.1) does not show a difference in closure duration, nor in voice onset time (12 and 16 msec. respectively).

- (2.1) *Dani kin di-sut gom ni-kkin dihyei.*  
 I with 1SG-friend one 1EXC-hoe ground  
 I and a friend hoed the field.

But the single /k/ in /kin/ is weaker and does not show full closure; in other words it has some breathiness. Compared to /kk/ in /kkin/, the vowel in /kin/ has a lower quality and a slightly lower pitch.

While giving responses to a word list, one informant insisted on a contrast between *bas* 'roosting place' and *bbas* 'cracked'. Although the latter form sounded as having a louder burst than the former, it lacked the voicing of the former. But it could not just represent a distinction in voicing, since the (slight) aspiration or friction which is always detectable on voiceless bilabial stops was absent. In test sentences produced by three speakers, the word for 'cracked' starts with [p] with a rather long closure duration and louder burst than a single [p]. No significant difference could be detected between the initial consonants of *bbas* [p:ɛs] 'cracked' and *ppiɛt* [p:iyɛt] 'to borrow'. Thus, it is not clear whether both voiced and voiceless stops have geminate counterparts. Neither have I found evidence for the alleged /ll/ in Griffiths' *llet* 'to shell corn, to shed' (but only obtained from one speaker). Griffiths also gives *jjei* 'to crawl, creep along', which would contrast with *jei* 'long', but I have no data on this.

On the basis of the clear cases of long versus short consonants in short, elicited utterances as well as in some instances of natural speech, I conclude that Hatam does distinguish single and geminate series for bilabial and alveolar nasals and stops of three points of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, and velar. But the evidence for both voiced and voiceless series of geminates is not conclusive. Clearly, more research is required to ascertain the exact scope of geminates in Hatam, or whether perhaps pitch on the following vowel is the distinctive feature.

<sup>4</sup> The pictures in Figures 2.1–2.4 are produced with GIPOS (Graphic Interactive Processing of Speech), a software package for the analysis and processing of speech, developed at the Institute for Perception Research (IPO) in Eindhoven, The Netherlands (for further information, see <http://www.tue.nl/ipo/hearing/gipos/>).

<sup>5</sup> In the orthography 'angry' is given as *gga*. But in my recordings the consonant is always voiceless and slightly aspirated.

### 2.3 Final stops

Word-finally, the palatal stops do not occur. For the other stops the voiced–voiceless contrast is neutralised. I will give evidence for stops of three places of articulation:

- (i) Regarding bilabial stops, in one sentence one may find: [məmbrənə mem sop<sup>></sup>] ‘brideprice for woman’, immediately followed by [atau ibuwak<sup>></sup> sop<sup>h</sup>] ‘or they marry women’. Nouns in citation form are always ‘suffixed’ with the vowel *-a*, whether they end in vowel or consonant. In that context, no noun ‘ends’ with a voiceless stop, which gives [sob-a] ‘woman’ as citation form. Thus /soP/ ‘woman’ is realised with (a) an unreleased voiceless bilabial stop or (b) a released voiceless one preceding a pause, or (c) a voiced bilabial stop preceding a vowel.
- (ii) As for alveolar stops, the verb /ngaT/ ‘to see’ is realised as [ɲat] utterance-finally in:

- (2.2) [a-yay bə-dani mɛm də-ɲat<sup>h</sup>]  
 2SG-give to-me for 1SG-see  
 Let me see it. (lit. Give it to me so I can see it.)

Alternatively, it is [ɲad] preceding a vowel, as in the more polite request, using the interrogative particle *-i*:

- (2.3) [a-yay bə-dani mɛm də-ɲad-i]  
 2SG-give to-me for 1SG-see-Q  
 Would you give it to me so I can see it, please.

- (iii) Similarly, in the case of velar stops: /-ngwaK/ ‘forehead’ is realised as [ɲwak<sup>></sup> ~ ɲwak<sup>h</sup>], with [-ɲwaga] as citation form. This word does not contrast with /ngwak/ ‘empty’ in final position. Three speakers realised the following test sentences:

- (2.4) *Yoni i-kwei ngat lo ig ngwak.* [ɲwɛk<sup>h</sup>]  
 they 3PL-come see but house empty  
 They came to see but the house was empty.

- (2.5) *Di-bui bi-ndei ni-bou-ngwak.* [ɲwɛk<sup>h</sup>]  
 1SG-hit and-impinge 3SG-head-forehead  
 I hit him on his forehead.

The same speakers did agree in their realisation of the contrast in the following sentences:

- (2.6) *Ig dima ngwak big.* [ik<sup>></sup> dɔma ɲwɛk<sup>></sup> bi]  
 house that empty not  
 That house is not empty.

- (2.7) *Noni bui di-ngwak big.* [noni buy dəɲwagɛ bi]  
 he hit 1SG-forehead not  
 He didn’t hit my forehead.

The final /K/ of /ngwaK/ ‘empty’ in example (2.6) is unreleased, preceding a morpheme-initial stop, and the final /K/ of /-ngwaK/ ‘forehead’ in (2.7) is a voiced velar stop, followed by a schwa. This schwa could be a transitional element, helping to define a contrast between final voiced versus voiceless stops, or to shape the preferred rhythmic pattern, but I rather



suspect it to be a weakened variant of the citation clitic *-a* ‘CIT’ (see §3.2.1). In other words, the different realisations are due to the phonetic environment, rather than the inherent phonological shape.

As far as I know, there are no possible minimal pairs within the word class nouns. Similar phonetic realisation of nouns such as *bed-a* ‘moon-CIT’ or *ngwag-a* ‘forehead-CIT’ and words of other categories, such as the verb *bet* ‘to wait’ or adjective *ngwak* ‘empty’ never cause misunderstanding. Only within the class of verbs have I found minimal pairs suggesting a contrast between voiced and voiceless velar stops in final position, but these are restricted to verbs with the vowel /u/, as in *huk* ‘to chase, hunt’ versus *hug* ‘to pour’, *cuk* ‘to order’ versus *cug* ‘to threaten’.<sup>6</sup>

There does seem to be a phonological contrast in voicing between velar stops in word-final position, revealing itself in phonetic realisations. This is limited, however, to environments following high vowels. Consider the following items as given in isolation:

(2.8)	/huk/	[huk <sup>h</sup> ]; [huk <sup>&gt;</sup> ]	to chase, hunt
	/hug/	[hu <sup>w</sup> ]; [huk <sup>&gt;</sup> ]	to pour
	/hu/	[hu]	to plant (sweet potato)
	/tuk/	[tuk <sup>h</sup> ]; [tuk <sup>&gt;</sup> ]	to insert
	/tug/	[tu <sup>w</sup> ]; [tuk <sup>&gt;</sup> ]	to pound
	/tu/	[tu]	already
	/juk/	[juk <sup>h</sup> ]; [juk <sup>&gt;</sup> ]	to descend
	/ug/	[u <sup>w</sup> ]	to go
	/u/	[u]	to tether
	/rik/	[rik <sup>h</sup> ]	torn
	/ig/	[i]; [iç]	house
	/tig/	[ti]; [tiç]	stone

Words with final /k/ or /g/ can both be realised with unreleased voiceless stops. The items with final /g/ are also (and mainly) realised without a stop in isolation. They end in just a vowel or an unreleased approximant following /u/ or a light palatal friction following /i/. The (palato-)velar consonant does betray itself in the environment of a following consonant. For example, preceding /h/, there is a contrast between /huk/ ‘hunt’ and /tug/ ‘pound’, as in (2.9). The voiceless /k/ is phonetically realised, the voiced /g/ is not.

(2.9) (a)	<i>Ni-huk</i>	<i>hab.</i>	= [nəhukhabə]
	1 EXC-hunt	bird	
	We hunted birds.		

<sup>6</sup> These can be made explicit, as Hans Iwou did, when he saw me writing <puk> for ‘to pick’ (memetik): “*oh, ke, p<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>, p<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>h</sup> itu k<sup>h</sup>etuk<sup>h</sup>. Kalau pakai kata k<sup>h</sup>a itu k<sup>h</sup>etup<sup>h</sup>hintu, kalau ge, itu memetik<sup>h</sup>, jadi [p<sup>h</sup>ug<sup>]*”

‘Oh, ge, [puk<sup>], [puk<sup>h</sup>] means *ketuk* (= knock on door). If you use /k/ it means *ketuk pintu* ‘knock on a door’, if /g/ it means *memetik* ‘pick fruit/flower’, so it is [pug].’

Thus, in careful speech he made a difference between an unreleased versus a released velar stop: the former was used for what he considered to be a final /g/, the latter for /k/. But as we have seen, final stops before a pause may be realised either way, neutralising voice.

- (b) *tug hon* = [tuhon]  
 pound stop  
 it is by means of

In my data, I have clear evidence for /g/ following the high front vowel. The nouns *ig* 'house' and *tig* 'stone', for example, are in isolation given as [içya] and [tiçya]. When followed by a demonstrative [dəma], one would get [ik> dəma] 'house that', [tik> dəma] 'stone that'. In natural speech, *sindig* 'old woman' is realised with a light palatal friction between the high front vowel and the following schwa in *sindig gom* 'one old woman' [sIndiçəgəm] and with an unreleased voiceless stop preceding a nasal in the next sentence *sindig ni-nyeng* 'old woman 3SG-name' as [sIndik> ninyeŋ] 'the old woman's name'. And 'he goes and arrives' is *ug ndei*, which is realised as [uŋdey], with the initial alveolar nasal accomodating the velarity of the 'hidden' stop.

Although *rik* 'torn' is the only attested item with /...ik/, phonetically [rik<sup>h</sup>], there are a few contrasts between /...ig/ and /...i/. The phonological forms with /...ig/ are realised as [i] or [iç] in isolation and with an unreleased (palato-)velar stop preceding voiced bilabial or alveolar stops.<sup>7</sup> Consider:

- |        |             |           |        |                   |                |
|--------|-------------|-----------|--------|-------------------|----------------|
| (2.10) | <i>cig</i>  | father    | /cig/  | [dIci]; [dIciç]   | my father      |
|        | <i>ndig</i> | big       | /ndig/ | [ndi]; [ndiç]     | big            |
|        | <i>brig</i> | headwater | /brig/ | [nIbri]; [nIbriç] | its headwaters |

Preceding /d/ or /b/ the final stop is produced, as in:

- (2.11) (a) [dIcik> dIni]  
 /dV-cig dV-ni/  
 1SG-father REL-this  
 this father of mine
- (b) [bəŋgəs ndik> bəbəfəma]  
 /bVnggas ndig bVbor pV-ma/  
 goanna big very ANA-that  
 that very big goanna

These forms contrast with:

- |        |            |       |               |         |              |
|--------|------------|-------|---------------|---------|--------------|
| (2.12) | <i>ci</i>  | /ci/  | to chase away | [dIci]  | I chase away |
|        | <i>pri</i> | /pri/ | to jump       | [nIpri] | we jump      |

Other evidence for a final velar stop following the high front vowel in some lexical items, is the choice of the allomorph of the enclitic nominaliser *ti/si*, as in examples (2.13) and (2.14). Similar phonological conditioning affects *tu/su* 'already' and *tut/sut* 'along with'. The allomorph with the grooved fricative betrays the phonological presence of the 'hidden' velar, which is recognised in the orthography. Consider:

<sup>7</sup> The environmental condition may well be wider, as [sIndik> niŋeŋ] suggests, but I have no firm evidence for other environments.

(2.13) *ei minyei ni-brig-si* = [ey mInyey nIbri-si]  
 LOC water 3SG-head-NOM  
 at the headwaters of the river

(2.14) *ei mpia ni-pri-ti* = [ey mpia nIɸri-ti]  
 LOC sun 3SG-jump-NOM  
 in the east

Following high vowels, the opposition between final /k/ and /g/ is found in the fact that /g/ is either elided or realised as an approximant preceding vowels, while /k/ is voiced in that environment. Before stops, both are phonetically unreleased voiceless.

Rather similar is the fate of the words with the vocoid sequences [ei], [ai] or [ou]. In isolation, no velar stop is present in the lexical items, given in example (2.15). In other words, neither a pause nor a following vowel suggests a final stop.

(2.15)	<i>wou</i>	[wowa]	snake
	<i>bou</i>	[bowa]	head
	<i>nipou</i>	[nəpou]	before; once
	<i>kwei</i>	[kwey]	3SG-come
	<i>ei</i>	[ɛy]	at, on, to
	<i>bitai</i>	[bətɛy]	four

But when the items from (2.15) occur preceding a consonant, a voiceless unreleased velar stop surfaces:

- (2.16) (a) [wɔwk> dəma]  
*wou di-ma*  
 snake REL-that  
 that snake
- (b) [ɸeni nəbowk> bətɛy]  
*nyeni ni-bou bitai*  
 we 1EXC-head four  
 the four of us
- (c) [bɔŋ eyk> dəni]  
*Bong ei di-ma.*  
 sleep LOC REL-that  
 He sleeps here.
- (d) [bətɛyk dəni]  
*bitai di-ni*  
 four REL-this  
 these four

Whether the phonological shape of these words should have a final stop is not clear. If the high vowel is indeed consonantal, as argued in §2.7, it would imply a complex coda. Perhaps the velar is a phonetic juncture between an approximant and a following stop. Possibly, a similar phenomenon occurs with [ui] as in [Tuiç] 'Soug', [duiç] 'coconut', which are given in the orthography as *Tuigya*, *duigya*, and similar items. But I have not been able to ascertain a distinction between such words and *kui* 'ascend', *mui* 'cooked, dry' and so on. So far, I have not found this phenomenon with other vocoid sequences, such as [iu], [eu], [au], or [oi].

## 2.4 Palatal series

Given the restricted distribution of /c/, /j/, and /ñ/, the question is warranted whether the palatal consonants do indeed deserve phonemic status, or whether they are the realisation of C+/i/. Consider the restrictions:

- (i) [ñ] does not occur word-finally, in contrast to the nasals of other points of articulation. In initial position Hatam has [mi] and [ɲi] as in [miyap] '3SG.hears' and [ɲyoy] 'cheek' (which I also recorded as [ñoy]). Thus, [ñ] could realise the sequence [ni].
- (ii) Whereas bilabial, alveolar and velar stops are present in final position, albeit neutralised with respect to voicing, the palatal stops do not occur word-finally.<sup>8</sup>
- (iii) The palatal stops [c] and [j] cannot be followed by /r/ in consonant clusters, as opposed to all other stops (see §2.8).

These restrictions suggest that the palatals may not have phonemic status as other stops or nasals, that they may be the phonetic merging of an alveolar consonant plus a front high vowel. But such an interpretation is not quite possible in the light of items such as [cin] 'a pair', [tiŋ] 'far', and [cɛm] 'also' versus [tiyey] 'white'; as well as [jit] 'true' and [jiya] 'chin.CIT' versus [diya] 'slippery'.

Although my own data do not contain instances of palatal stops followed by a vocoid series with [HIGH] in first position, Griffiths (1994) lists: *ciem* 'rocks heated for pit cooking' and *diem* 'leak through which liquids flow'. These items imply a contrast between [ciyɛm] 'heated rocks' and [cɛm] 'also' and [diyem] 'leak' versus [jem] 'to call' and [yem] 'to eat'. When polymorphemic words are considered, there are more. Consider the verbs *yem* 'to eat' and *jem* 'to call'. Without a prefix the forms [yem] and [jem] mean '3SG.eat' and '3SG.call' respectively. With first person singular the forms are /dV-yem/ [diyem] and /dV-jem/ [dijem], and with second person plural [jiyem] and [jijem], clearly constituting a contrast between [j] and [di]. If indeed there is also a geminate member of the series, as Griffiths' *jjei* 'to crawl' suggests, the palatal series is parallel to the stops of other points of articulation.

Similarly, the clear contrast between [ni.yay] '3SG-eye' or '1EXC-take' (morphologically /nV-yay/ in both cases) on the one hand and [ñay] 'other side of river' (morphologically /ñay/) on the other suggests that /ñ/ may be taken as a fourth phonemic nasal. My conclusion is that Hatam has a palatal series of stops and nasal, which cannot be equated with a realisation of the sequence alveolar stop/nasal and front high vowel.

## 2.5 Syllabic nasals

In monomorphemic words, Hatam allows nasals preceding homorganic stops and fricatives. These sequences are not considered to constitute a prenasalised series. Firstly, the nasals are syllabic, although their duration may be quite short in places. Secondly, the following stops do contrast in voicing as they do word-initially. Thirdly, not just the stops, but also the two fricatives /s/ and /h/ are allowed following nasals. Consider the contrasts in example (2.17).

<sup>8</sup> I should mention that some speakers pronounce the sequence [uy] or /ig/, as in *kui* 'ascend', *big* 'not' with voiced palatal stop: [kuyj], [bij]. But this seems to be a dialectal variant, influenced by neighbouring Sougb.

- (2.17) (a) with bilabial stops:  
 /mpuK/ [m.puk] anger /mbuT/ [m.but] to walk  
 /mpe/ [m.pɛ] time /mbɛn/ [m.bɛn] population
- (b) with alveolar stops:  
 /ntiK/ [n.ti] hip /ndiK/ [n.di] big  
 /ntaP/ [n.tap] hair /ndaP/ [n.dap] hand
- (c) with palatal stops:  
 /ñicuP/ [ñ.cup] rat /ñjum/ [ñ.jum] bone
- (d) with velar stops:  
 /ŋkeK/ [ŋ.kɛk] skin /ŋgeK/ [ŋ.gɛk] demolish  
 /ŋkum/ [ŋ.kum] damp /ŋgum/ [ŋ.gum] hungry
- (e) with fricatives:  
 /nsim/ [n.sim] salt /ŋhim/ [ŋ.him] back  
 /nsus/ [n.sus] comb /ŋhuy/ [ŋ.huy] body

In connected speech the nasal does not always remain homorganic with the following stop. In reduplication and other tight sequences, the nasal loses its syllabicity and contracts with the coda of the preceding syllable. It takes the point of articulation of this stop, as illustrated in example (2.18).

- (2.18) (a) P + ñ > m, as in:  
*bikwop njap-njap* > [bə.kwɔm.jɛm.jap]  
 every day-day  
 every day
- (b) T + m > n, as in:  
*Ni-mbut-mbut nyen.* > [nəm.bun.bu.ñɛn]  
 1EXC-walk-walk just  
 We were just walking around.
- (c) K + n > ŋg, as in:  
*Noni ug ndei...* > [no.ni.ʏuŋ.dey]  
 s/he go hit  
 S/he went as far as...

## 2.6 Unspecified vowel

Besides the monomorphemic words with an initial syllabic nasal, there are a number of other presumably monomorphemic words consisting of more than one syllable. The great majority of these bisyllabic words have the form CV.CV(C), although vowel-initial words are also possible. But these will be discussed in §2.9.

If the first syllable has an onset, the vowel is either a schwa (example 2.19), or the same as the vowel in the second syllable (examples 2.20 and 2.21). [ə] is a mid central vowel, with a slightly fronted quality, almost sounding as [ɪ]. Preceding palatals it may acquire even a higher quality as [i]. It can never be the vowel in a monosyllabic word. In bisyllabic words it can never occur in the second syllable, because it can never receive stress.

(2.19)	/pV.rey/	[pəley]	to shoot
	/pV.nay/	[pənəy]	man
	/bV.hey/	[bəhey]	underneath
	/bV.geT/	[bəget]	rain
	/bV.tay/	[bətəy]	four
	/tV.baP/	[təbəp]	to touch
	/tV.bor/	[təbɔr]	arrow
	/dV.go/	[dəgo]	to cut up
	/dV.dew/	[dədew]	near
	/kV.kaw/	[kəkaw]	continually
	/kV.ju/	[kɪju]	to get up
	/kV.ney/	[kəney]	bad
	/mV.nay/	[mənay]	stringbag
	/nV.ngay/	[nənəy]	three
	/nV.pow/	[nəpow]	formerly
	/sV.ngaw/	[səngaw]	knife
	/sV.tuT/	[sətut]	yam vine

These items could suggest that [ə] is non-phonemic, simply an epenthetic central vowel necessary to break up illicit consonant clusters. But there does seem to be a contrast between [ŋ.gruk] 'difficult' and [ŋ.gə.luk] 'vein, tendon'.<sup>9</sup> So, rather than assuming a number of consonant clusters, it seems better to postulate a phonemic vowel position in the initial syllable, which has a rather wide range of phonetic realisation: [ə], [ɪ] or [i]. And if the onset of the stressed syllable is /h/, the unspecified vowel is identical with the stressed one, as in example (2.20). Intervocallic /h/ is always voiced.

(2.20)	[daɦat]	to break (tr. and intr.)
	[buɦun]	heavy
	[doɦoy]	in-law of same sex
	[maɦan]	adolescent
	[gaɦay]	scattered around

This series would suggest that vowel harmony is triggered by /h/ in the stressed syllable. The items in example (2.21) show that it is not only /h/ which allows vowel harmony.

(2.21)	[yɔŋɔn]	to remember
	[micim]	spear
	[nuŋugw]	mountain

But these (and some other) words, some of which showing a voiceless stop as onset of the stressed syllable, could be polymorphemic (see further §2.9 on syllable structure).

There are other cases of polymorphemic words with an unspecified vowel in the first, unstressed, syllable. These concern inalienable nouns and verbs with person-number prefixes.

<sup>9</sup> Since I have not encountered other instances of this contrast, this could be due to homophones being realised with a free variation between [Cr] and [Cəl], highlighting the different meanings.

The stems of these items do maintain the voicing opposition. The unspecified vowel of the prefix behaves similarly to the one in monomorphemic bisyllabic words. The prefixes are:

(2.22)	1 SG	/dV-/
	2 SG	/a-/
	3 SG & 1 EXC	/nV-/
	2 PL	/jV-/
	3 PL & 1 INC	/i-/ <sup>10</sup>

In all environments the syllabic prefix without an onset remains [a]. The phonetic realisation of the other prefixes is as follows:

- (2.23) (a) Before vowel-initial stems, V is elided and /i-/ becomes [y]: /om/ 'press':

[dɔm]  
[aɔm]  
[nɔm]  
[jɔm]  
[yɔm]

- (b) Before palatals, V becomes [I] or even [i] and /i-/ becomes [i] with or without a light palatal fricative [ç]: /ñeng/ 'name' and /yoK/ 'to put':

[diñɛŋ] [diyɔk]  
[añɛŋ] [ayɔk]  
[niñɛŋ] [niyɔk]  
[jiñɛŋ] [jiyɔk]  
[iñɛŋ] [iyɔk]; [içyɔk]

- (c) Before stops, V becomes [ə] or, especially in careful speech, [I], /i-/ becomes [i] or [ik>], and the stem-initial consonant maintains the distinction voiced–voiceless. Consider /puy/ 'to tell' and /buy/ 'to hit' (recall that /p/ can be [p], [pʰ] or [ʰ]):

[dəpʰuy]; [dIʰuy]	[dəbuy]; [dIbuy]
[apʰuy]	[abuy]
[nəpʰuy]; [nIɸuy]	[nəbuy]; [nIbuy]
[jəpʰuy]; [jIɸuy]	[jəbuy]; [jIbuy]
[ɪɸuy]; [ik>pʰuy]	[ibuy]; [ik>buy]

- (d) Before /h/, V harmonises with the stem vowel or the approximant following /h/; /i/ is realised as [yV] or [iç]: /hwen/ 'throw', /hyeT/ 'speech', /hagom/ 'all':

[duhwɛn]	[dihɛt]	
[ahwɛn]	[ayhɛt]	
[nuhwɛn]	[nihɛt]	[nahagɔm]

<sup>10</sup> In the orthography this prefix is sometimes (i.e. preceding /y/-initial stems) written as *ig*. The slight friction before /y/ and an occasional [k>] preceding stops would indeed suggest an underlying velar stop, similar to /ig/ 'house'. But I take this form as syllabic /i/ before consonants and as a phonetic approximant before vowels.

[juhwen]	[jihet]	[jahagɔm]
[yuhwen]	[içhet]	[yahagɔm]; [içhagɔm]

Note that the palatal approximant of the stem /hyeT/ metathesises with /h/ to be incorporated in the unstressed syllable. This process seems optional for the bilabial approximant: [nuhen] is attested as alternative to [nuhwen].

- (e) Before /w/, V takes the quality of a high back vowel, as in /wak/ 'to marry':

[duwak]
[awak]
[nuwak]
[juwak]
[yuwak]

## 2.7 Vocoid sequences

The phonemic status of bilabial and palatal approximants as consonants can best be argued if we consider which vocoid sequences Hatam allows. Only vocoid sequences involving high vowels and non-high vowels in either order are attested, as presented in Table 2.3, with first elements in the rows and the second elements in the columns.

Table 2.3: Vocoid sequences

	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>i</i>		<i>ie</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>io</i>	<i>iu</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ei</i>				<i>eu</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>ai</i>				<i>au</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>oi</i>				<i>ou</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>ue</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>uo</i>	

The illustrative items are given in the established orthography, phonological shape and phonetic realisations: see examples (2.24)–(2.28). The actual phonetic realisations differ considerably, to a large extent depending on the place a word has in an utterance. In isolation, sequences with [+HIGH] in second position always form one syllable, as illustrated in (2.24). Since no further consonant is allowed in the coda, the high vowels could be interpreted as consonantal approximants.<sup>11</sup> This also holds for V<sup>[HIGH]</sup> as only onset, as in (2.25).

- (2.24) final [HIGH]

<i>ei</i>			
<i>kei</i>	/key/	[key]	good
<i>brei</i>	/brey/	[brey]	clear

<sup>11</sup> Except, as already mentioned, a number of sequences ending on V<sup>[HIGH]</sup> may have a velar consonant, surfacing before consonants.



<i>jei</i>	/jey/	[jey]	long
<i>hei</i>	/hey/	[hey]	to grow, protrude
<i>oi</i>			
<i>oi</i>	/oy/	[ɔy]	faeces
<i>coi</i>	/coy/	[cɔy]	to enter
<i>poi</i>	/poy/	[pɔy]	a few
<i>oi</i>			
<i>ngoi</i>	/ngoy/	[ŋɔy]	infertile
<i>doi</i>	/doy/	[dɔy]	song
<i>ai</i>			
<i>pai</i>	/pay/	[pɤy]	to say
<i>mai</i>	/may/	[may]	to die
<i>tai</i>	/tay/	[tay]	around
<i>eu</i>			
<i>preu</i>	/prew/	[pɾew]	to promise
<i>leu</i>	/rew/	[lɾew]; [rɾew]	from
<i>eu</i>			
<i>ceu</i>	/cew/	[cɾew]	owner
<i>heu</i>	/hew/	[hɾew]	to carve/polish
<i>ou</i>			
<i>bou</i>	/bow/	[bow]	head (or /bowK/; see §2.3)
<i>akou</i>	/akow/	[akow]	ant
<i>cou</i>	/cow/	[cow]	post
<i>hou</i>	/how/	[how]	wind
<i>au</i>			
<i>cau</i>	/caw/	[caw]	thatch
<i>kau</i>	/kaw/	[kaw]	to open
<i>krau</i>	/kraw/	[kraw]	to catch
<i>ngau</i>	/ngaw/	[ŋaw]	reserved for
<i>hau</i>	/haw/	[haw]	k.o. hardwood

## (2.25) initial [HIGH]

<i>yem</i>	/yem/	[yɛm]	to eat
<i>yok</i>	/yoK/	[yɔk]	to put
<i>yo</i>	/yo/	[yɔ]	they
<i>yam</i>	/yam/	[yɛm]	each other
<i>wer</i>	/wer/	[wɛr]	somewhat
<i>wou</i>	/wow/	[wow]	snake
<i>wak</i>	/waK/	[wɛk]	to marry

When the high vowel is preceded by a consonant, the phonetic realisation is not always the same. High vowels following /h/ are never syllabic:

## (2.26) /h/ + [HIGH]

<i>hyen</i>	/hyen/	[hyen]	to look after
<i>hyet</i>	/hyeT/	[hyet]	voice, etc.
<i>hwen</i>	/hwen/	[hwɛn]	to throw/hit
<i>hwab</i>	/hwaP/	[hwɛp]	nose
<i>hwou</i>	/hwow/	[hwow]	to come/go

When the two high vowels occur together, the back vowel is more likely to function as a consonant. In final position this is always the case, as in example (2.27). When the sequence is [BACK] [FRONT], alternative realisations are attested, as in (2.28).

(2.27) *iu*

<i>riu</i>	/riw/	[riw]	pierce
<i>piu</i>	/piw/	[pɸiw]	cut grass
<i>nggriu</i>	/nggriw/	[ŋgriw]	soft

(2.28) *ui*

<i>bui</i>	/bui/	[buy]	hit
<i>pui</i>	/pui/	[ɸuy]; [pwi]	tell
<i>ngwig</i>	/nguiK/	[ŋwi]; [ŋuy]	finished

Similarly, when /u/ is the initial member of the vocoid sequence following a consonantal onset, it is less syllabic than /i/. Especially following a velar consonant, or preceding the back vowel /o/, most realisations of /uV/ that I recorded have a complex onset; see example (2.29). On the other hand, when the front high vowel directly follows a consonantal onset, it is in most cases syllabic (2.30). In fast speech the two vocoids can be delivered in one syllable, with the high vowel as approximant. For the time being, I interpret VV sequences in the environment C--C as phonological vowels. Whether or not the high vowels are realised as approximants or syllabic nuclei appears to depend on a number of factors, such as roundedness of following vowel, point of articulation of preceding consonant, and surrounding metrical pattern.

(2.29) *ue*

<i>pwed</i>	/pueT/	[pwɛda]; [pwɛt]	rainbow
<i>dweb</i>	/dueP/	[duwɛp]; [dweb]	tongue
<i>luei</i>	/ruey/	[ruwey]	to exchange
<i>swem</i>	/suem/	[suwɛm]; [swɛm]	k.o. owl
<i>kwes</i>	/kues/	[kwɛs]	clear

*uo*

<i>pwoi</i>	/puoy/	[pwɔy]	to put into
<i>kwo</i>	/kuo/	[kwɔ]	mat
<i>ngwoi</i>	/nguoy/	[ŋwɔy]	red

*ua*

<i>buwak</i>	/buaK/	[buwak]; [bwak]	to take (person)
<i>dwas</i>	/duas/	[duwas]; [dwas]	to screech
<i>gruap</i>	/gruaP/	[gruwap]	to force something
<i>suar</i>	/suar/	[swar]; [suwar]	to need
<i>gwam</i>	/guam/	[gwam]	to sit

	<i>kwa</i>	/kua/	[kwa]	well; source
	<i>ngwak</i>	/nguaK/	[ŋwak]	empty
(2.30)	<i>ie</i>			
	<i>kiek</i>	/kieK/	[kiyək]; [kyək]	to turn around
	<i>mien</i>	/mien/	[miyəŋ]; [myəŋ]	small
	<i>liep</i>	/rieP/	[riyəp]	wire trap
	<i>sien</i>	/sien/	[siyəŋ]; [syəŋ]	dog
	<i>io</i>			
	<i>prios</i>	/prios/	[priyəs]	to caress
	<i>priod</i>	/prioT/	[priyət]	to smoulder
	<i>kiou</i>	/kiow/	[kiyow]; [kyow]	yard
	<i>ngyoi</i>	/ngioy/	[ŋyoy]; [ŋoy]	cheek
	<i>ia</i>			
	<i>biam</i>	/biam/	[biyəm]; [byəm]	to run into
	<i>miap</i>	/miaP/	[miyəp]; [myəp]	to hear
	<i>kiak</i>	/kiak/	[kiyək]; [kyək]	to boil

There are instances of more than two vocoids, all involving [+High] as first and third element. The final high vowel is a consonantal approximant. As is the case with VV sequences, if the first V in [VVV] is a front high vowel, it is in slow speech always syllabic, but in allegro style it may be consonantal, as in example (2.31). When a consonant cluster forms the onset, the /i/ is always syllabic, as in (2.32).

(2.31) [+ HIGH] [+ FRONT] as first element

<i>biei</i>	/biey/	[biyəy]; [byey]	tree/wood
<i>mi ai</i>	/mi ay/	[miyəy]; [myay]	garden
<i>kioui</i>	/kiowi/	[kiyowi]; [kyowi]	to be confused
<i>biau</i>	/nV-biaw/	[nəbiyaw]; [nɪbyaw]	3SG-knee

(2.32) [+ HIGH + FRONT] following /Cr/

<i>nggriou</i>	/nggriow/	[ŋgriyow]	embrace
<i>kriau</i>	/kriaw/	[kriyaw]	to skirt

When the first vowel in a [VVV] series is /u/ it may alternate between being syllabic or consonantal, as in example (2.33). When a velar consonant is the onset, no syllabic realisations have been attested (2.34).

(2.33) [+ HIGH + BACK] as first element

<i>buai</i>	/buay/	[buway]; [bway]	k.o. tree
<i>dwei</i>	/duey/	[duwey]; [dwey]	crooked
<i>luei</i>	/ruey/	[ruwey]	change

(2.34) [+ HIGH + BACK] following velar consonant

<i>kwai</i>	/kuay/	[kway]	tooth
<i>nggwei</i>	/ngguey/	[ŋgwey]	tears, liquid

The phonetic realisation of vocoid sequences (including their syllabicity) is determined to a great extent by the position in the metrical arrangement of an utterance (for which see below). If the [+HIGH]V sequence is rendered as two syllables, the first one never receives stress. This fact is reminiscent of the bisyllabic words with initial nasal or a first syllable with unspecified vowel. A more abstract phonological shape, as in example (2.35), could therefore be adopted for words with VV(V) sequences, assuming underlying consonantal approximants, which appear to be necessary for initial and final positions anyway.

(2.35) C(C)V.y/wVC

In such an arrangement, the unspecified vowel in the weak syllable takes its value from the adjacent approximant.

On the other hand, there are facts which suggest that none of the high vowels should be interpreted as consonantal approximants. In connected speech, there are instances of initial or final approximants being realised as syllabic nuclei, as in examples (2.36) and (2.37).

(2.36) /nV-biT           yam/           =   [nə.bi.di.yəm]  
 1EXC-accompany   each.other  
 We would go together.

(2.37) /nV-bong    key   kan   biK/   =   [nə.bəŋ.ke.yi.kən.biç]  
 1EXC-sleep   good   know   not  
 We did not sleep at all well.

Since one of the most frequent non-suspect CV patterns in Hatam is CVC (§2.9), I have chosen to interpret the initial and final high vowels as approximants. And since consonant clusters are highly restricted, the same elements are considered to be vowels when one or two consonants are present as onset.

## 2.8 Consonant clusters

Tautosyllabic consonant clusters are rather limited. In §2.5 I have already given preconsonantal nasals as being syllabic. Complex onsets are formed by stops, except the palatals, or /s/ as first element followed by the liquid /r/, which is always realised with its allophone flap [r], never by the lateral [l], as in:

(2.38)	/pr/:	/pri/	to jump
	/br/:	/bri/	to clamber
	/tr/:	/tri/	to sell
	/dr/:	/druy/	to be startled
	/kr/:	/kri/	to tie
	/gr/:	not available?	
	/sr/:	/sra/	to cut along the grain

Following a syllabic nasal, I have only found the /Cr/ cluster with voiced stop in my data, as in:

(2.39)	/mbr/:	/m.braP/	to talk
	/ndr/:	/n.draT/	to stub one's toe
	/nggr/:	/ng.grey/	to peel (a banana)

But Griffiths has a few instances with voiceless stops and /s/:

- (2.40) *mpri* /m.pri/ k.o. frog  
*mpriet* /m.prieT/ ghost  
*nsrik* /n.sriK/ tsk, tsk (but this is obviously an onomatopoeia,  
 so not necessarily part of the regular phonological system).

If those instances of non-syllabic high vowels are indeed consonants, then two more tautosyllabic clusters should be recognised, as [velar] + /w/ in example (2.41) and /hw/ or /hy/ in (2.42).

- (2.41) /kwa/ [kwa] well, source  
 /ng.gwen/ [ŋ.gwen] sharp, sick  
 /ngwaK/ [ŋwak] empty; forehead
- (2.42) /hwaP/ [hwap] nose  
 /hyen/ [hyɛn] to look after

## 2.9 Syllable structure

A number of observations made in earlier sections are relevant to an account of the syllable and word structure of Hatam. I want to begin by giving the CV patterns found in monosyllabic words. Whereas there is only one full lexical item with just V (2.43), the other phonemic vowels (2.44) occur as clitics. That is, they always form the nucleus of a syllable whose onset is taken from the last segment of the previous word.

- (2.43) /u/ to tether
- (2.44) /a/ citation marker  
 /e/ question tag  
 /i/ question marker  
 /o/ inclusive disjunction

Then there are VC stems with all five phonemic vowels:

- (2.45) /uK/ to go [u(g)] = he goes  
 /om/ to press [ɔm] = he presses  
 /eT/ to skin [ɛt] = he takes skin off (banana)  
 /ig/ house [i(k>)] = house  
 /aw/ prohibitive [aw] = don't

There are a number of monosyllabic words with the form CV.

- (2.46) /pa/ to laugh  
 /ba/ and; to use  
 /ci/ to chase away  
 /ce/ to agree  
 /mo/ shrimp  
 /ñe/ we

In CVC words, all phonemic vowels may occur in the nucleus, all consonants in the single onset (2.47). In the coda, only a subset of the consonants is allowed. As discussed in §2.3, voicing is neutralised, and no palatal stops or /h/ are allowed.

(2.47)	/puT/	finished/completed
	/buT/	to fall (of rain)
	/ttey/	to carry
	/dem/	enough
	/coy/	to enter
	/joy/	to want
	/kaw/	to open
	/gaw/	above
	/mmeng/	leaf
	/naP/	pig
	/nnam/	deaf
	/ñan/	wide
	/ngaT/	to see
	/him/	the very one
	/haK/	rock
	/soK/	to request, reserve
	/ser/	blocking off
	/riK/	torn
	/reT/	to fall (of leaves)

A complex onset in CCV(C) is limited to certain stops or /s/ as first consonant with /r/ in second position. In example (2.38), instances of CCV have already been given. In (2.48), CCVC items are illustrated. Thus, no /c/, /j/, /h/, /y/ or /w/ can be followed by /r/. That no sequence of /gr/ is attested may be an accidental gap, considering the occurrence of /ng.grey/ 'to peel (e.g. banana)'.

(2.48)	/pror/	[prɔr]	wiped out
	/brim/	[brim]	to pull
	/bres/	[brɛs]	wide
	/tring/	[tring]	cave
	/dring/	[dring]	inside wall
	/kroP/	[krɔp]	to fold
	/sren/	[srɛn]	straight

The CV patterns evidenced in monosyllabic words form the basis of polysyllabic words. The basic form of bisyllabic words in Hatam can be given as a sequence of a weak (w) and a strong syllable (s). That is, the stress is never on the first syllable.

(2.49)	w	s
	(C)(C)V(C)	C(C)V(C)

There are a number of restrictions on the weak syllable. Recall that VC allows all phonemic vowels in monosyllabic items. In the weak syllable without an onset, only the vowels /a/, /u/ and /i/ are attested. That I cannot give examples with /e/ or /o/ as initial vowels in the weak syllable may be an accidental gap. The unspecified vowel [ə], however, is not possible without an onset.

If the weak syllable lacks both an onset and a coda, V is /a/, as in example (2.50), or /u/, as in (2.51). This monomorphemic pattern is repeated in inflected nouns and verbs with second person singular prefix /a-/; see §2.6.

(2.50)	<i>akou</i>	/akow/	= [a.'kow]	ant
	<i>adrom</i>	/adrom/	= [a.'drɔm]	leech

- (2.51) *usap* /usaP/ = [u.'sap] to carry on back  
*udop* /udoP/ = [u.dɔp] Wariori river

Both /a/ and /u/ are also found in initial position with a nasal as coda of the weak syllable, as in:

- (2.52) *undoi* /undoy/ = [un.'doy] hornbill  
*andigpoi* /andigpoy/ = [an.'dik>ɸoy] elder

Then there are words with initial /i/, but these all have a coda of [k>] preceding a stop, similar to the realisation of /ig/ 'house' in [ik>bey] 'house (as dwelling place)', so that I assume the first syllable to have the phonological shape of /ig/, as in:

- (2.53) *igpu* /igpu/ = [ik>.'pu] earwax  
*igtu* /igtu/ = [ik>.'tu] eel  
*igbit* /igbiT/ = [ik>.'bit] true  
*igdo* /igto/ = [ik>.'to] side<sup>12</sup>

In polysyllabic words, the stress pattern is an extension of this sequence: alternating 'w' and 's', as seen in *andigpoi* (2.52). But when a prefix or proclitic is added to bisyllabic words, none of the weak syllables with unspecified vowel may receive stress. It seems Hatam allows more than one weak syllable before the strong one. For example, when monomorphemic words like *pilei* 'shoot' or *digo* 'cut up' are inflected, the result is as in:

- (2.54) *dipilei* /dV-pVrey/ [də.pə.'ley] 1SG-shoot  
*nidigo* /nV-dVgo/ [nə.də.'go] 1EXC-cut up

Inflection for instrument (see §3.4.7.1) provides a weak syllable between the subject prefix and the verb stem:

- (2.55) /dV-bV-pVrey/ [də.bə.pə.'ley] 1SG-INS-shoot  
/nV-bV-dVgo/ [nə.bə.də.'go] 1EXC-INS-cut up

These forms may in turn receive the proclitic *bi* [bə], which marks a purposive relation (see §3.2.6). The resulting string allows up to four weak syllables preceding a stressed one, delivered in a very rapid speed. For example, 'so that I cut (something) up with (a mentioned instrument)' has the following phonological shape and phonetic realisation:

- (2.56) /bV-dV-bV-dVgo/ [bə.də.bə.də.'go]  
PUR-1SG-INS-cut.up  
so that I cut up (something) with (an instrument)

The onset of the strong syllable allows all the phonemic contrasts of consonants. The vowel can be any of the five phonemic vowels, but never a schwa. The onset of a weak syllable allows only a subset of the phonemic consonants. Whereas all nasals are allowed as syllabic, if the vowel position is present, only /m/ and /n/ are attested. Although there are both voiced and voiceless stops as onset of a weak syllable, as shown in example (2.19), there are some indications that this distinction is not required in this position. Firstly, there are no clear cases

<sup>12</sup> Griffiths gives *igdo* 'a part of, on the side of', while in my data I have [ik>to] 'half, side (of a deer)'. The word *igpu* was given to refer to a cause of being deaf, which I took to mean 'earwax', while Griffiths has the gloss 'inflammation of the gums' for *igpua*. My interpretation could well be mistaken, when 'infection of the ear' was meant.

of /k/ versus /g/. Secondly, I have alternative realisations of words like /dVgo/ 'to cut up', as in [təgo] and [dəgo]. Thirdly, no geminates are found as onset of a weak syllable.

I suspect that weak syllables may be realised with either voiced consonants, as in example (2.56), or voiceless ones. I am rather cautious in making firm statements, because my fieldwork was limited to Minyambou, where the two dialects Miriei and Tinam meet. It seems that Miriei has less voicing than Tinam. Perhaps the contrast in voicing is in the process of disappearing in Miriei faster than in Tinam. While I have no instances of [bəley] for *pilei* 'to shoot', my recordings do have a realisation of [pəŋgas] for /bVnggas/ 'goanna' by a recognised Tinam speaker; see example (2.60).

## 2.10 Metrical stress

All lexical items, whether monosyllabic or polysyllabic, allow stress marking, including CV **verbs**, such as *jo* 'be somewhere', *ku* 'to hide'; **nouns**, such as *bu* 'nettle leaf', *mo* 'shrimp'; **adverbs**, such as *bu* 'again', and **function words**, such as *ei* 'at; to' and *ba* 'and'. As mentioned with regard to bisyllabic words, the first syllable is never stressed, except in two instances. Firstly, the suffix *-ni* on personal pronouns can never receive stress. Thus *dani* 'I', *nyeni* 'we' are never [da.'ni] or [ñe.'ni]. Secondly, the clitic *-a* on citation forms of nouns may never receive stress:

(2.57) *igya* /ig-a/ house-IND = ['iç.ya]  
*sara* /sar-a/ lattice-IND = ['sa.ra]

(2.58) *nungugw-a* [nu.'ŋu.gwa] mountain  
*guri-a* [gu.'ri.ya] chicken

Notice that I formulated the stress rule for words in isolation in negative terms. Whereas suffixed pronouns and monosyllabic nouns show a trochaic pattern, bisyllabic words with or without a final clitic suggest a iambic pattern. But when these words occur in running speech, no rule can positively specify which syllable should be assigned stress. Only negatively, first syllables of polysyllabic words (whether mono- or polymorphemic) can never be stressed, suggesting a phrasal iambic metrical stress. Accent in Hatam cannot be stated in terms of word pattern. It is related to a whole utterance or phrasal part thereof. Following a pause, or a single long syllable, such as the connective *ba* 'and', a trough comes (almost) always first, as in:

(2.59)            ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -  
 [ni.ñeŋ.rI.nə.bI.ji.bu.jem. / Ba.mI.ñas.də.ni]  
*Ni-nyeng ri no bijib ugjem*  
 its-name GIV 3SG k.o.tree flower.

*ba minyas di-ni...*  
 and cloth REL-this  
 Its name is *bijibugjem*. And the cloth [*kain timur*]...[Kain timur:003/4]

The qualification of 'almost' is necessary, since the free personal pronouns, when suffixed, always have the first syllable stressed: *da-ni* 'I-this' etc.

The sequence of iambs in Hatam seems to be quite regular and gives a distinctive rhythmic impression. A sequence of bisyllabic words in an NP maintains stress on words of different classes in the following:



- (2.60)      ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -  
 [pəŋ.gəs. n.dik.bə.bə.ɸə.ma.rə.nə]  
*Binggas ndig bibor pi-ma ri no...*  
 goanna big very ANA-that GIV 3SG  
 The very big goanna (is) the one that...[Hans:007]

Content words, like monosyllabic verbs or nouns, do not necessarily attract stress. It apparently depends on the overall pattern in the clause. For example, in (2.61), which answers the question where a certain item can be found, [no.jo] forms the first iamb, with /jo/ being the peak.

- (2.61)      ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘  
*No jo di-te hi.*  
 3SG be 1SG-side other  
 It's next to me.

In example (2.62) we find a pattern in which /jo/ forms the trough with the (normally unaccented) prepositional clitic /bi-/ receiving the stress of the peak:

- (2.62)      ˘   -   ˘   ˘   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -  
 [nə.pow.ey.sI.rI.ni / mI.ñas.də.ni.jo.bi.ñɛ.ni.bi]  
*Nipou ei-si ri ni minyas di-ni*  
 before LOC-NOM GIV this cloth REL-this  
*jo bi-nye-ni big.*  
 be for-we-this not  
 In the early days in this area, we didn't have *kain timur*. [Kain timur:006]

Similarly, the verb *coi* 'enter' receives primary stress in *a.coi kwei* 'you-enter come' for 'come in!', whereas in example (2.61) it forms the trough before the peak on the preposition *ei*:

- (2.63)      ˘   -   ˘   -   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -   ˘   -  
 [pəŋ.ga. sə.naŋ / ba / coy.ɣey / mIɲ.yey.ɣə.ti]  
*Binggas -nang ba -coi ei minyei-a ti.*  
 goanna 3SG-flee and 3SG-enter LOC water-CIT NOM  
 The goanna fled and slid into the water. [Hans:004]

Note that in example (2.63) there is a long pause following the connective *ba* 'and', which itself appears to be outside the regular iambic pattern. Between the subject noun *binggas* and the verb *nang* a schwa is produced. The new syllable takes the coda from the preceding one as its onset. It is not clear whether this is a weak realisation of the citation marker *a*, or just an epenthetic vowel to solve the stress clash. I suspect the former, since the strong syllable of a mono- or bisyllabic lexical item can easily be weakened to form the trough of an iamb, as illustrated in the next examples. The opposite, strengthening a weak syllable to an iambic peak, seems to be much less preferred. But there is no ban on it, as *jo bi-nyeni* in (2.62) shows. As already pointed out with respect to polysyllabic words, it is quite possible to have an upbeat consisting of two or three short syllables. Consider the phonetic realisation of (2.64), which illustrates a series of weak syllables in *ni-pilei* 'IEXC-shoot' and a weakening of a monosyllabic lexical item *hab* 'bird'. The figures under each syllable give the duration in milliseconds, taking the onset of the pertinent consonants as boundaries.

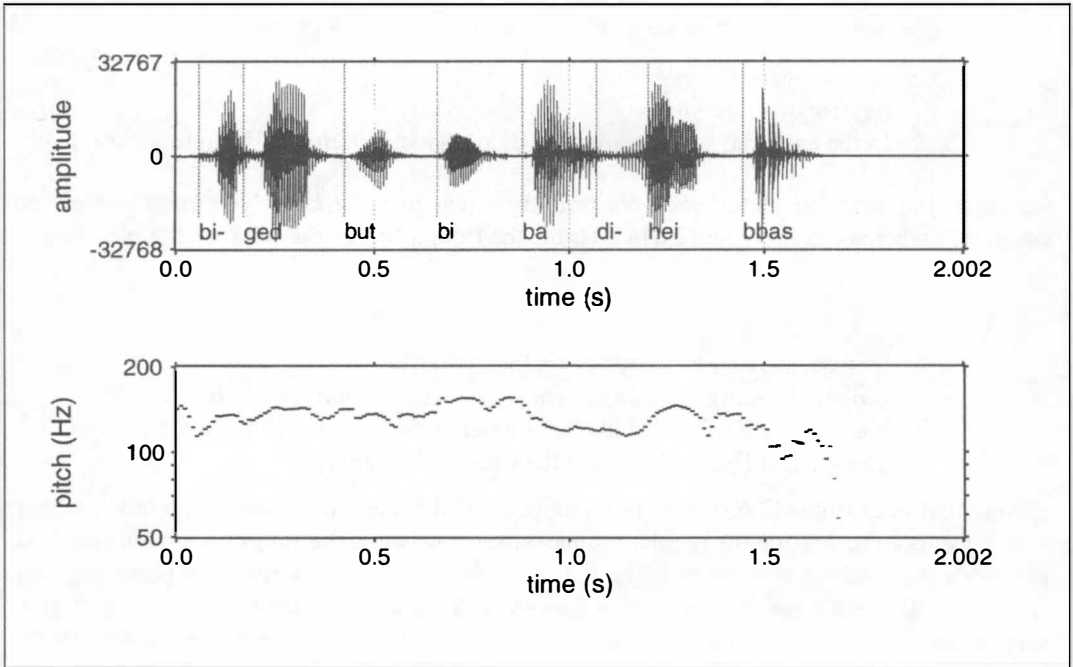
(2.64) *Njap gom dem mem ni-pilei hab can kan big.*  
 day one enough for 1EXC-shoot bird two know not  
 One day was not at all enough for us to shoot two birds. (= Since we were still  
 children) we could not shoot two birds in one day) [Wonggorl :013]

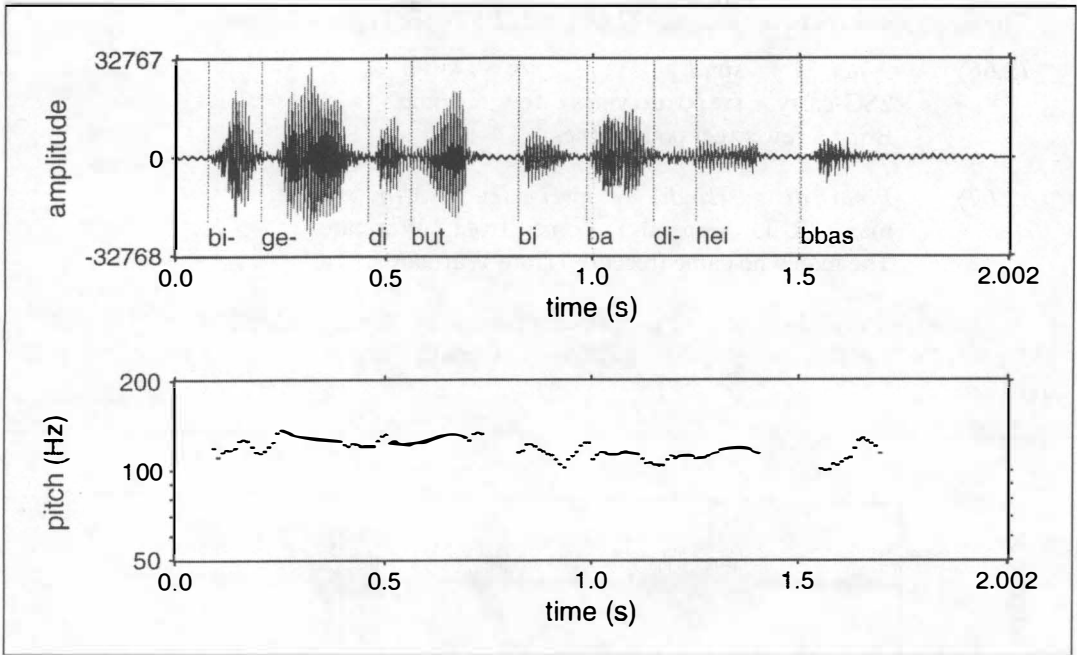
[ ˘ ˘ ˘ - ] [ ˘ - ] [ ˘ ˘ - ] [ ˘ ˘ - ] [ - ] [ - ]  
 [ñ. ja. bə.gəm də.məm nə.pə.ley ha.bə can kan biç]  
 115.160.108.270 120.150 120.92.280 80.130.300 340 340 msec.

An interesting case of alternative realisation of stress on content words is provided by two speakers who produced the test sentence (2.65), which was meant to ascertain the tense consonant of the word for ‘cracked’ (Indonesian *retak*).

(2.65) *Biged but big ba dihyei bbas.*  
 rain fall not and ground cracked  
 It hasn’t rained (so) the ground is cracked.

In the realisations of (2.65) by Yakonias and Yulius (see Figure 2.2), a iamb is formed by a short and a long syllable, the trough has a duration of roughly 100 msec. (range 70 > <130), whereas the peak is twice as long, with a range of 150 > <250 msec.





**Figure 2.2:** Alternative rhythms of (65). Waveform and fundamental frequency curves on a logarithmic scale on the same time scale, as pronounced by Yakonias (top) and Yulius (bottom). The text is indicated in the waveform at syllable onsets.

Yakonias, BIGED 1:

[˘ ˘]#	[˘#	˘]#	[˘]#	[˘ ˘]	[˘]
[bə.ge>	but>	bi	ba	di.hey	pəs]
rain	fall	not	and	ground	cracked
110.190 55	150 75	150 75	200 75	100.170	200 msec

Yulius, BIGED 2:

[˘ ˘]	[˘ ˘]	[˘ ˘]	[˘ ˘]	[˘]
[bə.ge.	də.but>#	bi.ba.	di.hey #	pəs]
125.210	110.160 90	150.200	75.170 100	200 msec

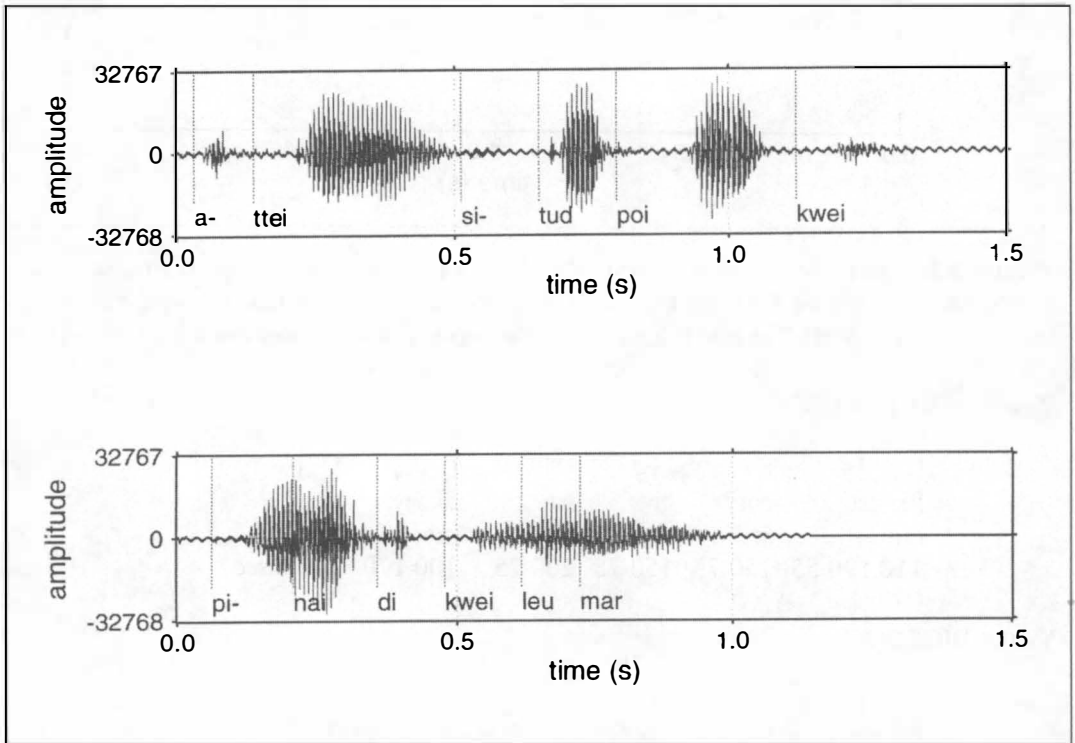
The first speaker, Yakonias, has more 'pauses', i.e. periods of no voicing, between the morphemes. The second speaker, Yulius, inserts a schwa between the subject noun *biged* and the predicate *but*, which resyllabifies [bə.ge.də.but]. Yakonias' *but.big* forms a iamb even though both syllables are of equal length. Likewise, Yulius' *big ba* forms a iamb. Significant is that both instances of iambs last about 300 msec. Interestingly, the verb *but* 'fall (of rain)' forms the trough in the first example and the peak in the second one. Similarly, the negative adverb is peak in the first, trough in the second one. The duration of these syllables is roughly the same. But as the wave forms in Figure 2.2 show, the lack of difference in length appears to be compensated either by intensity, as the iamb [bi.ba] in the second example, or by pitch, as [but.bi] in the first example. A preliminary conclusion would be, then, that Hatam forms a iambic metrum based on length: short–long. In case of syllables of roughly equal length, the peak is phonetically realised by intensity or pitch.

The same speakers gave sentences (2.66) and (2.67); see Figures 2.3 and 2.4.

(2.66) *A-ttei situd poi kwei.*  
 2SG-carry sw.potato.vines few come  
 Bring a few sweet potato vines.

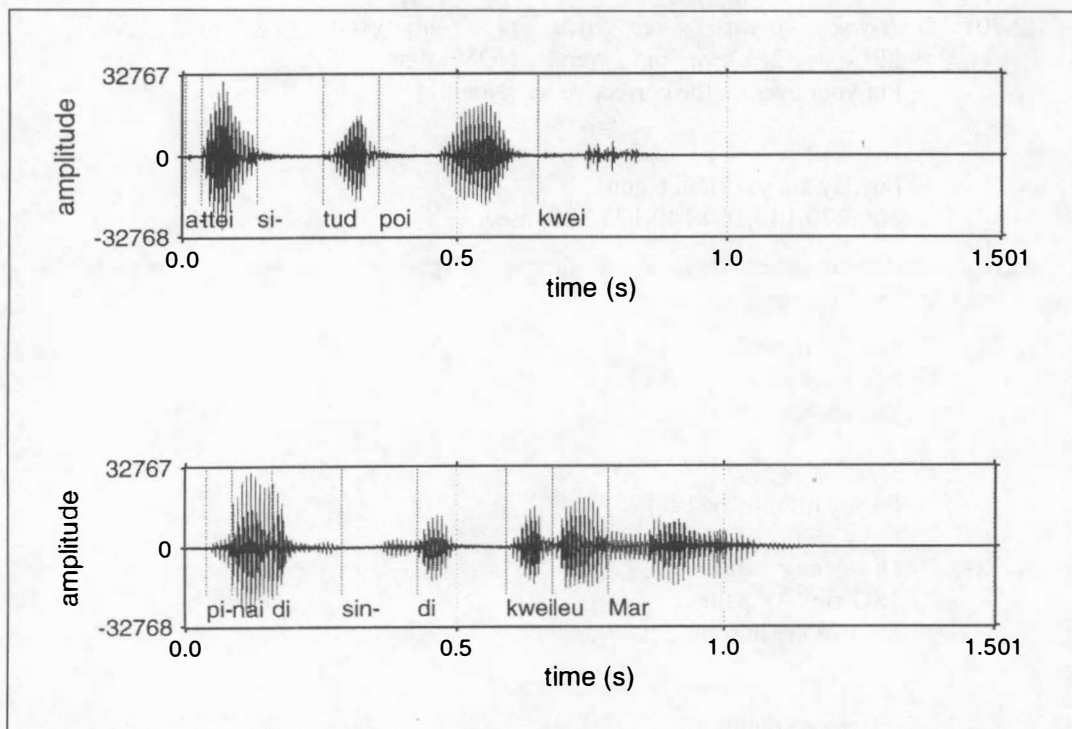
(2.67) *Pinai di (sindi) kwei leu Mar...*  
 man REL (recently) come from Warmare  
 The man who came (recently) from Warmare...

*Kwei* 'come' in example (2.66) is the peak of a final iamb, lasting either 204 or 295 msec.<sup>13</sup>, while in (2.67) it is a trough with *leu* 'from' as peak, lasting only  $\pm 95$  msec. for both speakers.



**Figure 2.3:** Realisation of (2.66) and (2.67) by Yulius Iwou. The waveforms are presented on one time scale. The text is given in the waveforms at syllable onsets.

<sup>13</sup> Note that the overall speed of delivery by Yakonias is considerably faster for (2.66); see Figure 2.4.



**Figure 2.4:** Realisation of (2.66) and (2.67) by Yakonias Iwou. The waveforms are presented on one time scale. The text is given in the waveforms at syllable onsets.

These examples suggest that Hatam does not have a strict word stress. Content words with a CVC or CVV structure can easily be unstressed when they fall in an iambic trough. Lexical items with an initial cluster can insert a schwa, or an approximant as coda can be realised syllabically. Consider  $CCVC > C\grave{a}.CV.C\grave{a}$  for *srat* 'book' as [sə.ra.də] in (68) and  $CVC > CV.CV$  for *kei* 'good' as [ke.yi] in (2.69).

- (2.68) *Lene di-ngat srat gom kwei jo meja dip mem da.*  
 then 1SG-see book one come be table top for me  
 Then I saw a book come on top of the table for me. [Habel 3:005]

⋅ - - - ⋅ - - - ⋅ - - - ⋅ - - - ⋅ - - -  
 [lɛ.nɛ.di.ŋat>.sə.ra.də.gom.kwe.jo.me.ja.dip>.mɛm.da]

- (2.69) *Lene ni-bong kei kan big.*  
 then 1EXC-sleep good know not  
 Then we didn't sleep well at all. [Wonggor 1:062]

⋅ - - - ⋅ - - - ⋅ - - - ⋅ - -  
 [lɛ.nɛ.nə.bɔŋ.ke.yi.kən.biç]

Occasionally, one finds heavy contraction of words, as illustrated in (2.70), where the content word *ayat* 'verse' is totally unstressed but identifiable through the maintenance of its two syllables.

- (2.70) *Ji-yok ji-yai kep ayat gi mungkun.*  
 2PL-put 2PL-eye on verse NOM right  
 Put your eyes on the correct verse. [Noah:1]

[joy.jay.ka. ya. ki. mu. gun]  
 200.270.140.160.140.175.325 msec.

Across word boundaries, there are instances of epenthetic schwas to 'maintain' the preferred CV.'CV(C) pattern, as in:

- (2.71) *Biei ni-mmeng let.*  
 tree 3SG-leaf fall  
 The leaves are falling.

[bi.yey.nI.mme.ŋə.let<sup>h</sup>]

- (2.72) *Di-nggang dut.*  
 1SG-rib pain  
 My ribs are hurting.

[dIŋ.ga.ŋə.dut<sup>h</sup>]

What I call epenthetic vowels here may well involve weakened realisations of the citation clitic *-a*. Within NPs it occurs on nouns preceding monosyllabic numerals *gom* 'one' and *can* 'two'. The possible explanation that this suggests some linkage between a nominal and a predicate is weak in the light of the earlier example (2.65) with *biged* 'rain' as subject. Apparently, the schwa or weakened form of citation *-a* is not obligatory, as also shown by (2.73) and (2.74), taken from the text *Kain timur*. I have no explanation for the alternative realisation of *ni-bok gom* which takes a schwa to create two canonical iambs in (2.73), whereas *ni-bok can* in (2.74) leaves the final iamb 'extrametrical'.

- (2.73) *Bihi ni-bok ni-hwen ni-bok gom.*  
 other 3SG-price 1EXC-throw 3SG-price one  
 The other's price we establish one amount.

[<sup>~</sup> <sup>~</sup> <sup>~</sup> - ] [<sup>~</sup> - ] [<sup>~</sup> - ] [<sup>~</sup> - ]  
 [bi.hi.nə.bo(k)] [n<sup>u</sup>.hwe. nə.bo. gə.gom]  
 103.80.103.210 120.130 65.185 120.290 msec.

- (2.74) *Lene gi-ni ni-hwen ni-bok can*  
 then NOM-this 1EXC-throw 3SG-price two  
 Then this one we establish two amounts.

[<sup>~</sup> - ] [<sup>~</sup> - ] [<sup>~</sup> - ] [<sup>~</sup> - ] [ - ]  
 [le.ne. gI.ni. n<sup>u</sup>.hwe. nə.bok>. can]  
 90.140 94.274 100.160 100.260 340 msec.

It should be clear from this short description that a number of questions remain. For example, what exactly are the factors that determine differences such as between (2.73) and (2.74)? Other topics which need further research are the geminates. At least for the bilabial

and alveolar nasals and for voiceless stops of three points of articulation enough evidence for geminates has been given. Possibly there are also geminates for the palatal stop and the liquid. Whether geminates contrast in voice, as the orthography suggests, remains a question.

Regarding the voiced–voiceless opposition, my tentative conclusion is that this holds only for the onset of stressed syllables.

Possibly a basic template for the prosodic form of lexical items in Hatam could account for syllabic nasals, vowel or consonant status of VV(V) sequences, and occurrence restrictions of geminates and certain vowels. But that would require a more theoretical treatment than I considered desirable for this descriptive study.

I hope to have at least indicated that Hatam is characterised by a clear iambic metre which has full clauses or utterances as its domain, and not some kind of limited word stress.

# 3 Morphology

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## 3.0 Introduction

This chapter gives the word classes that appear necessary for a description of Hatam. This language, like the languages that are claimed to constitute the West-Papuan Phylum, has a rather limited morphology. Inalienable nouns and verbs are prefixed to index person-number of possessor and subject. To facilitate the treatment of nouns and verbs, I will first discuss the personal pronouns. There are a number of clitics which apply either to lexical items or to clausal constituents. These will be presented before the other word classes are discussed. The way some of the clitics operate on different word classes can then be described in the appropriate sections. This chapter then, will provide all the ‘building blocks’ which are needed to account for the syntactic structures to be discussed in Chapter 4. In general I will use the established orthography. At times, when necessary, phonetic realisations will be specified.

## 3.1 Pronouns

Although the pronominal prefixes have already been given in §2.6, they are here repeated, in Table 3.1, to show their relationship with the free forms and other pronominal forms. Here I employ the established orthography. Recall that the vowel in the prefixes when following a consonant is the unspecified vowel, most frequently realised as [ə]. Most prefixes are clearly related to the free pronouns.

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Table 3.1: Personal pronouns

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	Free	Prefix	Possessive	Emphatic	Exclusive
1SG	<i>da</i>	<i>di-</i>	<i>düt-de*</i>	<i>da-nti</i>	<i>da-ngkom</i>
2SG	<i>na</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-de</i>	<i>na-nti</i>	<i>na-ngkom</i>
3SG	<i>no(k)</i>	$\emptyset$ ; <i>ni-</i>	<i>ni-de</i>	<i>no-nti</i>	<i>no-ngkom</i>
1INC	<i>nye</i>	<i>i(g)-</i>	<i>i-de</i>	<i>nye-nti</i>	<i>nye-ngkom</i>
1EXC	<i>nye</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>nyen-de/ni-de*</i>	<i>nye-nti</i>	<i>nye-ngkom</i>
2PL	<i>je</i>	<i>ji-</i>	<i>ji-de</i>	<i>je-nti</i>	<i>je-ngkom</i>



	Free	Prefix	Possessive	Emphatic	Exclusive
3PL	<i>yo(k)</i>	<i>i(g)-</i>	<i>i-de</i>	<i>yo-nti</i>	<i>yo-ngkom</i>
1DU	<i>sa</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>si-de</i>	<i>sa-nti</i>	<i>sa-ngkom</i>

\* The morphophonology of possessive pronouns leaves some questions: most forms clearly have a voiced alveolar stop and stress on the second syllable. Native speakers insist that first singular is *dit-de*, realised phonetically as [dətɛ], which contrasts with an aspirated alveolar voiceless stop in *dete* = [dətʰɛ] 'my side'. Likewise *nye-nde* is realised as [nyente], without aspiration. Possibly, some remnant of possessive linker is still present in some forms (see also kinship terms as inalienable nouns in §3.3.1).

In most instances the free pronouns are suffixed with *-ni*: *dani*, *nani*, *noni*, *nyeni*, *jeni*, *yoni*, and *sani*. The suffix is identical to the near deictic *ni* 'this', possibly derived from it and bleached of its deictic meaning. It is not quite clear which factors determine the distribution of short and long free pronouns. Subject position seems to prefer the suffixed form, as in example (3.1), and (oblique) object position seems to favour the short forms, as in (3.2). But this is certainly not a strict rule, as (3.3) shows.

(3.1) *Da-ni di-bit dit-nem ba...*  
 1SG-this 1SG-accompany 1SG-wife and  
 I accompanied my wife and...

(3.2) *Nab ham na tu.*  
 pig bite 2SG already  
 The pig has already bitten you.

(3.3) *Lene pai bak da-ni...*  
 then say to 1SG-this  
 Then he said to me...

In subject position, forms derived from the suffixed pronouns are found, with the final vowel elided: *dan* 'I' or *jen* 'you.PL', and so on. The third person pronouns *nok* and *yok* are mainly used with the meaning 'like that'.<sup>1</sup> Whereas *no* was rejected in favor of *noni* and the plural form *yok* was accepted as direct object in example (3.4), they were both accepted as object of the preposition in (3.5).

(3.4) *Nyeni i-ngat \*no/noni/yok.*  
 we 1INC-see 3SG/3SG-this/3PL  
 We see him/them.

(3.5) *A-yai bi-no(k)/yok.*  
 2SG-take to-3SG/3PL  
 Give (it) to him/them.

On the other hand, *no* in subject position is allowed, apparently when it refers to an inanimate, as in:

<sup>1</sup> Thus, forms like *gi-ni-yok* 'NOM-this-3PL', *gi-ma-yok* 'NOM-that-3PL', and *n-di-yok* 'thing-REL-3PL', all convey something like 'this, that, things like that', and could be translated with 'and so on'.

- (3.6) *No jo ei meja dip.*  
 3SG be LOC table on.top  
 It is on top of the table.

Only the short pronouns are allowed as antecedent of a subject relative clause, as in example (3.7) and (3.8), which suggests that the scarcity of such forms as subject in my data may be accidental.

- (3.7) *Dokter digo no di nggwen.*  
 doctor cut 3SG REL sick  
 The doctor operated the one who is sick.

- (3.8) *Nye di ni-kon pam Iwou.*  
 we REL 1EXC-lift family Iwou  
 We who constitute the Iwou family.

Both emphatic and exclusive forms are glossed in Indonesian as *sendiri* 'self'; neither should be taken as 'reflexive' pronoun. Reflexivity is automatic with same person categories in subject and object:

- (3.9) *Di-/a-miap da(-nti)/na(-nti) di-/a-mbrab.*  
 1SG/2SG-hear me(EMPH)/you(EMPH) 1SG/2SG-speak  
 I/you hear my/yourself speak (e.g. on tape-recorder).

The same referentiality holds for complement clauses:

- (3.10) *Noni<sub>i</sub> pai pia noni<sub>i</sub> mpu noni<sub>i</sub>.*  
 3SG say QUOT 3SG help 3SG  
 S/he said that s/he would help her/himself.

Reflexivity is cancelled by determining the object pronoun by means of a demonstrative *di-ma* 'REL-that' or *di hi-ter* 'REL other/one-different':

- (3.11) *Noni<sub>i</sub> pai pia noni<sub>i</sub> mpu*  
 3SG say QUOT 3SG help  
  
*no di hi-ter<sub>j</sub>.*  
 3SG REL other-different<sub>j</sub>  
 S/he<sub>i</sub> said that s/he<sub>j</sub> would help her/him<sub>j</sub>.

Similarly, the subject of the complement clause may be marked for a different referent with the unmarked pronoun in the object position being co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause:

- (3.12) *Noni<sub>i</sub> pai pia no di-ma<sub>j</sub> mpu noni<sub>i</sub>.*  
 3SG say QUOT 3SG REL-that help 3SG  
 S/he<sub>i</sub> said that s/he<sub>j</sub> would help her/him<sub>i</sub>.

Thus, the use of the emphatic pronoun in the following emphasises rather than expresses the reflexive relationship:

- (3.13) *Nyeni ni-yai midyai mem nye-nti.*  
 we 1EXC-do work for us-EMPH  
 We worked for ourselves.

The exclusive forms mean 'only X' and are used as adverbs. They do not occur in subject or object position:

- (3.14) *Dem mem dani di-wim biei nindig di-mo da-ngkom.*  
 enough for me 1SG-fell tree big REL-there 1SG-alone  
 I'm able to cut down that big tree over there by myself.

### 3.2 Clitics

Hatam has a number of clitics. These are monosyllabic morphemes, which are phonologically attached to a number of different word classes. They are mainly unstressed, but as the discussion of metrical stress indicated, Hatam may shift stress quite easily away from content words. Although some clitics can indeed never receive stress, some others can form a iambic peak.

There are five *enclitics*. Two occur on clause level: they are interrogative markers *-i* and *-e*, which will be discussed in the section on question words. Two occur mainly on nominal constituents. The citation marker *-a* and the inclusive disjunction marker *-o* are directly attached to nouns or the nominal modifiers that may follow in an NP. A third enclitic is the nominalising device *ti/si*, which can be attached to nouns, verbs, adjectives and prepositions. The alternation of its initial consonant is determined by the coda of the preceding syllable. Of these enclitics, only *-o* may receive stress.

Then there are three *proclitics* in Hatam: *gi-* and *di-* occur with verbs, adjectives and demonstratives. Neither of these is ever stressed. A third proclitic is a weakened form of the preposition *bak* 'for', namely *bi-* [bə], which has both prepositional and conjunctive functions. There are instances of stress even on the clitic variant. The three enclitics on nominal constituents will be discussed first, followed by the three proclitics.

#### 3.2.1 Citation marker *-a*

When nouns are given in isolation they are always given with an unstressed enclitic *-a*, which is therefore glossed 'citation marker' (CIT):

- (3.15) *nab-a* [na.ba]  
 pig-CIT  
  
*minyeyi-a* [mɪ.'ñey.ya]  
 water-CIT

In running text, many nouns are pronounced with a final [a] or [ə], which may be a weakened variant of [a], even though they do not figure in a list. Nouns with this clitic occur either at the end of a clause as in example (3.16), or as preposed object (3.17), or as subject of a non-verbal predicate (3.18). Clause-final *-a* often is found on imperatives, as in (3.16).

- (3.16) *Ji-bong ser ig-a.* ['iç.ya]  
 2PL-sleep block house-CIT  
 You guard the house.  
  
 (3.17) *Ni-ngat-a i-ta big.* [nə.'nga.də]  
 3SG-fruit-CIT 1INC-plant not  
 Its fruit we do not plant.

- (3.18) *Bet-a mang bibor.* [ʼbe.da]  
 moon-CIT many very  
 The months were very many (= It was for a long time).

The same form occurs on pronouns as vocatives (3.19), on verbs of relative clauses (3.20), and often on the quote marker (3.21).

- (3.19) *Je-ni-a ji-de minu-a ji-ta...*  
 2PL-this-CIT 2PL-POS place-CIT 2PL-plant  
 You, your place, you will plant...

- (3.20) *Minu di i-jem-a Nghim ndig.*  
 place REL 3PL-call-CIT room big  
 The place which is called *Nghimdig*.

- (3.21) *Andigpoi i-pai pi-a, ...*  
 elder 3PL-say QUOT-CIT  
 The parents said, ...

Thus, the clitic *-a* definitely has a wider scope than just citation. For want of a better term, I use the gloss 'CIT' as a *pars-pro-toto*.

### 3.2.2 Inclusive disjunction -o

A second clitic that attaches mainly to nominal elements is *-o*. It is glossed as 'or', since its most transparent function is to indicate inclusive disjunction, as in example (3.22). It can have the stress of a iambic peak with the content word being relegated to a iambic trough, as in [nə.'huk ha.'bo], or can be unstressed as in [ng.'gok mi.'ye.yo].

- (3.22) *Ni-huk hab-o nggok miei-o ndiyok*  
 1EXC-hunt bird-or search cuscus-or and.such  
*ei susti-o ei bigbehei-o ndiyok.*  
 LOC old.garden-or LOC forest-or and.such  
 We hunted birds or, looked for cuscus, and so on, at old garden sites or, in the forest and so on.

Related to the function of inclusive disjunction is the sense of 'there's more to come', in which case it is possible to have only one instance of *-o* in a clause, and not necessarily attached to a nominal, as illustrated in example (3.23). Its function comes close to signalling a hesitation. All recorded instances of *-o* are followed by a pause.

- (3.23) *Yai bak-o minsien-a.*  
 take for-or dog-CIT  
 (They) gave (it) to eh, the dogs.

### 3.2.3 Areal nominalisation

The form *-ti/-si* is an enclitic, whose initial consonant is determined by the coda of the preceding syllable. The fricative is required following high vowels with velar stop, and high vowels as second elements in VV sequences; see §2.3. Elsewhere, the allomorph with initial stop is used. It attaches to nouns (3.24), single verbs or adjectives, which take possessive prefixes (3.25), phrases (3.26), and prepositions (3.27).

- (3.24) *njap-ti* tomorrow (*njap* 'day)light')  
*mmun-ti* (in the) afternoon (*mmun* 'dark(ness)')  
*nggram-ti* branches (*nggram* 'forked branch')
- (3.25) *ni-mang-ti* quantity (3SG-*mang* 'many')  
*ni-mai-si* the corpse/death (3SG-*mai* 'to die')  
*di-hyei-si* ground (REL-*hyei* 'to grow')  
*-bong-ti* sleeping place
- (3.26) *di-yai-jo-ti* my life (1SG-eye-be-*ti*)  
*ni-ngon-kan-ti* our wish (or liking) (1EXC-heart-know-*ti*)<sup>2</sup>
- (3.27) *Nyeni ni-kan-kan ni-kwei leu si big.*  
 we 1EXC-know-know 1EXC-come from NOM not  
 We do not know where we come from.

On the basis of the examples (3.24)–(3.27) I conclude that indeed *-ti* and *-si* are allomorphs of the same morpheme, which can be phonologically attached to a variety of word classes. Its meaning is rather difficult to pinpoint. Not only does it nominalise adjectives and verbs, but it also has some spatial meaning component, as the items referring to different garden stages in (3.28) suggest.

- (3.28) *miai-si* garden area<sup>3</sup>  
*bei-si* garden, already planted  
*sus-ti* abandoned garden site  
*baham-ti* garden site, still unprepared

The 'area' component is made explicit when native speakers explain the difference between *minyeyi-si* and *minyeyi-a ti* in examples (3.29) and (3.30). When the 'areal nominaliser' is cliticised, as in (3.29), it conveys the sense of 'in the neighbourhood of'. It never receives stress. On the other hand, when it is separated by a phonetic schwa, which I take to be an instance of the citation clitic *-a*, as in (3.30), it signals a more precise indication of location. In this case it does allow stress, since a weak syllable precedes.

- (3.29) *Binggas bong ei minyeyi-si.*  
 goanna sleep LOC water-NOM  
 The goanna is lying near the water.
- (3.30) *Binggas bong ei minyeyi-a ti.*  
 goanna sleep LOC water-CIT NOM  
 The goanna is lying in the water.

This phenomenon will be further discussed in §4.4.6. To conclude this section, here is a minimally contrasting pair to show that *-ti* and *-si* are alternative realisations of the nominaliser:

<sup>2</sup> I suspect that *nimbumbati*, which Griffiths glosses as 'equipment, parts, furnishings' may be formed in a similar fashion: *ni-mbut-bat-ti* '3SG-travel-COLLECTIVE-*ti*'. But this would imply that *bat* is not restricted to human relationship terms, as suggested in §3.3.3.

<sup>3</sup> In Griffiths (1994) the gloss is 'planted but not yet producing'.

(3.31) *Ndo i-ntun him-ti to.*  
 show 1INC-originate very-NOM where  
 He showed us where our very origin was.

(3.32) *Ndo i-ntun him leu-si to.*  
 show 1INC-originate very from-NOM where  
 He showed us where we exactly originate from.

### 3.2.4 Nominalising *gi*

The clitic *gi-* can be found preceding spatial deictics, adjectives and verbs to form a (generic) noun.<sup>4</sup> For example:

(3.33) (a) *Gi-ma mindei?*  
 NOM-that what  
 What is that?

(b) *gi-kui*  
 NOM-ascend  
 the/an ascending one

Such constructions contrast with more specific referring relativisations, as in:

(3.34) (a) *ig di-ma*  
 house REL-that  
 that house (out of a set of possible entities)

(b) *no di (no) kui*  
 3SG REL (3SG) ascend  
 the one who is ascending (= one specific referent out of of a given set)

Forms as given in example (3.33) can be used as substantives, as in *gi preu ni-jep* (NOM promise 3SG-new) = 'the new promise' for 'New Testament', or in attributive position, as in *ni-nei gi kwes* (3SG-breath NOM clear) = 'Holy Spirit'. Unfortunately, I do not have unelicited examples or instances not involving translation of foreign concepts.

With or without the third person pronoun (*no*), *gi* may precede complete clauses to signal conditionality or, more generally, topical circumstance.

(3.35) *Gi taksi kwei big lene ni-bong ei Mar.*  
 NOM taxi come not then 1EXC-sleep LOC Warmare  
 If/when no taxi came, we slept at Warmare.

(3.36) *Gi-no andigpoi-nya pai bi-nyeni*  
 NOM-3SG parent-PL say to-us  
*mpu yo tut midyai lene ni-kwas yam big.*  
 help 3PL with work then 1EXC-divide RECIPE not  
 If/when our parents told us to help them with their work we would not separate.

<sup>4</sup> As Hans Iwou formulated *gima menunjukkan benda* 'gima refers to a form'.

### 3.2.5 Relativisers

The relativiser *di* /dV/ is procliticised to demonstratives and adjectives, as well as to inflected verbs to link these items as modifiers to a head noun, when its referent needs to be contrasted to a set of possible alternatives. Again, this form is never stressed. Often it is in combination with *no* '3SG', as in example (3.39). A form with similar function, but more anaphoric than ostensive, is *po*, with a weak variant [pə], as on the demonstrative in (3.39). Their functions will be discussed in §4.6. Some examples are:

- (3.37) *puig di-ni*  
 path REL-this  
 this path
- (3.38) *Ni-huk yo di i-nggimang radio.*  
 1EXC-chase 3PL REL 3PL-steal radio  
 We chased those who stole the radio.
- (3.39) *Sop di no kei pi-ma.*  
 woman REL 3SG good ANA-that  
 The woman who is good/nice.

### 3.2.6 Purposive *bi*

The preposition *bak* 'to, for' may be weakened to [bə-], as illustrated in example (3.40). The clitical conjunction *bi* [bə-], which marks a purposive or resultative relationship in a sequence of clauses, as in (3.41) and (3.42), I consider as identical to the weakened form of the preposition, although it may equally well be related to *ba* 'and'.

- (3.40) (a) *A-yai wid bak da-ni.*  
 2SG-take banana to 1SG-this  
 Give me a banana.
- (b) *A-yai wid bi-da.*  
 2SG-take banana to-1SG  
 Give me a banana.
- (3.41) *Di-tug ngkimon bi-dile.*  
 1SG-pound iron PUR-thin  
 I pound the iron so that it is flat.
- (3.42) *Di-kiek da bi-di-put.*  
 1SG-turn 1SG PUR-1SG-look  
 I turn around so I (can) look.

The behaviour of this conjunctive clitic will be further discussed in the section on verb sequences (§4.5.3).

### 3.3 Nouns

The category of nouns in Hatam is defined mainly by syntactic criteria. Nouns may function as subject or object in a clause and as non-verbal predicates in equative clauses. As heads of NPs they can be modified by demonstratives and other nominal modifiers. A

subdivision is necessary between alienable and inalienable nouns, the latter including lexical items referring to body parts and kinship terms.

### 3.3.1 Inalienable nouns

Body parts and kinship terms are obligatorily prefixed to indicate person/number of the possessor, as in:

(3.43)		mother	father	head	hand
	1 SG	<i>dip-mem</i>	<i>di-cig</i>	<i>di-bou</i>	<i>di-ndab</i>
	2 SG	<i>ap-mem</i>	<i>a-cig</i>	<i>a-bou</i>	<i>a-ndab</i>
	3 SG	<i>nip-mem</i>	<i>ni-cig</i>	<i>ni-bou</i>	<i>ni-ndab</i>
	1 INC	<i>ip-mem</i>	<i>i-cig</i>	<i>i-bou</i>	<i>i-ndab</i>
	1 EXC	<i>nip-mem</i>	<i>ni-cig</i>	<i>ni-bou</i>	<i>ni-ndab</i>
	2 PL	<i>jip-mem</i>	<i>ji-cig</i>	<i>ji-bou</i>	<i>ji-ndab</i>
	3 PL	<i>ip-mem</i>	<i>i-cig</i>	<i>i-bou</i>	<i>i-ndab</i>

These possessive prefixes are identical to the subject prefixes on verbs, except for third person singular, which on verbs is absent (= zero). Recall that the orthographic *i* in prefixes, when following a consonant, is phonetically realised as schwa or [ɪ], and only occasionally as a high close front vowel [i] when preceding /ñ/ or /y/.

A number of kinship terms have stem-initial nasals. The possessive prefix ends with [p<sup>></sup>] before /m/ and [t<sup>></sup>] elsewhere:

(3.44)	<i>dip-mem</i>	1 SG-mother/FaBrWi/FaSi/MoSi
	<i>dip-mot</i>	1 SG-son
	<i>dip-misop</i>	1 SG-daughter
	<i>dip-mang</i>	1 SG-father/son-in-law (= reciprocal term)
	<i>dip-mum</i>	1 SG-mother's brother
	<i>dit-nem</i>	1 SG-wife
	<i>dit-nyot</i>	1 SG-daughter/mother-in-law (= reciprocal term)
	<i>dit-nyon</i>	1 SG-grandfather/grandchild (= reciprocal)
	<i>dit-nggwo</i>	man's sister's child/woman's brother's child

Some speakers, especially from the Miriei area, do not realise the voiceless stops: [d̥əmɛm] 'my mother'; [d̥əmɔt<sup>h</sup>] 'my son'; etc. No such stops are present on kinship terms that do not begin with a nasal consonant, as in example (3.45). Since there are no kinship terms beginning with a vowel, and since the body parts do not exhibit the final stop of the prefix, the conclusion can be that kinship terms require an extra element in the possessive prefix, which is basically /T/, which assimilates to /P/ before bilabial nasal, and which elides before non-nasals. This feature may be related to Hans Iwou's suggestion that first person singular possessive pronoun should be *dit-de*, which phonetically is realised as [dɪtɛ] (see §3.1).

(3.45)	<i>-cig</i>	father/father's brother
	<i>-ceb</i>	husband
	<i>-dohoi</i>	in-law of same sex, i.e. male ego: ZH; WB; female ego: HZ; BW
	<i>-sen</i>	in-law of different sex, i.e. male ego: BW; WZ; female ego: ZH; HB
	<i>-kinjoi</i>	younger sibling of same sex
	<i>-kindig</i>	older sibling of same sex
	<i>-kinjam</i>	female's brother
	<i>-kwohop</i>	male's sister



- drot* grandmother/ grandmother's grandchild (= reciprocal term)  
 -*tom* mother's brother's (= *mum*) child  
 -*digai* great-grandmother (Griffiths: great-great-grandparents)  
 -*digup* great-grandfather (Griffiths: great-grandparents)

The scope of inalienable possession is wider than just the kinship terms and body parts. Concepts which can be seen as extensions of body part or kinship, that is parts-of-whole as in example (3.46) or social relationships (3.47), are also possessed as inalienables.

- (3.46) *biei ni-mmeng*  
 tree 3SG-leaf  
 the tree leaves

*A-nyeng tou i?*  
 2SG-name who Q  
 What's your name?

- (3.47) *di-sut gom*  
 1SG-friend one  
 a friend of mine

The term *munggwom* 'child' is found as inalienably possessed noun *ni-munggwom* '3SG-child', and as *dit-de munggwom* '1SG-POS child'. Although the word is ambiguous between 'young human' and 'offspring', the manner of possession does not seem to signal this difference.

### 3.3.2 Alienable nouns

All other nouns cannot be affixed for possessor. Possession is expressed by free-form possessive pronouns, consisting of the pronominal prefixes and the possessive marker *de*, as in examples (3.48) and (3.49).

- (3.48) *a-de singau*  
 2SG-POS knife  
 your knife

- (3.49) *di-cig ni-de micim*  
 1SG-father 3SG-POS spear  
 my father's spear

The possessive marker *de* can also directly follow proper nouns:

- (3.50) *Ig di-ni andigpoi Miller de.*  
 house REL-this old.man Miller POS  
 This house is Mr Miller's.

Since proper nouns can function as heads of an NP, modified as common nouns, as shown in examples (3.51) and (3.52), and thus do not form a separate class, it is likely that a possessor noun does not need the pronominal prefix to the possessive marker.

- (3.51) *Di-kerjan bit Miller pi-ma.*  
 1SG-work follow Miller ANA-that  
 I worked with the (mentioned) Miller.

- (3.52) *Yoas di-cun pi-ma kin Yoas di-jei*  
 Yoas REL-short ANA-that with Yoas REL-long  
 the short Yoas and the tall one (in case one wishes to distinguish between two men named Yoas)

### 3.3.3 Plurality

Nouns in Hatam are not inflected for plurality. There is, however, the morpheme *nya*, which can be attached to animate nouns to make plurality explicit, as in examples (3.53)–(3.55).<sup>5</sup> It is not restricted to nouns, but appears to take the last position of an NP, as (3.56) and (3.57) illustrate.

- (3.53) *sop-nya*  
 woman-PL  
 the women
- (3.54) *na(b)-nya*  
 pig-PL  
 the pigs
- (3.55) *Biak-nya*  
 Biak-PL  
 the Biak people
- (3.56) *munggwom cin pi-ma-nya*  
 child pair ANA-that-PL  
 the two children mentioned before
- (3.57) *Krau misien ni-de-nya.*  
 grab dog 3SG-POS-PL  
 He grabbed his dogs.

It often follows *bat*, glossed as ‘collective’ (COLL), as in example (3.58). When this is the case, the stress is always on final *nya*.

- (3.58) *dani kin di-sut-bat-nya*  
 I with 1SG-friend-COLL-PL  
 I and my friends

Although *bat* only seems to follow terms that refer to social relationships, it can stand by itself, as in example (3.59), which suggests that it may be a noun meaning something like ‘group of relatives’. Here again, the stress pattern alternates weak–strong on [nə.de.bat>.’ña]. In fact, in no instance have I found *bat* stressed, while *nya* can either be a iambic peak, as in (3.58) and (3.59) or a trough, as in (3.57).

<sup>5</sup> However, I have one instance of *nya* on an inanimate noun, in the following elicited example:

*Nyeni i-nggek ig dit-de-nya.*  
 we 1INC-demolish house 1SG-POS-PL  
 We took down my houses.

Since this a rather contrived example, it may not prove much.

- (3.59) *Nyeni n-ug ngat ni-de bat-nya.*  
 we 1EXC-go see 3SG-POS COLL-PL  
 We went to see her relatives.

These examples give the impression that *bat* may not occur without *nya*, but example (3.60) shows that this is not the case.

- (3.60) *ni-kwohop-bat i-de minyei*  
 3SG-sister-COLL 3PL-POS water  
 his sisters' water (i.e. the stream where his sisters used to draw water)

### 3.4 Verbs

Verbs function as predicate in verbal clauses. They are prefixed to index person and number of the subject. They contrast with inalienable nouns and adjectives in that third person singular is not marked with *ni-*, but has zero affix.

Verbs allow a number of morphological processes, which will be presented after syntactic features with respect to transitivity have been discussed. The basic difference between transitive and intransitive verbs is that the former can have an object, but not necessarily occur with one, whereas the latter do not allow an object.

#### 3.4.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs, such as *mai* 'die', *mmai* 'be embarrassed', *pa* 'laugh', *pim* 'cry' cannot have a direct object. To indicate the reason or cause for such a state of affairs, a prepositional object is required, as for example *tut* in (3.61a); (3.61b) is ungrammatical.

- (3.61) (a) *Munggwom i-pim tut i-cig.*  
 child 3PL-cry for 3PL-father  
 The children cried for their fathers.

- (b) \**Munggwom i-pim i-cig.*

A number of typical intransitive verbs are:

- (3.62) *nggum* to be hungry  
*nggobiau* to be thirsty  
*iman* to be sleepy  
*nggin* to cough  
*ngip* to snore  
*pui* to tell  
*joi* to like

The last item in (3.62), when followed by the preposition *sut*, means 'to want', as in:

- (3.63) *Dani di-joi sut di-pek mun.*  
 I 1SG-like with 1SG-buy something  
 I want to buy something.

The intransitive *pa* 'to laugh' has a derived transitive: *pa-ndip* 'to laugh at', which seems to consist of *pa (mu)n dip* = laugh thing on.top.of.

### 3.4.2 Transitive verbs

Typical transitive verbs are *krau* 'catch', *pek* 'buy', *bui* 'hit', *yem* 'eat' and *yai* 'take'. Transitive verbs require an explicit object if it has not been mentioned before or if it is not clear from the context. For example, if no object of *yem* 'eat' is available in immediate preceding context, an object has to be supplied, as in example (3.64a).

- (3.64) (a) *Mpe di no nyeni ni-yem njinta big-yo.*  
 time REL 3SG we 1EXC-eat food not-yet  
 At that time we had not eaten yet.

- (b) \**Mpe di no nyeni niyem bigyo.*

Similarly, (3.65) at the beginning of a discourse requires an explicit object with *huk* 'hunt', which is then the implied object of *pilei*:

- (3.65) *Ni-huk hab ei bigbehei lene ni-pilei.*  
 1EXC-hunt bird LOC bush then 1EXC-shoot  
 We were hunting birds in the bush and we shot (a bird).

### 3.4.3 Hybrid verbs

There are at least two verbs that can be both transitive and intransitive, without any morphological consequences: *ki* 'break a tuber' and *dahat* 'break a stick'. Thus, both (3.66a) and (3.66b) are acceptable.

- (3.66) (a) *Tom dahat.*  
 stick break  
 The stick broke.
- (b) *Di-dahat tom-a.*  
 1SG-break stick-CIT  
 I broke the stick.

Possibly, the verb *cug* 'remove (skin)' can also be used both in a transitive and intransitive construction; see Digomang (58) in the Appendix.

### 3.4.4 Position and motion verbs

Position and motion verbs are not clearly intransitive or transitive either. At least a number of them can have a direct object, which is rather restricted to locational concepts, or an oblique object:

- (3.67) (a) *Di-kwei/d-ug ei dit-de igbei.*  
 1SG-come/1SG-go LOC 1SG-POS house  
 I came/went to my house.
- (b) *Di-kwei igbei.*  
 1SG-come house  
 I came to the house.

The (b) variant implies 'I didn't (yet) enter the house'.

(3.68) (a) *I-mbut ei puig di-ma.*  
 3PL-walk LOC path REL-that  
 They walk on that path.

(b) *Nyeni ni-mbut puig di-ni.*  
 we 1EXC-walk path REL-this  
 We walk this path.

The (a) variant of example (3.68) is said either before or after the subject referent actually walks on the path, whereas (b) is said while the speaker is walking on the path. Other motion verbs, such as *ngkwei* 'return', *dor* 'run', *nang* 'flee', *mba* 'fly' are less likely to take a direct object.

Position verbs, i.e. *jo* 'be at (inanimate subjects)', *gwam* 'sit', *bong* 'sleep/lie down', *ya* 'stand' occur with or without a preposition:

(3.69) (a) *Di-bong ei kwo dip.*  
 1SG-sleep LOC mat top  
 I sleep on the mat.

(b) *Di-bong kwo dip.*  
 1SG-sleep mat top  
 I am lying on the mat.

The (a) variant of example (3.69) implies 'I am not presently lying on the mat'; the (b) variant says: 'I'm right on the mat'. The position and motion verbs with direct object seem to convey a progressive or habitual aspect. Further discussion will follow in §4.4.6.

### 3.4.5 Verbs of emotion

Emotions are expressed in Hatam by phrases of the inalienable noun *-ngon* 'heart'<sup>6</sup> plus an adjective, a verb, or an element that appears not to function separately anymore in the language. Just a few examples are given in (3.70). For an extensive list, see Griffiths (1994:49-52).

(3.70)	<i>dut</i>	hot	<i>-ngon dut</i>	to feel for someone
	<i>kinei</i>	bad	<i>-ngon kinei</i>	to be sad
	<i>bos</i>	float	<i>-ngon bos</i>	to be anxious
	<i>sibui</i>	twist	<i>-ngon sibui</i>	to be angry, envious
	<i>ngakei</i>	?	<i>-ngon ngakei</i>	to love <sup>7</sup>

These phrases can be seen as compounds, since they operate as single verbs. For example, *-ngon dut* patterns as a normal transitive verb in example (3.71), while *-ngon sibui* is an intransitive with a prepositional complement in (3.72).

<sup>6</sup> This word refers to the physical heart (Indonesian *jantung*), not to 'liver' or 'insides' as in many other languages of New Guinea. For 'liver' *i-mpai dihyei* 'IINC-mpai ground' was given, 'lungs' are *i-mpai nai* 'IINC-mpai upper'.

<sup>7</sup> *Kei* is 'good', but *ngakei* does not occur independently.

(3.71) *Leu nyeni ni-ngon dut nani ni-ndig bibor.*  
 from we 1EXC-heart hot you 3SG-big very  
 For we appreciate you very much. [Peranga:011]

(3.72) *Ni-ngon sibui sut gi po da di-hig pia...*  
 3SG-heart twist about NOM ANA I 1SG-ask QUOT  
 She was angry that I asked her... [Kwanding:078]

There are similar constructions with other body parts, such as *-tta* 'side of body' and *-bou* 'head':

(3.73) *-tta cut tut* (side fall along with) = to be nervous  
*-bou dut tut* (head hot along with) = to be envious

### 3.4.6 Modals

There are at least two verb-like modals which may be used both inflected and uninflected (see §4.3). They are *dem* 'enough, adequate' and *suar* 'necessary'. Semantically, they are related to *bitbon* 'be able' and *ndei* 'be able'. *Bitbon* is perhaps a compound of *bit* 'accompany' and *bon* 'make'. It cannot be inflected and so it is discussed as an adverb. *Ndei* on the other hand is always inflected. Other modal elements appear as straightforward adverbs (see §3.13.2).

### 3.4.7 Verbal affixation

Besides the subject prefixation, Hatam allows some further morphological processes on verbs.

#### 3.4.7.1 Instrument

Transitive verbs, that is those that semantically allow an instrument, can be prefixed with *bi-*. This is directly attached to the stem and behaves phonetically as the subject prefixes. That means it is never stressed and the phonological shape is /bV-/, containing an unspecified vowel. A few examples are given in (3.74) and (3.75).

(3.74) *Ni-ba tom ni-bi-bui wou.*  
 1EXC-use stick 1EXC-INS-hit snake  
 We used a stick to hit the snake.

(3.75) *Singau tibor-a mem ni-bi-pilei nab ri.*  
 knife arrow-CIT for 1EXC-INS-shoot pig GIV  
 The iron-tipped arrows are for shooting pigs.

This prefix apparently attaches to items like *kei* 'good' and *bon* 'make' to form verbs with another meaning: *bi-kei* 'to be good to' and *bi-bon* 'to create'. Possibly, it is also used to incorporate loan words from either Indonesian or local Malay: *lengkap* 'complete' becomes *ba-lengkap* 'to complete', *pintar* 'smart' becomes *bi-pintar* 'be smart', *atur* 'arrange' becomes *ba-atur* 'to arrange', and many others. Alternatively, such Malay words are wholesale borrowings, since the Malay variants of Eastern Indonesia have a productive verb formation process involving *ba-* based on nouns, adjectives and other verb roots.

3.4.7.2 *Posterior*

In the collected texts there are a few instances of a clitic *mi-*, phonetically varying between [ma] and [mə], preceding an inflected verb, as in:

- (3.76) *Noni yai midyai mang bibor bi-nyeni mi-ni-kerjan.*  
 he get work much very to-us POST-1EXC-work  
 He gave a lot of work to us to do. [Wonggor 2:005]

In elicitation, *mi-*constructions as in example (3.77) are explained as referring to the future.

- (3.77) (a) *Mi-di-cun.*  
 POST-1SG-short  
 I will be short.
- (b) *Mi-di-kwei.*  
 POST-1SG-come  
 I will come.

This form is not a clear future tense marking, since many sentences referring to a future event do not use it at all. Given its function in examples (3.76) and (3.78), a gloss as ‘posterior marking’ seems to best capture its meaning.

- (3.78) *Gi-no i-hig ser bi-pi-a*  
 NOM-3SG IINC-ask keep.out PUR-QUOT-CIT  
*ndo i-ntun him ti tou,*  
 show IINC-originate very NOM where  
*yoni mi-i-ndo bi-nyeni.*  
 they NOM-3PL-show to-us  
 If/when we ask (them) to indicate our very place of origin, they will show it to us. [Yairus 1:026]

3.4.7.3 *Nominalisation*

It is possible that the posterior-marking *mi-* /mV-/ is etymologically related to the *mi-* which appears on quite a number of lexical items, seemingly derived from verbs (or adjectives). An elicited sentence such as (3.79) was indeed interpreted as containing nominalised clauses, but this may be due to a misunderstanding. The real meaning may be ‘post present moment of speech’.

- (3.79) *Dani mi-di-ngot ig nok ni-gom nggrug*  
 I NOM-1SG-tie house like 3SG-one difficult  
*noro mi-di-ngot nok ni-can wer krop tu.*  
 but NOM-1SG-tie like 3SG-two become easy already  
 My first building of a house was difficult, but the second was already a little easy.

Whatever the final verdict on the relationship between the two instances of *mi-*, the items in example (3.80) do seem to suggest a nominalisation process with /mV-/, presumably a

weakened form of *mun* 'something'. But apparently, these forms do not just have verbs as their base.

(3.80)	<i>midyai</i>	work	[< <i>mi-di-yai</i> 'something-REL-get/do']
	<i>miyai</i>	garden	[< <i>yai</i> 'take/do']
	<i>mitiei</i>	money	[< <i>tiei</i> 'white']
	<i>minyeyi</i>	water	[< <i>nyei</i> 'liquid']
	<i>misop</i>	daughter	[< <i>sop</i> 'woman']
	<i>mintab</i>	grass	[< <i>ntab</i> 'hair/grass']
	<i>micim</i>	spear	[< <i>cim</i> 'install']
	<i>mikuisi</i>	without purpose	[< <i>kui</i> 'ascend']
	<i>minsien</i>	dog	[< <i>sien</i> '?']; but <i>nsien</i> and <i>sien</i> are also used for 'dog'.

### 3.5 Adjectives

It is not easy to find criteria to distinguish adjectives as a separate word class in Hatam. There are no clear morphological differences, but some syntactic processes do warrant a distinction. Some examples of typical adjectives are given in example (3.81). Adjectives and verbs can both be used predicatively, needing a prefix to index person-number of the subject, which is zero for third person singular, as in (3.82) and (3.83).

(3.81)	<i>kei</i>	good	<i>kinei</i>	bad
	<i>cun</i>	short	<i>jei</i>	long
	<i>dile</i>	tin	<i>ndok</i>	thick
	<i>koi</i>	curved	<i>sren</i>	straight
	<i>buhun</i>	heavy	<i>nggan</i>	light

(3.82) (a) *Da-ni di-cun.*  
 1SG-this 1SG-short  
 I am short.

(b) *No-ni cun.*  
 3SG-this short  
 S/he is short.

(3.83) (a) *Da-ni di-pim.*  
 1SG-this 1SG-cry  
 I am crying.

(b) *No-ni pim.*  
 3SG-this cry  
 S/he is crying.

The attributive position does make a distinction. Whereas items such as those in example (3.81) can enter an NP as modifier of a noun, as in (3.84), verbs cannot (3.85).

(3.84) *wou cun dima*  
 snake short REL-that  
 that short snake



- (3.85) \**munggwom pim di-ma*  
 child cry REL-that  
 that crying child

When a noun is attributively modified by a verb the relativiser *di* has to be used, as in example (3.86). But this construction is also possible with adjectives, as in (3.87).

- (3.86) *Munggwom di pim pi-ma.*  
 child REL cry ANA-that  
 The child which is crying.

- (3.87) *Wou di cun pi-ma.*  
 snake REL short ANA-that  
 The snake which is short.

A further difference between adjectives and verbs is the possibility for the former to be inflected with the third person singular prefix, which is operative on inalienable nouns. An adjective thus inflected seems to convey a more permanent quality, which may be used in both predicative and attributive position, as in examples (3.88a) and (3.88b). This option is not available to verbs; (3.89a) and (3.89b) are not acceptable.

- (3.88) (a) *Wou di-ma ni-cun.*  
 snake REL-that 3SG-short  
 That snake (is) a short one.

- (b) *wou ni-cun di-ma*  
 snake 3SG-short REL-that  
 that short one of a snake

- (3.89) (a) \**munggwom dima ni-pim*  
 child REL-that 3SG-cry

- (b) \**munggom ni-pim dima*  
 child 3SG-cry REL-that

But both adjectives and verbs can be nominalised with the areal nominal clitic, which is then inflected as an inalienably possessed noun (see §3.3.1):

- (3.90) *ni-cun-ti*  
 3SG-short-NOM  
 its shortness

- (3.91) *ni-pim-ti*  
 3SG-cry-NOM  
 her/his crying

Thus, although adjectives can to a large extent be seen as a subclass of intransitive verbs, on the basis of syntactic criteria (and traditional semantic notions, such as ‘quality’) it can be concluded that they form a separate part of speech in Hatam.

### 3.6 Classifiers

Hatam employs a few inalienable nouns as classifiers. These are normally used only with numerals, but they are not obligatory. Besides example (3.92a), it is possible to have (3.92b)

with *ni-ngud* '3SG-body' as classifier, with no clear semantic difference, although one informant commented that when the referent is visible, the classifier is not necessary.

- (3.92) (a) *nab nindig can di-ma*  
 pig 3SG-big two REL-that  
 those two big pigs
- (b) *nab ni-ngud can ni-ndig di-ma*  
 pig 3SG-body two 3SG-big REL-that  
 those two big pigs

The presence of *-ngud* 'body' makes a difference between physical size and social status when a man is referred to, as in:

- (3.93) (a) *Pinai di-ma ni-ngud ni-ndig bibor.*  
 man REL-that 3SG-body 3SG-big very  
 That man is very big (in size).
- (b) *Pinai di-ma ni-ndig bibor.*  
 man REL-that 3SG-big very  
 That man is very big (= important).

Classifiers are mainly used as pro-form as head of a noun phrase, as in (3.93a), rather than as classifier within an NP, as in (3.92b). The body-part term *-bou* 'head' is used for counting humans. It is prefixed to indicate person, as in:

- (3.94) *Je-ni ji-bou bitai...*  
 2PL-this 2PL-head four  
 The four of you...

Other classifiers are:

- (3.95) *-njon* for flying species (birds, bats); insects do not take a classifier;  
*-mon* for (smallish) trees;<sup>8</sup>  
*-ngan* for seeds.

Whether *-tut* in example (3.96) is a classifying noun for vines, or rather denoting 'runner' as a part of the plant, is not clear. Both *situt* 'sweet potato vine' and *batut* 'vine runner in general' (presumably from *sieb* 'sweet potato' and *bab* 'vine' respectively) are possible as nouns with or without a quantifier. Thus, (3.96b) is also acceptable.

- (3.96) (a) *A-ttei bab ni-tut mang kwei.*  
 2SG-carry vine 3SG-runner many come  
 Bring many vine runners.
- (b) *A-ttei batut (mang) kwei.*  
 2SG-carry vine.runner many come  
 Bring (many) vine runners.

<sup>8</sup> Although *mon* was given in response to my question regarding analogical items to *bou*, I suspect that it is not a classifier, but an adjective with specific meaning, relating to size of trees:

*biei ni-mon ni-njem bitai*  
 tree 3SG-small 3SG-trunk four  
 four small trees

### 3.7 Quantifiers

The class of quantifiers comprises both numerals and indefinite numerals. The cardinal numbers are rather straightforward as a base-five system.

(3.97)	one	<i>gom</i>
	two	<i>can</i>
	three	<i>ningai</i>
	four	<i>bitai</i>
	five	<i>muhui</i>
	six	<i>muhui-nda-gom</i> = 'five-hand-one'
	seven	<i>muhui-nda-can</i> = 'five-hand-two'
	eight	<i>muhui-nda-ningai</i>
	nine	<i>muhui-nda-bitai</i>
	ten	<i>simnai</i>
	eleven	<i>simnai-bri-mig-gom</i> = 'ten-go along-leg-one'
	twelve	<i>simnai-bri-mig-can</i>
	twenty	<i>nya-tungwa-gom</i> = 'PL-human-one'

Phonetically, the compounds containing *muhui* + *nda* 'five' + 'hand', are realised as [munda...]. The cardinal number *gom* 'one' is also used as indefinite article: 'a certain/one or another'.

- (3.98) (a) *Di-sut gom pilei.*  
 1SG-friend one shoot  
 One of my friends shot.
- (b) *Di-sut gom bu pilei.*  
 1SG-friend one again shoot  
 Another one of my friends shot.
- (c) *Di-sut gom bu cem pilei.*  
 1SG-friend one again also shoot  
 Yet another one of my friends shot.

The same item also forms the basis for the universal quantifier 'all', when it is prefixed by the (marginally) productive *ha-* 'be/do', which then is inflected as a verb:

- (3.99) (a) *Tungwa-tu-nya ya-ha-gom y-ug.*  
 human-?-PL 3PL-be-one 3PL-go  
 All the people went.
- (b) *Nyeni na-ha-gom n-ug.*  
 we 1EXC-be-one 1EXC-go  
 We all went.

The quantifiers *mang* 'many' and *poi* 'a few, some' behave as adjectives. The former can be intensified with *bibor* 'very', and both occur with the classifier *-bou* when referring to humans: *i-bou mang bibor* 'very many of them'; *ni-bou poi* 'the few of us; some of us'.

- (3.100) *A-ttei situt poi kwei.*  
 2SG-carry sw.potato.vines few come  
 Bring a few sweet potato vines.

The quantity 'some, a few' can also be expressed by reduplication of the cardinal number 'one': *gom-gom* 'one-one':

- (3.101) *A-kan gom-gom he e?*  
 2SG-know one-one only Q  
 You know just a little, right?

Finally, 'someone or another' is based upon the adjective *hi* 'another' and is apparently verbal, as illustrated in:

- (3.102) *Ji-bihi ji-mpu dani e?*  
 2PL-other 2PL-help me Q  
 Can one or more of you help me?

### 3.8 Demonstratives

The spatial deictic system of Hatam is rather complex. Basically, there is a four-way distinction in distance, indicated by the demonstratives given in:

- (3.103) near S. near A. away from S and A far away  
*ni ma mo nu*

In addition, there are words specifying elevation: *nyo* 'sloping up', *hu* 'vertically up' and *mu* 'down'. Each of these can be prefixed by the relativiser *di-* for attributives or *gi-* for nominals (or adverbials). At least *ni* and *ma* can be prefixed by the anaphoric (ANA) relativiser *pi-* (phonetically [pə]; see §3.2.5).

The nominal demonstratives *gi-ni*, *gi-ma* etc. are used for non-verbal predications, whether declarative or interrogative, either in initial or final position, as shown in:

- (3.104) (a) *Gi-ni mindei?*  
 NOM-this what  
 This is what?  
 (b) *Mindei gi-ma-i?*  
 what NOM-that-Q  
 What is that?

The attributive demonstratives function as determiners in an NP:

- (3.105) *Ig di-mo a-cig ni-de e?*  
 house REL-there 2SG-father 3SG-POS Q  
 That house is your father's?

The contrast between attributive and nominal deictics is illustrated in example (3.106), where *di-ma* is a determiner to *wou* 'snake', which later in the sentence is referred to by the nominal *gi-ma*.

- (3.106) *Ba nyeni ni-ntun wou di-ma him.*  
 and we 1EXC-originate snake REL-that very  
 And we originate exactly from that snake. [Iwou.pam 009]  
*Apino nye di-no pam Iwou ni-mang*  
 thereupon we REL-3SG family Iwou 1EXC-many  
*ni-bou poi ei Minyambou di-ni ni-ntun*  
 1EXC-head few LOC Minyambou REL-this 1EXC-originate

*gi-ma*      *him.*

NOM-that    very

So then, we who are of the Iwou family, we are with quite a few at  
Minyambou here, we originate exactly from that one. [Iwou.pam 010]<sup>9</sup>

The demonstratives are often accompanied by deictic elements *kug* 'upwards' and *jug* 'down(wards)' to convey some far distance, it would seem. These items seem to be related to the motion verbs *kui* 'ascend' and *juk* 'descend', respectively. These directionals are applicable to trees, holes, mountain slopes, etc. In example (3.107), the nominal demonstrative *ginu* together with *jug* functions as a locative adverbial.

- (3.107)    *Ni-kui*            *taksi ba ni-juk*            *ginu*            *jug.*  
1EXC-ascend    taxi    and    1EXC-descend    down.there    down.  
We took a taxi and we got off down there. [Wonggor 2:076]

In (3.108) the nominal demonstrative modifies an NP:

- (3.108)    *I-kwen*    *njinta*    *mem*    *yo*    *di*    *mug*    *ni-brig*  
3PL-cook    food    for    3PL    REL    sea    3SG-headwater  
  
*gi-nyo*            *kug.*  
NOM-up            there  
They cooked food for those from the sea's headwaters up there.  
[Dowansiba:059/060]

### 3.9 Spatial nouns

Spatial orientation is expressed through a special noun class. Spatial nouns stand in a (derived) genitive relation to the head. In Hatam that means a postnominal position. Some of such nouns are obligatorily prefixed, just like inalienable nouns (which they probably are). Consider example (3.109), which lists a number of possible locations relative to a house. The same relations hold with respect to a tree, or other objects.

- (3.109) (a) *Ig-ya*    *ei*    *ig*    *ne-te*    (*hi*).  
3PL-stand    LOC    house    3SG-side    other  
They are standing next to the house.
- (b) *ei*    *ig*    *ni-sai*  
LOC    house    3SG-outside  
outside the house
- (c) *ei*    *ig*    *ni-nsi*  
LOC    house    3SG-inside  
inside the house
- (d) *ei*    *ig*    *ni-nghim*  
LOC    house    3SG-back  
at the back of the house

<sup>9</sup> The form *di-no* 'REL-3SG', similar to the attributive demonstratives, is used exclusively to introduce relative clauses. In this case the antecedent is the free pronoun *nye* 'we'.

- (e) *ei ig no-ho*  
 LOC house 3SG-front  
 in front of the house

Cardinal directions appear to be used as well:

- (3.110) *ni-bihyo* = 'its-south' (also: 'down slope')  
*ni-cai* = 'its-north' ('sloping up')  
*ni-pri-ti* = 'its-east' (*pri* = 'jump up'; *ti* = 'Nominaliser')  
*ni-cut-ti* = 'its-west' (*cut* = 'fall')

The last two expressions of example (3.110) obviously refer to the sun's coming up and going down. The first two may have mountain slopes as their first reference (according to Griffiths' dictionary), but my informants translate them with 'south' and 'north'. Whether they refer to slopes or sun positions, these prefixed nominals are similar to spatial nouns. It is possible that their third person prefix refers to the head noun, as seen in examples (3.111) and (3.112), although the semantic relationship in (3.111) seems different from that suggested by (3.110).

- (3.111) *Gima diring ni-bihyo.*  
 that wall 3SG-south  
 That is the south wall (of a house).

- (3.112) *Dit-de ig Urbanus ni-de ig ni-bihyo.*  
 1SG-POS house Urbanus 3SG-POS house 3SG-south  
 My house is to the south of Urbanus' house.

The actual orientation of the speaker's house in example (3.112) is indeed to the south of Urbanus' house, but also down on a gradual slope. I have not been able to check whether *bihyo* is used for a southern direction upwards.

There are other spatial orientations that lack such a prefix. Since they are still required in a postnominal position, in contrast to prepositions, I include them in the category of spatial nouns. They are: *dip* 'on top (of a table, other flat objects)', as in (3.113); *behei* 'under objects like a table, tree, etc.', as in (3.114); and *jou* 'under surfaces like water or ground', as in (3.115).

- (3.113) *Srad jo ei meja dip.*  
 book be LOC table top  
 The book is on the table.

- (3.114) (a) *No gwam ei meja behei.*  
 he sit LOC table under  
 He is sitting under the table.

- (b) *Ya ei biei behei.*  
 stand LOC tree under  
 He is standing under a tree.

- (3.115) *Binggas bong ei minyei jou.*  
 goanna lie LOC water under  
 The goanna is under water.

'On top of a house' or 'in the top of a tree' cannot be expressed by *dip*. Instead, one would use *bou* 'head' and *nggramti* 'treetop' but without a prefix, as in examples (3.116) and (3.117).

(3.116) *No gwam ei ig bou.*  
 3SG sit LOC house head  
 S/he is sitting on top of the house. (or on the roof)

(3.117) *No gwam ei biei nggramti.*  
 3SG sit LOC tree treetop  
 S/he is sitting in the treetop.

The form *behei*, phonetically [bəhey], is contracted to *bei* in more standardised expressions. A house as dwelling-place can only be referred to as *ig-bei*.<sup>10</sup> This may in turn be followed by *nsi* 'inside', but without the possessive prefix:

(3.118) *Gwam ei ig-bei nsi.*  
 sit LOC house-under inside  
 He is (sitting) inside the house.

Unprefixed, postnominal *jou* 'down/inside' is used for 'sole of foot' and 'palm of hand': *di-mig jou* 'the sole of my foot'. In reference to a house it contrasts with *bei*: *ig-jou* = 'under the floor (of a house)', *igbei* = 'in(side) the house' or 'at home'. The spatial nouns, whether they are (formed like) inalienable nouns or unprefixed postnominal spatial items, form a noun phrase with the possessor noun. They contrast with prepositions in terms of syntactic position and semantic subcategorisation.

### 3.10 Prepositions

A separate class of prepositions needs to be recognised. Prepositions do not allow subject prefixation. They mark the semantic relation between a nominal constituent and the main predicate. Semantically, a differentiation can be made between spatial and non-spatial prepositions. The spatial prepositions are: *ei* 'in(to)/at/on', glossed as 'LOCative', and its antonym *leu* 'from'. Especially these two can be used in combination with spatial nouns. Other locative relations are expressed by *gau* 'above/over', *tai* 'around', *ghai* 'surrounding', *ndam* 'towards'.

(3.119) *Minsien bong ei ig ne-te hi.*  
 dog lie LOC house 3SG-side other  
 The dog is lying beside the house.

The prepositions *gau* 'above', *tai* 'around', and *ndam* 'towards' cannot cooccur with a spatial noun:

(3.120) *Hab mba gau biei.*  
 bird fly above tree  
 The bird flies above the trees.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps due to some grammaticalisation process *behei* is contracted to *bei*, which is also present in *-ngou-bei* 'armpit' and in the formation *mambe* 'interior': *gwam ei mam bei* 'he is living on the land', i.e. away from water. The lexical item *bigbehei*, phonetically [bik<sup>h</sup>bəhey], refers to 'forest' or 'wilderness'. It could well derive from *big* 'not' + *behei* 'under'.

- (3.121) *Lampu jo gau meja (\*dip).*  
 lamp be above table top  
 The lamp is above the table.

The difference between *tai* 'around (tree, people, house)' and *ghai* 'surrounding'<sup>11</sup> is explained in terms of proximity:

- (3.122) *Ni-mmeng mui jo tai biei.*  
 3SG-leaf dry be around tree  
 There are dry leaves (directly) around the tree.

- (3.123) *Srad jo ghai dani.*  
 book be around me  
 The books are scattered around me.

Non-spatial prepositions are: *kin* 'with (comitative)', as in example (3.124); *bak* 'to/for'; *mem* 'for (purposive)'; and *tut/sut* 'along with'.

- (3.124) *Dani kin di-sut-bat-nya i-bou can*  
 I with 1SG-friend-COLL-PL 3PL-head two  
*ni-bou ningai, ni-huk hab ei bigbehei.*  
 1EXC-head three 1EXC-hunt bird LOC forest  
 I and my two friends, the three of us, we hunted birds in the forest.

The preposition *bak* is used with the verb *yai* 'take' to convey the meaning of 'to give' and with *pai* 'say' to mark the addressee. It can be phonetically reduced to [bə-]; see §2.6 above.

- (3.125) (a) *A-yai njinta bak da-ni.*  
 2SG-take food to 1SG-this  
 Give me some food.

- (b) *A-yai njinta bi-da.*  
 2SG-take food to-1SG  
 Give me some food.

- (3.126) *Tuan jei kin tuan cun i-pai bak kokreng...*  
 mister long with mister short 3PL-say to Kokkeling  
 The tall sir and the short sir (i.e. Hatam titles for Lodewijk and Barend Mandacan) said to Kokkeling...

The difference between *bak* and *mem* can be characterised as immediate transfer versus delayed transfer.

- (3.127) *Ni-ken jo api ni-ttei mem [\*bak] yo di igbei.*  
 3SG-rest be then 1EXC-carry for they REL home  
 There were some leftovers, then we'd bring them for those at home.

<sup>11</sup> This is the only word with /gh/. In Griffiths it is given with this spelling. I have recorded it as [gahai], with the first vowel reduced.



- (3.128) *Lene -kwei -ndo bak [\*mem] ni-pmem.*  
 then 3SG-come 3SG-show to 3SG-mother  
 Then he came and showed (it) to his mother.

The variation between *tut* and *sut* is due to phonological conditioning by the coda of the preceding verb (see §2.3). The meaning of this preposition is ‘along with’, sometimes more naturally translated by ‘for’ or ‘regarding’:

- (3.129) *Di-pilei hab lene di-kwei bam tut*  
 1SG-shoot bird then 1SG-come roast for

*dit-de munggwom-nya.*  
 1SG-POS child-PL

I shot birds and I came and roasted (them) for /along with my children.

- (3.130) *Ni-kwei sut ndigban ha-gom big.*  
 1EXC-come along.with goods be-one not  
 We didn’t come with all the goods.

The prepositions *ei* ‘(in)to; at’ and *leu* ‘from’, *tut/sut* ‘along with; regarding; for’ are often found in ‘stranded’ position, i.e. without an object directly following. The object is recoverable from the immediate context or from general knowledge. In example (3.131) the object of *tut* is not expressed, but from the preceding context it can be inferred to be the main participant *Anggos*.

- (3.131) *Lene awig Ø-nggom tut Ø*  
 then nibung.tree 3SG-topple with

*kikau Hakteibou.*  
 continuing Hakteibou

Then the nibung palm toppled over along with (*Anggos*) as far as Hakteibou. [*Anggos* 018]

- (3.132) *Tom pi-ma ba bi-tug mintab leu Ø.*  
 pole ANA-that and INS-pound grass from

(She) took that pole and with it pushed the grass away (from the opening).  
 [Kwanding 019]

In ‘stranded’ position *ei* conveys ‘something done in preparation’, as in the comment on getting food ready for mutual help (Indonesian = *gotong-royong*) in example (3.133). While in (3.131) and (3.132) the object of the preposition is readily available or understood, in (3.133) and even more so in (3.134), no object seems to be conceptually available; *ei* seems to be part of the main verb.

- (3.133) *Noro di-nggok mikwau ei big*  
 but 1SG-search meat LOC not

*lene biei sra ma wer nggrug.*  
 then wood split that near difficult

But if I didn’t get meat ready (for the people who’d help me), then the splitting of wood would be rather difficult (i.e. I would have to do it all by myself).  
 [Wonggor 1:099]

- (3.134) *Njap lene i-kinding bi-pud ei.*  
 day then 1INC-fix RES-finished LOC  
 Tomorrow then we will get everything ready. [Dowansiba 020]

Thus, in some instances, the combination verb + preposition seems to be lexicalised, which seems to be the case for: *mai leu* 'die away from'. The verb *mai* 'die' with the preposition *leu* 'from' seems to express a similar sense as English 'die on someone', in contrast to *mai* by itself. Consider example (3.135a) with a specified prepositional object, and (3.135b) without one. A similar tight connection between a verb and an objectless preposition holds for: *mbut leu* 'walk from' = 'leave' (see 3.136); *kan tut* 'know along.with' = 'know about'; *joi sut* 'be occupied with' = 'want to'; and *tin ei* 'install at' = 'prepare'.

- (3.135) (a) *Dit-de umur taun ningai lene di-cig*  
 1SG-POS age year three then 1SG-father  
*mai leu dani.*  
 die from me  
 When I was three years old my father died (away) from me.

- (b) *Noro ni-cig mai leu Ø su.*  
 but 3SG-father die from already  
 But his father had already died away from (him).

- (3.136) *Di-mahan lene yoni i-mbut leu Ø su.*  
 1SG-adolescent then they 3PL-walk from already  
 When I grew up they had already left.

### 3.11 Textual deixis

There are two monosyllabic words that are best described as having some function in textual deixis. That is, they function in the domain of givenness and topichood or even emphasis, contrast and focus. But these terms are not easily defined, and none of them seem to be an adequate label for either *ri* or *ne*. Yet, for want of better terms, I have chosen GIVen as gloss for *ri*, and TOPic for *ne*. Both of these words may carry stress.

#### 3.11.1 Given marker *ri*

The 'given marker' *ri* is used in a variety of contexts, but it always determines the preceding constituent. In example (3.137), which are possible answers to the question where something is located, it links the preceding pronoun to the following demonstrative.

- (3.137) *No ri ni.*  
 3SG GIV here  
 It is here (near the Speaker).

*No ri ma.*  
 3SG GIV there  
 It is there (near the Hearer).

*No ri nu.*  
 3SG GIV over.there  
 It is over there (away from both S and H).

- (3.138) *A-nyeng ri to i?*  
 2SG-name GIV how Q  
 What is your name?

Although in examples (3.137) and (3.138) *ri*, functioning like a copula, can be seen as marking 'givenness', in utterance-final position (3.139), it seems to mark what is being asserted.

- (3.139) *Singau tibor-a mem ni-pilei nab ri.*  
 knife arrow-CIT for 1EXC-shoot pig GIV  
 Iron-tipped arrows are for shooting pigs.

In other words, (3.139) could be glossed as 'The iron-tipped arrows, they are for shooting pigs'. In some cases it follows a (relative) clause (3.140) or single adjectives (3.141), having the same import as, for example, 'it is' in English cleft sentences.

- (3.140) *Sindig koi di ji-kou pi-ma ri /*  
 old.woman bent REL 2PL-refuse ANA-that GIV  
*no yai njinta bak yo-ni.*  
 3SG take food to 3PL-this  
 The old woman who you rejected, is the one who gave food to them.

- (3.141) *Igbit ri.*  
 true GIV  
 It's true. (= amen, after a prayer)

Thus, even though givenness is involved in examples (3.137) and (3.138), there is also a sense of assertion conveyed by *ri*, as illustrated by (3.139)–(3.140). It is as if a speaker wants to convey 'I consider the preceding element or constituent as given and I want to make this explicit by my assertion'. Such a general meaning seems to be part of a complex conjunction as *gi-ma-ri-no* 'NOM-that-GIV-3SG', which is adequately glossed as 'therefore (then)', as in (3.142). This example contains another instance of its use in utterance-final position.

- (3.142) *Gi-ma-ri-no nye-ni ni-bong ei Ndon /*  
 NOM-that-GIV-3SG we-this 1EXC-sleep LOC Ndon  
*ni-mig / Ndon ni-mig ri.*  
 3SG-foot Ndon 3SG-foot GIV  
 Therefore then, we live at mount Arfak, at the foot, at the foot of mount Arfak. [Wonggor 2:030]

These examples by no means exhaust the possible contexts in which *ri* is used. But they give an idea of the elusive meaning it has in the functional domain of 'asserted givenness'.

### 3.11.2 Topic marker *ne*

The form *ne* is identified as Topic marker. But again, the exact meaning is not easily defined. In some cases, it seems to imply some contrastive function. Since *ne* can mark both nominal and pronominal subjects (3.143) and conditional clauses (3.144), the rather vague term 'topic' seems appropriate enough. The constituent marked by *ne* is a frame, a background for the ensuing statement.

(3.143) *Dani ne di-kwei leu Branda.*  
 I TOP 1SG-come from Holland  
 As for me, I come from Holland.

(3.144) (*Gi-no noni bui di-pmot ne,*  
 NOM-3SG he hit 1SG-son TOP  
*dani cem di-bui noni.*  
 I too 1SG-hit him  
 (If) he beats my son, I will hit him (too).

In example (3.144), the protasis may have *gino*, but it is more well-formed without it. In addition to these two elicited sentences, there are the spontaneously produced utterances (3.145) and (3.146), of which the latter actually combines the two markers.

(3.145) *Nyeni ne andigpoi ba ni-mai leu ri,*  
 we TOP elder and 1EXC-die from GIV  
*noro ji-ngat andigpoi di-no Paulus.*  
 but 2PL-see elder REL-3SG Paulus  
 We then, (your) parents we will have died, but look at the elder Paulus. [Habel 2:012].

(3.146) *A-ug ei Sam ri ne?*  
 2SG-go LOC Sam GIV TOP  
 You're going to Sam, right?

With the preposition *leu* 'from' the Topic marker *ne* expresses temporal sequence 'after that' or 'then', which is reduced to the ubiquitous *lene* 'and (then)'; see §3.15.

### 3.12 Question words

#### 3.12.1 Polar question markers

Polar questions can be formed without any overt morphological marking, as long as the intonation is rising. But generally, either of two question markers, *e* or *i*, is used. Both question markers are utterance-final clitics. The marker *i* (which is homophonous, if not identical, to the element 'yes' = *i* or *iyo*, presumably 'yes' + *o* 'inclusive disjunction') seems to be the more general, since it also occurs on content questions.

The difference between *-e* and *-i* lies in expectations on the part of the speaker. Informants characterised the contrast in terms of *e* requiring a quick answer and *i* marking questions in general. When a positive—i.e. agreeing—answer is expected, *-e* is used, as in examples (3.147) and (3.148).

(3.147) *A-ngkek dut e?*  
 2SG-skin hot Q  
 You are hot, aren't you?

The expected answer is: *Iyo, di-ngkek dut* 'yes, I'm hot'.

(3.148) *Ji-ttei ha hi big e?*  
 2PL-carry bird another not Q  
 You didn't bring a bird, did you?

Similarly, the expected answer to (3.148) is: *Iyo, ni-ttei ha hi big* 'Yes, we (excl.) didn't bring a bird'. In contrast, a request, as in (3.149), does not presume a positive answer.

- (3.149) *A-yai bi-dani mem di-ngat i?*  
 2SG-get to-me for 1SG-see Q  
 Would you give it to me so I (can) see it?

An imperative (= declarative with second person subject), as in example (3.150), which does not use the question marker, is less polite.

- (3.150) *A-yai bi-dani mem di-ngat.*  
 2SG-get to-me for 1SG-see  
 Let me see it. (lit Give to me so I (can) see (it).)

The contrast between *e* and *i* is found in the sequence of the questions in (3.151), directed by the two Mandacan brothers to the Dutch sergeant Kokkelink. The first one expects that Kokkelink will indeed answer positively, the second one is an open request.

- (3.151) *A-ngon dut nye di mben Arpak e?*  
 2SG-heart warm we REL people Arfak Q  
*Jit ne a-ce tut nye-ni ni-ku na i?*  
 true TOP 2SG-agree with we-this 1EXC-hide you Q  
 Do you love us the Arfak people? If you do, would you allow us to hide you?

### 3.12.2 Content questions

Content questions use a question word as well as the marker *i*. The question marker is always present. If it follows a word with final high front vowel, the phonetic result is a long [i:]. This same form seems to be part of the Q-word 'what' *mindei*, which I take to be made up of *mun* 'something' + *de* 'POSS' + *i* 'Q-marker'. Thus, if *mindei* is utterance-final the realisation is [mændeyi]:

- (3.152) *A-pim tut mindei-i?*  
 2SG-cry along what  
 Why are you crying?

When the question word is fronted, the question will maintain its final marker:

- (3.153) *Tut mindei a-pim i?*  
 along what 2SG-cry Q  
 What are you crying about?

The Q-word *tou* is the basis for questions after 'who', 'how', 'where' and 'which'. Questions about human identity use *tou* 'who', which in subject position seems to require the Given particle *ri*, as in example (3.154).

- (3.154) *Tou ri no ngot ig di-ni i?*  
 who GIV 3SG tie house REL-this Q  
 Who built this house? (lit. Who is it he built this house?)

- (3.155) *Nani a-kwen pas mem tou-i?*  
 you 2SG-cook rice for who-Q  
 For whom are you cooking rice?

To ask information about a particular referent out of a possible set of inanimate entities, Hatam uses the same form *tou*:

- (3.156) *Nan a-de ig ri tou-i?*  
 you 2SG-POS house GIV which-Q  
 Which one is your house?

The identity of inanimate referents is questioned with *mindei*:

- (3.157) *Nani a-bon mindei-i?*  
 you 2SG-make what-Q  
 What are you making?

LOCATION (or direction) is questioned by *hantou* (= *han* 'place' + *tou* 'which'):

- (3.158) *Yoni i-kos nab ei han-tou i?*  
 they 3PL-cut pig LOC place-which Q  
 Where do they cut the pig?

If *hantou* is fronted, the Q-marker *i* remains utterance-final:

- (3.159) *Ei han-tou a-ttei biei mui ug i?*  
 LOC place-which 2SG-take wood dry go Q  
 To where do you take the firewood?

MANNER is questioned using *tou* with third person singular *no* preceding. It may be positioned in either initial or final position in the clause:

- (3.160) (a) *No tou yoni i-kim riep i?*  
 3SG how they 3PL-tie trap Q  
 How do they make a trap?
- (b) *Noni bon ngug no tou i?*  
 he make fence 3SG how Q  
 How does he make a fence?

TIME and QUANTITY both use the Q-word *pig*. The temporal question word, phonetically realised as [ɸi], is followed by the conjunction *api* 'then' and seems to be restricted to initial position, as in example (3.161). When quantity is questioned, the final position is required (3.162), with the question marker immediately following, phonetically linked by a palatal fricative [ɸiçi].

- (3.161) *Pig api noni mbut ug ei Branda i?*  
 when then he travel go LOC Holland Q  
 When will he go to Holland?

- (3.162) *Mi-tiei ni-mang-ti pig i?*  
 thing-white 3SG-many-NOM how Q  
 How much does it cost? (*mitiei* = money)

Finally, WHY is questioned with an expression similar to WHO, in that it uses *ri no* 'GIVEN 3SG':

- (3.163) *Ngon ri no a-bi-nyen i?*  
 what GIV 3SG 2SG-INS-just Q  
 Why are you late? (I take *binyen* 'late, slow' to be a compound of Instrumental *bi-* and the adverb *nyen* 'just'.)

The difference between *tut mindei* ‘why’ in examples (3.152) and (3.153) and *nggon ri no* in (3.163) is reflected in form and clausal position. The former expresses ‘reason’ or ‘purpose’—‘for what (are you crying)?’, while the latter expresses cause—‘what was it that (you are late)?’ I have not seen the form *nggon* in other combinations, thus cannot give a separate gloss for it.

Notice that WHO questions, questions involving nominal predicates and this cause/reason question all use the given marker *ri*, which seems to close the first constituent, as also in:

- (3.164) *A-nyeng ri tou i?*  
 2SG-name GIV who Q  
 What’s your name?

See also §3.11.1 and §4.2.

### 3.13 Adverbs

The category of adverbs can be divided into a few subclasses, based on possible syntactic position. Not all possible positions have been checked for all adverbs, so the present classification is only preliminary. Although certain adjectives, such as *kei* ‘good’, *kinei* ‘bad’, *jei* ‘long’ and *cun* ‘short’ may be used adverbially, adverbs do form a separate class in that they cannot be inflected, nor can they function as head of a noun phrase. Adverbs modify predicates or whole clauses; some can function within a noun phrase as modifier of the adjective or quantifier.

#### 3.13.1 Time adverbs

A number of monomorphemic words indicate a time reference. They are normally found either in clause-initial position (example 3.165) or pre-predicate position (3.166). Occasionally they may be found clause-finally. This position was explicitly rejected for *sindi* ‘recently’, but allowed for *sisip* ‘all the while’, as in (3.167).

- (3.165) *Sindi noni kwei krau ei Minyambou.*  
 recently he come catch LOC Minyambou  
 He has just arrived at Minyambou.
- (3.166) *Annani di-pek gi-ni ei kios.*  
 yesterday 1SG-buy NOM-this LOC store  
 Yesterday I bought this at the store.
- (3.167) *Yoni yu-hu situt sisip.*  
 they 3PL-plant sw.potato.vine all.the.while  
 They were planting sweet potato vines all the while.

Some other time adverbs are given in example (3.168).

- (3.168) *sisip* always  
*mporo* later  
*ammani* today  
*ariman* in a while

A number of other time words are either transparently polymorphemic, like the forms ending on *ti* in example (3.169) (see also §3.2.3), or assumed to be so, like the ones in (3.170). The position and function of adverbials is further discussed in §4.4.8.

- (3.169) *njap-ti* tomorrow (= daylight-NOM)  
*njabigyoti* in the morning (= *njap-big-yo-ti* daylight-not-yet-NOM)  
*mmun-ti* in the afternoon/evening (= *mmun-ti* darkness-NOM)
- (3.170) *nogindia* now, presently (= *nok-mun-di-a* like-thing-REL-CIT)  
*nipou* before (= *ni-pou* 3SG-ANA)  
*bikwop* everyday (= *bi-kwop* INS-count)  
*cane* day after tomorrow (= *can-e* two-Question marker)

A second group of time related adverbs, more aspectual, as listed in example (3.171), prefer post-predicate or clause-final positions, as indicated in (3.172).

- (3.171) *hani(n)ai* quickly  
*hanyen* anew  
*kikau* continually  
*ninno* for a long time
- (3.172) *Di-bong (kikau) ei igbei (kikau).*  
 1SG-sleep continually LOC house  
 I slept in (my) house all the time.

### 3.13.2 Modal adverbs

A separate class of adverbs seems to be warranted for modal adverbs. So far, only *mmo* 'perhaps' and *bitbon* 'able' are included in this class. These two adverbs are allowed only clause-initially or directly following the Subject, i.e. immediately preceding the predicate:

- (3.173) (*Mmo*) *yon* (*mmo*) *i-ngkwei* (\*)  
 perhaps they 3PL-return  
*ei Minyambou ei las gom* (\*).  
 LOC Minyambou LOC day one  
 Perhaps they'll return to Minyambou on Monday (= day one).

The lexical items *suar* 'necessary, usually', as illustrated in example (3.174) and *dem* 'be able' would be included in this class, if it were not for the verbal use of *suar* in (3.175) and the fact that *dem* appears to require a prepositional complement (3.176).

- (3.174) *Suar di-ngkwei ei ig pikor haniai.*  
 necessary 1SG-return LOC house learn quickly  
 I have to return quickly to the school.
- (3.175) *Jeni ji-suar nihyet igbit dima.*  
 you.PL 2PL-need word true that  
 You need the gospel.
- (3.176) *Dem mem dani di-wim bie* *ni-ndig*  
 able for I 1SG-fell tree 3SG-big  
*di-mo da-ngkom.*  
 REL-that 1SG-alone  
 I am able to cut that big tree overthere by myself.



### 3.13.3 Intensifying adverbs

Under this semantic label I include *bibor* ‘very’, which can occur within a noun phrase qualifying an adjective or quantifier (3.177), and *he* ‘only, just’, which can operate on both phrase and clause level, as in (3.178).

(3.177) *Di-ngat ig mang bibor.*  
 1SG-see house many very  
 I saw very many houses.

(3.178) *Ig-yai ni-nda mui di cut ei dihyeisi he.*  
 3PL-get 3SG-hand dry REL fall LOC ground only  
 They only get the dry branches that have fallen on the ground.

### 3.13.4 *cem* ‘also’ and *bu* ‘again’

These two monosyllabic adverbs seem to form a class by themselves. They are quite mobile, following the constituent they ‘quantify’, whether a subject NP (3.179), or a predicate plus its object (3.180).

(3.179) *Di-sut gom bu cem pilei.*  
 1SG-friend one again also shoot  
 Yet another of my friends shot.

(3.180) *Noni ba-tukang mem yok kawab cem, pilei cem.*  
 he INS-expert for put trap also shoot also  
 He was an expert in setting traps as well as in shooting (with bow and arrow).

### 3.13.5 Sentence-final adverbs

Although some adverbs, such as *cem* ‘also’ and *bu* ‘again’ are often found in clause-final position, they can also occur in other positions, as seen in example (3.179). The negative adverbs *big* ‘not’ and *au* ‘must/should not’ and the phasal aspect adverbs *tu* (*su*) ‘already’ and *yo* ‘still, yet’, as also in combination with *big* in *bigyo* ‘not yet’, are always in a final position:

(3.181) *Lene ni-ngat mbrei hi big-yo.*  
 then 1EXC-see foreigner other not-yet  
 And we had not yet seen any foreigner.

For consequences on possible interpretations of negative sentences, see §4.5.6.

## 3.14 Verbal adjuncts

There are two elements, *kep* and *ser*, whose meaning is not easily captured. Inasmuch as they modify verbs they could be considered to be adverbs. But their syntactic behavior and semantic impact is such that I discuss them separately as verbal adjuncts. Griffiths (1994:27) lists two entries for *kep*: one as an adverb, meaning ‘in due time, eventually’, another as a preposition meaning ‘on, upon, back’. He also gives two entries for *ser*: a verb with the meaning ‘to pry out, remove with fingernail as dirt from eyeball or lesion’ and another as preposition, glossed as ‘inhibitive morpheme’. Since I have no evidence on a verb-like *ser*, I will discuss the uninflected elements only, which I identify as *kep* having a general meaning

of 'keep onto' and *ser* meaning 'keeping out'.<sup>12</sup> For example, with the verb *krau* 'grab' the adjunct *kep* conveys the meaning of 'holding onto':

- (3.182) *Kwanding krau kep ingmuig.*  
 Kwanding grab keep.onto gourd  
 Kwanding held on to the gourd.

With position verbs, *kep* conveys an aspectual meaning of 'durative, habitual', as in *gwam kep* 'sit for a long time', *ya kep* 'stand for a long time', which seem to imply 'being busy doing something'. With motion verbs the combination with *kep* is characterised as 'always' or 'usually': *mbut kep* 'always walk', *sgon kep* 'always cross (a river)', *coi kep* 'enter keep onto'. The adjunct seems to be required immediately following the verb, as in example (3.183).<sup>13</sup>

- (3.183) *Noni coi kep dimbou dini.*  
 s/he enter keep.onto door this  
 S/he always enters by this door.

There are instances where *kep* and *ser* seem to be almost synonymous. For example, with the position verbs *ya* 'stand' and *bong* 'lie down' the addition of both *kep* and *ser* is glossed in Indonesian as *jaga* 'protect, watch', which seems to fit the contexts in examples (3.184) and (3.185).

- (3.184) *Ni-heu hampiab o, bisiana mem*  
 1EXC-carve bow or pronged.arrow for  
*ni-ya kep ba ncub kwei ...*  
 1EXC-stand keep.onto and rat come  
 We carved bow and pronged arrows in order to stand watch and rats came...

- (3.185) *Ei hanjop nsi po ig-ya*  
 LOC area inside ANA 3PL-stand  
*ser pi-ma ne....*  
 keep.out ANA-that TOP  
 Inside the area that is protected (= nature reserve) ....

Although in examples (3.184) and (3.185) the position of the object relative to the verb and adjunct cannot be ascertained, there appears to be a major difference between constructions involving *kep* and *ser* with respect to the possible position of the object. Consider the same adjuncts with the verb *tei* 'carry' in (3.186) and (3.187).

- (3.186) (a) *Di-tei kep biei.*  
 1SG-carry keep.onto wood  
 I kept on carrying wood.

<sup>12</sup> If my semantic identification is correct, it is quite possible that *ser* may be used as a verb meaning 'to remove something out of something'. If *kep* could also be inflected, as possibly in Kwanding (17) in the Appendix, these two adjuncts may well be of verbal origin in serial verb-like constructions; compare §4.5.

<sup>13</sup> I have only one example of *kep* following a noun, but this may be an idiomatic expression:

- Di-yok di-tingou kep ni-hyet.*  
 1SG-put 1SG-ear keep.onto 3SG-word  
 I listen carefully to his words.

See further Anggos (3) and (23) in the Appendix for examples with *kep* following the object of a transitive verb.

(b) \**di-ttei biei kep*

(3.187) (a) *Di-ttei ser biei.*  
 1SG-carry keep.out wood  
 I carry (something) to the exclusion of wood.

(b) *Di-ttei biei ser.*  
 1SG-carry wood keep.out  
 I carry wood to the exclusion of something else.

In elicited material as in example (3.186) *kep* is allowed only directly following the verb, meaning 'keep on carrying'. Thus (3.186b) is not acceptable. *Ser* can either precede or follow the object. The order indicates a difference in the affectedness of the object. For example, in elicitation (3.188a) was rejected by one informant and immediately rephrased by another as (3.188b), suggesting that one would not take something else on the back to the exclusion of a child.

(3.188) (a) *D-usap ser munggwom.*  
 1SG-carry keep.out child  
 I carry (something) on the back to exclusion of the child.

(b) *D-usap munggwom ser.*  
 1SG-carry child keep.out  
 I carry the child on my back to the exclusion of something else.

But when I suggested that I was a bad parent, (3.188b) was allowed. And this state of affairs is commensurate with the unelicited example (3.189), by which Mount Arfak refused to marry an old woman who was walking the area with sago. His suggestion was that she should first try to get married to some other mountain in the area.

(3.189) *Dani lene andigpoi ri.*  
 I then old.man GIV  
 As for me, I'm an old man.

*Lene sop-nya m-i-wak dani ser au.*  
 then woman-PL POST-3PL-marry I keep.out don't  
 So women should not marry me at the exclusion of others. [Koba:017]

Although the differences between pre- and post-object position, as in (3.186)–(3.188), are corroborated independently by a few informants, the exact restrictions on the position of *kep* and *ser* vis-à-vis the object of a transitive verb are far from clear.

### 3.15 Conjunctions

There are just a few monomorphemic elements that are used as conjunctions. In noun phrases, *kin* 'and, with' indicates an additive or comitative relationship, as in (3.190) and (3.191). The clitic *o* (see §3.2.2) marks inclusive disjunction in enumerations.

(3.190) *dani kin dit-nem*  
 I with 1SG-wife  
 I and my wife

- (3.191) *Di-cig heu ampriap bak dani*  
 1SG-father carve bow for me  
*kin bisian kin tibor.*  
 with pronged.arrow with arrow  
 My father made a bow for me, and pronged arrows and straight pointed  
 arrows.

For alternative conjunction, the Indonesian loan word (*a*)*tau* 'or' is used.

Clausal conjunctions can be distinguished as sequencing, contrastive and adverbial. Some are simple, most are complex conjunctions. Their meaning along with their syntactic behaviour is discussed in §4.7. Here, I will give a list with a brief characterisation.

(i) Sequencing conjunctions are:

*ba* 'and', which can be phonetically weakened to [bə]. It is then homophonous to the weakened variant of *bak* 'to'. Thus, the purposive clitic *bi* (see §3.2.6) may well be related to *ba*, rather than to *bak*. The matter is more complicated. Just as the third person pronouns *no* and *yo* have allomorphs with a final /K/, *nok* and *yok*, likewise *bak* and *ba* may be alternative realisations, with divergent functions: the former as preposition, the second as conjunction.

*lene* '(and) then', which is definitely derived from the preposition *leu* 'from' and the topic marker *ne*, since some speakers still alternate between the two phonetic realisations.

*api* 'and then, consequently', which conveys a somewhat stronger sense of sequence than *lene*. It is found with third person singular pronoun, *apino* 'then' or preceded by the preposition *leu* 'from' (as in *leu api* 'after that') or preceded by *ug e* 'go Q', expressing that the first conjunct is finished, as in Anggos (8) and Dowansiba (29) in the Appendix.

(ii) Contrastive conjunctions are:

*lo* 'but, and';

*noro* 'but', probably a compound of *no* '3SG' and *lo*.

(iii) Adverbial conjunctions make use of a preposition or a nominaliser:

*leu* 'from' signals a reason or causal relationship, sometimes in combination with *o* 'inclusive disjunction': *leuo*;

*leubinhyepo* 'in order that' is probably made up of *leu* 'from' + *bi* 'INS' + *ni-hyet* '3SG-word' + *po* 'Anaphoric relativiser'. It is often shortened to *lenhyepo*, or *nhyepo*; *mem gima* is also found with the meaning 'in order that'. It is transparently 'for NOM-that';

*gi*, the nominalising clitic (see §3.2.4) by itself or compounded with *no* '3SG' = *gino* means 'if' or 'when'. That is, it signals a conditional protasis or temporal contingency.

(iv) Some other complex conjunctions convey a meaning like 'therefore', 'so then'. They are:

*gi-ma-ri-ne* or *gi-ma-ri-no* 'NOM-that-GIV-TOP/3SG'; and

*nok lene* '3SG and then', which is phonetically realised as [nogrene].

### 3.16 Reduplication

Hatam employs the process of reduplication rather sparingly. It can be applied at least to adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, the numeral *gom* 'one', and the temporal noun (or adverb) *njap* 'day(light)'. The semantic effect is duration for verbs, as in example (3.192), and 'diversity' in other instances, as in (3.193). Quite often, reduplicated verbs have the adverb *nyen* 'without purpose'<sup>14</sup>, as in (3.192) and (3.194).

- (3.192) *Di-cig mai leu dani tu lene*  
 1SG-father die from me already then  
*di-bong-bong nyen bit di-kindig-bat-nya.*  
 1SG-sleep-sleep just follow 1SG-old.sibling-COLL-PL  
 After my father had died (on me), I just stayed with my older brothers.  
 [Wonggor 2:024]

- (3.193) *Dani di-kan gom-gom he.*  
 I 1SG-know one-one only  
 I just know a little bit.

- (3.194) *Yoni cem bi-kwop njap-njap i-mbut-mbut nyen*  
 they also INS-count day-day 3PL-walk-walk just  
*ei bigbehei.*  
 LOC forest  
 They also, every day they would just walk around in the forest.

Whether *ghai* 'scattered around' is indeed a preposition, as indicated in §3.10, or perhaps better analysed as a verb, is still a question. At any rate, it is found in reduplicated form and nominalised as a modifier within a noun phrase:

- (3.195) *Ne yai bak di-munggwom-bat*  
 TOP get to 1SG-child-COLL  
*nungugw gi-ghai-ghai-nya.*  
 mountain NOM-around-around-PL  
 So, give (her) to my children the mountains surrounding me. [Koba 018]

I have not found examples of noun reduplication, other than the temporal noun *njap* in example (3.194). The only process I have observed involves full reduplication of stems. Thus, it is not possible to have *di-bong-di-bong* '1SG-sleep-1SG-sleep' in (3.193) or *gi-ghai-gi-ghai* in (3.195). The instance of *si-nggom si-nggom* '1DU-topple 1DU-topple' in Anggos (12) in the Appendix appears to be a repetition, rather than a morphological reduplication.

<sup>14</sup> In Griffith's dictionary *nyen* is glossed as 'repeatedly'. I have the impression it conveys something like 'without purpose', like *nating* in Tok Pisin: *ol i wokabaut nating* 'they are just walking around'. It seems to be present in *hanyen* 'anew' which co-occurs with *bu* 'again' in: *noni kwei hanyen bu* 'he come anew again' = 'he came/comes/will come again'.

# 4 *Syntax*

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## 4.0 Introduction

Hatam is a rather strict SVO language, with time adverbials normally preceding the subject. A subject NP (where NP includes pronouns) is often not required, since the verbal predicate is obligatorily marked for person/number of the subject. Oblique objects, such as locative or directional adverbials, benefactive or purposive constituents, are expressed as preposition phrases, following the direct object. However, in natural speech I have not found instances of all the constituents within one clause. Thus, a general formula for the clause in Hatam is:

± Time/Modal ± S + Predicate ± O ± BEN ± LOC

as in:

- (4.1) *Mmo di-cig Ø-yai ni-de hamboi arin*  
perhaps 1SG-father 3SG-get 3SG-POS machete adorned  
*bak nani.*  
to you  
Maybe my father will give his adorned machete to you.

The predicate is the only obligatory constituent of the clause, with the proviso that in isolation transitive verbs have to be accompanied by an object. Thus, minimal predications are as in examples (4.2)–(4.4).

- (4.2) *A-kwei.*  
2SG-come  
You come.
- (4.3) *Di-nggwen.*  
1SG-sick  
I am sick.
- (4.4) *I-ngot igy-a.*  
3PL-tie house-CIT  
They are building a house.

Instruments cannot function as clausal constituents. They are introduced in an initial clause with the verb *ba* 'use' (or some other manipulative verb) as predicate, as in example (4.5), or even without a predicate, but with the connective *ba*<sup>1</sup> as in (4.6), or *lene* 'then'.

- (4.5) *Di-ba hamboi di-(bi-)but.*  
 1SG-use machete 1SG-(INS-)strip  
 I use a machete to strip (a tree) = I strip with a machete.
- (4.6) *Mitibom mmeng ba bi-kim micim bi-kri ig bou.*  
 k.o.tree leaf and INS-tie spear INS-tie house head  
 With the *mitibom* leaves he tied the spear to the roof. [Kwanding 094]

Since the expression of an instrument involves a combination of predicates, the role of an instrument will be further discussed in §4.5.2.

The general clause formula gives the most common word order. However, other word orders are possible. Hatam does allow (oblique) objects to be preposed, or time adverbials in clause-final position. Adverbs are possible at various positions throughout the clause, except between verb and direct object. These options will be shown when I discuss each clause constituent in §4.4. But first the general structure of the noun phrase, with comments on its constituents, will be presented in §4.1. Section 4.2 will illustrate non-verbal predications, which are not covered by the general clause formula. Another construction that does not correspond to the verbal clause involves impersonal predicates. This will be presented in §4.3. A rather striking feature of Hatam is its prolific use of asyndetic verb sequences. Since this phenomenon is pertinent to the issue of serial verb constructions, I will discuss various combinations of predications and the scope of negation which they allow in some detail in §4.5. Relative clauses with their possible head nouns are dealt with in §4.6. This chapter will close with a presentation of clause combinations in §4.7, according to the conjunctions as given in §3.15.

#### 4.1 Noun phrase

The general structure of the Noun Phrase is

N + ADJ + Intens + (CLASS) + NUM + DET  
 RC

as in:

- (4.7) *Biei mon bibor ni-njem bitai di-ma* ✓  
 tree small very 3SG-trunk four REL-that  
 (Those four very small trees.) ✓

The head noun may be modified by a relative clause, which takes the position of the sequence Adjective–Numeral. A determiner may, but does not have to, close off an NP containing a relative clause. Relative clauses will be discussed in §4.6.

<sup>1</sup> The connective is homophonous with the verb *ba* 'use', possibly related but not identical to it. *Ba* in example (4.6) cannot carry the subject prefix as *ba* in (4.5) is required to do. In other words, it does not have verbal properties.

The head noun may be an alienable or inalienable noun. The HN may be preceded by a possessive phrase. This consists of minimally a possessive pronoun which may be preceded by a possessor noun, which itself may be an inalienably possessed noun, as in:

- (4.8) *di-cig ni-de nab ni-mien can pi-ma*  
 1SG-father 3SG-POS pig 3SG-small two ANA-that  
 those two small pigs of my father's

I will first discuss the possessive construction (§4.1.1). Then the adjectives and their possible affixation and modification will be presented in §4.1.2. Quantification and the use of classifiers will be discussed in §4.1.3, followed by some comments on the determiner in §4.1.4.

#### 4.1.1 Possessives

In §3.3.1 and §3.3.2 the distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns has already been shown. The latter include reference to body parts and kinship terms, which are all obligatorily prefixed for person-number of possessor. Recall that these prefixes are identical to the subject prefixes on verbs, except for third person singular which is zero on verbs, but *ni-* on nouns.

Alienable nouns can be possessed with a possessive pronoun (see §3.1), or a noun plus possessive marker *de*, which also occurs in possessive pronouns. The possessor normally precedes the possessed item. Thus, we can have *di-cig ni-de nab* 'my father's pig', as in example (4.8), or the possessive marker *de* immediately following the possessing noun, as in:

- (4.9) *Tuhan Allah de mun di -bi-bon ri*  
 Lord God POS thing REL 3SG-INS-make GIV  
*kes hon ni-bou no-ngkom big.*  
 leave stop 3SG-head 3SG-only not  
 God's things that he made did not stop with only the head.

Possessive phrases are recursive, as in so many other languages, and the possessed item does not need to be expressed when it is clear from the immediate context, as illustrated by (4.10)–(4.12).

- (4.10) *Lene andigpoi, di-cig noni ni-cig de*  
 then old.man 1SG-father he 3SG-father POS  
*yai mi ai hi big.*  
 take garden other not  
 Then the old man, my father his father's (father) he did not have a garden.

The possessive phrase can figure as a nominal predicate, either in a main clause (4.11), or in a relative clause, as *di-no Hambong de* in (4.12).

- (4.11) *Ig di-ni andigpoi Miller de.*  
 house REL-this old.man Miller POS  
 This house is old man Miller's (house).
- (4.12) *I-kuk Kwanding tut ingmuig[...]*  
 3PL-make.wait Kwanding along.with gourd  
*ei i-de igbei run ti*  
 LOC 3PL-POS house room NOM



*di-no Hambong de-a.*  
REL-3SG Hambong POS-CIT

They put Kwanding away along with the gourd (in the basket), in the partition of the house which (was) Hambong's. [Kwanding:034]

Besides the recognised Papuan order of prenominal possessive, Hatam also allows postnominal possessives, which are characteristic of Austronesian languages, such as neighbouring Numfor-Biak<sup>2</sup>, as in:

(4.13) (a) *Munggwom ji-de-nya i-pim mindei i?*  
child 2PL-POS-PL 3PL-cry what Q  
Why are your children crying? [Yairus 048]

There is not a clear difference between prenominal and postnominal possessives. It seems that in unelicited material postnominal possessives occur when they are encliticised with the plural *nya*, as also in:

(4.14) (a) *Lene it (Ø) tai ig ni-kou-kou*  
then plant (them) around house 3SG-yard-REDUP  
*krau misien ni-de-nya ba com Ø ba...*  
grab dog 3SG-POS-PL and throw (them) and  
Then he planted (the bamboo spikes) around the yard of his house, grabbed his dogs and threw (them) and... (they hit the spikes and were finished).  
[Kwanding 110].

However, the alternative Papuan order is equally possible, either with or without the plurality morpheme. Thus, next to (4.13a) and (4.14a) it is possible to have the order of (4.13b) and (4.14b):

(4.13) (b) *Ji-de munggwom(-nya) i-pim mindei i?*  
2PL-POS child-PL 3PL-cry what Q  
Why are your children crying?

(4.14) (b) *Noni krau ni-de minsien(-nya) ba com.*  
he grab 3SG-POS dog-PL and throw  
He grabbed his dogs and threw (them).

Informants either claim there is no difference, or try to restrict the postnominal construction to situations where there is some temporal distance. For example, *a-de munggwom-nya* '2SG-POS child-PL' is explained as direct address to the hearer, while *munggwom a-de-nya* would be used when the children are no longer present. Such an explanation is hardly relevant to the difference between (4.14a) and (4.14b). My conclusion is that the postnominal possessives stand in an appositional relation to the possessed noun. The prenominal position is by far the more frequent one in my data.

<sup>2</sup> The order Genitive–Noun was already used by Van der Veen (1905:95) as a diagnostic feature of Non-Austronesian languages of North-Halmahera. See also Reesink (1996) for a comparison of the Bird's Head languages in general with adjacent Austronesian languages.

### 4.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives always follow the noun in an NP, when they function as attributives. As shown in §3.5, they contrast with verbs in this respect. In attributive position adjectives may occur in three different shapes: (i) as a bare adjective (example 4.15); (ii) with the relativiser *di-* (see §3.2.5) as in (4.16); and (iii) with the 3SG.POS prefix *ni-*, as in (4.17). The difference between the morphological shapes of the attributive adjective is reflected in the free translations.

- (4.15)    *wou cun di-ma*  
 snake short REL-that  
 that short snake
- (4.16)    *wou di-cun di-ma*  
 snake REL-short REL-that  
 that snake which is short
- (4.17)    *wou ni-cun di-ma*  
 snake 3SG-short REL-that  
 that short one of a snake

In other words, the relative marker /dV-/ is employed to single out one individual from a set of possible referents by a particular feature, expressed by the adjective. When the adjective is marked with the third person singular prefix, it seems to indicate a more permanent quality. The expression in (4.17) would then refer to a snake that is inherently short. Whether this is the correct interpretation is not clear. Thus, with respect to (4.18a) and (4.18b) informants would say that (a) refers to a knife that is curved, while the (b) variant would refer to a sickle which is bent even more. This could mean a temporary state, or a permanent one of such a bent sickle. In other words, more data would be needed to ascertain whether the semantic effect of 3SG.POS prefix is indeed a permanent quality. I have no evidence to answer the question whether plural prefixes are possible in this construction.

- (4.18) (a) *Singau koi di-ni ngwam.*  
 knife curved REL-this blunt  
 This curved knife (= sickle) is blunt.
- (b) *Singau ni-koi di-ma ngwam.*  
 knife 3SG-curved REL-that blunt  
 That curved knife is blunt.

### 4.1.3 Quantification

When a head noun is quantified with a numeral, a classifier (see §3.6) can be used, as in example (4.19), but this is not required.

- (4.19)    *nab (ni-ngut) can ni-ndigdi-ma*  
 pig (3SG-body) two 3SG-big REL-that  
 those two big pigs

When the numeral does not occur within the NP, marked by a determiner like *di-ma* 'that', the classifier remains optional:

- (4.20) *nab ni-ndig pima (ni-ngut) can*  
 pig 3SG-big ANA-that (3SG-body) two  
 those big pigs, two of them

The difference between examples (4.19) and (4.20) is that in (4.19) the quantifier is included in the NP by the determiner—there is one set of referents—whereas in (4.20) the set of (known) big pigs is referred to first and then further specified for its quantity: ‘there are big pigs known, those two’ or ‘the big pigs, two of them’.

When no specific nominal reference is present, a classifier is required as head noun:

- (4.21) *Tungwa gom mbut big, noro nok i-bou muhui...*  
 human one go not but like 3PL-head five  
 One didn’t go alone, but with five (or more) people...

Following a noun with the plural clitic *-nya*, a quantifier, whether a cardinal or indefinite numeral, always requires a classifier:

- (4.22) *Di-kindig-bat-nya i-bou can kin di-cig...*  
 1SG-older.sib-COLL-PL 3PL-head two with 1SG-father  
 My two older brothers and my father...

- (4.23) *Di-kwei buwak di-sut-bat-nya i-bou poi...*  
 1SG-come take 1SG-friend-COLL-PL 3PL-head few  
 I came and got a few of my friends together...

#### 4.1.4 Determiners

The last position of an NP is occupied by a determiner, if the reference is definite. Determiners are always based on the demonstratives (see §3.8). The most frequently used demonstratives are *ni* ‘near Speaker’ and *ma* ‘near Addressee’. They may be used in their bare form, as in example (4.24). But more frequently they are prefixed by the relative marker *di-* or the more anaphoric *pi-*.<sup>3</sup> Thus, both (4.25a) and (4.25b) can be used when the referent of the head noun is already known, but (4.25a) is more ostentive, while (4.25b) is more anaphoric.

- (4.24) *Andigpoi pi-ma bong minyei ma ni-brig.*  
 old.man ANA-that sleep water that 3SG-headwater  
 The old man lived at the headwaters of that river.

- (4.25) (a) *Ni-bam miei di-ma ba ni-digo ha-can.*  
 1EXC-roast cuscus REL-that and 1EXC-cut be-two  
 We roasted that cuscus and cut it in half.

- (b) *Ni-bam miei pi-ma ba ni-digo ha-can.*  
 1EXC-roast cuscus ANA-that and 1EXC-cut be-two  
 We roasted the (mentioned) cuscus and cut it in half.

<sup>3</sup> It is not easy to determine a difference in meaning between *di-* and *pi-*. *Di-* is almost always used with all demonstratives when they are used attributively, and *pi-* can be combined only with *ni* and *ma*. Since relative clauses (see §4.6) can be introduced with either *di(-no)* or *po*, I take it that *pi-* is a weakened form of *po*, and has a similar function.

In fast speech, the relative marker is not always pronounced, or the anaphoric determiner is contracted to [pa].

#### 4.2 Non-verbal predications

Since adjectives are distinguished from verbs, constructions with predicative adjectives are non-verbal, just like those with nominal predicates. The subject of such predications may be a single noun or noun compounds, or nominalised clauses, as in:

- (4.26) *Ni-ta mi-noi si pi-ma krop*  
 [3SG-plant NOM-taro NOM ANA-that]<sub>SUBJ</sub> [easy]<sub>PRED</sub>  
*noro ni-ta nghai si nggrug.*  
 but [3SG-plant sugar NOM]<sub>SUBJ</sub> [difficult]<sub>PRED</sub>  
 The planting of taros is easy, the planting of sugar is hard.

When the predicate is itself a noun phrase, non-verbal predications allow either order, as in (4.27) and (4.28).

- (4.27) (a) *Gi-ma mindei i?*  
 NOM-that what Q  
 That is what?  
 (b) *Mindei gi-ma i?*  
 what NOM-that Q  
 What is that?
- (4.28) (a) *Ig di-mo a-cig ni-de e?*  
 house REL-there 2SG-father 3SG-POS Q  
 That house over there is your father's, right?  
 (b) *A-cig ni-de ig di-mo e?*  
 2SG-father 3SG-POS house REL-there Q  
 Your father's is that house overthere, right?

In declarative non-verbal clauses, the predicate is often marked with the Given marker *ri*. This has the function of 'it is' (see §3.11.1) as in example (4.29), which is a comment on an extralinguistic topic. Compare also (4.30) and (4.31) with NPs both as subject and predicate.

- (4.29) *Dani dit-de ig ri.*  
 I 1SG-POS house GIV  
 That's my house.
- (4.30) *Gi-ma atimai ri, lene ig-yem big.*  
 [NOM-that]<sub>SUBJ</sub> [butterfly]<sub>PRED</sub> GIV then 1PL-eat not  
 Those are butterflies, so we don't eat them.
- (4.31) *Ni-ngot ig si ni-de mi-di-yai ri.*  
 [3SG-tie house NOM] [3SG-POS thing-REL-do GIV]  
 Building houses (is) his work.

The Given marker does not have to be present on the non-verbal predicate, which may also be a preposition phrase, as illustrated by examples (4.32) and (4.33).

(4.32) *Singau tibor-a mem ni-bi-pilei nab ri.*  
 [knife arrow-CIT] [for 1EXC-INS-shoot pig GIV]  
 Iron-tipped arrows are for shooting pigs with.

(4.33) *Lene sisip njinta hi mem noni big.*  
 then while [food other] [for s/he not]  
 Then during that time there was no food for him.

In fact, *ri* 'GIV' may occur on the 'subject' of non-verbal predications, i.e. the first NP, as shown in declarative (4.34) and interrogative (4.35).

(4.34) *Minyas di-ni ni-nyeng ri no bijib ugjem.*  
 cloth REL-this 3SG-name GIV 3SG k.o.tree flower  
 This *kain timur* is called *bijib-ugjem* (= named after the red flowers of the *bijib*-tree).

(4.35) *Ji-dohoi ri tou?*  
 2PL-in.law GIV where  
 Where is your sister-in-law?

But *ri* is not restricted to non-verbal predications. It also figures in sentences like (4.36) and (4.37), which, in analogy to non-verbal predications, can be interpreted as being nominalised by the presence of *ri*. The declarative in (4.36) has the force of a command, while the *ri*-marked clause in (4.37) forms a nominal to which the Topic marker *ne* can be applied with an interrogative, i.e. rising, intonation.

(4.36) *Ji-gwam tut ri!*  
 2PL-sit along GIV  
 (You eat these four sugarcanes), you sit with them! (as an order) [Yairus 2:051]

(4.37) *A-ug ei Sam ri ne?*  
 2SG-go LOC Sam GIV TOP  
 You're going to Sam, are you?<sup>4</sup>

The pronominal form *nok* '3SG' seems to function as a preposition, meaning 'be like', which then forms a preposition phrase in non-verbal predication, as in:

(4.38) *Nyeni nok munggwom mien he.*  
 we like child small just  
 We were just small children.

But apparently *nok* can also be verbalised, as in:

(4.39) *Dani mi-di-nok tungwatu biasa.*  
 I POST-1SG-like human usual  
 I will be like a normal person. (meaning: I will no longer carry a weapon, said

<sup>4</sup> A possible alternative analysis would be that *ri ne* is in fact *ri no e* 'Given 3SG' with the vowel elided before the Question marker *e*: 'It is the case that you are going to Sam, right?'

by Lodewijk Mandacan to the Japanese, when he wanted to hide Kokkelink)  
[Peranga:030]

Finally, a construction which expresses that a certain item exists or is available should be mentioned here. It makes use of the element *nonaha*, which is best translated as 'there are' or 'it is'. It seems to be a fossilised form of verbal origin: *no nV-ha* '3SG 3SG-be', which is not observed with any other verbal prefix. Consider examples (4.40) and (4.41).

(4.40) *Noni ngat ig ni-dut nonaha,*  
s/he see house 3SG-pain exist

*SMP nonaha, kintror camat nonaha*  
SMP exist office subdistrict exist

*leu api mporo mai.*  
from then later die

He saw that there was a clinic, there was a junior high school, a subdistrict office, and after that he died. [Habel 2:013]

(4.41) *No di i-ntun Muid him nonaha*  
3SG REL 3PL-originate Muid very exist

*no di i-ntun Pruon nonaha*  
3SG REL 3PL-originate Pruon exist

*Noham him nonaha.*  
Noham very exist

There are those who descend from Muid himself, there are those who descend from Pruon, there are those of Noham. (see also Digomang (113))

### 4.3 Impersonal predicates

Hatam appears to have a few elements that behave as impersonal predicates. This concerns the inanimate existential verb *jo* 'be at', the action verb *bon* 'make, do' and the modal (see §3.4.6) *dem* 'enough'.

(4.42) *Jo ni-brei-si mem da.*  
be 3SGPOS-clear-NOM for me  
I understand. (lit. It's clear to me.)

(4.43) *Bon nituti mem dani di-kut bum e?*  
make opportunity for me 1SG-cut pole Q  
Am I allowed to cut poles?<sup>5</sup>

Although *dem* 'enough' may be inflected for subject person/number, as in the elicited example (4.44), it is preferable to have it in clause-initial position, as in (4.45).

(4.44) *Dani di-dem mem wim biei ni-ndig di-mo.*  
I 1SG-enough for fell tree 3SG-big REL-there  
I can cut that big tree.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *nituti* in the expression *Nituti mem nani e?* (lit. opportunity for you Q) = 'Would you have time?' with the answer: *nituti nonaha* (lit. opportunity it is) = 'I do'.

- (4.45) *Dem mem ni-pilei hab can kan big.*  
 enough for 1EXC-shoot bird two know not  
 We were not at all able to shoot two birds. (lit. enough/adequate we shoot two birds know not)

It seems significant that the impersonal predicate has a purpose clause, introduced by *mem* as its complement, as in (4.45). A similar construction has a nominalised adjective as its head:

- (4.46) *Gi-kei mem i-krau atimai-o miei-o*  
 NOM-good for 3PL-catch butterfly-or cuscus-or  
*ndiyok au.*  
 and.so.on don't  
 It would be good (better) if no butterflies or cuscus and such like are caught.  
 (from World Wildlife Fund instructions on the conservation area)

Although the status of these constructions is not very clear, they are different enough from sentences with a modal adverb in initial position, in that the latter do not have a complement clause with *mem* 'for' (see further §4.4.5).

#### 4.4 Clause constituents

##### 4.4.1 Temporal adverbials

Temporal adverbials have a preference for clause-initial position:

- (4.47) *Njap di ammani nyeni i-miap...*  
 light REL today we 1INC-hear  
 Today (this morning) we hear...[Habel 1:001]

They are often followed by connectives *ba* 'and', *lene* 'and; then' or *api* 'then; following' and thus, strictly speaking, placed outside the clause:

- (4.48) *Api njap gom lene dani di-bit di-pmang ba*  
 then day one then I 1SG-follow 1SG-fa.in.law and...  
 Then one day I went with my father-in-law and (we went hunting with our dogs).[Hans:002]

Occasionally, one finds temporal adverbials in clause-final position, as in:

- (4.49) *lene mem pilei kep hab bi-kwop*  
 then for shoot keep.onto bird INS-count  
  
*njap njap cem*  
 light light also  
 then for him to shoot birds every day also [Wonggor 2:40]

##### 4.4.2 Subject

The subject always precedes the predicate. Since verbal predicates are always marked for person-number of the subject, subject NPs are by no means obligatory. Recall that third person singular has a zero prefix (which I do not always indicate). When explicit subjects do occur, they are in the form of an NP, sometimes extended with an appositional NP, as in

example (4.50), or a full pronoun (4.51). A short pronoun form, i.e. without *ni*, does not often occur in subject position.

- (4.50) *Lene ni-pmot Disyon cig pai pia...*  
 then [[3SG-son] [Disyon father]]<sub>SUBJ</sub> say QUOT  
 Then his son, Disyon's father said...

- (4.51) *Noro nogindini lene yoni i-kwei bong*  
 but now then [they]<sub>SUBJ</sub> 3PL-come sleep  
*lene i-tri gi-ma bi-nyeni mi-ni-pek.*  
 then 3PL-sell NOM-that to-us POST-1EXC-buy  
 But now (= at that time) then they came and stayed and sold those things to us to buy. [Wonggor 2:007]

#### 4.4.3 Object

As stated in §3.4.2, transitive verbs require an object if it is not recoverable from the context. This statement is based upon the informant's judgement that a sentence like 'At that time we hadn't eaten yet' would require an explicit object in Hatam: *ni-yem njinta big-yo* 'we-eat food not-yet'. At the moment I cannot formulate a rule which specifies when an object has to be provided or when it can be left out. In natural discourse, once an item has been introduced, it does not happen too often that the referent cannot be recovered, so transitive predicates without an explicit object are quite frequent. Thus, once the known referent is referred to by an explicit NP *binggas dima* in example (4.52), in the subsequent clauses the object is zero:

- (4.52) *Api nyeni ni-ba nira ba ni-dat*  
 then we 1EXC-took spear and 1EXC-stab  
*binggas di-ma ba ni-bui Ø bi-mai.*  
 goanna REL-that and 1EXC-hit (it) PUR-die  
 Then we took a spear and stabbed that goanna and we hit (it) and (it) died (= we killed it).  
*Lene ni-puoi Ø ei minai-ə ti*  
 then 1EXC-put.in (it) LOC bag-CIT NOM  
*ba ni-kwei sut Ø ei igbei.*  
 and 1EXC-come along.with (it) LOC house  
 Then we put (it) in the stringbag and came home with (it) (= we carried it home). [Hans 009-010]

Short pronouns are more frequently used in object position than in subject position. The full forms seem to indicate some emphasis:

- (4.53) (a) *Ji-bihi ji-mpu da e?*  
 2PL-other 2PL-help me Q  
 (Can) some of you help me?  
 (b) *Ji-bihi ji-mpu da-ni e?*  
 2PL-other 2PL-help me-this Q  
 (Can) some of you help ME?



Even though the basic word order is SVO, objects may be fronted, as example (4.54) illustrates.

- (4.54) *Nok lene nisindem pi-ma noni Ø-pinak bi-yoni*  
 like then [power ANA-that]<sub>OBJ</sub> he 3SG-send to-them  
 So then that power he sent to them. [Habel 1:019]

These fronted constituents are strictly speaking outside the proper clause, marked with the citation marker, as in (4.55) and (4.56), which are taken from the text Digomang.

- (4.55) *Miai-a ji-jip.*  
 garden-CIT 2PL-cut  
 Gardens, you will cut.
- (4.56) *Ni-ngat-a i-ta big.*  
 3SG-fruit-CIT 1INC-plant not  
 Its fruit (i.e. of the banana) we do not plant.

#### 4.4.4 Beneficiary/recipient = bak-constituent

The NP or pronoun that is governed by the preposition *bak* 'to(wards)' can be characterised as beneficiary or recipient of the action expressed by the predicate. The preposition phrase always follows the object (if present). Consider the two instances of this sequence, one in the main clause, one in the relative clause, in the following sentence:

- (4.57) *Ninei gi kwes yai nisindem*  
 3SG-breath NOM clear get [power]<sub>OBJ</sub>  
*bak yo di-ig-yai gi kei*  
 to 3PL REL-3PL-get [NOM good]<sub>OBJ</sub>  
*bak yo di i-nggwen.*  
 to 3PL REL 3PL-sick  
 The holy spirit gives power to those who give good things to those who are sick. [Habel 1:027]

The generic verb *yai* 'get/do' means 'give' when combined with *bak*. This same preposition co-occurs with verbs like *ndo* 'point' = 'show to'; *pai* 'say' = 'say to', and others. The preposition *bak* may be phonetically weakened to the clitic *bi-*, which is phonetically realised as [bi-] before C[+PALAT]/V[+HIGH] as in examples (4.58) and (4.59), or [bə-] before (C)V [-HIGH], as in (4.60).

- (4.58) *Api di-pinak nisindem bi-jeni.*  
 then 1SG-send power to-you  
 Then I will send power to you. [Habel 1:018]
- (4.59) *Nipou minyas di-ni jo bi-nyeni big.*  
 before cloth REL-this be to-us not  
 In the past we didn't have these ceremonial cloths.
- (4.60) *A-yai bə-dani mem di-ngat i?*  
 2SG-get to-me for 1SG-see Q  
 Will you give (it) to me so I (can) see (it)?

#### 4.4.5 Purpose *mem*

Constituents marked with *mem* can be either NP (or pronouns) or clauses (see for example (4.60) above). The meaning at times seems similar to that of *bak* (see §3.10) but *mem* is more purposive, hence allowing full clausal objects which are not allowed with *bak*:

- (4.61) *I-sra biei mem i-tri bak yo*  
 3PL-split wood for [3PL-sell to 3PL  
*di i-bong ei kota.*  
 REL 3PL-sleep LOC town]  
 They split wood to sell to the people in town. [Srat atoran: 009]

With *kei* 'good' or its nominalised variant *gi-kei* as main predication, *mem* has a conditional or complementising function (see also §4.3):

- (4.62) *Lene kei mem di-huk hab.*  
 then good for 1SG-hunt bird  
 So it was good that I hunted birds. [Wonggor 2:034]
- (4.63) *Gi-kei mem i-krau mindhe-dhe [...] au.*  
 Nom-good for 3PL-catch animals don't  
 (In the preservation,) it is good if catching animals, (such as butterflies, various kinds of birds-of-paradise, and so on) is forbidden. [Srat atoran 008]

#### 4.4.6 Locative

All position and direction verbs in Hatam are transitive. That is, verbs like *jo* 'be somewhere', *gwam* 'sit', *ya* 'stand', *bong* 'sleep; lie down', *ug* 'go', *kwei* 'come' can have direct (locational) objects (see §3.4.4). All these verbs also co-occur with the preposition *ei* 'in, at, on, etc.':

- (4.64) *A-ug yai buku de di jo ei meja dip.*  
 2SG-go get book POS REL be LOC table top  
 Go get the book that's on the table. [elicited II:90]
- (4.65) *Ni-gwam ei Nggen nyai ba*  
 1EXC-sit LOC Nggen bank and  
*ni-ngei njinta ei si-ri-ma.*  
 1EXC-prepare food LOC there  
 We lived at the bank of the Nggen and we were preparing food there.  
 [Wonggor 1:080]

Constructions with *ei + N*, as in example (4.64), are straightforward. The precise meaning of *ei* is derived from the semantics of the main verb: *coi ei minyei-ə ti* 'enter into the water'; *bong ei minyei jou* 'sleep in the water underneath' = 'lie under the water'; *noni ngat ei minyei-ə ti* 'he looked into the water' (all from a short story by Hans Iwou). The general locative phrases, as *ei si-ri-ma* 'at/in(to) there' in (4.65), or *leu si ma* 'from there' are more problematic. Consider (4.66). If the location had already been mentioned in the discourse, the locative phrase could have been as in (4.66b):

- (4.66) (a) *Yoni i-kwei leu Mar tu lene*  
 they 3PL-come from Warmare already then

*ni-ha-gom n-ug ei...*  
 1EXC-be-one 1EXC-go LOC  
 After they had come from Warmare we all went to...

- (b) *Yoni i-kwei leu si (ri) ma tu lene...*  
 they 3PL-come from NOM GIV that already then  
 After they had come from there...

In other words, the form *si* (see §3.2.3) seems to pronominalise locative nouns. This pronominal locative may be followed by the Given marker *ri*<sup>6</sup> and has to be followed by a demonstrative. According to this analysis, it is at least the preposition that is nominalised. The Given marker seems to link the nominalised preposition to the demonstrative, much like its occurrence in non-verbal predications. Alternatively, the demonstrative may be nominalised with *gi*, as in:

- (4.67) *Yoni i-kwei leu gi-ma tu lene...*  
 they 3PL-come from NOM-that already then  
 They had already come from that...

Informants make the difference between (67) and (66) explicit, by saying that *gi-ma* refers to a *benda* 'form' and *si(ri)ma* to a *tempat* 'place'.

Actually, the characterisation that *si* indicates a place should be refined to 'in the vicinity of'. There is an interesting difference between the use of what I consider to be allomorphs of this nominaliser. The Hatam expression for 'to bathe' is *kek minyei ti* 'play water NOM'. According to the morphophonemic rule (see §2.3 and §3.2.3), one would have expected *kek minyei si*, but this is not correct. The phrase does exist, but it means something else: 'to play at the river'. The reason *ti* is allowed in *kek minyei ti* is that phonetically (and thus phonologically, with consequences for the syntactic structure) there is a schwa between *minyei* and *ti*, which I take to be a phonetically weakened citation marker *a*. Semantically, the difference is that *ti* following a noun plus citation marker specifies 'inside', whereas *si*, immediately cliticised to the noun, refers to a general location. A similar contrast is found with nouns such as *puig* 'road' and *dihyei* 'ground':

- (4.68) (a) *Sop pi-ma ngges kob ei dihyei-a-ti.*  
 woman ANA-that drop sago LOC ground-CIT-NOM  
 The woman dropped the sago into the ground. (in other words the sago was planted, rooted in the soil)
- (b) *Sop pima ngges kob ei dihyei-si.*  
 woman ANA-that drop sago LOC ground-NOM  
 The woman dropped the sago onto the ground.

With respect to (4.66), I suggested that the preposition was nominalised. This was motivated mainly by the presence of clause-final aspectual *tu* 'already' and the fact that *si(ri)*

<sup>6</sup> Possibly, the Given marker is only absent in fast speech. When discussing the sentence below, *ei si ma* was, in careful speech, corrected to *ei si ri ma*.

*Api ni-gwam ei si ma ni-kan-kan nyen...*  
 then 1EXC-sit LOC NOM that 1EXC-know-know just  
 Then we sat there and were thinking..

+ demonstrative (= *ni, ma, mo*, etc.) could be in the process of reanalysis to become locative adverbs, which can function as objects of locative prepositions, as in:

- (4.69) *Lene nipou, ei-si-ri-ni, minyas di-ni*  
 then before LOC-NOM-GIV-this cloth REL-this  
*jo bi-nyeni big.*  
 be for-us not  
 So, in the past, here, we didn't have this cloth (= *kain timur*).

This would explain the use of *si* + *Demonstrative* as modifier to a noun, as in:

- (4.70) *I-ngat minyei-si mo jug lo tungwatu.*  
 3PL-see water-NOM down.there down but human  
 They looked down at the water and there was a human. [Kwanding 029]

However, other data suggest that it may not only be the preposition, but that it is apparently the verb plus its preposition phrase that is being nominalised with *ti/si*, which then may be the nominal object governed by a preposition, as in:

- (4.71) (a) *Yoni i-kan tut i-kwei leu Mar ti big.*  
 they 3PL-know about [3PL-come from Warmare NOM] not  
 They don't know that they come from Warmare.
- (b) *Yoni i-kan tut i-kwei leu si big.*  
 they 3PL-know about [3PL-come from NOM]<sub>NOM</sub> not  
 They don't know where they come from.

The reason for this analysis is that a predicate, as in example (4.72a), may be nominalised, as in (4.72b). The nominalised phrase operates as an inalienable noun, because it may be prefixed for third person singular, whereas regular verbal predicates may not. This is illustrated by (4.73), which shows the alternation between *ti* and *si*.

- (4.72) (a) *Branda-nya i-mbut leu tahun enam puluh dua.*  
 Dutch-PL 3PL-walk from year six ten two  
 The Dutch left in sixty-two.
- (b) *Branda i-mbut leu-si*  
 [Dutch [3PL-walk from-NOM]]  
 The departure of the Dutch.
- (4.73) (a) *presiden ni-kwei-si*  
 president 3SG-come-NOM  
 the coming of the president
- (b) *Presiden ni-kwei ei Minyambou-si.*  
 president 3SG-come LOC Minyambou-NOM  
 The president's coming to Minyambou.

In examples (4.73a) and (4.73b) the nominaliser has to be *si*; *ti* is unacceptable, but when the phonological condition for *si* is removed, *ti* is required, as in (4.73c).

- (c) *presiden ni-kwei hanyen-ti*  
 president 3SG-come again-NOM  
 the coming again of the president

Although these nominalisations correlate with the possible constructions already given in §3.2.3, this analysis does not seem to account for the facts presented in examples (4.68)–(4.70). Perhaps, the areal nominaliser is able to operate on different levels: word, phrase, or clause. My data are not sufficient to give an adequate explanation in terms of such a solution.

Locative phrases apparently can be preposed, just as direct objects. They are outside the clause proper, as indicated by the presence of the topic marker, as in example (4.74), or intonational means such as rising intonation and pause in (4.69).

- (4.74) *Ei hanjop nsi pima ne i-sra biei...*  
 [LOC boundary inside that]<sub>LOC</sub> TOP 3PL-cut wood  
 In that area then, they cut wood... [Srat atoran:009]

#### 4.4.7 Comitative

The comitative relation is expressed by the preposition *kin* ‘with’, which expresses coordination within an NP, between either animate or inanimate nouns, as in examples (4.75) and (4.76) respectively. In (4.76) the extension of the direct object is actually in an afterthought position, following the final (falling) intonation on *bak dani*:

- (4.75) *Lene dani kin di-sut-bat-nya [...] ni-huk hab.*  
 then I with 1SG-friend-COLL-PL 1EXC-chase bird  
 Then I with my friends, we hunted birds.

- (4.76) *Di-cig heu ampriap bak dani,*  
 1SG-father polish bow for me  
*kin bisian kin tibor-a.*  
 with pronged.arrow with k.o.arrow-CIT  
 My father carved/polished a bow for me, and pronged- and straight-tipped arrows.

Alternatively, the verb *bit* ‘accompany’ is used, inflected for person-number of the first conjunct. This is treated as a normal clause linked to the ‘main’ predication by the conjunction *ba* ‘and’. The affixation of the subsequent verb cross-references the subject and the object of *bit*. Consider:

- (4.77) *Dani di-bit dit-nem ba n-ug ngat*  
 I 1SG-accompany 1SG-wife and 1EXC-go see  
*dit-nem-bat-nya ei Serui.*  
 1SG-wife-COLL-PL LOC Serui  
 I accompanied my wife and we went to see my wife’s relatives at Serui.

When the verb *bit* immediately follows a verb it is uninflected and it expresses a comitative relation:

- (4.78) *Gino di-gwam bit jeni*  
 if 1SG-sit accompany you.PL

*lene ji-yai nisindem hi big.*  
 then 2PL-get power other not

If I stay with you then you will not receive some power. [Habel 1:017]

Unprefixed *bit* is required with the verb *mbrap* 'speak', whereas *pai* 'say' marks the addressee with the preposition *bak* 'to'.

- (4.79) *Dani di-mbrap bit Yoas.*  
 I 1SG-speak accompany Yoas  
 I have been talking to Yoas.

To make a comitative relation explicit can be rather important in the case of position verbs. The sentence in (4.80a) simply asks if I can sleep at the addressee's place, while (4.80b) refers to a request for sex:

- (4.80) (a) *Di-bong bit na e?*  
 1SG-sleep follow you Q  
 Can I sleep at your place?
- (b) *Di-bong na e?*  
 1SG-sleep you Q  
 Can I sleep with you?

#### 4.4.8 Position of adverbials

In §3.13, adverbs have been sub-classified according to the position they can occupy in the clause. No adverbial may occur between predicate and direct object. The modal adverbs *mmo* 'perhaps' and *bitbon* 'able', *suar* 'necessary, usual', as well as temporal *sindi* 'just now' are restricted to pre-subject or pre-predicate position (see §3.13.1 and §3.13.2):

- (4.81) *Suar ni-bi-go ni-mai ngud-o.*  
 necessary 1EXC-INS-pay 3SG-die body  
 It was necessary that we paid with (*kain timur*) (for) a dead body and such.  
 [Kain timur:023]<sup>7</sup>

Thus, examples (4.82a) and (4.82b) are equally acceptable with a slight difference in scope relation between the adverb and the predicate; (4.82c) and (4.82d) are unacceptable.

- (4.82) (a) *Sindi noni kwei ei Minyambou.*  
 just he come LOC Minyambou  
 Recently he came to Minyambou.
- (b) *Noni sindi kwei ei Minyambou.*  
 he just come LOC Minyambou  
 He recently came to Minyambou.
- (c) \**Noni kwei sindi ei Minyambou.*

<sup>7</sup> This example comes from a sequence of sentences with *suar* which could also be translated, as in other places, as 'usually': *nogindia ri suar ni-ba-pa-kep budaya di-ni nok hiasan ei igbei* = 'now GIV usually we-use-pakai (= Indonesian use)-keep culture this like decoration in house'; *noro mem mimbron bu big* 'but for brideprice again not'.

(d) \**Noni kwei ei Minyambou sindi.*

Those adverbs that convey a more aspectual meaning, such as *kikau* ‘continually’, *haniyai* ‘quickly’ are more mobile. Although they prefer a clause-final position, as in (4.83a), they can also be found clause-initially (4.83b), or directly preceding the predicate, (4.83c).

(4.83) (a) *Noni Ø-ku mun di-no Ø-nggimang haniyai.*  
 he 3SG-hide thing REL-3SG 3SG-steal quickly  
 He hid what he had stolen quickly.

(b) *Haniyai noni ku mun di-no nggimang.*  
 quickly he hide thing REL-3SG steal  
 Quickly he hid the stolen goods.

(c) *Noni haniyai ku mun di-no nggimang.*  
 he quickly hide thing REL-3SG steal  
 He quickly hid the stolen goods.

It seems that a clause-final position is more appropriate for manner adverbs. For example, a number of adjectives (e.g. *kei* ‘good’, *kinei* ‘bad’, *igbit* ‘true’, *cun* ‘short’, *jei* ‘long’) and the adverbs derived from pronouns (*no-ngkom* ‘s/he/it-alone’) may function as adverbials in order to specify the manner by which an action is done. They always immediately follow the predicate (if it is intransitive, as in example (4.84)), or the object, in case of a transitive predicate with (pro)nominal object, as in (4.85).

(4.84) *Nyeni ni-bong kei big.*  
 we 1EXC-sleep good not  
 We didn’t sleep well.

(4.85) *Di-miap ni-hyet pi-ma igbit big.*  
 1SG-hear 3SG-word ANA-that true not  
 I didn’t really hear that speech.<sup>8</sup>

Based upon this information, the conclusion can be drawn that example (4.83a) specifies that the hiding is done in a quick manner, whereas in (4.83b) and (4.83c) the adverb is more sentential: the action followed quickly on some earlier event.

Similarly, the adverbs *bu* ‘again’ and *cem* ‘also’ may take various positions according to the required scope. Consider some examples of *cem*. In (4.86) *cem* only has the subject *dani* ‘I’ in its scope, in (4.87) the predicate with object is focused on, and in (4.88) it is just the object *dihyei* ‘ground’ which is included as a further possible goal of what one can pay for with *kain timur* ‘ceremonial cloth’.

(4.86) *Dani cem mporo di-mai leu lene.*  
 I also later 1SG-die from then  
 I also later I will have died (and you will build many houses). [Habel 2:014]

<sup>8</sup> Although I stated as a rule that adverbs are not allowed between predicate and object, the text Dowansiba (57)-(58) has two instances of *igbit* ‘true’ in just that position, as in:

*Munggwom pi-ma i-miap igbit i-cig big.*  
 child ANA-that 3PL-hear true 3PL-father not  
 The children did not truly perceive their fathers.

- (4.87) *Ba ni-ttei yam ba ni-huk hab cem.*  
 and 1EXC-carry RECIP and 1EXC-chase pig also  
 And we took each other and hunted pigs also. [Wonggor 1:024]
- (4.88) *Ni-bi-pek dihyei cem.*  
 1EXC-INS-buy ground also  
 We used (*kain timur*) to buy ground also (in addition to paying for transgressions and to buy women). [Kain timur:037]

Adverbial phrases or clauses which set the time (see §4.4.1) are either in initial position as part of the clause, or they are actually outside the clause proper and linked to the main clause by a clausal conjunction. In (4.48) above we saw an example with *lene* ‘and, then’; here is one with *api* ‘then, subsequently’:

- (4.89) *Njap di he bi-bu api ni-yem ba ngwig.*  
 day REL only INS-again then 1EXC-eat and finish  
 The next day then we ate (it) until it was finished. [Hans:11]

Adverbs that are always clause-final are the aspectual *tu/su* ‘already’ and the negatives. See next section for interaction between these two.

#### 4.4.9 Position of negative

Hatam has two negatives: *big* ‘not’ for negation of declaratives and interrogatives, and *au* ‘don’t’ (in Indonesian *jangan*) for imperatives. Both negative adverbs are **always** in clause-final position. Only question particles *e* or *i* may follow.

- (4.90) *Jeni ji-ttei hab hi big e?*  
 you 2PL-carry bird other not Q  
 You didn’t bring a bird, did you?
- (4.91) *Ji-teu tibor au.*  
 2PL-grab arrow don’t  
 Don’t grab your (bow and) arrows.

Negation can be intensified to convey the sense of ‘not at all’, ‘by no means’, by combining the perception verb *kan* ‘know’ with the negative:

- (4.92) *Njap gom dem mem ni-pilei hab can kan big.*  
 day one enough for 1EXC-shoot bird two know not  
 One day was not at all enough for us to shoot two birds. [Wonggor 1.013]

When both *tu/su* ‘already’ and *big* ‘not’ are clause-final, the question is what happens when both are present. The combination *tu/su big* does not occur. The realisation of ‘not yet’ is by *big + yo* ‘still’, as in example (4.93). The reversed sequence does occur as in (4.94).

- (4.93) *Yoni i-kwei ei Mar big-yo.*  
 they 3PL-come LOC Warmare not-yet  
 They have not yet come to Warmare.



- (4.94) *Nab pi-ma binmai big tu.*  
 pig ANA-that move not already  
 That pig no longer moved.<sup>9</sup>

See §4.5.6 for the scope of negation.

## 4.5 Combinations of predicates

### 4.5.0 Introduction

Hatam allows sequences of verbs without intervening conjunctions, usually called serial verb constructions. Although there are instances of three (or more) verbs, I will make my comments on sequences of two verbs. In most cases both verbs are marked for subject person/number, where applicable.<sup>10</sup> Thus, in certain sequences involving intransitive verbs, as in examples (4.95) and (4.96), or transitive verbs (4.97), both are prefixed, whether or not adverbial material intervenes, as in (4.96):

#### V1 and V2 = intransitive

- (4.95) *Munggwom de di-ma i-pim i-nggum lo*  
 child POS REL-that 3PL-cry 3PL-hungry but

*ig-yem hum ngum.*  
 3PL-eat fire coal

Those children are crying from hunger but they are eating charcoal.  
 [Digomang (16)]

- (4.96) *Nok lene ni-mbut hanyen bu ni-kwei ei*  
 like then 1EXC-walk anew again 1EXC-come LOC

*igbei lene nyeni ni-hara ni-nggum*  
 house then we 1EXC-request 1EXC-hungry

*bak nye-de andigpoi-nya.*  
 to 1PL-POS parent-PL

So then we walked around again, came home and, being hungry, asked our parents (for food).

#### V1 and V2 = transitive

- (4.97) *Lene i-ngot igy-o, i-com tut*  
 then 3PL-tie house-or 3PL-throw along

*paku ni-kinei-o...*  
 nail 3SG-bad-or

Then they built houses, they threw away nails that were bad...

<sup>9</sup> This is the only instance I have, in elicited material. Why *tu* had been accepted rather than corrected to *su* is not clear.

<sup>10</sup> Since third person singular lacks a subject prefix, the various tests and their interpretations are vacuous. Examples from the natural texts involving third person singular need to be confirmed for other person categories.

Such sequences are all necessarily same-subject, in contrast with similar sequences interrupted by *ba* 'and' or *lene* 'then' (see §4.7.1), which may have either same or different subjects. When explicit conjunctions are employed it is clear that the sequence involves coordination of clauses. The same observation holds for sequences interrupted by a pause, as in example (4.97). But the question is, what is the status of sequences without connectives? Are they asyndetically coordinated clauses? Does Hatam require an analysis positing a special class of serial verb constructions? What happens to verbal prefixation in close verbal sequences? What syntactic restrictions are placed on various sequences? In this preliminary descriptive work I refrain from theoretical commitments with regard to the issue of serial verb constructions. I have tried to gather data that seems to be relevant to the matter, and will present that without too much interpretation.

In order to at least partly answer these questions I will discuss morphological and syntactic features of the following categories: (i) Directional verb sequences, (ii) Instrumental verb sequences, (iii) Purposive verb sequences, (iv) Perception verbs + complements, and (v) General juxtaposition. These sections are then followed by a discussion of the scope of negation.

#### 4.5.1 Directional verb sequences

Directional verb sequences may be divided into:

- (i) V1 = Directional (± Adverbial) + V2
- (ii) V1 = Action (± Object) + V2 = Directional
- (i) When V1 is a directional verb, such as *ug* 'go (away from deictic centre)' or *kwei* 'come (to deictic centre)', and it is immediately followed by V2, then subject prefixation is obligatorily absent on the second verb, as in:

- (4.98) *Api ni-kwei kwen tut sop-nya-o munggwom-nya-o.*  
 then 1EXC-come cook with woman-PL-or child-PL-or  
 Then we'd come and cook (the meat) with the women and children.

\**Api ni-kwei ni-kwen tut sop-nya-o.*

Other examples are:

- (4.99) *Yoni kikau y-ug bong ei mug brig.*  
 they continue 3PL-go sleep LOC sea headwater  
 They went all the way and stayed at the headwaters of the sea. [Dowansiba 033]

\**y-ug i-bong ei mug brig*

- (4.100) *Lene sop cin i-teu ingmuig ba*  
 then woman pair 3PL-grab gourd and

*i-kwei tau minyei-a.*

3PL-come draw water-CIT

Then the two women grabbed their gourds and came and drew water.

[Kwanding 027]

\**i-kwei i-tau minyei*

- (4.101) *Lene bi-kwop di-kwei buwak di-sut-bat-nya*  
 then INS-count 1SG-come take 1SG-friend-COLL-PL  
*i-bou poi bu ba i-bit da*  
 3PL-head few again and 3PL-accompany me  
*ba n-ug ngat ei bigbehei.*  
 and 1EXC-go see LOC forest  
 Then every(day) I came and got my friends and they accompanied me and we  
 went (to) see in the forest. [Wonggor 1:009]

The same rule applies to motion verbs as V<sup>1</sup>, such as *dor* 'run'; *srek* 'slide down'; *juk* 'descend'; *mbut* 'travel', but these verbs are not nearly as frequent in this position. That is, a subject prefix is absent when V<sup>2</sup> follows immediately V<sup>1</sup>, as *ni-kiju* Ø-*ttei* in example (4.102) shows, but it needs to be present when the connective *ba* 'and' intervenes, witness *ba ni-mbut*:

- (4.102) *Gwam ntui big-yo lene nyeni*  
 sky light not-yet then we  
*ni-kiju Ø-ttei ampriab kin tibor*  
 1EXC-get.up carry bow with arrow  
*ba ni-mbut leu igy-a.*  
 and 1EXC-walk from house-CIT  
 While it was still dark we got up took bow and arrow and we left the house.

Thus, the rule applies only when nothing intervenes between V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>2</sup>. If even an adverb modifies V<sup>1</sup>, as in example (4.103), or a pause indicates a clause boundary, as indicated by the slash in (4.104), then V<sup>2</sup> requires a subject prefix:

- (4.103) *A-juk na-nti a-yai hum-a.*  
 2SG-descend 2SG-self 2SG-take fire-CIT  
 You come down yourself and get fire.
- (4.104) *L-ngkwei hanyen / i-ngges yok*  
 3PL-return again 3PL-release them  
*kak Nggimou.*  
 along Nggimou  
 They returned again, and they released them along the river Nggimou.

(ii) If the directional verbs are V<sup>2</sup>, they generally occur without the subject prefix. In example (4.105) the absence of subject prefixation on V<sup>2</sup> could be interpreted as cross-reference to third person object of V<sup>1</sup>, functioning as subject of *kwei*, but that is not possible in (4.106).

- (4.105) *Dani di-ttei srat puig kwei bak nani.*  
 I 1SG-carry letter path come to you  
 I (will) bring you the travel permit.
- (4.106) *Ji-krau munggwom cin pi-ma kwei.*  
 2PL-hold child pair ANA-that come  
 You take the pair of children and come (= bring the two children).

(4.107) *A-brim biei ut di-ma kwei/ug.*  
 2SG-pull wood log REL-that come/go  
 Pull that log towards me/away from me.

(4.108) *A-coi kwei.*  
 2SG-enter come  
 Come in. (= invitation to visitor)

It would seem that directional verbs as  $V^2$  obligatorily lack subject prefixation.<sup>11</sup> Apparently, more *general* motion verbs as  $V^2$  do not obey this rule: *a-ttei mikwau dini Ø-mbut tut* is not acceptable in the following:

(4.109) *A-ttei mikwau dini a-mbut tut*  
 2SG-carry meat this 2SG-walk along  
*ba a-yai bak a-sut-bat-nya.*  
 and 2SG-take to 2SG-friend-COLL-PL  
 Take this meat (and) go with (it) and give it to your friends.

As conveyed by the free translations of examples (4.105) and (4.106), the sequence with directional verb as  $V^2$  seems to function more as a unit than when  $V^2$  is some other verb, as in (4.109). Although [ $V^1$ = transitive +  $V^2$ = directional] appears to form a tight sequence, Hatam does not allow a tighter sequence of action + motion verb with the object of  $V^1$  after the motion verb: \**di-ttei kwei srat* 'I-carry come letter'.<sup>12</sup> The unweakened form *ba* 'and' is allowed in such sequences, as long as the verb following the connective is marked for person-number of the subject, indicating it has the same referent as the verb preceding it. Thus, a natural, i.e. unelicited, sentence as in example (4.110a) has various alternative realisations:

(4.110) (a) *Lene Ø-pilei hanyen bu lene Ø-nduk*  
 then 3SG-shoot return again then 3SG-gather  
*nyeni ba ni-ttei. Ba ni-kwei bam.*  
 us and 1EXC-carry and 1EXC-come roast  
 Then he shot (pig) again and called us together and we carried (it). And we came and roasted (it). [Wonggor 1:056]

The first sentence in (4.110a) ends with *ni-ttei* carrying a final falling intonation, followed by a (long) pause. It is also possible to merge the two sentences into one, resulting in a sequence of three verbs, of which only the first one is prefixed. The reason why these three verbs are *asyndetically* linked, it seems, is that the second verb is directional *kwei*. It is uninflected because it is  $V^2$  specifying direction for the transitive verb *ttei* 'carry', and it is  $V^1$  with respect to *bam* 'roast':

(4.110) (b) *lene Ø-nduk nyeni ni-ttei Ø-kwei Ø-bam...*  
 then 3SG-gather us 1EXC-carry 1EXC-come 1EXC-roast  
 then he gathered us we carried, came, roasted...

<sup>11</sup> However, following an intransitive verb, as in the following example, subject prefixation on a directional verb as  $V^2$  has been observed:

*Ni-drot-bat-nya i-nang y-ug igbei.*  
 3SG-grandchild-COLL-PL 3PL-flee 3PL-go house  
 Her grandchildren fled and went home. [Yairus 2:067]

<sup>12</sup> However, it is possible to have *a-ttei mbut gerobak* 'you-carry walk wheelbarrow' = 'Push the wheelbarrow'. Further research is needed to assess the status of this and similar constructions.

As soon as a conjunction *ba* 'and' is inserted, the verb following this requires a subject prefix:

- (4.110) (c) *lene* Ø-*nduk nyeni ni-ttei* Ø-*kwei ba ni-bam...*  
 then 3SG-gather us 1EXC-carry 1EXC-come and 1EXC-roast  
 then he gathered us, we carried, came and we roasted...

The variants of (4.110) differ slightly, of course, in terms of perceived distance between the sequential events.

#### 4.5.2 Instrumental verb sequences

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Hatam does not allow Instruments as clausal constituents. They are introduced either as object of an initial clause with *ba* 'use' or another manipulative verb, or as a single NP connected to the main predicate with *ba* 'and' or *lene* 'then'. The verb in the main predicate is instrumental, i.e. stem + prefix *bi-*. If the instrument has been given as object of an initial clause, the main verb does not require a subject prefix:

- (4.111) *I-ba lat (i-)bi-ttei no di nggwen*  
 3PL-take stretcher 3PL-INS-carry 3SG REL sick  
*y-ug ndam kibar di-mba.*  
 3PL-go towards ship REL-fly  
 They carry the sick person on a stretcher to the airplane. (lit. They use a stretcher and (they) use carry the one who is sick they go towards the airplane.)

It is not necessary to mark  $V^2$  with the INS-prefix, as shown in unelicited examples (4.112) and (4.113):

- (4.112) *Api, ni-kwen, ni-ba duig ngei*  
 then 1EXC-cook 1EXC-use coconut oil  
*kwen, binggas di-ma ni-yem.*  
 cook goanna REL.that 1EXC-eat  
 Then we cooked (it), we used coconut oil to cook the goanna (and) ate (it). [Hans:011]<sup>13</sup>
- (4.113) *Dani di-ba singau riu nab.*  
 I 1SG-take knife pierce pig  
 I pierced the pig with a knife.

In other words, an 'instrument-sequence' necessarily has identical subjects.  $V^1$  may be any action verb (not necessarily *ba* 'use'), as in:

- (4.114) *Api-no su ni-ndab bi-yai*  
 then-3SG stretch 3SG-hand INS-take

<sup>13</sup> The commas in (4.112) represent major pauses in the actual utterance. These suggest that *ni-ba duig ngei kwen* is a repair of the first instance of *kwen*, specifying the manner of cooking. The pause following this clause suggests that *binggas dima* may be a preposed object of the final predicate *ni-yem* 'we ate'.

*bikau mui yai bak.*

sw.potato dry take to

Thereupon she stretched out her hand (and) with it she took a ripe sweet potato (and) gave it to (them).<sup>14</sup> [Yairus 2:019]

If the instrument has not been introduced in a verbal clause, as was the case in examples (4.113) and (4.114), but when it is given as a single N(P), linked to the main clause by *ba* 'and' or *lene* 'then', the main verb is obligatorily marked with an instrument affix:

(4.115) *Pinda hou gom lene di-bi-non hacam-o...*

gun wind one then 1SG-INS-shoot hawk-or

(I had) one shotgun and with that I shot hawks and so on... [Wonggor 1:030]

The Instrument prefix is liable to 'excessive use' by some speakers. That is, even when no instrument has been mentioned in the preceding context, main verbs may be prefixed with *bi-* to signal that an instrument is understood, as in:

(4.116) *Noni Ø-bi-bon hagam bi-put tu*  
he 3SG-INS-make everything PUR-finished already

*lene pai bak nip-mot...*

then say to 3SG-son

After he had made everything so it was finished/ready, he said to his son... [Habel 1:006]

#### 4.5.3 Purposive verb sequences

In contrast to Directional and Instrumental constructions, Purposives can be characterised as Different Subject sequences. In many instances the sequence labeled 'purposive' can also be interpreted as 'resultative', especially when the utterance refers to a past event, as in example (4.117). Later we will see that negation may sometimes favour a resultative interpretation, and at other times a purposive one. In many cases the subject of the purposive or resultative verb is the object of the first verb. Whether the result is expressed by a verb, as in (4.117), or an adjective, as in (4.118), in both cases it needs to be marked with the purposive clitic.<sup>15</sup> The (b) variants are unacceptable.

(4.117) (a) *Di-bui napia bi-mai.*

1SG-hit wild.pig PUR-die

I killed the wild pig. (lit. I hit the wild pig dead.)

<sup>14</sup> Note that *no* '3SG' is part of the bimorphemic conjunction *api-no*, which conveys a slightly stronger sense of (con-)sequence than *api*. Recall that third person singular has a zero subject prefix, hence the various verbs in (4.114) are all uninflected. Perhaps better: only *bi-yai* is uninflected, while the other verbs are covertly inflected as revealed by another person category:

*Di-su di-ndab bi-yai*  
1SG-stretch 1SG-hand INS-take

*bikau mui di-yai bak yoni.*  
sw.potato dry 1SG-take to tham

I stretched my hand and with it I got a ripe sweet potato and gave it to them.

<sup>15</sup> This clitic may be a weakened form of the preposition *bak* 'to, for', as suggested in §3.2.6. There are also sentences where it seems to be interchangeable with the connective *ba* 'and'. To add another conjecture, these two may well be related historically, if the elision of the final consonant is comparable to that of the pronominal forms *nok* and *yok* to *no* and *yo*.

(b) \**Di-bui napia mai.*

(4.118) (a) *Noni Ø-om nghai bi-nem.*  
 s/he 3SG-press sugar PUR-crushed  
 S/he crushes (the) sugarcane.

(b) \**Noni om nghai nem.*

This requirement also holds for *ngwig* ‘finished’ (= depleted) and *put* ‘finished’ (= completed), which cannot easily be included in either word class.

Since third person singular verbs are unmarked, it is not always clear whether the homophonous form *bi-* is an Instrumental prefix or a Purposive pro-clitic. In the following (elicited) sentences, which both appear more resultative, the contrast between PURPOSE and INSTRUMENT *bi-* is shown explicitly with alternating person categories:

(4.119) *Nyeni ni-ba micim ni-bi-dat.*  
 we 1EXC-use spear 1EXC-INS-pierce  
*yoni bi-i-bok*  
 they PUR-3PL-wounded  
 We wounded them with (our) spears.

(4.120) *Yoni i-ba micim i-bi-dat*  
 they 3PL-take spear 3PL-INS-pierce  
*dani bigom bi-di-mai.*  
 I almost PUR-1SG-die  
 They almost killed me with their spear(s).

Examples (4.119) and (4.120) show that  $V^2$  is obligatorily prefixed to indicate person-number of the subject. The unelicited example (4.121) shows in both sentences that the second verb is preceded by *ba* ‘and’ or its weakened form *bi-*.

(4.121) *Ji-tau minyei hi bi-di-dut i.*  
 2PL-draw water some PUR-1SG-drink Q  
 Draw some water for me to drink, please.  
*Leu mpia tot da ba di-nggobiau.*  
 from sun cut me and 1SG-thirsty  
 For the sun burns me and I am thirsty. [Kwanding:026-027]

Although I began this section by saying that Purposive constructions are different-subject sequences, in contrast with Directionals and Instrumentals, general sequential constructions, as in (4.122) and (4.123), suggest that this restriction may not be correct.

(4.122) *Yo cin ig-yem ninnoninno ba*  
 they pair 3PL-eat continually and  
*i-kak minyei pi-ma bi-y-ug ngat*  
 3PL-follow water ANA-that PUR-3PL-go see  
*andigpoi pi-ma.*  
 older.man ANA-that  
 The two of them were eating (the sweet potatoes) all the time and they tracked the river and went to see that older man. [Dowansiba:045]

- (4.123) *Lene Ø-kui bi-gwam bimbrai nggramti-a.*  
 then 3SG-ascend PUR-sit k.o.tree branches-CIT  
 Then she went up and sat in the branches of the *bimbrai*-tree. (= tree whose bark is used heal sores, according to Griffiths 1994:8) [Kwanding:024]

Also, the elicited example (4.124) requires both the connective clitic and the subject prefix in a same subject sequence.

- (4.124) *Dani di-kiek da bi-di-put.*  
 I 1SG-turn me PUR-1SG-look  
 I turn around and I look (= I turn around to look).

What can be concluded is that sequences with a directional verb as V<sup>2</sup> are different from purposives, in that the former may not mark V<sup>2</sup> with *bi-*: example (4.125a) is an acceptable directional sequence; (4.125b), modelled after a purposive as in (4.126), is not correct.

- (4.125) (a) *A-rok tig di-ma kwei.*  
 2SG-push stone REL-that come  
 Push the stone this way.
- (b) *\*A-rok tig di-ma bi-kwei.*  
 2SG-push stone REL-that PUR-come
- (4.126) *Di-tug ngkimon bi-dile.*  
 1SG-pound iron PUR-thin  
 I pound the iron flat.

#### 4.5.4 Complements of perception and speech verbs

The Object complement of *ngat* 'see' and *miap* 'hear' can be a normal clause. Thus, there is a difference between example (4.127), with a clausal complement, and (4.128), in which the object contains a relative clause.

- (4.127) *Nyeni mi-ni-ngat yoni i-ngot*  
 we NOM-1EXC-see they 3PL-tie  
*ig ni-jep di-nu.*  
 house 3SG-new REL-up.there  
 We are going to see them building that new house up there.
- (4.128) *Dani di-jin-jin kui bi-di-ngat*  
 I 1SG-stretch-RED ascend PUR-1SG-see  
*yø di i-kwei.*  
 they REL 3PL-come  
 I'm stretching (stand on toes) to see the ones who are coming.

Similarly, *miap* 'hear' can have either a nominal object, modified by a relative clause, as in (4.129) or the total event as its object, as a full clause in (4.130).

- (4.129) *A-miap di-sut-bat-nya di-no i-mbrab e?*  
 2SG-hear 1SG-friend-COLL-PL REL-3SG 3PL-speak Q  
 Do/did you hear my friends who are/were talking?



- (4.130) *Nani a-miap di-sut-bat-nya i-mbrab e?*  
 you 2SG-hear 1SG-friend-COLL-PL 3PL-speak Q  
 Did you hear my friends talking?

The clausal complement of *miap* 'hear' is optionally, that of *kan* 'think/know' obligatorily introduced with the complementiser *pia*:

- (4.131) *Di-kan pia dip-misop ni-ngon ngakei*  
 1SG-know QUOT 1SG-daughter 3SG-heart (?)  
*pinai pima big.*  
 man that not  
 I do not know whether my daughter loves that man.<sup>16</sup>

The complementiser *pia* is glossed as QUOTE, since it is almost always present to introduce quoted speech, whether direct or indirect; see examples (4.132a) and (4.132b). The difference between direct and indirect speech is signalled only by the shift in person category of the pronoun(s) in the quote:

- (4.132) (a) *Annani dani di-pai bak noni pia*  
 yesterday I 1SG-say to him QUOT  
*nani suar a-wim miai.*  
 you need 2SG-cut garden  
 Yesterday I told him, you have to cut the garden.

- (b) *Annani dani di-pai bak noni pia*  
 yesterday I 1SG-say to him QUOT  
*noni suar Ø-wim miai.*  
 he need 3SG-cut garden  
 Yesterday I told him that he had to cut the garden.

Another example of indirect speech employs the prefixed QUOTE marker *bi-pia*, which I interpret as an instance of the instrument prefix, since a purposive would be followed by subject prefix (if/when applicable)<sup>17</sup>:

- (4.133) *I-hig ser bi-pia -ndo i-ntun him*  
 1INC-ask keep.out INS-QUOT show 3PL-origin very  
*ti tou yoni mi-i-ndo bi-nyeni.*  
 NOM how they POST-3PL-show to-us  
 (If) we inquire that he show us their exact place of origin, they will show (it) to us. [Yairus 026]

Direct speech would have had *a-ndo* '2SG-show' instead of *Ø-ndo* '3SG-show', following *bi-pia*. Compare the direct and indirect speech variants of the event 'pig bites you/her' in examples (4.134a) and (4.134b), both unelicited, taken from the Kwanding myth:

<sup>16</sup> This sentence can also mean 'I know that my daughter does not love that man'. For further discussion of scope of negative see §4.5.6. For *ngon ngakei* 'love' see §3.4.5.

<sup>17</sup> In example (4.133) it could be that third person plural has disappeared through assimilation. But if the subject were first person singular, for example, one would get:

*di-hig ser bi-pia...* and not: \**di-hig ser bi-di-pia.*

- (4.134) (a) *Mipong dor kwei hig huk Kwanding,*  
Mipong run come ask chase Kwanding

*Kwanding, nab ham na tu a?*

Kwanding pig bite you already CIT

Mipong (= a kind of cuscus) ran and came and enticed Kwanding, Kwanding, has the pig already bitten you? (*hig huk* = compound of main verbs meaning 'seduce') [Kwanding 068]

When Kwanding has left and her sisters-in-law arrive on the scene and ask about her, Mipong answers:

- (b) *Ni-ngon sibui sut gi po da*  
3SG-heart turn along NOM ANA I

*di-hig pia nab ham no pi-ma ri.*  
1SG-ask QUOT pig bite 3SG ANA-that GIV

She got upset about my asking (whether) the pig had bitten her. [Kwanding 078]

Other speech verbs using (*bi-*)*pia* include *hig* 'to ask', *hara* 'to request; call out' and *jem* 'to call'. The latter uses (*bi-*)*pia* 'QUOTE' when it refers to naming persons or objects, as in:

- (4.135) *Gi-ma i-ba ni-hyet Mor i-jem*  
NOM-that 3PL-use 3SG-talk Indonesian 3PL-call

*bi-pia burung pintar.*  
INS-QUOT bird clever

That one they call in Indonesian *Burung Pintar* (= Bowerbird). [Wonggor 1:005]

Without the quote marker, this verb functions in a similar structure as perception verbs or 'manipulative' verbs, such as *nduk* 'to gather' (compare example (4.110)). Consider:

- (4.136) *Apino Ø-jem yok i-kwei ndam noni*  
thereupon 3SG-call them 3PL-come towards her

*Ø-ngginau yo tut i-jip mi-ai-si-a...*  
3SG-teach them about 3PL-clear garden-NOM-CIT

Thereupon she (= Digomang) called them (and) they came to her and she taught them regarding cultivating gardens (cooking and eating of various kinds of produce)... [Yairus 2:037]

#### 4.5.5 General juxtaposition

As the examples in the introduction to this section show, juxtaposition of verbal predicates is not restricted to the Directional, Instrumental, Purposive and Perception/Speech complements. As far as I can tell, juxtaposition of verbal predicates—with or without explicit object NPs in the case of transitive verbs—always involves a same subject sequence. This 'rule' excludes perception and speech verbs as  $V^1$ , as we have seen. Secondly, juxtaposed verbs are always both marked with a subject prefix, when applicable. This 'rule' excludes i) verbs immediately following Directional verbs, ii) Directional verbs specifying direction for main verbs and iii) optionally,  $V^2$ 's of Instrumental sequences. But even juxtaposed

directional verbs can be prefixed, as can be seen in *i-nang y-ug* ‘they fled and went’ in [Yairus 2:067] (see footnote 11 above), and in another instance of intransitive verbs in series:

- (4.137) *Sop cin i-mbut i-kwei su*  
 woman pair 3PL-walk 3PL-come already  
*Ø-hon srin ei Mbingwam.*  
 3SG-stop block LOC Mbingwam  
 After the two women had walked and come, he blocked them off at  
 Mbingwam. [Anggos 033]

Some sequences of intransitive verbs could be interpreted as  $V^2$  being an adverbial modifier of  $V^1$ . Such sequences do not allow an intervening conjunction *ba* ‘and’, as shown by example (4.96), repeated here as (4.138); (4.138b) is unacceptable.

- (4.138) (a) *Ni-hara ni-nggum...*  
 1EXC-ask 1EXC-hungry  
 We ask (because) we are hungry...  
 (b) \**ni-hara ba ni-nggum*

Sequences of transitive verbs are simply tight temporal sequences, which in contrast with ‘adverbial sequences’ can easily be conjoined by *ba* ‘and’:

- (4.139) *I-tei njinta (ba) i-biak yok.*  
 3PL-take food (and) 3PL-host them  
 They take food (and) host (= put on a big meal) them. [Dowansiba 061]

#### 4.5.6 Scope of negation

As mentioned in §4.4.9, the negative adverb *big* (as well as negative imperative *au*) is always in clause-final position. I should say rather that it occurs *sentence-finally*, because, as seen in example (4.131) above, negation of a perception verb is effected by *big* following the complement clause. It is ungrammatical to have the negative in between the main predicate and its complement:

- (4.140) \**Dani di-ngat big nab yem dit-de siep.*  
 I 1SG-see not pig eat 1SG-POS sw.potato  
 I didn’t see that the pig ate my sweet potatoes.

The strictly final position of the negative implies that any negative sentence consisting of more than one clause allows more than one interpretation, depending on whether the scope of the negation includes the main or the subordinate predicate. Consider:

- (4.141) *Dani di-ngat nab yem dit-de bikau big.*  
 I 1SG-see pig eat 1SG-POS sw.potato not

This sentence can have two readings:

- (i) I didn’t see (that) the pig ate my sweet potatoes.  
 (ii) I saw (that) the pig didn’t eat my sweet potatoes.

Likewise:

- (4.142) *Dani di-miap (pia) yoni sisip i-mbrab big.*  
 I 1SG-hear (QUOT) they while 3PL-speak not

- (i) I hear (that) they are not talking. (= I hear them not talking.)  
 (ii) I don't hear them talking. (= They may be talking but I don't hear them.)

Disambiguation of examples (4.141) and (4.142) is possible only on pragmatic grounds. Not only negative sentences involving perception complements are semantically opaque. The various verb sequences described in §4.5.1–§4.5.5 allow similar multiple interpretations, albeit that some interpretations are more easily available than others. Consider the following examples: (i) adverbial, (ii) directional verb plus main, (iii) main verb plus directional, (iv) instrumental, (v) resultative, (vi) speech and (vii) perception verbs with their complements under negation.

#### 4.5.6.1 Negation and adverbial sequences

- (4.143) (a) *Munggwom dima i-pim i-nggum big,*  
 child that 3PL-cry 3PL-hungry not  
 Those children are not crying (because) they are hungry,

The scope of the negative can be shown by possible continuations of this sentence. Both (4.143b) and (4.143c) are possible:

- (4.143) (b) *noro i-pim i-nggobiau.*  
 but 3PL-cry 3PL-thirsty  
 but they are crying (because) they are thirsty.
- (c) *noro i-pa.*  
 but 3PL-laugh  
 but they are laughing.

Interpretation (b) is the most available one, which is not very surprising, considering the pragmatics of negation. Universally, it is the adverbial (whether adverb or prepositional phrase or subordinate clause) which is the first candidate for the scope of negation. *She doesn't run fast* has as its first interpretation 'she runs but not fast'. The logically possible interpretation 'she doesn't run' is available, but less likely. Why would a speaker supply more, modifying information about an event that s/he is going to negate anyway? Similar hierarchies of interpretations are valid for the other negative sequences.

#### 4.5.6.2 Negation and directional sequences (i)

This category comprises structures in which V<sup>1</sup> is a directional verb followed by an unprefixed main verb:

- (4.144) (a) *Yoni y-ug bong ei ig-bei big,*  
 they 3PL-go sleep LOC house-under not  
 They don't go (to) sleep in the house (at home),

can be followed by:

- (b) *noro y-ug bong ei bigbehei.*  
 but 3PL-go sleep LOC forest  
 but they go to sleep in the forest.
- (c) *leu-o yoni i-bong ei igbei tu.*  
 from-ALT they 3PL-sleep LOC house already  
 because they are already sleeping in the house.<sup>18</sup>

Again, interpretation (b) is the first given when informants are asked what the negative sentence means. But (c), which restricts the scope of negation to the directional verb, is available.

#### 4.5.6.3 Negation and directional sequences (ii)

This category is formed by structures in which a prefixed main verb is followed by an unprefixd directional verb as V<sup>2</sup>:

- (4.145) (a) *Yoni i-krau munggwom kwei big.*  
 they 3PL-hold child come not  
 They don't bring the child(ren). (lit. They don't hold the child(ren) hither.)

Sentence (4.145a) has as its first reading simply: 'They don't hold/keep the children, so the children stay where they are', but it can be felicitously followed by either (b) or (c):

- (b) *Noro i-krau munggwom ug.*  
 but 3PL-hold child go  
 Take the children away. (lit. But they hold the children thither.)
- (c) *Munggwom pima yo-nti i-kwei.*  
 child that they-self 3PL-come  
 The children come of their own accord.

In other words, the preferred interpretation of the scope of negation is the whole clause or the expansion: they may hold the children or not, but at least they are not coming towards the deictic centre. The second interpretation, namely that negation applies only to the first predicate and does not involve the direction, is definitely available, as (4.145b) shows.

#### 4.5.6.4 Negation and instrumental sequences

Negation of a sequence involving an Instrument, as in example (4.146a), has as its first reading that the scope is restricted to the Instrument. Thus, (b) is the most likely continuation:

- (4.146) (a) *Di-ba hamboi di-bi-wim biei big,*  
 1SG-use machete 1SG-INS-fell tree not  
 I did not fell the tree with a machete,

<sup>18</sup> Informants rejected *ei igbei su* for (4.144c), in contrast to what I would have expected on the basis of the general morpho-phonological rule for *tu/su*. Perhaps some similar distinction as was described for *si/ti* in §4.4.6 is at play here.

(b) *noro di-ba oia.*  
 but 1SG-use axe  
 but I use an axe (to fell) the tree.

(c) *noro di-wim big.*  
 but 1SG-fell not  
 but I didn't fell (it).

Whether it is possible, however, to follow (a) with (c) is not clear.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4.5.6.5 *Negation and purposive sequences*

The negation of the purposive or resultative sequences has as its most likely scope the secondary predicate.

(4.147) *Di-bui napia bi-mai big.*  
 1SG-hit wild.pig PUR-die not  
 I didn't strike the pig dead.

Thus, the first interpretation of (4.147) is 'I hit the pig but it didn't die'. However, 'I didn't hit the pig, but it died of another cause' is also possible. On the other hand, for the negative sentence (4.148), the preferred interpretation is 'They didn't draw water for me to drink'.

(4.148) *I-tau minyei hi bi-di-dut big.*  
 3PL-draw water some PUR-1SG-drink not  
 They didn't draw water for me to drink.

In other words, these two instances of negated purposive sequences yield conflicting results. In (4.147) 'hit pig die not', the preferred scope of negation concerns the result, i.e. V<sup>2</sup>, whereas in (4.148) '(x) draw water (y) drink not', the interpretation of the scope of negation focuses on the first conjunct, and leaves the purpose in tact. It seems that the preferred interpretation of the negative fluctuates with a purposive or a resultative reading of the sequence.

#### 4.5.6.6 *Negation and speech verb + complement*

Similarly, different interpretations of the scope of negation are possible for negative sentences with a speech verb as main predicate. Consider:

(4.149) (a) *Noni Ø-jem da di-kwei big*  
 he 3SG-call me 1SG-come not  
 He called me to come but I didn't come

<sup>19</sup> Hans Iwou interpretes (4.146a) as 'That (means) one does not use a machete to fell the tree, but one uses something else'. He also claims that (4.146b), that is *di-ba hamboi di-bi-wim biei noro di-wim big* 'I took a machete to fell the tree but I didn't fell it' should make a possibility or wish explicit, as in:

<i>Di-pi</i>	<i>bi-di-ba</i>	<i>hamboi</i>	<i>wim</i>	<i>biei</i>
1SG-intend	PUR-1SG-use	machete	fell	tree
<i>noro</i>	<i>di-wim</i>	<i>big.</i>		
but	1SG-fell	not		

I intended to use a machete to fell the tree, but I didn't fell (it).

This is the first interpretation given by informants, similar to '(x) hit pig but it didn't die'. However, it can also be continued by:

- (b) *noro di-ngon kan-ti mem di-kwei.*  
 but 1SG-heart know-NOM for 1SG-come  
 but I came on my own accord.<sup>20</sup>

The same order of interpretations is valid for example (4.150), which differs from (4.149) only in the presence of the purposive marker on the second conjunct.

- (4.150) *Noni Ø-jem da bi-di-kwei big.*  
 s/he 3SG-call me PUR-1SG-come not  
 (a) He didn't call me to come.  
 (b) He called me but I didn't come.

Contrary to (4.149) and (4.150), the interpretation of (4.151) applies the negation only to the first predicate: 'He did not invite me or call me (to come)':

- (4.151) *Noni Ø-jem da kwei big.*  
 he 3SG-call me come not  
 He didn't call me to come.

I have no information on a possible reading 'He called me not to come'. I suspect (4.150) would allow this more than (4.151).

Clearly, there are some interesting phenomena here that deserve further investigation.

#### 4.5.6.7 Negation and perception verb + complement

In the case of perception verbs with complements, both readings of the negative are equally available. However, the preferred scope of negation, as indicated by the first translation given by informants, is the main predicate, as in reading (a) of (4.152):

- (4.152) *Ni-cig Ø-kan (bi-)pia nip-misop*  
 3SG-father 3SG-know (PUR-)QUOT 3SG-daughter  
*ni-ngon ngakei pinai pima big.*  
 3SG-heart love man that not  
 (a) Her father doesn't know that his daughter loves that man.  
 (b) Her father knows that his daughter doesn't love the man.

Even if pragmatically some meanings are less likely, negation of main verb or complement is equally possible for such constructions. For example, (4.141), repeated as (4.153), would be more easily used for a situation where the 'seeing' needs to be denied than where the seeing involves a negated event.

- (4.153) *Dani di-ngat nab yem dit-de bikau big.*  
 I 1SG-see pig eat 1SG-POS sw.potato not  
 (a) I did not see that the pig ate my sweet potatoes.  
 (b) I saw that the pig did not eat my sweet potatoes.

<sup>20</sup> The nominalised phrase *-ngon kan-ti*, consisting of the inalienable body part *ngon* 'heart' and the verb *kan* 'know', expresses 'wish, intention'.

The point of all these examples is to illustrate that, although some structures seem to prefer one interpretation of scope of negation over others, they are all inherently opaque. This seems to be a necessary consequence of the nature of negation, especially in a language such as Hatam where the position of the negative adverb is rigidly sentence-final. Thus, scope of negation cannot give evidence about the status of these constructions. Whereas the sequences involving directional verbs have morphological indications that they are different from coordinated constructions (that is, if the purposive *bi-* qualifies as a coordinating conjunction) or constructions involving complement clauses, negation operates in a similar way on all of them.

#### 4.6 Relative clauses

Hatam allows relativisation on all syntactic constituents of the clause. The head noun (HN) is always preposed and referenced by a relative marker at the beginning of the relative clause (RC). The relative marker that links HN with RC is *di* /dV-/, which can also be used with demonstratives and adjectives. In the latter case there is a distinction between straight attributive adjectives and those linked by *di*. Let us first look at the simple NP constructions.

(4.154) (a) *wou cun pima*  
 snake short that  
 the short snake

(b) *wou di cun pima*  
 snake REL short that  
 the snake which is short

As we saw (§3.5; §4.1.2), adjectives allow the 3SG.POS prefix *ni-* in both predicative and attributive position, while verbs do not. Thus, a similar contrast as between (4.154a) and (4.154b) exists for possessed adjectives:

(4.155) (a) *wou ni-cun pima*  
 snake 3SG-short that  
 that short one of a snake

(b) *wou di ni-cun pima*  
 snake REL 3SG-short that  
 the snake which is a short one

The structures of (4.155) are not possible for verbs; (4.156a) is ungrammatical. But the relative clause may be introduced by *di-* or a compound of relative marker and third person pronoun *no*, as in (4.156b).

(4.156) (a) \**munggwom ni-pim pima*  
 child 3SG-cry that  
 the child who is crying

(b) *munggwom di(no) pim pima*  
 child REL(3SG) cry that  
 the child who is crying

Instead of *di(-no)* the relativiser can be *po*, which I gloss as ANaphoric marker, because I presume it is the same as the anaphoric marker on deictics (with weakened vowel = *pi*).



The difference between *di(-no)* and *po* is not clear. In natural texts the former is far more frequent. Also, I have not seen instances of subject relativisation with *po*. The marker *po* may be a more general reference to something which has been mentioned before, whereas *di(-no)* seems to be more deictic-specific. That example (4.157) was translated with Indonesian *itu* 'that' and (4.158) without this determiner may be significant.

(4.157) *nab di-no di-cig Ø-pek*  
 pig REL-3SG 1SG-father 3SG-buy  
 the (that) pig my father bought (= *babi yang bapak beli itu*)

(4.158) *nab po di-cig Ø-pek*  
 pig ANA 1SG-father 3SG-buy  
 (the/a) pig that my father bought (= *babi yang bapak beli*)

Another indication of this deictic-specific versus general anaphoric opposition between *di(-no)* and *po* is the fact that relative clauses with a free pronoun as Head do not allow *po* as relativiser, as illustrated in (4.159).<sup>21</sup>

(4.159)(a) *no di(-no) di-ngat annani*  
 3SG REL(-3SG) 1SG-see yesterday  
 the one I saw yesterday

(b) \**no po di-ngat annani*

In the following sections I will give examples of relative clauses with HN in different syntactic functions: subject (§4.6.1); object (§4.6.2); instrument (§4.6.3); oblique object (§4.6.4); possessor (§4.6.5). Some examples will include extractions from sequences as discussed in §4.5.

#### 4.6.1 Relative clause with HN as subject

When the HN is subject of the RC, there is no clear fronting involved, since subject is always clause-initial. I have no instances of relativisers other than *di*.

(4.160) *Dani di-pas kep a-hyet*  
 I 1SG-write on [2SG-words]<sub>HN</sub>  
  
*di jo ei kaset di-ni ti.*  
 [REL stay LOC cassette REL-this NOM]<sub>RC</sub>  
 I will write down your words that are on this tape-recorder.<sup>22</sup>

(4.161) *Dani di-pui sut pung*  
 I 1SG-tell about [tribes]<sub>HN</sub>

<sup>21</sup> The anaphoric relative marker *po* also functions in the phrasal conjunction *leu binhyepo* 'so that; in order that', which I analyse as *leu bi-ni-hyet-po* 'from INS-3SG-talk-ANA'.

<sup>22</sup> Recall that the phonological alternation *ti > si* is triggered only by a 'hidden' velar stop after a high vowel. Thus, a plain high front vowel as in the near demonstrative *ni* is never followed by *si* (or *su* 'already' or *sut* 'along with' for that matter).

*di i-bong ei nungugw Ndo ni-behei.*  
 [REL 3PL-live LOC mountain Arfak 3SG-below]<sub>RC</sub>

I will tell about the tribes that live at the foot of Mount Arfak.

When RCs with pronominal HNs are used as constituents in a matrix clause (i.e. the equivalent of Headless RC), the pronouns obligatorily lack the suffix *-ni* (see third person pronoun in (4.162) and second person or first person categories in (4.163) and (4.164), respectively).

(4.162) *Nyeni ni-huk yo di i-nggimang*  
 we 1EXC-chase them REL 3PL-steal

*noro i-bri honda bi-i-nang.*  
 but 3PL-jump.on honda PUR-3PL-flee

We chased the thieves (lit. those who stole) but they escaped by motorbike.

(4.163) *Nye-de andigpoi-nya i-pai bi-pia,*  
 1PL-POS parent-PL 3PL-say INS-QUOT

*Je di ji-kon pam Iwou ji-ntun*  
 2PL REL 2PL-constitute family Iwou 2PL-originate

*wou, wou di-no ni-cun bibor.*  
 snake snake REL-3SG 3SG-short very

Our parents said, You who constitute the family Iwou, you originate from a snake, a snake which is a very short one. [Iwou.pam 003]

(4.164) *Ba, nye di mam ni-pek leu yam.*  
 and we REL interior 1EXC-buy from each.other

And, we who (belong to) the interior buy (ceremonial cloth) from each other.  
 [Kain timur 016]

In the next example, the RC functions as a non-verbal predicate, hence *da-ni* 'I-this' is required as 'subject':

(4.165) *Dani di-no di-nggwen.*

I REL-3SG 1SG-sick

I am the one who is sick.

#### 4.6.2 RC with HN as object

The relativisation strategy as illustrated for subject is basically the same for object, except that in this case a clear fronting of the head noun is required. The relativiser may be either *di(-no)* 'REL(-3SG)', as in (4.166)–(4.168), or *po* 'ANA', in (4.169) and (4.170).

(4.166) *Pas di-no di-pek ei ari*  
 [rice]<sub>HN</sub> [REL-3SG 1SG-buy LOC week

*pi-ni jug ngwig su.*  
 ANA-this descend]RC finished already  
 The rice which I bought last week is already finished.

- (4.167) *Anggos mbut leu minu*  
 Anggos walk from [place]HN  
*di i-jem pia Usir nyei ngwam.*  
 [REL 3PL-call QUOTE Usir water stump]RC  
 Anggos traveled from a place called Usir waterfall. [Anggos 002]

- (4.168) *Sindig koi di ji-kou*  
 [old.woman bent]HN [REL 2PL-reject]RC  
*pi-ma ri yai njinta bak dit-de*  
 ANA-that GIV get food to 1SG-POS  
*munggwom di-ni.*  
 child REL-this  
 The bent old woman that you rejected is the one who gave food to my children. [Yairus 057]

- (4.169) *Nab po di-cig pek mem da(ni)*  
 [pig]HN [ANA 1SG-father buy for me]RC  
*nang ei bigbehei tu.*  
 flee LOC forest already  
 The pig that my father bought for me has already run away into the bush.

- (4.170) *Ei hanjop nsi po ig-ya*  
 LOC [boundary inside]HN [ANA 3PL-stand  
*ser pi-ma ne,*  
 keep.out]RC ANA-that TOP  
*mem gi-ma i-ngot igy-o, ig-yai miyai-o,*  
 for NOM-that 3PL-tie house-or 3PL-do garden-or  
*ndiyok au.*  
 like.that don't  
 In the area they have protected (= conservation area), it is forbidden to build houses or lay out gardens and so on. [Srat atoran:001. From WWF instructions]

In (4.168) and (4.170) we see the RC followed by the determiner *pima* (*pi-ma* 'ANA-that') and Given marker or Topic marker, respectively. The determiner does not represent a trace of the extracted object (as becomes evident in examples (4.171) and (4.174)), but rather it marks the boundary of the NP in which the RC functions as an attributive modifier. This NP then is linked to the rest of the sentence by means of *ri* 'Given' or *ne* 'TOPIC' (see §3.11). Objects can easily be extracted out of Directional (4.171), Instrumental (4.172)–(4.173), or Purposive sequences (4.174)–(4.175) to function as HN of a RC.

- (4.171) *Mindhēi di(-no) n-ug ngat Øi ei*  
 animal REL(-3SG) 1EXC-go see LOC

*bigbehei pima rusa big.*  
 forest that deer not

The animals we went to see in the forest were not deer.

- (4.172) *Di-puoi mitiei<sub>i</sub> di-no di-ba na ngkeg*  
 1SG-put.in money REL-3SG 1SG-use pig skin  
*di-bi-pek Ø<sub>i</sub> seratus ribu.*

1SG-INS-buy hundred thousand

The money which I earned with one pig was Rp.100,000. (lit. I pocketed money which I got with a pig skin (= a whole pig) 100,000.) [Wonggor 1:071]

- (4.173) *Biei di-no di-ba hamboi wim pi-ma*  
 tree REL-3SG 1SG-use machete fell ANA-that  
*ngwig big-yo.*

finished not-yet

The tree that I used a machete to fell is not done yet.

- (4.174) *Nab<sub>i</sub> di-no di-bui Ø<sub>i</sub> bi-mai pi-ma*  
 pig REL-3SG 1SG-hit PUR-die ANA-that

*nyeni ni-ttei ni-bam ba ni-digo.*

we 1EXC-carry 1EXC-roast and 1EXC-cut.up

The pig that I hit dead, we carried it, roasted it and cut it up.<sup>23</sup>

- (4.175) *Minyei<sub>i</sub> di-no i-tau Ø<sub>i</sub> bi-di-dut*  
 water REL-3SG 3PL-draw PUR-1SG-drink

*pima kinei.*

that bad

The water which they drew for me to drink (was) bad.

#### 4.6.3 RC with HN as instrument

Even though an instrument may not figure as constituent in a clause, it can function as HN of a relative clause. The verb in the RC is obligatorily marked with the instrument prefix. Thus example (4.176b) is not acceptable. These RCs are similar to those with an object as HN, using either *po* or *di-no*.

- (4.176) (a) *Singau po/di-no dani di-bi-digo mikwau*  
 knife REL I 1SG-INS-cut.up meat

*di-ma ngwam biber.*

ANA-that blunt very

The knife that I used to cut up that meat was very blunt.

- (b) \**Singau di-no di-digo mikwau pima ngwam biber.*

<sup>23</sup> Notice that in this elicited sentence the 'heavy object' is fronted, outside the clause.

Since an Instrument cannot be expressed as a constituent in a main clause, but precedes the main clause and is linked to it by the connective *ba* 'and', a construction like (4.177) is given as an alternative for (4.178) with the same meaning.<sup>24</sup>

- (4.177) *Singau ba di-kos mikwau pi-ma*  
 knife and 1SG-cut meat ANA-that  
*ngwam bibor.*  
 blunt very  
 The knife I used to cut the meat was very blunt.

- (4.178) *Singau po di-bi-kos mikwau pima*  
 knife ANA 1SG-INS-cut meat that  
*ngwam bibor.*  
 blunt very  
 The knife I cut the meat with was very blunt.

However, I doubt whether (4.177) contains a true RC. Not only does the Hatam construction lack a relativiser, the translation reflects this: *Saya pakai pisau untuk potong daging tapi tidak tajam* = I used a knife to cut the meat, but it wasn't sharp. In (4.178), on the other hand, the relativiser may be *po* as well as *di-no*, but in either case the verb is obligatorily marked for instrument. This feature then appears to be diagnostic for instrument relative clauses.

#### 4.6.4 RC with HN as oblique object

##### 4.6.4.1 Recipient as HN

Oblique objects, i.e. objects of prepositions, such as *bak* 'to, for' expressing the semantic role of Recipient, may be relativised on. The Object is extracted while the preposition remains at its proper place in the clause, following the Direct Object:

- (4.179) (a) *Pinai<sub>i</sub> di di-yai singau bak Ø<sub>i</sub> pima*  
 man REL 1SG-take knife for that  
*a-kindig ri.*  
 2SG-old.bro GIV  
 The man that I gave the knife to is your older brother.

- (b) \**Pinai di di-yai singau pima a-kindig ri.*

Relativisation on the Recipient is not permitted without the preposition, as shown in (4.179b). Neither is it possible to have the preposition immediately following the verb, with the Direct Object following. Thus, (4.179b) and (4.180b) are ungrammatical.

<sup>24</sup> Actually, when eliciting possible RC constructions, an alternative for (4.177) and (4.178) was given as:

*Dani di-kos mikwau pima di-ba singau di ngwam bibor.*  
 I 1SG-cut meat that 1SG-use knife REL blunt very  
 But this seems to mean 'Given that I cut the meat, I used a knife that was very blunt' and is not a predication about *singau*.

- (4.180) (a) *Sop di(-no) di-tri srat mbum*  
 woman REL(-3SG) 1SG-sell paper empty  
*bak pima Ø-go big-yo.*  
 to that 3SG-pay not-yet  
 The woman I sold the notebook to hasn't paid yet.

(b) \**Sop di(-no) di-tri bak srat mbum pima Ø-go big-yo.*

If a Direct Object is not expressed, but an 'adverbial' verb series is involved (see example (4.143) above), the RC formation is similar. The verbs are in immediate sequence with the preposition following:

- (4.181) *Andigpoi di-no ni-hara ni-nggum bak*  
 elder REL-3SG 1EXC-ask 1EXC-hungry to  
*pima noni rok.*  
 that he push  
 The elder that we asked for something (because) we were hungry, he refused.

The verb *ndo* 'to show; point', which always marks the Recipient with *bak* or its weakened form *bi-* in main clauses, allows relativisation on the Recipient with 'stranded' preposition, as in example (4.182), but the RC may also be formed without *bak*, as in (4.183).

- (4.182) *Munggwom di(-no) i-ndo puig bak*  
 child REL(-3SG) 1INC-show path to  
*i-kwei su.*  
 3PL-come already  
 The children we showed the way to, have already come.

- (4.183) *Munggwom di(-no) i-ndo puig ni-mungkun*  
 child REL(-3SG) 1INC-show path 3SG-true  
*i-kwei hanyen bu.*  
 3PL-come return again  
 The children we showed the right way came back again.

#### 4.6.4.2 Locative as HN

Oblique objects, i.e. objects of *ei* 'at, to' expressing Location, may also function as head noun of a relative clause. Consider the main clause in example (4.184).

- (4.184) *Yoni y-ug bong ei igbei.*  
 they 3PL-go sleep LOC home  
 They go (and/to) sleep in the house.

Recall that *ig* refers to the structure 'house', while *ig-bei* (lit. house-underneath) refers to the house as dwelling place. The latter form cannot function as HN of a RC, but the former cannot be used to refer to a location. If the locative is relativised, as in (4.185), the HN is *ig* 'house', and the preposition *ei* is stranded, but it requires the (locative) nominaliser *si*.

- (4.185) *Ig di-no yoni y-ug bong*  
 house<sub>i</sub> REL-3SG they 3PL-go sleep

*ei-Ø-si*            *pima*    *timiei*    *su.*  
 LOC-<sub>1</sub>-NOM    that    old    already

The house in which they went to sleep (was) already old.

Stranded *ei*, as pointed out in examples (3.133) and (3.134), conveys a preparation for something, not a location. Likewise, stranded *leu* seems not to refer to a location but to indicate a finished action, as in:

(4.186) *Lene di-cig kes gembala leu lene*  
 and 1SG-father leave pastor from and

*nok kepala suku mem mam-nya.*  
 like head tribe for interior-PL

Then my father left (the work of) pastor and (became) tribal head for the people of the interior.

#### 4.6.5 RC with HN as possessor

When a possessor is relativised, the N(P) referring to the possessor is fronted and the RC is introduced by *di(-no)*. The possessive pronoun (4.187) or, in the case of inalienables, the prefix (4.188), remains in the normal position in the clause.

(4.187) *Tungwatu di hum Ø-yem i-de ig*  
 people [REL fire 3SG-eat 3PL-POS house]<sub>RC</sub>

*pima i-bong bit da ei dit-de ig-bei.*  
 that 3PL-sleep with I LOC 1SG-POS house-under

The people whose house was burned slept with me in my house.

In general, the word order in the RC is basically the same as in a main declarative clause. The main participants obey the order Subject–Predicate–Direct Object–Oblique Object. Whichever constituent is relativised on is fronted and the RC is introduced by a relativiser. Temporal adverbials, which in a main declarative clause normally precede the clause nucleus, are not permitted in their canonical position in a RC. Thus, (4.188b) is unacceptable.

(4.188) (a) *Pinai di ni-t-nem mai annani*  
 man [REL 3SG-POS-wife 3SG-die yesterday]<sub>RC</sub>

*dip-mang ri.*  
 1SG-fa.in.law GIV

The man whose wife died yesterday is my father-in-law.

(b) \**Pinai di nit-nem annani mai pima.*  
 man REL 3SG-wife yesterday die that

## 4.7 Clause combinations

### 4.7.0 Introduction

In §4.5, I discussed combinations of predicates. Most of those constructions can be considered to form complex predicates or clauses. No natural discourse can do without combining clauses, which generally is effected by conjunctions. Traditionally, the dichotomy of coordination versus subordination is used, but it is not always clear which criteria are

distinctive. The morphological material used to express various semantic relations between clauses indicates that this is not a clear dichotomy in Hatam. This section is built on the conjunctive material of Hatam itself (see §3.15), which suggests a division between i) conjunctions used for sequencing events, ii) contrastive conjunctions and iii) conjunctions which signal more specific semantic relations, such as cause, purpose, condition. The first two categories roughly correspond to what traditionally is called coordination, while the third reminds us of adverbial clauses, which are more subordinated.

With regard to the conjunctions *ba* 'and', *lene* 'and then', and *api* 'thereupon'<sup>25</sup>, one could claim an increasing scale of sequentiality. Since speakers are not bound by absolute values on such a scale, there are contexts in which these conjunctions are interchangeable. As an introductory illustration, consider all three of them in (189).

- (4.189) (a) *Lene ni-huk kikau lene*  
 then 1EXC-chase continually then  
 Then we continued hunting and then
- (b) *di-sut gom bu pilei bu.*  
 1SG-friend one again shoot again  
 a friend of mine shot again (i.e. the narrator had had his first shot).
- (c) *Noro mai big-yo lene ni-huk kikau.*  
 but die not-yet then 1EXC-chase continually  
 But it (the deer) was not dead yet and we continued hunting.
- (d) *Api di-sut gom bu pilei bu,*  
 then 1SG-friend one again shoot again  
 And then another friend shot again,
- (e) *ba ni-bou ningai ni-pilei ug e api mai.*  
 and 1EXC-head three 1EXC-shoot go Q then die  
 and the three of us had shot first and then it died.
- (f) *Mai lene ni-bam rusa pima ba ni-digo.*  
 die then 1EXC-roast deer that and 1EXC-cut.up  
 It died and then we roasted the deer and we cut it up. [Wonggor 1:040-041]

The more neutral *ba*, which is mainly used for same subject (or topic) sequences (4.189f), conveys something like 'in addition (I want to say)' in (4.189e) and signals an immediate sequence of events (see §4.7.1.1).

The most frequent conjunction to start a new sentence is *lene* (4.189a), which is neutral to the distinction between same and different subject. Thus, it is not claimed that Hatam employs a switch-reference system as do many Papuan languages of the Trans–New Guinea phylum. In combination with other words *lene* is used to express concepts such as 'after' and 'before'.

*Api* signals a greater temporal distance between events, as in (4.189d) and (4.189e). It may cooccur with either *ba* or *lene*.

<sup>25</sup> These translations are, of course, approximations, just like the Indonesian equivalents which informants supply: *ba* in most contexts is rendered as *dan* 'and' or *lalu* 'then'; *lene* is *lalu* or *terus* 'continuing'; *api* is *lalu*, *terus*, or *kemudian* 'thereafter'.



Tail-Head linkage, the typical narrative strategy to begin a new sentence with a repetition of final material from a preceding sentence, as example (4.189) shows, uses *lene* or *api* as conjunction, but not *ba*.

Section 4.7.1 will deal with these three conjunctions and possible combinations. In 4.7.2 I will discuss the contrastive conjunctions *lo* and *noro*, which in most contexts are felicitously translated by 'but'. In §4.7.3 the adverbial conjunctions will be presented.

#### 4.7.1 Sequencing conjunctions

##### 4.7.1.1 *ba* 'and'

Basically, *ba* signals a rather neutral addition of actions or events by the same subject, as in examples (4.190) and (4.191).

- (4.190) *Kwanding juk leu biei nggramti*  
 Kwanding descend from tree branches  
*ba ngat sop cin-nya.*  
 and see woman pair-PL  
 Kwanding came down from the branches and saw the two women.  
 [Kwanding:033]

- (4.191) *Api ni-kwei bam ba ni-yem.*  
 then 1EXC-come roast and 1EXC-eat  
 Thereupon we came (and/to) roast (the deer) and we ate. [Wonggor 1:050]

When subjects of consecutive clauses refer to subsets, *ba* can be used. For example, in example (4.192) the second subject, third person singular, was part of the first subject, first person plural exclusive, while in (4.193) the first person singular of the first subject is a member of the set referred to by the first person plural exclusive in the following clause.

- (4.192) *Lene ni-bam miei dima ba*  
 then 1EXC<sub>i+j</sub>-roast cuscus that and  
*ni-digo ha-can ba Ropsu ma*  
 1EXC<sub>i+j</sub>-cut.up be-two and Ropsu<sub>j</sub> get  
*ne-te hi, di-ma ne-te hi.*  
 3SG-side other 1SG<sub>i</sub>-get 3SG-side other  
 Then we roasted that cuscus and we cut it in half and Ropsu got one side, I got the other half. [Wonggor 1:021]

- (4.193) *Lene di-bit di-sut-bat-nya*  
 then 1SG<sub>j</sub>-accompany 1SG-friend-COLL-PL  
*Mben brig cem ba ni-ttei yam*  
 Mben headwater also and 1EXC<sub>i+j</sub>-carry RECIP  
*ba ni-huk hab cem.*  
 and 1EXC-chase bird too  
 Then I followed my friends of the headwaters of the Mben also and we got each other and we hunted birds too. [Wonggor 1:024]

Perhaps it would be better to substitute 'same topic' for 'same subject', since not only are subsets of referents considered as 'same', but when (oblique) objects of the first predicate

have the same referent as the subject (or possessor) of the second conjunct, *ba* is used. Consider example (4.194), where the direct object of the first predicate has the same referent as the subject of the second, which is not different from what is described as purposive sequence in §4.5.3. In (4.195) the conjuncts are separated by a clear pause, followed by a new nominal subject, referring to the same participant. In (4.196) the possessor of the second conjunct has the same referent as the zero anaphoric object of the first one.

(4.194) *Leu mpiab tot da ba di-nggobiau.*  
 from sun cut me and 1SG-thirsty  
 Because the sun hits me and I am thirsty. [Kwanding:027]



(4.195) *I-bi-nggai Jipan-a, ba Nipon yo*  
 3PL-INS-surround Japan-CIT and Nipon they  
*i-kan tut big.*  
 3PL-know about not  
 They had surrounded the Japanese, and the Japanese, they didn't know about it. [Perangb:003]

(4.196) *Mben Arfak i-ku Ø ba ni-yai no jo-a.*  
 people Arfak 3PL-hide (him)<sub>i</sub> and 3SG<sub>i</sub>-eye 3SG be-CIT  
 The Arfak people had hidden (him) and he was still alive. (lit. his eye it was) [Peranga:056]<sup>26</sup>

In fact, occurrences of *ba* as in example (4.195) could be interpreted as meaning 'in addition (I want to say)', which seems to be the function when *ba* is used to introduce sentences following some collateral information, as in (4.197), where the narrator has just told that the Hatam people used to trade *kain timur* only with each other and neighbouring groups.

(4.197) *Ba, nyeni mpe di mahan tu...*  
 and we time REL adolescent already  
 And, we when we had reached the age of puberty...[Kain timur:017]

<sup>26</sup> A similar construction seems to occur in (i) below. This could present a problem for the characterisation of *ba* as same subject sequence, if indeed the subject of *pim* is not Hambong, but Kwanding, who is holding the other end of the comb Hambong held out to her. Given that (ii) follows in the story, I take it that in (i) the narrator had meant Kwanding, and mistakenly said Hambong.

- (i) *Hambong su-o nsus ba Kwanding krau ne-te hi*   
 Hambong reach-or comb and Kwanding hold 3SG-side other  
 Hambong held out, eh, (his) comb and Kwanding took hold of one end.  
*Lene Hambong krau ne-te hi ba pim*  
 then Hambong held 3SG-side other and cry  
*ba ni-yai nggwei com no Hambong ni-ngged-a*   
 and 3SG-eye liquid throw 3SG Hambong 3SG-chest-CIT  
 Then Hambong held the other end and cried and his tears fell on him, on Hambong's breast.
- (ii) *Lene Hambong noni pim ba ni-yai nggwei com-o dor ti nsus ba*  
 then Hambong he cry and 3SG-eye liquid throw-or run NOM comb and  
*com Kwanding ni-ngge-da.*  
 throw Kwanding 3SG-breast-CIT  
 Then Hambong he cried and his tears fell, ran along the comb and hit Kwanding's breast.

4.7.1.2 *lene* 'and then'

The conjunction *lene* indicates somewhat stronger a linear sequence between two conjuncts than *ba*. There are many instances of both same and subject sequences marked by *lene* in narrative texts, as illustrated by examples (4.198) and (4.199).

(4.198) *Di-mbut ei mpia di-no undoi mang*  
1SG-walk LOC place REL-3SG hornbill many

*lene di-non ni-ngud can-o ningai-o.*  
then 1SG-shoot 3SG-body two-or three-or

I was walking through an area where there were many hornbills and then I shot two or three. [Wonggor 1:0031]

(4.199) *Lene ni-ngget lene miei bri.*  
then 1EXC-touch then cuscus scramble

Then we touched (it) and then the cuscus scrambled away. [Wonggor 1:020]

In §4.5.2 we have seen Instruments being linked to the main clause by means of *ba*. In narratives it is mainly *lene* that is found in this function. Either a nominal instrument, as in (4.200), or a time phrase (4.201), is given and linked to the main clause by *lene*:

(4.200) *Pinda hou gom lene di-bi-non hacam-o.*  
gun wind one then 1SG-INS-shoot hawk-or

With a shotgun then I shot hawks (etcetera). [Wonggor 1:0030]

(4.201) *Nipou dima lene nyeni nok munggwom mien he...*  
earlier that then we like child small just

Before then we were only small children... [Wonggor 1:013]

The clearest evidence for contrast between neutral addition of *ba* and sequentiality of *lene* is the fact that I have not found *ba* as introduction of apodosis of conditionals or temporal contingencies. This is always done by *lene* (or the even stronger sequential *api*), as in:

(4.202) *Gi-no i-suar dihyei ei minu*  
NOM-3SG 3PL-need ground LOC place

*hi-ter lene suar i-hig yo tut dihyei*  
some-other then need 3PL-ask they about ground

*ni-de bok.*  
3SG-POS price

If they needed ground at another village, then they usually asked them about the price of the ground. [Kain timur:036]

4.7.1.2.1 *Combinations with lene*

Given the meaning of *lene* as opposed to *ba*, namely that a stronger sense of sequentiality is involved, it is not surprising to find *lene* combined with other elements to express notions such as 'after', 'after a while', 'before' and 'so then'. Such combinations are not possible with *ba*.

The phasal aspect marker *tu/su* on the first conjunct, followed by *lene* expresses 'after the first event, the second', as in:

- (4.203) *Noni bon ha-gom bi-put tu lene*  
 he make be-one PUR-finish already then  
*pai bak nip-mot bi-pia,...*  
 say to 3SG-son INS-QUOT  
 After he had made everything he said to his son, .... [Habel 1:0006]

When the first conjunct is followed by the contrastive conjunction *lo* and the negative *big*, the time span between the consecutive events is lengthened. The sequence *lo big lene* ‘after a while’ in example (4.204) has virtually become a complex conjunction.

- (4.204) *Kwanding gwam lo big lene kut kimbrim gom.*  
 Kwanding sit but not then cut bamboo one  
 Kwanding sat (there) and after a while she cut a piece of *kimbrim* bamboo.  
 [Kwanding: 004]

The opposite temporal relation ‘before X, Y happened’ is expressed by the same conjunction *lene* following the aspectual *big-yo* ‘not-yet’ of the first conjunct. Consider:

- (4.205) *Nipou di-pek pinda hou big-yo lene di-pek kataper.*  
 before 1SG-get gun wind not-yet then 1SG-get catapult  
 In the past before I got a shotgun, I got a catapult. [Wonggor 1:026]

As sentence introducer the complex *nok lene* ‘like and then’<sup>27</sup> signals a paragraph-like break, as in examples (4.206) and (4.207).

- (4.206) *Noro hi-a ni-yai-jo. Nok lene ni-pilei gima bu.*  
 but other-CIT 3SG-eye-be like then 1EXC-shoot that again  
 But the other one was alive. So then we shot that one again. [Wonggor 1:048-049]

- (4.207) *Api di-pinak nisindem bi-jeni.*  
 then 1SG-send power to-you.PL  
 Then I will send power to you.  
*Nok lene nisindem pi-ma pinak bi-yoni.*  
 like then power ANA-that send to-them  
 So then that power (he) sent to them. [Habel 1:018-19]

#### 4.7.1.3 *api* ‘thereupon’

The connector *api* is much less frequent than *lene* ‘then; so’ or *ba* ‘and’. Its sense is more explicitly sequential, or even causal, suggesting a translation like ‘consequently’, as in example (4.208). But in the latter case it often is in conjunction with third person pronoun: *api-no* ‘so then’ (4.209), or *leu* ‘from’: *leu api* ‘because of that then’, as in (4.210).

- (4.208) *Ni-kwei bong ei hai puig*  
 1EXC-come sleep LOC half road  
*api ni-kwen pas-o.*  
 then 1EXC-cook rice-or

<sup>27</sup> Recall that *nok* could be a third person singular pronoun, which in that function almost always has its final stop elided.

We came (and) slept on the way, then we cooked rice or (other things).  
[Wonggor 2:071]

- (4.209) *Ig-yem hum ngum nok e?*  
3PL-eat fire coal like Q

*Apino su ni-ndab bi-yai bikau mui...*  
thereupon stretch 3SG-hand INS-get sw.potato dry  
They're eating charcoal huh? (she asked). Thereupon she stretched out her hand and got a cooked sweet potato and... [Yairus 2:019]

- (4.210) *Ni-yem trem cem ba ha-gom ngwig*  
1EXC-eat corn too and be-one finished

*leu api nyeni ni-kwei ha-nyen.*  
from then we 1EXC-come be-just  
We ate the corn too and when everything was finished then we came again.  
[Wonggor 2:053]

The protasis may be ended with *ug-e* 'go-Question marker' which strengthens the sense of 'first/before'<sup>28</sup>:

- (4.211) *Suar ni-mut ni-yai bak Tuanara*  
need 1EXC-close 1EXC-eyes for God

*nhyepo kwas hab nipou bi-nyeni ug-e,*  
in.order.that divide bird first for-us first

*api nyeni ni-mbut ni-ba-dapan hab mang.*  
then we 1EXC-go 1EXC-INS-get bird many

We need to pray to God in order that he supplies us with birds first, and then we go and catch a lot of birds. [Wonggor 2:060]

#### 4.7.1.4 Series of conjunctions

That *api* has more of a semantic factor 'consequence' can also be deduced from the fact that both *ba* and *lene* occur preceding *api*. Such a sequence does not form a compound conjunction, but rather a repair to a more explicit indication of sequence or consequence. In (4.212) for example, a heavy pause divides the two conjunctions.

- (4.212) *I-bien minyas dini ba, api i-tri*  
3PL-weave cloth this and then 3PL-sell

<sup>28</sup> In the example below *ug-e* occurs sentence-finally, clearly functioning as an aspectual adverb meaning 'first':

*Dani mi-di-mbut noro dit-de midyai put ug-e.*  
I POST-1SG-go but 1SG-POS work finish go-Q  
I'll go but my work (has to) be finished first.

*leu yoni ei-si-ri-ma cem.*  
 from they LOC-NOM-GIV-that also  
 They wove these *kain timur* and, then they sold them from them there (= sold them off) too. [Kain timur:009]

Similarly, *ba* and *lene* may occur juxtaposed. In example (4.213) *lene* comes first, followed by a pause, suggesting a repair to a lesser degree of sequentiality. On the other hand, in (4.214) *ba* and *lene* are phonetically merged into [bərəne], suggesting addition + sequence.

(4.213) *Lene, ba i-ndig su lene i-kon*  
 then and 3PL-big already then 3PL-lift  
*i-kwei sut igbei.*  
 3PL-come along.with house  
 Then...and after they grown up, they took them and came with them to the house. [Iwou.pam:020]

(4.214) *Nipou di-non ei bigbehei him, ba-lene,*  
 before 1SG-shoot LOC forest very and-then  
*ba-lene ni-ngat mbrei hi big-yo.*  
 and-then 1EXC-see foreigner other not-yet  
 Before I shot [= hunted] in the very forest, and then, and then we hadn't seen any foreigner yet. [Wonggor 1:033]

#### 4.7.2 Contrastive conjunctions

Hatam has two conjunctions, which are morphologically related, to express a contrastive relation between two clauses. The basic form is *lo*, which, combined with the third person pronoun *no*, gives *noro* 'but'. Recall that Hatam does not have a phonemic contrast between [r] and [l]. Nevertheless, I have encountered neither [nolo] nor [ro].

##### 4.7.2.1 Counterexpectation *lo*

The qualification of 'counterexpectation' is given to the conjunction *lo*, because in sentences like (4.215) and (4.216) it conveys something of a surprise.

(4.215) *Lene, nip-mot pi-ma i-kwei ngat*  
 then 3SG-child ANA-that 3PL-come see  
*lo tungwatu hi lene nip-mot minsien hi.*  
 but human other then 3SG-child dog other  
 Then, that child, they came and saw but one was human, then the other was a dog. [Iwou.pam:017]

(4.216) *Gino kui kikau ba co*  
 if ascend continually and step.on

*Ndan ti lo Ndan hem.*

Ndan NOM but Ndan cold

If/when (s)he went up further and stepped in the Ndan (river) the Ndan was cold. [Kwanding:013]

It is quite likely that *lo* is in fact related to the nominal marker *ri* 'Given' with the additional vowel *o*, which is used on inclusive disjunctions, glossed as 'or'. Phonologically, *lo* cliticises to the preceding verb, just as *ri* forms a phonological unit with its preceding nominal constituent. Its position and function are reminiscent of deictic elements in Papuan languages of the TNGP, which are all SOV.<sup>29</sup>

(4.217) *Sop cin-nya yu-hu miaisi i-kwei*  
 woman pair-PL 3PL-plant garden 3PL-come

*ngat lo ig ngwak.*

see but house empty

When the two women had planted the garden and came (home), they saw that the house was empty. [Kwanding:074]

As we have seen, antithetical *lo*, in combination with the negative *big* and the sequential *lene*, expresses a time-span: 'after a while' (lit. but not then), as in:

(4.218) *Lene nggok, nggok lo big lene ngat kwa*  
 then search search but not then see source

*him lene co ti.*

very then step NOM

Then she searched, she searched and after a while she saw the very source and then stepped (in the water). [Kwanding 021]

#### 4.7.2.2 Antithetical *noro*

An antithetical relation between two clauses is expressed by *noro*, quite straightforwardly translatable by 'but', as in examples (4.219) and (4.220).

(4.219) *Minyas dini jo bi-nyeni big*  
 cloth this be for-us not

*noro nit-ngyon-bat-nya y-um minyas dini*  
 but 1EXC-grandfather-COLL-PL 3PL-meet cloth this

*ei mpe di-no penjajahan belanda.*

LOC time REL-3SG colonisation Dutch

This *kain timur* was for us not (= Before we didn't have this *kain timur*), but

<sup>29</sup> Compare Hatam (4.217) with this Usan example:

*Ur unor ginam-t di-ab*  
 father mother place-to come.up-SS

*ga-mir eng wau me igam-au.*  
 see-3PL.FarPast the child not stay-NOM

The parents came up to the village and saw but the children weren't there.

Even though the languages have a completely different morphological and syntactic structure (Usan being SOV with heavy verb morphology and switch-reference system, Hatam strictly SVO with hardly any morphology), they share the N+A+Dem structure of the NP and Hatam *lo* and Usan *eng* seem identical in this function of joining two clauses.

our grandfathers encountered this *kain timur* at the time of the Dutch colonialisation. [Kain timur:006-7]

- (4.220) *Ni-kwen binggas dima ni-yem noro ndei*  
 1EXC-cook goanna that 1EXC-eat but satisfy  
*nye lene ni-ken jo bu.*  
 us then 3SG-rest be again  
 We cooked the goanna and ate, but we were satisfied and there were some leftovers. [Hans:011]

### 4.7.3 Adverbial conjunctions

The conjunctions to be discussed in this section are basically prepositions or they are built on nominal markers. The clauses introduced by these conjunctions can be analyzed as substitutes for nominal constituents. Hence, I characterise them as adverbial conjunctions. They signal explicit cause or reason, purposive, conditional and temporal relations.

#### 4.7.3.1 Causal *leu(o)*

The preposition *leu* 'from' can have a predication as its object, which is given as a reason for the preceding main clause, as in example (4.221).

- (4.221) *Ni-ku nani ei biei behei leu nyeni*  
 1EXC-hide you LOC tree under from we  
*ni-ngon dut nani ni-ndig bibor.*  
 1EXC-heart warm you 3SG-big very  
 We will hide you in the forest for we love you very much. [Peranga:011]

- (4.222) *Ji-gwam tut ri*  
 2PL-sit with GIV  
*leu mi-j-ug ngat da au.*  
 from POST-2PL-go see me don't  
 Sit along with (them), for it is forbidden that you go see me. [Yairus 2:051]

In some instances of this function, however, the preposition carries the enclitic *o* 'or', as in:

- (4.223) *Paulus lene ngat Disyon cig leu-o mai big-yo.*  
 Paulus then see Disyon father from-or die not-yet  
 Paulus then has seen Disyon's father for he hadn't died yet. [Habel 2:005]

#### 4.7.3.2 Purposive *leubinhyepo* and *mem gima*

The same 'source'-preposition *leu* is found in a rather complex conjunction expressing 'in order to'. I analyse *leubinhyepo* as built up from *leu* 'from' + *bi* 'INS' + *ni-hyet* '3SG-talk' + *po* 'ANA(phoric) marker'. Occasionally, in fast speech, this complex is further reduced to *lenhyepo* or *nhyepo*. Consider:

- (4.224) *I-ngginau nyeni lenhyepo ni-hyen na-o,*  
 3PL-teach us in.order.that 1EXC-raise pig-or



*ni-nggok mitiei ba ni-pek gi-ni*  
 1EXC-search money and 1EXC-buy NOM-this

*leubinhyepo nyeni cem ni-ma.*  
 in.order.that we too 1EXC-get

They taught us in order that we would raise pigs and stuff, (in order that) we'd look for money and buy them (*kain timur*) in order that we too would get (*kain timur*). [Kain timur:0018]

A second way to express a purpose relation is by using the preposition *mem* (for the difference between *mem* and *bak* 'to, for', see §3.10) and the nominalised far demonstrative *gi-ma*, as illustrated in example (4.225).

(4.225) *Ni-yok ei mem gi-ma i-bi-go*  
 1EXC-put LOC for NOM-that 1INC-INS-pay

*mimbron mem sop.*  
 brideprice for woman

We put them ready in order to pay with them the brideprice for women. [Kain timur:004]

(4.226) *Noro nimbumbati hagam hatitut yam*  
 but member all take.care RECIP

*mem gi-ma mbut cem, dor cem wim miai cem.*  
 for NOM-that walk too run too fell garden too

But the members all look after each other in order to walk, as well as to run, as well as to lay out gardens. [Habel 1:035]

↗

#### 4.7.3.3 Conditional *gino*

The nominaliser *gi*, often compounded with the third person singular *no*, is used to express conditions or temporal contingencies, as in:

(4.227) *Gi-no di-gwam bit jeni lene ji-yai*  
 NOM-3SG 1SG-sit follow you.PL then 2PL-get

*nisindem hi big.*  
 power other not

If I stay with you, then you (will) not get some power. [Habel 1:017]

(4.228) *Gi-no di-ngat rusa ug api di-kwei yai*  
 NOM-3SG 1SG-see deer go then 1SG-come do

*miai, di-pilei rusa.*  
 garden 1SG-shoot deer

If/when I saw a deer first then I'd work the garden, (and) I'd shoot deer. [Wonggor 1 090]

In fact, it is the nominaliser *gi* that signals the protasis, since it is also possible to have:

(4.229) *Gi taksi kwei big, lene ni-bong ei Mar.*  
 NOM taxi come not then 1EXC-sleep LOC Warmare  
 If no taxi came then we'd sleep at Warmare. [Wonggor 2:075]

- (4.230) *Nipou gi di-pilei yo, lene suar di-bit*  
 before NOM 1SG-young yet then need 1SG-accompany  
*di-cig ba ni-huk hab.*  
 1SG-father and 1EXC-chase bird  
 Before, when I was still young I usually accompanied my father and we'd  
 hunt birds. [Hatam II:80]

Example (4.230) shows that conditional *gino* is also used for general time frames.

#### 4.7.3.4 Temporal

More specific temporal frames are modelled on a head noun, referring to some time, and the relative clause, as in:

- (4.231) *Mpe di-no di-bong leu su lene*  
 time REL-3SG 1SG-sleep from already then  
*tungwa gom kwei nggimang dit-de radio.*  
 human one come steal 1SG-POS radio  
 At the time that I slept someone came and stole my radio. [Hatam, QI:7]

- (4.232) *Mpe di-no dani d-ug ttei biei mui*  
 time REL-3SG I 1SG-go carry wood dry  
*api di-ngat binggas gom.*  
 then 1SG-see goanna one  
 At the time I went carrying some firewood, then I saw a goanna. [Hatam, QII:2]

While examples (4.231) and (4.232) convey a time frame during which the event expressed by the main predication takes place, other temporal relations are expressed by *big-yo lene* 'not-yet then', as in (4.205), where the reported second event chronologically precedes the first one. For the situation where the event of the second predication is explicitly marked as coming after the first one, either *leu api* is used, as in (4.210), or *leu ri no* 'from Given it', as in (4.233):

- (4.233) *I-nggam mbou leu ri no ba tai*  
 3PL-close door from GIV 3SG and k.o.pandanus  
*pingak bidek i-nyehei.*  
 piece install 3PL-shoulder  
 After they closed the door they took the pieces of *tai* pandanus and installed  
 their shoulders (= wings). [Dowansiba:30]

#### 4.7.4 Complex conjunctions

With demonstratives, *gi* forms substantives: *gini* 'the one here'; *gima* 'the one there' etc. Compounded with the Given marker *ri* and either the topic marker *ne* or the third person singular pronoun *no*, complex conjunctions are formed. These function to connect larger chunks of texts, not just conjuncts within sentences. Consider *gimarine* in example (4.234) and *gimarino* in (4.235).

- (4.234) *Lene hi kin bu, gi-bong simiag,*  
 then other with again NOM-sleep next  
*atau minu di-gom di-ma ri ne, hi*  
 or place REL-one REL-that GIV TOP other  
*kin bu ei, handi di-i-jem bi-pia*  
 with again LOC area REL-3PL-call INS-QUOT

*Sen mimbran.*

sen minbran

Then there are others, living together, or at one place, the others in the area called Sen Mimbran.<sup>30</sup>

*Gi-ma-ri-ne, nyen-de andigpoi-nya i-pai bi-pia*  
 NOM-that-GIV-TOP we-POS elder-PL 3PL-say INS-QUOT

*ni-bong-ti andigpoi gom hyen minsien*  
 1EXC-sleep-NOM elder one look.after dog

*di-no ni-nyeng ri no rinyap.*  
 REL-3SG 3SG-name GIV 3SG rinyap

So then, our parents told us that at our place one elder looked after a dog whose name was Rinyap. [Iwou.pam:01 1-12]

- (4.235) *Habiei leu mpia ni-biho cem,*  
 origin from sun 3SG-south also

*ni-cai cem ni-pri-ti cem,*  
 3SG-north also 3SG-jump-NOM also

*ni-cut-ti cem kikau bi-pek nyeni*  
 3SG-fall-NOM also continue PUR-reach us

The original places from the south, the north, the east and the west continuing until he reached us.

*Gi-ma-ri-no nyeni ni-kan-kan ni-kwei*  
 NOM-that-GIV-3SG we 1EXC-know-know 1EXC-come

*leu-si big.*  
 from-NOM not

Therefore then we don't know where we come from. [Yairus 1:003-004]

<sup>30</sup> Since this is natural speech with quite a few heavy pauses, suggesting some repairs, it is difficult to interpret each morpheme and thus the syntactic relation between the elements of this utterance. The point of this example, however, is that it is followed by the complex *gimarine*, indicating something like 'well then...'

## Appendix: Texts

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This Appendix presents five narratives. I have chosen four myths, given by the speakers in response to my request for *ceritera asal-usul* 'origin myths' and one account of the *kain timur* 'traditional ceremonial cloths'. These stories thus have a dual function. They illustrate various grammatical patterns, described in this monograph, while at the same time providing material which can be used in comparative anthropological research.

The first stories, *Digomang* and *Anggos*, were part of a long monologue ( $\pm$  50 minutes) by Yairus Dowansiba, an aidpost orderly at the health centre of Minyambou. The myth of *Digomang* followed his attempt to explain to me the demographic divisions of the (Eastern) Bird's Head. This story evolved in a long list of names of people who together make up the family Ullo. Following that he added the *Anggos* story.

The next two texts were told by the old man Tuantiei Dowansiba. I had been told that he was a renowned story teller. So I went to look for him. A few children took me up the mountain towards his garden. There he sat down along a path and indicated that I should switch on my tape-recorder. He told me the *ceritera asal-usul* related to the family of *Dowansiba*. This family originates from the area around the Anggi lakes, about three days by foot to the south of Minyambou. A few days later, on a Sunday afternoon, he knocked on my door and told me that he had another story for me: *Kwanding*. In this latter story we hear about the 'man-without-body-orifices'. Most likely, it is part of a larger story including *Dowansiba* as well.

Finally, during my second visit to Minyambou, in 1995, I recorded the account of the *kain timur*. The secretary of the *aparatus desa* 'village council', Yoas Iwou, was eager to tell me about the cloth he had as a decoration in his house. He told me that the Hatam only recently had come into contact with *kain timur*. Roughly about four generations ago (at the beginning of this century) they began to acquire them out of a southern direction, from around Bintuni.

The cloths were used as brideprice, but also to acquire land or even 'slaves', i.e. young children bought from the Sougb, Meyah, Moskona, or from further south-east to be adopted as children. Yoas introduced me to two men, whose grandfathers had arrived among the Hatam as *awag*, which is glossed as *budak* 'servant, slave' in Indonesian. *Awag* refers to (orphaned) children who are adopted as extra labourers or marriage partners.

The stories are presented with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and free translations. I have used the standard orthography used in Hatam reading materials, as much as possible. The major difference concerns the spelling of *bi* 'not', which I spell *big*, since I believe it is phonologically similar to other items spelled with final *-ig* (see §2.3). Also, I have recorded a number of clitic schwas, which I leave unglossed, since I am not certain that they represent the citation morpheme *-a*. At various places I have adjusted final consonants. Some items are given in Griffiths (1994) with final voiced or voiceless consonants, but, as I indicated in the phonology discussion, this distinction is neutralised in final position. When a vowel follows, they are always realised as voiced, while preceding a consonant they are voiceless unaspirated, and before a pause they fluctuate between unreleased or fully released voiceless stops.

In order to make opaque syntactic structures more transparent I have indicated significant pauses by a slash. This correlates for almost 100% with a rising intonation, signalling that there is more to come. A falling contour on the final syllable indicates that a sentence has come to its end. This is indicated with #. In the free translations I have tried to correlate slashes with commas and # with full stops. Thus natural speech, which is hardly ever delivered in the neat syntactic structures native speakers offer out of context, is maintained. This allows the reader to understand apparent diversions from claims made in the grammar regarding word order or presence/absence of certain morphological markers. At the same time, at a number of places the recorded material is not clear enough to chose between certain possible alternatives. This has been indicated in footnotes throughout the texts. Indonesian loans, which occur sparingly in the four myths but are rather frequent in the text about Kain Timur, are indicated in **bold** print.

### Text 1: Digomang

Told by Yairus Dowansiba, at Minyambou, 18 October 1994

- (1) *Lene da-ni di-pui sut bi-pia /*  
 then 1 SG-this 1 SG-tell along PUR-QUOT  
*di-ndat gi-tut / yo di i-ntun /*  
 1 SG-mention NOM-along 3PL REL 3PL-originate

*pam-o Ullo him #*  
 family-or Ullo very

So I'll tell about, what I mentioned regarding, those who descended from, the family Ullo.<sup>1</sup>

- (2) *Ullo ba / yo di-no / tungwatu*  
 Ullo and 3PL REL-3SG human  
*ni-ngat-ngat / di i-bong habiei #*  
 3SG-only-only REL 3PL-sleep origin

*ei yo minu di-ni ri #*  
 LOC 3PL place REL-this GIV

Ullo and, they are the ones who, the only people, who live at their land of origin. At their place here.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The form *gi-tut* was changed into *gi bi-tut* 'NOM INST-along', but neither form is very clear. It suggests that the preposition *tut* 'along' or 'about' can be prefixed or nominalised as a verb. But I have no further evidence for this.

<sup>2</sup> The form *ngat* means 'fruit' or 'only', as in *gom ngat* 'one only'. The reduplicated version here indicates that they are the only original people living in this area.

- (3) *Ni kon pam Ullo-a #*  
 this lift.up family Ullo-CIT  
 The beginning of the family Ullo.<sup>3</sup>
- (4) *I-bong-ti/ di i-jem bi-pia/ nghim ndig #*  
 3PL-sleep-NOM REL 3PL-call PUR-QUOT room big  
 Their place of origin, is what is called, Big Room.<sup>4</sup>
- (5) *Yo di i-bong ei si-ri-ma / i-bou muhui-nda-can*  
 3PL REL 3PL-sleep LOC NOM-GIV-that 3PL-head five-hand-two  
 The ones who lived there, (were) seven (people).
- (6) *Ni-mbie him di-ma / bitbon njinta mem*  
 3SG-time very REL-that be.able food for  
*ig-yem big / lene yo-ni ig-yem*  
 3PL-eat not then 3PL-this 3PL-eat  
*gə-hum ngum #*  
 fire<sup>5</sup> charcoal  
 At the very beginning, there was no food for them to eat, so they ate charcoal.
- (7) *Munggwom i-de-nya i-bou muhui-nda-can*  
 child 3PL-POS-PL 3PL-head five-hand-two  
*di-ni / i-pim #*  
 REL-this 3PL-cry  
 Their seven children, they were crying.
- (8) *Api-no / sindig-ə gom / ni-nyeng-a Digomang #*  
 then-3SG old.woman one 3SG-name-CIT Digomang  
*dileu nghai mmeng leu gwamti / cut*  
 slide sugarcane leaf from sky LOC  
*ei nghim-ndig #*  
 LOC room -large  
 So then, a older woman, her name (was) Digomang. (She) slid down on a sugar leaf from heaven, (and) fell at Big Room.
- (9) *Cut ei Nghim-ndig / lene kui*  
 fall LOC room-large then ascend  
*ndam / yok #*  
 towards 3PL  
 (She) came down at Nghimdig, and went up towards, them.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This line begins with an instance of *ni* 'near deictic' without any further affixation. The verb *kon* 'lift up' can also be translated as 'constitute'.

<sup>4</sup> *Nghim ndig* is phonetically [ngam.'diç].

<sup>5</sup> It is not clear what *gə-* signifies. During the transcription it was ignored by the speaker.

- (10) *Coi ni-nsi ni-gom-a / no di ig*  
 enter 3SG-inside 3SG-one-CIT 3SG REL house  
*cai kau hong-ə tut #*  
 north open tree.bark along  
 (She) entered the first room, the people<sup>7</sup> of the north house opened a tree bark for (her) (= they shut her out by hanging a piece of bark).
- (11) *Coi ni-nsi ni-can-a / kau hong-ə tut #*  
 enter 3SG-inside 3SG-two-CIT open bark along  
*coi nggimau hi kin bu / kau hong-ə*  
 enter middle some with again open bark  
*tut # kikau ba-sampai / ug nde / nghim*  
 along continually PUR-until go hit room  
*ni-ngwig-si / ig bihyo #*  
 3SG-finished-NOM house south  
 (She) entered the second room, they had opened bark along, (she) entered another in the middle, they had closed (it) off with bark, this went on all the way until she reached the last room, on the south.<sup>8</sup>
- (12) *Api i-jem sindig ei igbei #*  
 then 3PL-call old.woman at house  
*Digomang ei igbei #*  
 Digomang LOC house  
 So they call her the old woman in the house. Digomang in the house.
- (13) *Lene / Digomang hig yok #*  
 then Digomang ask 3PL  
 Then Digomang asked them,
- (14) *Munggwom ji-de-nya i-pim mindei-i #*  
 child 2PL-POS-PL 3PL-cry what-Q  
 Why are your children crying?<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The two words *kui ndam* 'ascend towards' are phonetically realised as [kuiyendam], not just with a drawn out closed high vowel, but with a open front vowel [e] as well, for which I have no explanation.

<sup>7</sup> Although the pronoun *no* normally refers to third person singular, in this story the narrator regular uses it when clearly more than one referent is meant. In general this happens with headless RC constructions, such as *yo di-no i-bong* '3PL REL-3SG 3PL-sleep' = 'the ones who sleep'. Thus, number may not be such a strict category for this pronoun as generally seems to be the case.

<sup>8</sup> This form is either a wholesale Malay borrowing, as *basampai*, or *sampai* 'until' is prefixed with the PURpositive clitic *ba-* (see §3.2.6). Regular Hatam would have been *bi-pek* 'PUR-reach'. The verb *pek* is used for 'to buy', but also in constructions such as *kwei/ug bi-pek* 'come/go PUR-reach, come/go as far as ...'

<sup>9</sup> Note that *i-pim mindei* '3PL-cry what' contradicts the rule for intransitive verbs in MORPHOLOGY 4.1, which would have expected a preposition *tut* 'along with'.

- (15) *Lene / sob-o Ullo gom pi-ma pai bak /*  
 then woman-or Ullo one ANA-that say to  
 Then one of the Ullo women said to (her),
- (16) *Munggwom ny... / de di-ma i-pim i-nggum*  
 child PL POS REL-that 3PL-cry 3PL-hungry  
*lo / ig-yem hum ngum.*  
 but 3PL-eat fire charcoal  
 The children, eh, those of hers are crying from hunger but, they eat charcoal.<sup>10</sup>
- (17) *Lene no-ni hig yok,*  
 then 3SG-this ask 3PL  
 Then she asked them,<sup>11</sup>
- (18) *Ig-yem hum ngum nok e #*  
 3PL-eat fire charcoal like Q  
 They are eating charcoal, huh?
- (19) *Api-no su ni-ndab bi-yai /*  
 then-3SG extend 3SG-hand PUR-get  
*bikau muig yai bak #*  
 sw.potato ripe take to  
*lene ni-de munggwom ngges ni-hyed-a #*  
 then 3SG-POS child release 3SG-voice-CIT  
 Thereupon she stretched out her hand and took, a cooked sweet potato and gave it to (him). Then her child stopped his crying.
- (20) *Ni-ndig-si / i-hig #*  
 3SG-large-NOM 3PL-ask  
 The older ones asked,
- (21) *No tou tungwatu de munggwom di-ma*  
 3SG how human POS child REL-that  
*ngges ni-hyed-i #*  
 release 3SG-voice-Q  
 How is that that person's child stopped his crying?
- (22) *Lene yo-ni pai-a /*  
 then 3PL-this say-CIT  
 Then they said,
- (23) *Sindig koi di ji-kou pi-ma ri /*  
 old.woman curved REL 2PL-refuse ANA-that GIV

<sup>10</sup> Following the first word of this sentence, the speaker clearly checks himself, and repairs his utterance.

<sup>11</sup> There is no pause whatsoever between (17) and (18).



*no yai njinta bak di-de munggwom di-ni #*  
 3SG take food to 1SG-POS<sup>12</sup> child REL-this  
 The old woman who you rejected, she has given food to my child.

(24) *Yem di-no di-ngges ni-hyed-ə di-ni #*  
 eat REL-3SG REL-release 3SG-voice REL-this  
 He ate and so he stopped crying.<sup>13</sup>

(25) *I-bong kikau ug pek njap-big-yo-ti*  
 3PL-sleep continually go reach daylight-not-yet-NOM

*Digomang/ sindig ni-nyeng-ə*  
 Digomang old.woman 3SG-name

*Digomang/ pai bi-yok-a*  
 Digomang say PUR-3PL-CIT

They slept until the next morning, (then) Digomang, the old woman with the name Digomang, said to them (no pause between (25) and (26))

(26) *Ji-juk leu igbei di-ni #*  
 2PL-descend from house REL-this

*ji-juk leu igbei-a #*  
 2PL-descend from house-CIT

Get down down from this house. Get down out of the house.

(27) *Ya-ha-gom i-juk pai bi-yog-ə: j-ug/*  
 3PL-be-one 3PL-descend say PUR-3PL 2PL-descend

*minu hi #*  
 place some

All of them went down (and she) told them, Go down, (to) another place.

(28) *Lene/ no-ni krau tom/ su*  
 then 3SG-this catch pole extend

*kui gwanti #*  
 ascend sky

Then, she took her stick, stretched (her arm) up to heaven.

(29) *Lene dor dor nyen ei/ tempat di-no/*  
 then run run just LOC place REL-3SG

*minu di i-jem-a nghim-ndig/ wei/*  
 place REL 3PL-call-CIT room-large cry.for

<sup>12</sup> Possibly *di-de* should have been *ni-de* '3SG-POS' = 'her'. Here again, the number marking does not seem very logical. From the context it does not become clear how many mothers (fathers?) and children are involved in either the crying or the receiving of food and consequently stopping with crying.

<sup>13</sup> The relative marker *di-no* appears to be used to signal a causal relationship, and the prefix to *ngges* is unexplained.

*wei njinta #*

cry.for food

Then she ran and ran (back and forth) at, the place which, the place which is called Nghimdig, and cried out, (she) cried out for food.<sup>14</sup>

- (30) *Lene / ni-hyet di nok gi-ni #*  
 then 3SG-voice REL like NOM-this  
 Then, her words were like these,

- (31) *Om cut i/ sieb cut i/ ntigut*  
 taro fall Q sw.potato fall Q taro

*cut i/ wit cut i/ minoi*  
 fall Q banana fall Q taro

*cut i/ Nghim-ndig #*  
 fall Q room-large

Taros fall down, sweet potatoes fall down, large taros fall down, bananas fall down, taros fall down, on Big Room.<sup>15</sup>

- (32) *Lene njinta ha-gom srek leu gwamti #*  
 then food be-one slide from sky  
 Then all the food came down from heaven.

- (33) *Krau tom bi-su kui gwamti lene*  
 catch pole PUR-extend ascend sky then  
*njinta ha-gom srek/ cut ei/ Nghim-ndig #*  
 food be-one slide fall LOC room-large

She held her stick and raised it to heaven and then all the food came down, and fell on, Big Room.

- (34) *Cut ei nghim-ndig lene / kwas njinta /*  
 fall LOC room-large then divide food

*pi-ni/ kwas minoi keyam /*  
 ANA-this divide taro on.one.place

*ntigut keyam/ wit keyam/ sieb keyam #*  
 taro on.one.place banana on.one.place sw.potato on.one.place

It fell at Big Room and then, she divided food, this (just mentioned), (she) divided the taros in one heap, the large taros in one heap, the bananas in one heap, the sweet potatoes in one heap.

<sup>14</sup> The first mention of place is by means of an Indonesian loan *tempat*, followed by the Hatam equivalent *minu* [mənu], which is a loan from Biak, as in [mənukwari] 'Manokwari', also operative in Meyah. The verb *wei* is used especially for beseeching the spirits for something.

<sup>15</sup> There are different species of taro: *om* 'taro with vines'; *ntigut*, the large, indigenous taro (in local Indonesian called *bete*); and *minoi*, the more recently introduced variety—small taro. All instances of the verb *cut* are here realised with a voiced final consonant, before the interrogative clitic *-i*.

- (35) *Api mbus ni-ngad-ə gi ni-ndig/ yai bak/*  
 then gather 3SG-fruit NOM 3SG-large take to  
*no po nyohou no-ni pa #*  
 3SG ANA serve 3SG-this ANA-that  
 Then she gathered the large fruits, (she) gave (them) to, him who served her.<sup>16</sup>
- (36) *Lene/ kes/ ni-mien-mien bak/ yo po/*  
 then leave 3SG-small-small to 3PL ANA  
*i-kau hong-ə tud-a #*  
 3PL-open tree.bark along-CIT  
 Then, she left, the small ones to, those who, had opened the bark.
- (37) *Api-no/ jem yok/ i-kwei ndam no-ni/*  
 then-3SG call 3PL 3PL-come towards 3SG-this  
*ngginau yo/ tut/ i-jip mi-ai-si-a/*  
 teach 3PL along 3PL-cut garden-NOM-CIT  
*i-ta njinta-ti-a/ i-kwen-ti-a/ i-yem-ti-a #*  
 3PL-plant food-NOM-CIT 3PL-cook-NOM-CIT 3PL-eat-NOM-CIT  
 After that, she called them, they came to her, she taught them, regarding, cutting gardens, planting of food, cooking, eating.
- (38) *Lene pai ba yo di ig bihyo/ di-no*  
 then say to 3PL REL house south REL-3SG  
*i-kau hong-ə tut/ igy-a di i-kau*  
 3PL-open bark along house-CIT REL 3PL-open  
*hong-ə tut/ bi-pia*  
 bark along PUR-QUOT  
 Then she told the ones from the south house, who had opened bark, the house who had opened tree bark, and said, (no pause between (38) and (39))
- (39) *Je-ni-a ji-de minu-a/ ji-ta*  
 2PL-this-CIT 2PL-POS place-CIT 2PL-plant  
*njintab-ə no-ro/ di-hyei ndeng #*  
 food-CIT 3SG-but REL-grow wet  
*lene njinta ni-mien-mien #*  
 then food 3SG-small-small

<sup>16</sup> The phrase *ni-ngad-ə gi ni-ndig* [nə-ngad-ə gə nə-ndi] is not clear. I have no other instances of the Nominal marker *gi* in this position. It may involve a thematic noun with the citation marker, followed by a nominalised adjective: 'she gathered its fruits, the large ones...' The final determiner *pa* is a contraction of *pi-ma*. Alternatively, it may be a loan from neighboring Wandamen, which has *pai* in this function.

*karena di ji-kou da-ni #*  
 because REL 2PL-refuse 1SG-this

As for you, as for your place, you will plant food but the ground will be wet. So the food will be little, because you have rejected me.

- (40) *Miai-a ji-jip/ lene/ yo di i-bong/*  
 garden-CIT 2PL-cut then they REL 3PL-sleep  
*hup him/ i-jip miai-a/ eh hampiabei/*  
 hill.land very 3PL-cut garden-CIT eh mountain.area  
*i-jip miai-a/ i-hak ei biei him #*  
 3PL-cut garden-CIT 3PL-hang LOC tree very  
*biei-si nai #*  
 tree-NOM high.up  
*leu/ jo di-hyei-si him mi-ntab*  
 from be REL-grow-NOM very NOM-hair  
*hei ha-nyen #*  
 grow be-just

Gardens you will clear, and then, those who live, (in) the hills (= warmer area), they will clear gardens, eh the mountain area, they will clear gardens, they hang in the very trees. On top of the trees, because it is very ground the grass/weeds will grow again.<sup>17</sup>

- (41) *Yo di i-bong/ hup him/ i-kras*  
 3PL REL 3PL-sleep hill.land very 3PL-cut

*i-kes-kes wai # ngginau bi-yok #*  
 3PL-leave-leave just teach to-3PL

The ones who live, in the hills, they cut grass without problem.<sup>18</sup> She taught them.

- (42) *Lene/ minoi-a/ ntigud-a/*  
 then taro-CIT taro-CIT

*up ntigud-a lene pai bi-yog-a i-ta-o*  
 cut taro-CIT then say to-3PL-CIT 3PL-plant-or

*ni-nggrupti-a # leu ni-ngad-a ig-yem #*  
 3SG-tip-CIT from 3SG-fruit-CIT 3PL-eat

Then, (small) taros, (big) taros [= *bete* in local Malay], cut the *bete*-taro, then (she) said to them we plant eh, their tips. For the fruit we eat.

- (43) *Ngginau yok tut i-up-ti-a # ngginau yok*  
 teach 3PL along 3PL-cut-NOM-CIT teach 3PL

<sup>17</sup> Notice the pre-posing of the object *miai-a* 'garden-CIT', yielding an OV order. A similar change of constituent order is found in (45) and possibly in (58).

<sup>18</sup> The phrase *i-kes-kes wai* was explained as *sebarang saja* 'just any way'. I take this to mean 'in whatever way they want', i.e. they will not experience any problems.

*tut / i-ta minoi-si-a / bikau-a*  
 along 3PL-plant taro-NOM-CIT sw.potato-CIT

*pai bi-yok /*  
 say to-3PL

She taught them regarding the cutting (of taro greens). She taught them about, planting taros, sweet potatoes she said to them,

- (44) *Ji-ta / nə-ud-a #*  
 2PL-plant 3SG-along-CIT<sup>19</sup>  
 You plant their vines.

- (45) *Wid-a pai bi-yok / ni-ngad-a*  
 banana-CIT say to-3PL 3SG-fruit-CIT  
*i-ta big / i-ta ni-pmod-a #*  
 3PL-plant not 3PL-plant 3SG-child-CIT

*ndo njinta-njinta nə-ha-gom igbit bi-yok #*  
 show food-food 3SG-be-one true to-3PL

Bananas she told them, their fruits we do not plant, we plant their shoots. She showed all the (different kinds of) food correctly to them.

- (46) *Lene / ha-nog-n-di-ni / yo di*  
 then be-like-thing-REL-this 3PL REL  
*i-bong ei / Ndon ni-mig di-ni / no*  
 3PL-sleep LOC Arfak 3SG-leg REL-this 3SG

*i-krau kep / mun-pui ndo bi-yo*  
 3PL-catch keep.onto thing-tell show to-3PL

*pi-ma # atau Digomang ndo bi-yok #*  
 ANA-that or Digomang show to-3PL

So, nowadays<sup>20</sup>, those who live at, the foot of Mount Arfak, they hold on to (what) the story showed to them. Or (what) Digomang showed to them.<sup>21</sup>

- (47) *Nog-in-di-a i-bak i-ta njinta bou*  
 like-thing-this-CIT 3PL-to<sup>22</sup> 1INC-plant food head

*i-yai miai-o i-ngot ig-o / gi-ni ha-gom*  
 1INC-take garden-or 1INC-weave house-or NOM-this be-one

<sup>19</sup> The word *nə-ud-a* was corrected to *ni-tud-a*, and explained as *batang* 'stem, stalk'. No doubt, the preposition *tut* 'along with' can be recognised, which is used as generic for 'vines'; see §3.6.

<sup>20</sup> While helping with the transcription the narrator changed *hanogindini* to *nogindini*. The term gives deictic centre of time, either absolute 'now' or 'nowadays', or relative 'at that time'.

<sup>21</sup> Notice that here again, Yairus uses the third person singular free pronoun, together with the plural prefix: *no i-krau kep*.

<sup>22</sup> This is clearly a mistake, corrected by the repair *i-ta*.

*ma yok i-bit gi-ma yo #*  
 this 3PL 1INC-follow NOM-that still

Nowadays we plant food patches, we work gardens or build houses, all of this we still follow that (= is according to that).<sup>23</sup>

- (48) *Lene sop ei muhui-nda-can di-ni / lene*  
 then woman LOC five-hand-two REL-this then

*ug ndo nghai-a / bitai # bak /*  
 go show sugar-CIT four to

*Digomang-a / karena wer andigpoi su #*  
 Digomang-CIT because near old.man already

Then one of the seven women, then she went and showed sugarcane, four. To, Digomang, because she was getting old.

- (49) *Gi-ma ri no / mi-luei / ni-ngkeg #*  
 NOM-that GIV 3SG POST-change 3SG-skin

*nok pilei bu # mi-pai tes no-nti / no pilei #*  
 3SG young again POST-say create 3SG-self 3SG young

That being so, she substituted, her skin. She (was) young again. She recreated herself, she (was) young.

- (50) *Api-no / ndo nghai-a / ni-bou bitai /*  
 then-3SG show sugar-CIT 3SG-head four

*ndo bak / ni-drot-bat-nya / i-bou*  
 show to 3SG-grandchild-COLL-PL 3PL-head

*muhui-nda-can pi-ma #*  
 five-hand-two ANA-that

Thereupon, she showed sugarcane, four clusters, she showed to, her grandchildren, those seven of them.

- (51) *Ji-yem / nghai de di-ni / bitai*  
 2PL-eat sugar POS REL-this four

*di-ni / ji-gwam tut ri #*  
 REL-this 2PL-sit along GIV

*leu mi-j-ug nga da bau #*  
 from POST-2PL-go see I don't<sup>24</sup>

You eat, the sugarcane here, these four, you sit here with them. For you are not allowed to go down and see me.

- (52) *Api-no / mbut ug ei mi-nyei di i-jem*  
 then-3SG walk go LOC Nom-water REL 3PL-call

<sup>23</sup> Recall that the subject prefix *i(g)-* is the same for first person plural inclusive and third person plural. Hence, this sentence refers to 'them' or 'us', being the people who live at the foot of Mount Arfak.

<sup>24</sup> Normally the vetative is realised as *au*. This variant with initial /b/ might be from another dialect (Moile?).

*bi-pia / Usir # ug ei / nghim-ndig / ndam ne-te*  
 PUR-QUOT Usir go LOC room-large towards 3SG-side

*Catubou # lene pai bi-yok /*  
 Catubou then say to-3PL

Thereupon, she went to the river called, Usir.<sup>25</sup> She went to, Big Room, towards the side of Catubou. Then she said to them,<sup>26</sup>

- (53) *Krau / mi-nyei di i-jem pia Un #*  
 catch Nom-water REL 3PL-call QUOT Un  
 She caught, the river called Un.

- (54) *Lene / su ni-ndab krau / mo-a #*  
 then extend 3SG-hand catch shrimp-CIT

*leu Un jou-si #*  
 from Un underneath-NOM

Then, she stretched her hand and caught, a shrimp. From inside the Un.

- (55) *Lene / krau lene / pindi #*  
 then catch then change.skin

*cug ni-ngkeg gi-ni di-nu /*  
 remove 3SG-skin NOM-this REL-far.away

*ni-timiei ba kes ei mi-nyei jou-ə-ti #*  
 3SG-old and leave LOC Nom-water underneath-NOM

Then, she took (it) and then, (it) changed its skin. (She) removed the old upper skin, the old (one) and (she) left it in the water.<sup>27</sup>

- (56) *Leu-ne ngat lo mo-a / ni-jep no-ni*  
 from-TOP see but shrimp-CIT 3SG-new 3SG-this

*ha ni-ngkeg ni-jep no pilei ha-nyen #*  
 be 3SG-skin 3SG-new 3SG young be-just

Then she saw but the shrimp, had a new skin, there was a new skin it was young again.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> This is a mistake, the name should be Un, as becomes clear in line (53).

<sup>26</sup> What follows in line (53) is not the content of Digomang's speech. Presumably, the speech refers back to line (51), implying that after she had said this she went away to the river Un.

<sup>27</sup> Here is an example of a location indicated by the locative nominaliser *ti* following a noun with the citation clitic *-a* 'CIT', as described in §3.2.3 and §4.4.6. This can be contrasted with the same nominaliser directly attached to the spatial noun in line (54): *leu Un jou-si*.

<sup>28</sup> There are no pauses between segments which syntactically constitute separate clauses: *ni-jep no-ni ha* 'its new(ness) was there', *ni-ngkeg ni-jep* 'its skin (was) a new one', *no pilei hanyen* 'it was young again'.

- (57) *Lene kan bi-pia / no-nti cem ma-bisa nok #*  
 then know PUR-QUOT 3SG-EMPH also POST-can 3SG  
 Then she knew that she herself could do that too.<sup>29</sup>
- (58) *Lene krau / wou-a # krau lene / kinom*  
 then catch snake-CIT catch then strangle  
*wou-a ba ni-nnan cug / leu ne / no*  
 snake-CIT and 3SG-skin remove from TOP 3SG  
*pilei ha-nyen # wou di-no wer andig su-a #*  
 young be-just snake REL-3SG near old already-CIT  
 Then she caught, a snake. (She) caught (a snake) and then, she strangled the snake, and its skin removed<sup>30</sup>, and then, he (became) young again. That snake had been rather old.
- (59) *Bon mun-a can di-ni ni-pou leu api /*  
 make thing-CIT two REL-this 3SG-before from then  
*bon no-nti # cug no-nti ni-nnan-a #*  
 make 3SG-EMPH remove 3SG-EMPH 3SG-skin-CIT  
 After she had done these two things, she did herself. (She) removed her own skin.
- (60) *Cug no-nti ni-nnan-a ba / cug*  
 remove 3SG-EMPH 3SG-skin-CIT and remove  
*habiei / ni-mig # kui ndam ni-bou #*  
 origin 3SG-leg ascend towards 3SG-head  
 She removed her own skin and, she removed (as a) start, her legs. (She) went up towards her head.
- (61) *Lene pindi ni-mig-ə ba no pilei ha-nyen /*  
 then change 3SG-leg and 3SG young be-just  
*kikau kikau ba / kwei gwam hon / ni-do bou #*  
 continually continually and come sit stop 3SG-breast head  
 So she changed her skin from her legs and she (or the legs) (became) young again, she went on and on and, she came and stopped (= until she reached to) above her breasts.

<sup>29</sup> The construction with the Indonesian loan *ma-bisa* was corrected with the Hatam *bit-bon* 'follow-make', expressing 'capability'.

<sup>30</sup> Whereas in (55) *ni-ngkeg* 'its-skin' is the object of *cug*, here *ni-nnan* 'its (shedded) skin' seems to be subject of this same verb. It could be that *cug* 'remove' has two valencies, like for example *dahat* 'break'. Alternatively, the object is pre-posed in this clause. Although Hatam is a rather strict (S)OV language, it is possible to have an OV order; cf. (40) and (45) above.



- (62) *Lene ni-drot-bat-nya i-tau #*  
 then 3SG-grandchild-COLL-PL 3PL-arrive  
 Then her grandchildren arrived.
- (63) *Ig-yem nghai bitai pi-ma ngwig*  
 3PL-eat sugar four ANA-that finished  
*leu / y-ug bi-i-ug pai y-ug hara*  
 from 3PL-go PUR-3PL-go say 3PL-go request  
*pia mi-ndo hi kin bu #*  
 QUOT POST-show some with again  
 After they had finished eating those four (clusters of) sugarcane, they went to go asking that she show them some more.
- (64) *Y-ug tau kep ri i-ngat lo / no*  
 3PL-go arrive keep.onto GIV 3PL-see but 3SG  
*bong no-ha-joungwang / pindi ba /*  
 sleep 3SG-be-naked<sup>31</sup> change and  
*leu ba / tu ba / bong ha-jou-ngwang #*  
 from and hole and sleep be-naked-naked  
 When they went and met her and they saw (her) but, she was lying naked, she had changed her skin and, for and, there were holes and, she was lying naked.
- (65) *Gi ri no / ni-drot-bat-nya i-pa-ndip #*  
 NOM GIV 3SG 3SG-grandchild-COLL-PL 3PL-laugh-on.top  
 Therefore, her grandchildren laughed at her.
- (66) *Lene ni-drot-bat-nya / i-nang y-ug igbei bi-pai /*  
 then 3SG-grandchild-COLL-PL 3PL-flee 3PL-go house PUR-say  
 Then her grandchildren, they fled and went home and said,
- (67) *Ni-drot-bat-nya i-hyed-ə no gi-ni /*  
 3SG-grandchild-COLL-PL 3PL-voice 3SG NOM-this  
 The words of the grandchildren were like this,
- (68) *Yey / tu lo yo / mihe lo yo /*  
 hey hole but yet hole but yet

<sup>31</sup> The term *ha-joungwang* has only been encountered in this combination, and explained as *telanjang bulat* 'stark naked'; *jou* may be related to 'inside' as in *minyeyi-jou* 'under the water', while *ngwang* is given as *bulat* 'round'.

- i-pa-ndip-o / i-drot pindi pi-ma #*  
 3PL-laugh-on.top-or 3PL-grandmother change ANA-that  
 Hey, she is all cracks and holes, they laughed at her, their grandmother who had  
 changed her skin.<sup>32</sup>
- (69) *Gi-nog lene ni-ngon-ə kinei sut yok*  
 NOM-like then 3SG-heart bad along 3PL  
*lene dahat bie muig / com bi-yok #*  
 then break tree dry throw to-3PL  
 Therefore she got angry with them and broke off a piece of dry wood, she threw  
 (it) to them (and said,)
- (70) *Je-ni ji-nok andig / ji-nghim-ə dahat ji-mai #*  
 2PL-this 2PL-like old 2PL-backbone break 2PL-die  
 You will grow old, your backbones will break and you'll die.
- (71) *Ji-kou je-nti ji-yai-jo-ti #*  
 2PL-refuse 2PL-EMPH 2PL-eye-be-NOM  
 You have rejected your own lives.
- (72) *Di-pindi tut je-ni big #*  
 1SG-change along 2PL-this not  
 I will not change my skin with (= for) you anymore.
- (73) *Lene i-jem kwei ei minu di i-jem*  
 then 3PL-call come LOC place REL 3PL-call  
*Aigwou / i-jem-a /*  
 Aigwou 3PL-call-CIT  
 So they called, came to the place called Aigwou, they called.
- (74) *Wo sindig pi-ma ba / tu tu #*  
 Wow old.woman ANA-that and hole already<sup>33</sup>  
 Wow, the old woman has cracks all over.
- (75) *Lene andigpoi i-de-nya i-bit yo*  
 then old.man 3PL-POS-PL 3PL-accompany them  
*y-ug ngat /*  
 3PL-go see  
 Then their parents followed them (and) went to see,

<sup>32</sup> The function of *lo* is unclear, possibly a variant of *ri* 'Given'. Apparently, in fast speech, the relativiser /dV/, can be elided, contrary to the explicit rules given when such constructions with verbs were contrasted with attributive adjectives.

<sup>33</sup> It is not clear whether this is a reduplication of *tu* 'hole, crack' (Indonesian *bocor*), as indicated by the narrator, or a sequence of *tu* 'crack' and *tu* 'already' as suggested by Hans Iwou. I take it that this line begins with an interjection *wo* expressing amazement, rather than with a reference to a 'snake' (= *wou*).

- (76) *Y-ug ngat lene kasi*  
 3PL-go see then do<sup>34</sup>  
 They went and saw and did: (no pause between (76) and (77))
- (77) *Ee/ jen ji-kou ji-ngad-i/ pindi ri/*  
 hey 2PL 2PL-refuse 2PL-see-Q change GIV  
*pindi mem nye-ni ri/ bi-gom nye-ni*  
 change for 1PL-this GIV PUR-one 1PL-this  
*ce i-pindi/ bi-gom ei pindi ri #*  
 also 1INC-change PUR-one LOC change GIV  
 Hey, you have rejected what you saw? the changing of skin? she was changing  
 for us, almost we could change also, in a while we would be changing.<sup>35</sup>
- (78) *Lene yo di-no/ i-bong/ minu*  
 then 3PL REL-3SG 3PL-sleep place  
*di i-jem pia Aigwou/ i-jem bi-pia*  
 REL 3PL-call QUOT Aigwou 3PL-call PUR-QUOT  
*yo di i-bong Srat nai/*  
 3PL REL 3PL-sleep Srat high.up  
*mi-i-ttei/ Digomang bi-i-tur ei/*  
 POST-3PL-carry Digomang PUR-3PL-submerge LOC  
*mi-nyei di i-jem-a/ Un-a ti #*  
 NOM-water REL 3PL-call-CIT Un-CIT NOM  
*lene yo bi-pindi tut nye/ lo i-bihi pai-a/*  
 then 3PL INS-change along 1PL but 3PL-each.other say-CIT  
 Then those who, live (at), the place called Aigwou, they called those who live on  
 top of Srat, to carry, Digomang (and) submerge her in, the river called, the Un.  
 Then they changed their skin for us but the others said,
- (79) *Yai njinta bon njinta-o ba/ njinta*  
 take food make food and food  
*bi-cut bi-nye-ni tu/*  
 PUR-fall to-1PL-this already  
 Take food, make food and make it fall for us.
- (80) *Ig-yem hum ngum no yem gi-ni tu*  
 1INC-eat fire charcoal 3SG eat NOM-this already

<sup>34</sup> The Indonesian loan *kasi* 'give, do' is used instead of Hatam *i-pai pia* 'they-said QUOT'.

<sup>35</sup> A few comments to line (77): (i) The interjection *ee* expresses indignation; (ii) the final vowel of *je-ni* 2PL-this' is elided; (iii) the final consonant of *cem* 'also' is elided; (iv) *bi-gom* 'PUR-one' is used for 'almost' or more temporal 'shortly'; (v) Notice the three instances of the Given marker *ri*, which functions much like a cleft-sentence: 'It is that she changes her skin'; 'it is that she changes skin for us'; 'it is almost that (we could) change (our skins)'.

*ba/ gi mai su mi-tig he #*  
 and NOM die already POST-bury only  
 We eat charcoal just like that and, the dead we are only burying.<sup>36</sup>

- (81) *Lene / i-ttei/ i-ttei/ y-ug ngat di mai su /*  
 then 3PL-carry 3PL-carry 3PL-go see REL die already  
*karena digit tut no-nti ri*  
 because ashamed along 3SG-EMPH GIV  
*dru i lo mai hak #*  
 startled but die just  
 So, they carried, they carried (her), they went to see the dead, because they were  
 ashamed for themselves, they were startled but she just died.<sup>37</sup>

- (82) *Mai ri i-ttei ba/ no i-tig ei /*  
 die GIV 3PL-carry and 3SG 3PL-bury LOC  
*sinai-si ei nghim-ndig #*  
 tall.grass-NOM LOC room-large  
 The dead one they carried (her) and, they buried (her) at, the tall grass at Big  
 Room.

- (83) *Kal i-nggok tut/ ni-de juig-a /*  
 if 1INC-search along 3SG-POS hole-CIT  
*lene y-ug i-hig mben/ di i-bong*  
 then 1INC-go 1INC-ask people REL 3PL-sleep  
*ser di-ma i-ndo ni-juig bi-nye/ ni-juigy-a #*  
 keep.out REL-that 3PL-show 3SG-hole to-1PL 3SG-hole-CIT  
 If (= Indonesian loan *kal(au)*) we look for, her grave, and we go and ask the  
 people, those who live<sup>38</sup> there they will show her grave to us, her grave.

- (84) *Mun di-no/ no di-ni bi-bon*  
 thing REL-3SG 3SG REL-this INS-make  
*jo ei Nghim-ndig/ mang bibor #*  
 be LOC room-big many very  
 The things which, that which (she) did at Big Room, (were) very many.

<sup>36</sup> The final clause of line (80) was explained as *kita kubur saja yang sudah meninggal* 'we are just burying those who have already died', implying we aren't doing anything but burying the dead, because we have no (real) food to eat, so please make food appear for us (as in line 79).

<sup>37</sup> The sequence of events in lines (78)–(81) is difficult to interpret. I take it that some people had killed Digomang by immersing her in the river Un. Others were beseeching her for food, and the former group was ashamed because they had unwittingly killed her, while they had thought she would teach them how to renew themselves. This line starts out with the message that they carried her, but is interrupted by information about how they felt: *digit* is Moile for Hatam *mmai*, both glossed in Indonesian as *malu* 'embarrassed'. In other words, they were surprised by her death and then they carried her away to bury her, as line (82) picks up from the beginning of line (81).

<sup>38</sup> The addition of the verbal adjunct *ser* 'keep.out' to the position verb *bong* 'sleep' signals that they sleep or live to the exclusion of others; see discussion in §3.14.

- (85) *Minyei di i-jem / Ullo-a /*  
 water REL 3PL-call Ullo-CIT  
*nok minceu # i-piei lene nyop /*  
 like salt 1INC-taste then taste  
*mem i-bi-yem simmeng-a # bon bi-yok no jo-a #*  
 for 1INC-INS-eat leaves-CIT make for-3PL 3SG be-CIT  
*bi-bon nimwep # srek pai*  
 INS-make poison slide say  
*leu bi-nhye-pa-ro mpe di i-gga yam*  
 from INS-voice-ANA-but time REL 3PL-angry RECIP  
*i-mpuk yam / i-kimu-ke yam*  
 3PL-fierce RECIP 3PL-strangle-keep.onto RECIP  
*y-ug yai nimwep di-ma i-kimut kep yam*  
 3PL-go take poison REL-that 3PL-strangle keep.onto RECIP  
*no jo ei i-jem pia Usrei #*  
 3SG be LOC 3PL-call QUOT Usrei

The river called Ullo is like salt. (When) we lick it then the taste, it is what we use to eat vegetables with, she made that for them. She made poison. (She) slid down and said in order for the time they (would be) angry with each other, (they would) hate each other, (they would) strangle each other, they'd go and take poison there and murder each other. It is (located) at what is called Usrei.<sup>39</sup>

- (86) *Lene / mai bi-tig leu / lene i-bou*  
 then die PUR-bury from then 3PL-head  
*muhui-nda-can pi-ma i-ntek yam / i-mbut #*  
 five-hand-two ANA-that 3PL-separate RECIP 3PL-walk  
 So, after she had died (and) they had buried (her), then those seven people separated, they went (away).
- (87) *I-mbut lene / i-bou ningai i-bit yam /*  
 3PL-walk then 3PL-head three 3PL-follow RECIP  
*ba i-bou bitai di-ni / i-bong /*  
 and 3PL-head four REL-this 3PL-sleep  
*ni-gi-no i-bong ei / Aigwou Srat ri*  
 3SG-NOM-3SG 3PL-sleep LOC Aigwou Srat GIV  
*i-bong kak Udop ug kikau*  
 3PL-sleep track Wariori go continually  
*ni-brig / ug kikau bi-pek Dimbrok /*  
 3SG-headwater go continually PUR-reach Dimbrok

<sup>39</sup> The combination of *kimut* 'strangle' with *kep* is the general expression for 'to murder'. It is realised with and without final consonants in this sentence.

*ug tau Uren sik #*

go meet Uren eddy

They went (away) then, three people accompanied each other, and these four people, they lived, those there they lived at, Aigwou, Srat, they lived along the Wariori all the way to the headwaters, and then further until they reached Dimbrok, went on as far as the eddy of the Uren river (= Oransiki).

- (88) *Lene / i-bou ningai di-mo /*  
then 3PL-head three REL-there

*i-kwei ndam / ne-te minu kwar #*  
3PL-come towards 3SG-side place statue

*i-kwei i-bit yam / i-juk Coisi*  
3PL-come 3PL-follow RECIP 3PL-descend Coisi

*i-kwei krau / Nggimun # Nggimun nyai #*  
3PL-come catch Nggimun Nggimun bank

*mpeg-bou ei / Nggimun nyai # lene i-kwas yam #*  
bridge-head LOC Nggimun bank then 3PL-divide RECIP

Then, those three people, they came towards, the side of Manokwari. They came together, (and) descended to Coisi, they reached, the Nggimun (river). The bank of the Nggimun (river). The bridge head at, the bank of the Nggimun (river). Then they split up.

- (89) *Ullo no mu-bbwe / no-ngkom ngges no kui /*  
Ullo 3SG thing-dumb 3SG-alone leave 3SG ascend

*kak Nggimou / i-jem bi-pia Ullo mu-bbwe ri #*  
track Nggimou 3PL-call PUR-QUOT Ullo thing-dumb GIV

Ullo he (was) the mute one, he alone left (them) he ascended, following the Nggimou river, they call (him) Ullo the mute one.

- (90) *Ttei / ug digek ei / ug bong ei / Bitibam ngwam #*  
carry go grow LOC go sleep LOC Bitibam stump

He carried (?), he went (and) grew (= multiplied) at, he went (to) live at, Bitibam stump (*Bitibam* is a kind of tree; *Bitibam ngwam* = the name of a village).

- (91) *Ug bong ei Bitibam ngwam / lene*  
go sleep LOC bitibam stump then

*i-bi-digek kak Nggimou kikau /*  
3PL-INS-grow track Nggimou continually

*igbei ni-nsi Iglam ni-nsi / i-bong*  
house 3SG-inside Iglam 3SG-inside 3PL-sleep

*kak Nggimou kikau / ug pek Cughyep / kikau srek /*  
track Nggimou continually go reach Cughyep continually slide

*Orans... Muyir #*

[REPAIR] Ransiki

He went to live at Bitibam stump, then they multiplied along the Nggimou river all the way, inside the house inside Iglam (= name of area), they lived all the way

along the Nggimou river, as far as, Cughyep, all the way down to Oransbari (= a mistake), Ransiki.

- (92) *Lene mporo / igbei ni-nsi Iglam*  
 then later house 3SG-inside Iglam  
*ni-nsi / mi-ndat kep pung-a #*  
 3SG-inside POST-mention keep.onto tribe-CIT  
*gi-no y-ug yaida / y-ug i-hig-o /*  
 NOM-3SG 1INC-go ? 1INC-go 1INC-ask-or  
*di-no i-bong igbit Haktieibou /*  
 REL-3SG 3PL-sleep true Haktieibou  
 Then later, in their area inside Iglam, they tell about the family. If we go (not clear what *yaida* means), if we go and ask, the ones who really live at the bare rock (*hak* 'limestone rock'; *tiei* 'white'; *bou* 'head >> Haktieibou = name of a village),

- (93) *Idimbunti / kikau Comti / lene*  
 idimbunti continually comti then  
*yo-ni mi-i-ndat kep gi-ma #*  
 3PL-this POST-3PL-mention keep.onto NOM-that  
*Ullo mu-bbwe ni-nsi-a #*  
 Ullo NOM-dumb 3SG-inside-CIT  
 At Idimbunti, continuing to Comti, then they will tell that. (They are) the house of Ullo the mute one.

- (94) *Lene Ullo tungwatu / gom kes no kui Nsimoi #*  
 then Ullo human one leave 3SG ascend Nsimoi  
 Then the Ullo people, one left, he went up (to) Nsimoi (= name of village).

- (95) *Ug ya ei Nsimoi / ug ya Nsimoi*  
 go stand LOC Nsimoi go stand Nsimoi  
*lene / mbut kikau / ug wim / Mibou #*  
 then walk continually go fell Mibou  
 He went and stood at Nsimoi, went and stayed at Nsimoi and then, he went further, (he) went to fell (= cultivate) Mibou.

- (96) *Mibou di-ni no jo ei / mug ngei-si #*  
 Mibou REL-this 3SG be LOC sea liquid-NOM  
*ei / ne-te / minsien ngiem syor #*  
 LOC 3SG-side dog hole sior  
 This Mibou is located at, the coast. At, the side of, Minsien ngiem syor.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Although *minsien ngiem syor* was explained as *nama tempat* 'name of a place', I am not sure what this refers to. Another explanation refers to dog, which is *minsien*, and origin of *syor*. But it is not clear if this refers to the dog as mythical ancestor, or to the family *Sayori*.

- (97) *Wim ei Mibou / lene ttei njinta*  
 fell LOC Mibou then carry food  
*pi-ma sreke ei / Nghim-ndig*  
 ANA-that slide LOC room-large  
*bi-ta # ta ei Mibou #*  
 PUR-plant plant LOC Mibou  
 He felled at Mibou, then he carried that food (which) had come down at, Big Room to plant (there). He planted (it) at Mibou.
- (98) *Ni / ni-de / Ullo de igy-a igbit /*  
 this 3SG-POS Ullo POS house-CIT true  
*tungwatu di i-bong igbit / Oransibar /*  
 people REL 3PL-sleep true Oransbari  
*Sies nggup / Igmakam / Igmup / Udongbou Udongbou #*  
 sies mouth Igmakam Igmup Udongbou Udongbou  
*Boet / lene / kikau i-bong bi-pek*  
 Maruni then continually 3PL-sleep PUR-reach  
*Mar / Mokwam / Riei / Dindeti / Midrati Supsai #*  
 Warmare Mokwam Prafi Dindeti Midrati Supsai  
 This, his, Ullo's true house is the people who truly live at Oransbari, the mouth of the Sies river, Igmakam, Igmup, Udongbou. Maruni, then, further including Warmare, Mokwam, along the Prafi river, Dindeti, Matarati and Supsai.
- (99) *Arimman poi di-ndat kep pung*  
 shortly little 1SG-mention keep.onto family  
*di i-ntun yam him kikau*  
 REL 3PL-originate RECIP very continually  
*yo-ni ha-gom i-nyeng-a #*  
 3PL-this be-one 3PL-name-CIT  
 In a little while I will recount the families that are related to each other<sup>41</sup> and give all their names.
- (100) *Lene / Ullo no juk gi-ni duk /*  
 then Ullo 3SG descend NOM-this ?  
*ug hammi ei / Nding #*  
 go exactly LOC Nding  
 So, Ullo went down here, went exactly to, Nding river.<sup>42</sup>
- (101) *Lene ni-de lo pung Njungti /*  
 then 3SG-POS but family Njungti

<sup>41</sup> The verb *-ntun* means 'descend from'. Here, with the RECIProcal adjunct *yam* and the adverb *him* the combined meaning obviously is 'be related to each other'.

<sup>42</sup> I am not clear what *duk* refers to. During the transcription, the narrator left it out.



*Nimbai / di ig-ya ne-te Ughyek /*  
 Nimbai REL 3PL-stand 3SG-side Ughyek

*kikau ba-sampai / Ca #*  
 continually PUR-until Ca

So his (descendants) are the families Njungti, Nimbai, who live at the side of Ughyek, as far as, Ca.<sup>43</sup>

(102) *Nog-in-di-a / di-ngges gi-ma ei*  
 like-thing-REL-CIT 1SG-leave NOM-that LOC

*si-ri-ni leu di-nut bu / Ullo*  
 NOM-GIV-this from 1SG-continue again Ullo

*di-no / ig-ya / ug ya Mibou #*  
 REL-3SG 3PL-stand go stand Mibou

*lene / wim miyai / ta ntigud-o / wid-o / minoi-o #*  
 then fell garden plant taro-or banana-or taro-or

Now, I will leave that at here for I will continue again, the Ullo who, they stand (= live), went and settled at Mibou. So, he cleared gardens, planted *bete*-taro, bananas, small taros etc.

(103) *Api-no / Biak-nya / min-nya i-gwam ei Mios #*  
 then-3SG Biak-PL coastal.people-PL 3PL-sit LOC Mios

So then, the Biak, the coastal people they lived at (the island) Mios.

(104) *Biak / i-ngat hum mub / ei / Mibou #*  
 Biak 3PL-see fire smoke LOC Mibou

*lene i-kui ud-a i-nggok #*  
 then 3PL-ascend canoe-CIT 3PL-search

The Biak people, they saw smoke, at, Mibou. Then they got into their canoes (and) they searched (went to have a look).

(105) *I-nggok i-kan bi-pia / mba*  
 3PL-search 3PL-know PUR-QUOT perhaps

*tungwatu i-ndig hum-a / lene i-kwei #*  
 human 3PL-light fire-CIT then 3PL-come

They searched thinking, perhaps (there are) people lighting fires, so they came.

(106) *I-kwei lene / i-ttin # yo di-no i-bong mambei #*  
 3PL-come then 3PL-fear 3PL REL-3SG 3PL-sleep interior

They came, and they were afraid. (They were afraid of) those who lived in the interior.

(107) *Gi-ma-ri-ne i-kes sop / di-ma*  
 NOM-that-GIV-TOP 3PL-leave woman REL-that

<sup>43</sup> Phonetically, the realisation is [nideulo-pung], with my interpretation *ni-de Ullo* '3SG-POS Ullo', which during the transcription was corrected to *ni-de lo pung*.

- i-jem bi-pia / ni-kan ni-nyeng big #*  
 3PL-call PUR-QUOT 1EXC-know 3SG-name not  
 Therefore they left a woman, the one who is called, we don't know her name.
- (108) *Yo andigpoi-nya i-jem bi-pia / mpor hwop #*  
 3PL old.man-PL 3PL-call PUR-QUOT mpor girl  
 They our parents called her, a Mpor girl.
- (109) *Lene mbrab bit Ullo / lene / miap ni-hyed-ə big #*  
 then speak follow Ullo then hear 3SG-voice not  
 Then she spoke with Ullo, and then, he (could) not hear her voice (= language).
- (110) *Lene / ngad-ə sob-ə lene / wak #*  
 then see woman then marry  
 Then, he saw the woman and then, he married (her).
- (111) *Wak lene / yai ni-munggwom /*  
 marry then take 3SG-child  
*ni-ndig i-jem bi-pia / Bihambeia #*  
 3SG-big 3PL-call PUR-QUOT Bihambei-CIT  
*Muid / ni i-jem bi-pia Muid ni-ndig #*  
 Muid this 3PL-call PUR-QUOT Muid 3SG-big  
*ni-ndig ni-pou #*  
 3SG-big 3SG-first  
 He married (her) and then, she got her child, the oldest one is called Bihambei.  
 Muid, this (= the one who) is called Muid the big one. (He was) the first (child).
- (112) *Lene nip-mot ni-can / i-jem pi Bihambeia #*  
 then 3SG-son 3SG-two 3PL-call QUOT Bihambei-CIT  
*nip-mot ni-ningai i-jem pi Noham-a #*  
 3SG-son 3SG-three 3PL-call QUOT Noham-CIT  
*nip-mot ni-bitai i-jem pi Pruon #*  
 3SG-son 3SG-four 3PL-call QUOT Pruon  
*nip-mot ni-muhui i-jem pi Prieu-a #*  
 3SG-son 3SG-five 3PL-call QUOT Prieu-CIT  
 So her second son is called Bihambei. The third son is called Noham. Her fourth  
 son is called Pruon. Her fifth son is called Prieu.
- (113) *Pung e mang bibor # i-ntun /*  
 family Q many very 3PL-originate  
*no di i-ntun / Muid him no-naha /*  
 3SG REL 3PL-originate Muid very 3SG-be  
*no di i-ntun Pruon no-naha /*  
 3SG REL 3PL-originate Pruon 3SG-be  
*no di i-ntun Prieu him no-naha /*  
 3SG REL 3PL-originate Prieu very 3SG-be

*no di i-ntun / Bihambei him no-naha /*  
 3SG REL 3PL-originate Bihambei very 3SG-be

*Noham him no-naha #*  
 Noham very 3SG-be

(There are) very many families. They descend, those who descend from, there are those directly from Muid, there are those that descend from Pruon, there are those that descend from Prieu, there are those that descend from Bihambei, there are those directly from Noham.

- (114) *Lene nip-mot gom lene / nip-misop gom /*  
 then 3SG-son one then 3SG-daughter one

*lene sigau yem / yai / sigau yem /*  
 then disaster eat take disaster eat

*ti i-jem ni-nyeng pia / minyei ud*  
 NOM 3PL-call 3SG-name QUOT water stem

*kep di-no ni-nyeng misop pi-ma ni-nyeng Sibau #*  
 keep.onto REL-3SG 3SG-name daughter ANA-that 3SG-name Sibau  
 Then one son and then, his one daughter, then a natural disaster struck her, she got, a natural disaster struck (her), the one is called, small lake kept her so her name, that daughter's name was Sibau.<sup>44</sup>

- (115) *Lene minyei ud kep ei / minyei*  
 then water stem keep.onto LOC water

*ud kep di i-jem pi / Sibau ud #*  
 stem keep.onto REL 3PL-call QUOT Sibau stem

So a small lake [?] kept her in, a small lake which is called, Sibau stem. (see fn. 44)

- (116) *Ba no-ni ni-de / mai mui g*  
 and 3SG-this 3SG-POS die dry

*ser # bi-nut hi big #*  
 keep.out PUR-continue some not

And he his (offspring), (she) died (and she) was infertile. (S)he did not continue.<sup>45</sup>

- (117) *Nog-in-di-a di-ndat kep / Pruon ni-nsi ri #*  
 like-thing-REL-CIT 1SG-mention keep.onto Pruon 3SG-inside GIV  
 Now I will recount, the house of Pruon.

<sup>44</sup> This sentence leaves many questions. *Sigau* was explained as *bencana alam* 'natural disaster', while Griffiths (1994: 68) gives 'storm'. *Minyei ud* was explained as *telaga* 'pond, lake', but it may also refer to 'canoe' in that *ud* is 'stem, trunk' and is also used for 'canoe'. *Sibau* was explained as the name of a lake. Thus, the general meaning seems to be that the daughter of one of these sons was drowned, through a storm, while travelling by canoe on a lake. The syntactic relations between the lexical elements of this line are not clear to me.

<sup>45</sup> Phonetically this is [ni-deu]; see also footnote 43.

And then follow many names of sons and daughters of Pruon and the other Ullo descendants.

## Text 2: Anggos

Told by Yairus Dowansiba, at Minyambou, 18 October 1994:

- (1) *Di-pui / mun-pui-ə tut / Anggos ni-mbut ti #*  
 1SG-tell thing-tell along Anggos 3SG-walk NOM  
 I (am going to) tell, the story about, Anggos' travels.
- (2) *Anggos mbut leu / minu di / i-jem*  
 Anggos walk from place REL 3PL-call  
*ni-nyeng-ə pia / Usir nyei ngwam #*  
 3SG-name QUOT Usir water treestump  
 Anggos left from, a place which, they call its name Usir waterfall.<sup>46</sup>
- (3) *Lene / mpia di-ma / no i-ta hampriab-o /*  
 then place REL-there 3SG 3PL-plant bow-or  
*bitugw-o / lene yai mitam ni-ngat /*  
 jambu.tree-or then get k.o.tree 3SG-fruit  
*tau minyei kep / ki leu no tungwatu #*  
 draw water keep.onto crack from 3SG human  
 Then, (at) that place, s/he (or they) planted a bow, a rose-apple tree, then s/he got a *mitam* fruit, immersed (it) in the water, after it cracked there was a human. (It is not clear who put the fruit in the water. In the next sentence it is presumably this person who orders Anggos to guard the rose-apple tree.)<sup>47</sup>
- (4) *Lene heu hampriab / yai bak #*  
 then polish bow get to  
*hampriab-o / tibor-o / yai bak /*  
 bow-or arrow-or get to  
*ne cuk / Anggos a-gwam ser / bitugw-a #*  
 TOP order Anggos 2SG-sit keep.out jambu.tree-CIT  
 Then s/he polished a bow, gave that. A bow, (and) arrows, (s/he) gave (them) to (him), then (s/he) ordered, Anggos you guard, the rose-apple tree.
- (5) *Gwam ser bitugw lene / pilei-ndei /*  
 sit keep.out jambu.tree then shoot.w.bow-hit

<sup>46</sup> Yairus located this at the Usir river, a tributary of the Hing river, which seems to be the Ransiki river.

<sup>47</sup> Unexplained in *no i-ta* is the third person singular free pronoun followed by the plural verbal prefix, which phonetically is realised as [noy.ta]. Yairus uses [hampriab] for 'bow', while the version [hampiab] is claimed to be more correct Tinam. The variant with /r/ is said to belong to the Moile dialect.

*ni-pou pilei-ndei antimai #*  
 3SG-before shoot.w.bow-hit butterfly

He guarded the rose-apple tree and then, he shot, at first he shot a butterfly (or butterflies).<sup>48</sup>

- (6) *Lene kwei ndo bak nip-mem #*  
 then come show to 3SG-mother  
 Then he came and showed (it) to his mother.

- (7) *Nip-mem pai bag-a gi-ma atimai ri #*  
 3SG-mother say to-CIT NOM-that butterfly GIV  
*lene ig-yem big #*  
 then 1INC-eat not  
 His mother said to (him), That is a butterfly. So we don't eat (them).

- (8) *A-ug ug e/ a-pilei gi dut biei*  
 2SG-go go Q 2SG-shoot NOM drink tree  
*tou bu-a ni-nyeng hab-a #*  
 flower again-CIT 3SG-name bird-CIT  
 You go first, shoot that which drinks (from) tree flowers named 'bird'.<sup>49</sup>

- (9) *Ug pilei hab lene/ ug pilei hab/*  
 go shoot bird then go shoot bird  
*lene ttei kwei bak/ ha(b) di-ma*  
 then carry come to bird REL-that  
*ni-nyeng pia hamug-a #*  
 3SG-name QUOT k.o.swift-CIT  
*ngges kep/ hum lene hum umu #*  
 release keep.onto fire then fire extinguish  
 He went (to) shoot a bird and then, he went (and) shot a bird, then (he) carried it and came (showed it) to (her), that bird's name was called *hamug* [i.e. a kind of swift]. (It) let drop, the fire and then the fire extinguished.<sup>50</sup>

- (10) *Hum umu/ hig nip-mem-a/ mi-ig-yai*  
 fire extinguish ask 3SG-mother-CIT POST-1INC-get

<sup>48</sup> Three comments with regard to (5): (i) This line illustrates the well-known phenomenon in Papuan languages of Tail-Head linkage, i.e. a new sentence starts off with a repetition of the final material of the preceding sentence. There are a number of occurrences of T-H linkage in this and other texts. (ii) From speakers of both Moile and Tinam dialects I have recorded [atəmai]. It is not clear why the realisation here involves a nasal before the alveolar stop. (iii) The verbs *pilei* 'shoot with arrow' and *ndei* 'hit' (Indonesian gloss = *kena*) are contracted to [frindei].

<sup>49</sup> It is not clear whether the sounds [bua] indeed reflect the indicated gloss.

<sup>50</sup> The word for 'dying of fire' is *mu*. It seems an epenthetic homorganic vowel serves to link the nominal subject *hum* 'fire' with its predicate *mu* 'extinguish (intransitive)'. Similarly in the Tail-Head linkage of (10).

*hum ei ti to #*

fire LOC NOM how

The fire died, (he) asked his mother, Where are we going to get fire?<sup>51</sup>

- (11) *Nip-mem pai-a / cuk / a-ug yai hum*  
3SG-mother say-CIT order 2SG-go get fire

*leu / Aunei / no bong ei /*  
from Aunei 3SG sleep LOC

*Limbiau / ni-nyei bei #*  
Limbiau 3SG-water under

His mother said, ordered, You go get fire from, Aunei, he lives at, Limbiau, under the water.<sup>52</sup>

- (12) *Lene no-ni krau / awig-ə ba*  
then 3SG-this catch nibung.palm and

*kui awig lene pai bi-pia / si-nggom si-nggom #*  
ascend k.o.palm then say PUR-say 1DU-topple 1DU-topple

Then he grabbed, a nibung palm<sup>53</sup> and he climbed the nibung palm, then he said, Let's topple over, let's topple over.

- (13) *Lene awig-ə nggom tut kikau*  
then nibung-CIT topple along continually

*ei Hakteibou # kwei krau / pek / Awig behei #*  
LOC Hakteibou come catch reach nibung below

Then the nibung palm toppled over along with (Anggos) all the way to, Hakteibou. It came as far as Awigbehei (= the name of a village, clearly meaning 'under the nibung palm').

- (14) *Nggom tut awig behei / ug*  
topple along nibung below go

*kikau awig ei / Sibrou # di atas gunung #*  
continually nibung LOC Sibrou at top mountain

He toppled over with him to Awigbehei, and he went further (to) a nibung at, Sibrou. (And as a kind of afterthought, in soft voice in Indonesian,) On top of the mountain.

- (15) *Sibrou / jo leu Sibrou / ngat hum mub*  
Sibrou be from Sibrou see fire smoke

<sup>51</sup> During the transcription the speaker corrected [ei ti to] to [ei si tou i] = 'at NOM how Q'.

<sup>52</sup> *Limbiau* was explained by Yairus as *nama daerah* = 'name of an area'. For what it is worth I venture the etymology: *Lin* could refer to the mountain range: *Lin(a)*, and *biau* = 'knee'. Actually, *Aunei* was pronounced as [Aungei], likely derived from *A-ug nyei* '2SG-go water'. This refers to a waterfall in that area.

<sup>53</sup> My informant equated *awig* with the *nibung* palm, which is identified as *Caryota rumphiana* in the *Kamus besar bahasa Indonesia*. Griffiths (1994:3) lists *awi* as 'highlands palm tree the trunk of which is used for main parts of rafts on Anggi Lakes'.

*ei / Jodipminden #*

LOC jodipminden

Sibrou is, from Sibrou he saw fire smoke at Jodipminden (= name of area<sup>54</sup>)

- (16) *Lene / ug / kikau ei / Jo-dip*  
 then go continually LOC be-on.top  
*kin mi-nden # krau awig mmeng bi-kim*  
 with NOM-slanting catch nibung leaf PUR-tie  
*ig / juk / gwam ei / coi igbei #*  
 house descend sit LOC enter house  
 Then, he went, on and on to, Jodip and Minden. (Then) he grabbed some nibung leaves and tied these to a house, he descended, and sat at, entered the house.
- (17) *Lene / hara / No tou ri no jug i /*  
 then request 3SG how GIV 3SG descend Q  
 Then, he asked, Who is down there?
- (18) *A-yai hum hi bi-da #*  
 2SG-get fire some to-1SG  
 Give me some fire.
- (19) *Sindig Ngimtet pai-a, di-mig-ə rit*  
 old.woman Ngimtet say-CIT 1SG-leg-CIT deformed  
*di-ndab-ə rit #*  
 1SG-arm-CIT deformed  
*a-juk ma-na-nti-a a-yai # hum-a #*  
 2SG-descend POST-2SG-EMPH-CIT 2SG-take fire-CIT  
 The old woman Ngimtet said, My legs are lame, my arms are lame. Come down yourself and take (it). The fire.<sup>55</sup>
- (20) *Gwam ei bot nai / pai, a-yai ei hum*  
 sit LOC rafters high say 2SG-get LOC fire  
*hi bi-da #*  
 some to-1SG  
 He sat on the high rafters, (and) said, You give me some fire.<sup>56</sup>
- (21) *Lene pai bi-pia, / a-juk na-nti a-yai #*  
 then say PUR-QUOT 2SG-descend 2SG-self 2SG-get  
 Then she said, You yourself descend and get (it).

<sup>54</sup> Note that *jo* = 'be'; *dip* 'on top of'; *mi-nden* could be 'NOM-slant'.

<sup>55</sup> It is not clear what function the form *ma-* has. It could be the demonstrative *ma*, or the posterior marker, or a nominalising *mi* (< *mun* 'thing'), attached to the emphatic free pronoun.

<sup>56</sup> What has been transcribed as locative preposition *ei* 'at, to', may in fact be a drawn-out realisation of the final glide of the verb *yai*. This preposition following this verb is odd.

- (22) *Gwam-do / bot dihyei bu hara*  
 sit-? rafters ground again request  
*srek ei pak hara / juk ei srou*  
 slide.down LOC rack request descend LOC rack  
*hara / kikau / kwei kikau di-hyei-si #*  
 request continually come continually REL-grow-NOM  
 He sat on, the lower rafters again and asked, slid down to the (firewood-)rack  
 and asked, descended to the rack (on which humans sleep) and asked, all the  
 way, until he came all the way to the ground.<sup>57</sup>
- (23) *Lene / Ngimtet kat/ ha ni-ntab-ə kep #*  
 then Ngimtet grab braid 3SG-hair keep.onto  
*ba ni-ngoubei/ ni-ntab-ə kim no ni-ngoubei*  
 and 3SG-armpit 3SG-hair-CIT tie 3SG 3SG-armpit  
*nta / ba ni-bou ntab-ə kim ni-bou ntab #*  
 hair and 3SG-head hair tie 3SG-head hair  
*ba / ni-jum ntab-ə kim ni-ma-nta # lene bong #*  
 and 3SG-penis hair tie 3SG-vagina-hair then sleep  
 Then, Ngimtet grabbed, the braids of his hair (and) held onto them. And his  
 armpit, its hair she tied to her armpit hair, and his head hair she tied to her head  
 hair. And, his pubic hair she tied to her pubic hair. Then she slept.<sup>58</sup>
- (24) *Bong lene / nggok puig mem no-nti /*  
 sleep then search road for 3SG-EMPH  
*lene kam ni-kwai nghas bi-pas #*  
 then scratch 3SG-groin edge PUR-loose  
*ni-ngoubei bi-pas / lene tit hum ba*  
 3SG-armpit PUR-loose then snatch fire and  
*kiju bi-pri / pri tut Ngimtet / lene / ngkwei #*  
 get.up PUR-jump jump along Ngimtet then return  
 She slept then, he sought a way for himself, and scratched his groin free. His  
 armpits free, then he snatched the fire and got up and jumped, he jumped along  
 with Ngimtet, and then he returned.

<sup>57</sup> In this one sentence, the narrator tells about the descent of Anggos into a traditional house: *bot nai* are the upper rafters, supporting the roof; *bot dihyei* are the rafters that support the *bot nai*. Further down one encounters two racks, the upper one, *pak*, holds the firewood, the lower one, *srou* forms the sleeping place for humans. The word *dihyeisi* usually refers to the earth in general. *Dihyei* is 'ground, soil, land' and appears to be made up of the relative marker *di* plus the verb *hyei* 'grow, protrude'. The form *do* following *gwam* is an enigma, it is followed by a pause which suggests a repair in the utterance.

<sup>58</sup> It is very likely that the schwas on *ni-ntab* reflect the citation clitic *-a* 'CIT', allowing for the OV order in some of the clauses in line (23). Notice also that final consonants may easily be dropped, as in *nta*, but also in *ni-mat* 3SG-vagina', which is then compounded with *ntab* 'hair'. The verb *kim* has the specific meaning of 'tying something to something else'.



- (25) *Ug ya ne-te di-nyo ngat nip-mum ei /*  
 go stand 3SG-side REL-up see 3SG-uncle LOC  
*Limbiau nyei bei / lene srek ba mbut ni-mig #*  
 Limbiau water under then slide and walk 3SG-leg  
 He went (and) stood at the high side (of the mountain) (and) saw his uncle  
 (= mother's brother) at, under the Limbiau waterfall, then he slid down and went  
 by foot.
- (26) *Mbut ni-mig / kwei ngat nip-mum / hara*  
 walk 3SG-leg come see 3SG-uncle request  
*tut hib / lebih / mbut ni-mig*  
 along pandanus more walk 3SG-leg  
*kikau / ug kikau ug hak no ei bimbrai nggramti #*  
 continually go continually go hook 3SG LOC k.o.tree branches  
 He went by foot, came and saw his uncle, he asked (him) for pandanus, more, he  
 went by foot further, went further, went (to) hang her in the branches of the  
*bimbrai* tree.<sup>59</sup>
- (27) *Lene ngat Haksibriop nip-misop-bat-nya i-bou*  
 then see Haksibriop 3SG-daughter-COLL-PL 3PL-head  
*can / misop-bat i-bou can / ara buwak yok #*  
 two daughter-COLL 3PL-head two then take them  
 Then he saw the two daughters of Haksibriop, the two daughters, and he took  
 them along.<sup>60</sup>
- (28) *I-ngkwei ha-nyen / i-ngkwei ngges yok kak /*  
 3PL-return be-just 3PL-return release 3PL track  
*Nggimou / ndei / minu di i-jem*  
 Nggimou hit place REL 3PL-call  
*ni-nyeng Biriephuisi #*  
 3SG-name Biriephuisi  
 They returned again, they returned (and) he let them go along, the Nggimou river,  
 he hit (= reached) the place called Biriephuisi.
- (29) *Lene / ba / ba-nggwen / cibou nggwen /*  
 then and use-sharp thorn sharp

<sup>59</sup> Note one of the spare Indonesian loans in this story: *lebih* 'more', here used as a conjunction, similar to the use of Hatam *kikau*, which is equated with Indonesian *terus* 'continuing'. The term *bimbrai* is translated as *kersin* = 'cherry'; Griffiths gives as gloss 'tree the bark of which is used to treat leg sores'.

<sup>60</sup> The form *ara* is encountered only here, and has the same function as *lene*. *Haksibriop* is explained as the name of a woman, which is now a mountain, or rock; *hak* = 'a bare rock formation'. The verb *buwak* is translated as *antara* 'take human object'; it may well be related to *wak* which expresses 'to marry'.

*bi-tu ni-mig bi-cug sop-nya #*  
 INS-puncture 3SG-leg PUR-threaten woman-PL  
 Then, and, he used (something) sharp, sharp thorns, he used (the thorns) to  
 puncture their legs to threaten the women.

- (30) *Lene sop-nya / i-ca / lene i-bon i-nggrom /*  
 then woman-PL 3PL-open then 3PL-make 3PL-blood  
*ne pai pia, / sop i-ug simug #*  
 TOP say QUOT woman 3PL-go menstrual.hut  
 Then the women, they opened<sup>61</sup>, then they were bleeding, and he said, Women  
 (should) go to the menstrual hut.

- (31) *Lene srin ser yok #*  
 then block.off keep.out them  
 Then he enclosed them.

- (32) *Mpia di srin ser ni-nyeng Mbingwam #*  
 place REL block.off keep.out 3SG-name Mbingwam  
 The place where he enclosed (them) is called Mbingwam.

- (33) *Sop cin i-mbut i-kwei tug hon*  
 woman pair 3PL-walk 3PL-come pound stop  
*srin ei Mbingwam / lene i-hig, / No*  
 block.off LOC Mbingwam then 3PL-ask 3SG  
*tou na-ni a-srin ser nye-ni i #*  
 how 2SG-this 2SG-block.off keep.out 1PL-this Q  
 The two women walked and came up to the boundary at Mbingwam and asked,  
 Why are you blocking us off?<sup>62</sup>

- (34) *Lene pai bi-yok bi-pia, Ji-ngat ji-mung-bei /*  
 then say to-them INS-QUOT 2PL-see 2PL-thigh-under  
*ji-nggrom ri #*  
 2PL-blood GIV  
 So he said to them, Look at your thighs, your blood (is there) (= you're bleeding).

- (35) *Gi-ma-ri / ni-di-no di-srin je-ni #*  
 NOM-that-GIV 3SG-REL-3SG 1SG-block.off 2PL-this  
 That's why I am blocking you off.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> The narrator explained *ca* with *buka* 'open'. The verb may refer to 'open wounds' or more specifically to 'menstruating'. I have not been able to check this.

<sup>62</sup> The combination *tug hon* 'pound stop' means 'to stop'; I have not encountered *hon* by itself.

<sup>63</sup> It seems as if the speaker hesitates, or tries to repair between the conjunction *gima + ri* 'NOM-that + GIV' and the compound of *no-di-no* '3SG-REL-3SG'. A more regularly used conjunction to signal this kind of reason relationship seems to be *gimarino* 'that (is) it'.

- (36) *Ngges nok kui gi-ma / kwas*  
 release like ascend NOM-that divide  
*sop cin ba sop i-kak minyei*  
 woman pair and woman 3PL-track water  
*di nyeng Nggimou #*  
 REL name Nggimou  
 He released them going up there, he separated from the pair of women and the woman tracked the river called Nggimou.
- (37) *Lene sop-nya / i-ka Nggimou / noni*  
 then woman-PL 3PL-track Nggimou 3SG-this  
*ka minyei di i-jem nyeng Nggimun #*  
 track water REL 3PL-call name Nggimun  
 So the women, they followed the Nggimou, he went along the river called Nggimun.<sup>64</sup>
- (38) *No-ni mbut ya / nim ke hab kin*  
 3SG-this walk stand restrain keep.on bird with  
*Nggimun-a / hab-a i-duas #*  
 Nggimun-CIT bird-CIT 3PL-screetch  
 He walked (on and) stood, he silenced the birds and the Nggimun, the birds were screetching.<sup>65</sup>
- (39) *Lene pai bi-ha-nya, / Ha je-ni/ ji-hye*  
 then say to-bird-PL bird 2PL-this 2PL-voice  
*se di-tingou au #*  
 keep.out 1SG-ear don't  
*leu sop-nya di-kes yo di i-kak Nggimou-a #*  
 from woman-PL 1SG-leave 3PL REL 3PL-track Nggimou-CIT  
 'Then he said to the birds, Birds you, don't let your sound block my ears, for the women I left are following the Nggimou.'<sup>66</sup>
- (40) *Kui / kwei kwen / yeng ei / Mbingwam #*  
 ascend come cook pot LOC Mbingwam  
 He went up, came and cooked, a cooking pot at, Mbingwam.

<sup>64</sup> The final consonant of *kak* 'track' is elided in both instances in this line: [ikanggimou] and [kaminyei] are the phonetic realisations.

<sup>65</sup> The combination *nim kep*, with final /p/ here elided, is explained as *kasi diam* 'make silent'; Griffiths (1994:54) glossed it as: 'to suppress, restrain, humiliate, embarrass'. It seems that *nim* does not occur by itself.

<sup>66</sup> Here the preposition *bak*, as in *pai bak* 'say to' is reduced to *bə*. Various words lack their final consonants: *hab* 'bird' > *ha*; *hyet* 'voice, language' > *hye*; *ser* 'keep.out' > *se*.

- (41) *Kwen yeng lene/ na-nya/ i-co yeng-a ti #*  
 cook pot then pig-PL 3PL-step.on pot NOM  
 He cooked a pot and then, the pigs, they trampled on the pot.
- (42) *Lene/ yeng kiak/ kon yeng-a siber/*  
 then pot boil lift pot pour  
*kak Nggimun-a # Nggimou-a # kui gi-ma/*  
 track Nggimun-CIT Nggimou-CIT ascend NOM-that  
*ug ndei nungugw di i-jem Sitti #*  
 go hit mountain REL 3PL-call Sitti  
 Then, the pot was boiling, he lifted the pot and poured it out, he followed the Nggimun. [REPAIR] The Nggimou. He climbed up there, until he reached the mountain called Sitti.<sup>67</sup>
- (43) *Lene/ sop y-ug pri/ Sophahwab #*  
 then woman 3PL-go jump Sophahwab  
*ba kui ei Sopngoi #*  
 and ascend LOC Sopngoi  
*ig-ya trima i-ngat i-ceb/*  
 3PL-stand there 3PL-see 3PL-husband  
*lene i-pai pia/ Ni-ceb ri nyo #*  
 then 3PL-say QUOT 1EXC-husband GIV up.there  
 Then, the women went and jumped, Sophahwap (= name of an area). And ascended to Sopngoi. They stood there (and) they saw their husbands, so they said, Our husbands are up there.<sup>68</sup>
- (44) *Lene sop cin di-ni/ i-droi yok*  
 then woman pair REL-this 3PL-sway them  
*ei/ sop-ngoi-nya i-jem pia di-ma*  
 LOC woman-sparse-PL 3PL-call QUOT REL-that  
*i-jem bi-pia brieb i-dimbun-ti #*  
 3PL-call PUR-QUOT flat 3PL-crowd-NOM  
 Then this pair of women, they swayed themselves (= danced) at, the blighted women which are called Briebidimbunti.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> The mountain *Sitti* is etymologically explained by Hans Iwou as *si* '1 dual' + *titi* 'cross a log/bridge'.

<sup>68</sup> The names of geographical areas may have the following meanings: *Sop-ha-hwap* 'woman-bird-nose' and *Sop-ngoi* 'woman-curse'. *ngoi* is explained as *padang rumput saja* 'just grass land'. The clause *ig-ya trima* 'they stood there' is a correction by the speaker of his original *ig-yathim-a*. This may have the adverb *him* 'exactly', but the *ti* is unexplained. *Trima* = *ti-ri-ma* 'NOM-GIV-that'.

<sup>69</sup> Note that the placename *Sopngoi* from (44) most likely refers to infertile women. Here another placename is introduced: *Briebidimbunti* which appears to be made up of *brieb* 'flat area' + *i-dimbun-ti* '3PL-dense/crowded-NOM'.

- (45) *Brieb di i-jem-ə sop ngoi #*  
 flat REL 3PL-call woman infertile  
 The flat area is called infertile women.
- (46) *Jug gi-ma jug/ ug srin ser*  
 descend NOM-that down go block.off keep.out  
*yok di-no/ srin ser ei-si/*  
 3PL REL-3SG block.off keep.out LOC-NOM  
*sop-nya ei/ i-dimbun ti #*  
 woman-PL LOC 3PL-crowd NOM  
 He went down there, he went down to obstruct the ones who, he obstructed there, the women at Idimbunti (= 'the pace of their crowding').
- (47) *Jadi/ leu biei di-mbun-ti-a gi-ma srin*  
 so from tree REL-dense-NOM NOM-that block.off  
*ser yok/ i-jem pia ta biei*  
 keep.out 3PL 3PL-call QUOT plant tree  
*ba dimbun/ ser sop pi-ma yok #*  
 and dense keep.out woman ANA-that 3PL  
 Thus, because the trees grow densely, those blocked them off, they say that he planted trees and (they were) dense, blocking the women like that.
- (48) *No-ni dor kikau/ ug ndei/ ka*  
 3SG-this run continually go hit track  
*Hing-ə juk/ lene/ ngat/ pung*  
 Hing descend then see family  
*Moi i-de/ ba usap ei/ tring behei/ Kwok com-ti #*  
 Moi 3PL-POS and carry LOC cave under Kwok throw-NOM  
 He ran all the way, until, he tracked the Hing [= Ransiki] river downstream, then, he saw, those of the Moi clan, and he carried (them) to, the cave, at the mouth of the Kwok river.<sup>70</sup>
- (49) *Ngges ni-tom nggileng/ ba usap nok/*  
 leave 3SG-stick clang and carry like  
*tig no bong kikau ei-a/*  
 stone 3SG sleep continually LOC-CIT  
*kwok com-ti/ lene/ dor kikau*  
 kwok throw-NOM then run continually  
*kak kwok/ ug tau ke eu/*  
 track kwok go meet keep.onto Eu

<sup>70</sup> It is not clear what it is Anggos saw and carried on his back (=usap). Possibly he saw, i.e. he reached the area of the Moi clan and he was carrying a stone, which he used as walking stick, as is suggested by the following line. com 'throw' + ti 'NOM' conveys 'estuary' of a river.

*lene kuk Eu-ə ba / Eu ngkwei /*  
 then delay Eu and Eu return

*ni-jem-a Eu ngkwei-si #*  
 3PLE-call-CIT Eu return-NOM

He let go of his stick and it clanged, and (the river) carried it like, a stone (which) lies still in the eh, in the mouth of the Kwok river, then, he ran all the way along the Kwok, until he met the Eu, then he held up the Eu and, the Eu returned, we call it the Eu's return.<sup>71</sup>

- (50) *Dor kikau / ug ngat nip-mem /*  
 run continually go see 3SG-mother

*nip-mem-ə mai su #*  
 3SG-mother die already

He ran on and on, he went to see his mother, his mother had already died.

- (51) *Lene / yai ni-njum / pwoi ei / minai-ə ti #*  
 then take 3SG-bone put.in LOC bag NOM  
 Then, he took her bones, put them into, (his) stringbag.

- (52) *Ni-ngon-ə mpo tut nip-mem mai su /*  
 3SG-heart bitter along 3SG-mother die already

*lene / ttei nip-mem ni-njum / dor kak Hing-ə kikau.*  
 then carry 3SG-mother 3SG-bone run track Hing continually

He was mad about his mother's death, so, he carried his mother's bones, ran all the way along the Hing (= Ransiki) river.

- (53) *Kikau / ug kui / ud ei / Oransibar nging #*  
 continually go ascend canoe LOC Oransbari cape

*lene pai bak nye di mambei*  
 then say to us REL interior

*bi-pia / Ni-kui ud ba / n-ug*  
 INS-QUOT 1EXC-ascend canoe and 1EXC-go

*sreu nip-mem ni-njum ei / Mios #*  
 hang 1EXC-mother 3SG-bone LOC Mios

All the way, he went (and) climbed, a canoe at, cape Oransbari. Then he said to us of the interior, Let's get into a canoe and, we go hang the bones of our mother at, Mios.<sup>72</sup>

- (54) *Minu di i-jem ni-nyeng pia / Rosoar kin Rimbab #*  
 place REL 3PL-call 3SG-name QUOT Rosoar with Rimbab  
 The place is called Rosoar (= presumably Mioswar) and Rimbab.

<sup>71</sup> Apparently, the story is meant to explain the presence of a rock in the mouth of the Kwok river, as well as the name of a village *Eungkweisi*, which is situated at a point where the river Eu makes a turn. It is possible that in lines (48)–(49) the reference to the hero Anggos and a river is mixed.

<sup>72</sup> The verb *kui* 'ascend' is used for 'getting into' boats, cars, airplanes. *Mios* is Biak for 'island'.

- (55) *Lo ug bi-tau kep/ ug bi-tau*  
 but go PUR-arrive keep.onto go PUR-arrive  
*kep yo di-no Undamen #*  
 keep.onto 3PL REL-3SG Wandamen  
*di i-bong ei/ Rosoar Rimbab lene/*  
 REL 3PL-sleep LOC Rosoar Rimbab then  
*mbe Undamen i-jem ni-nyeng pia Kuripasai #*  
 people Wandamen 3PL-call 3SG-name QUOT Kuripasai  
 But he went and met, he went and met those of the Wandamen. Those who live  
 at, Rosoar Rimbab and then, the Wandamen people call him (i.e. Anggos)  
 Kuripasai.<sup>73</sup>
- (56) *Mbut bu leu mben Undamen/ lene ug*  
 walk again from people Wandamen then go  
*tau kep Biak-nya # mben Biak #*  
 arrive keep.onto Biak-PL people Biak  
 He travelled again from the Wandamen people, then he went and met the Biak.  
 The Biak people.
- (57) *Dor kikau leu yo-ni ug tau kep*  
 run continually from 3PL-this go arrive keep  
*mbe Biak lene/ Biak i-jem ninyeng pia*  
 people Biak then Biak 3PL-call 3SG-name QUOT  
*Paitua Mandermaker #*  
 old.man Mandermaker  
 He ran on from them went until he met the Biak people, and the Biak call him  
 "old man Mandermaker".<sup>74</sup>
- (58) *Ne Biak-ni-huk/ ug ngges ud-ə mem/*  
 TOP Biak-PL.3PL-chase go leave canoe for  
*Undamen/ kin Biak-nya #*  
 Wandamen with Biak-PL  
 Now the Biak chased (him), he went and left the canoe(s) for, the Wandamen,  
 and the Biak.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> The combination of *tau arrive* and *kep* means 'to meet'. Kamma (1975:48) relates the Wandamen story about two friends Uri and Pasai. In the note to this story (p.121) he remarks that Held had recorded these figures in Waropen myths. Possibly, they were originally creator and culture hero to the Geelvink Bay people, according to Kamma.

<sup>74</sup> In Kamma (1975:119-120) *Mandermaker* is related to the name *Mansren*, the creator (?), culture hero of the Biak.

<sup>75</sup> *Biak-ni-huk* is probably a contraction of *biak-nya-i-huk* 'biak-PL-3PL-chase'. *Ug ngges* is phonetically realised as (*runnges*), the /r/ being explained as a feature of the Moile dialect, presumably reflecting *lo ug ngges* (or *ri ug ngges*) 'but/GIV (he) went released'.

- (59) *Apino / nye di-no mambei ni-kan ud*  
 therefore we REL-3SG interior 1EXC-know canoe  
*big karena ni-mbut ni-mig /*  
 not because 1EXC-walk 1EXC-leg

*ni-mbu ni-mig-si ri #*  
 1EXC-walk 1EXC-leg-NOM GIV

Therefore, we of the interior don't know the canoe because we travel on foot, it's (because) of our travelling on foot.

- (60) *Ug kes ud mem yo di-no Mios*  
 go leave canoe for 3PL REL-3SG Mios  
*lene yo-ni i-kui ud-a #*  
 then 3PL-this 3PL-ascend canoe-CIT

*mi-mbut kikau kriaug krau / riei*  
 POST-walk continually skirt go catch Prafi

*nggup kikau / gi mbut kikau /*  
 mouth continually NOM walk continually

*ug tau kep / Buton / ug ngges*  
 go arrive keep.onto Buton go leave

*kibar bie ner mem yo-ni #*  
 boat wood board for 3PL-this

He went and left the canoes for them of Mios so they travel by canoe. He'd go on all the way skirting (the coast) until, the mouth of the Prafi river on and on, all the way, he went and met, Buton, he went (and) left wooden ships (with engines) for them.<sup>76</sup>

- (61) *Lene / bi-mbut kikau / ni-kan-kan ug*  
 then PUR-walk continually 1EXC-know-know go

*kikau ni-nyai si / ug tau*  
 continually 3SG-bank NOM go arrive

*kep raja Yuriana #*  
 keep.onto queen Juliana

Then, he travelled further, who knows all the way to the end of the world, until he went and met Queen Juliana.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> The occurrence of the nominaliser *gi* before *kui* is strange here. It could be that a velar stop of *kikau(g)* surfaces, connected with a schwa to the following verb *mbut*.

<sup>77</sup> The free translation is motivated by the following observations: (i) *ni-kan-kan* was first explained as *kami tidak tahu* 'we don't know', but no negative element is present; (ii) *ni-nyai-si*, which contains the word *nyai* 'other bank of a river' was explained as *akhir bumi, tunjung bumi* 'end (of) world, cape (of) world'. Clearly, the narrator means something like: 'we don't know exactly where this mythical hero went, but it must have been way beyond our familiar world'.



## Text 3: Dowansiba

Told by Tuantiei Dowansiba at Minyambou, 20 October 1994:

- (1) *Dowansiba / eh... i-wim mi ai #*  
 Dowansiba [STUTTER] 3PL-fell garden  
 Dowansiba, eh, they cleared a garden.
- (2) *I-wim mi ai leu ne /*  
 3PL-fell garden from TOP  
*i-wim mi ai lene i-bon ngugw ser #*  
 3PL-fell garden then 3PL-make fence keep.out  
 They cleared a garden and after that, they cleared a garden and then they closed it off with a fence.
- (3) *I-wim ninno ba / i-pindei #*  
 3PL-fell long.time and 3PL-burn(garden)  
 They cleared it for a long time and, they burned it off.
- (4) *I-pindeik ba / i-ndim njinta bou-o*  
 3PL-burn<sup>78</sup> and 3PL-plant food head-or  
*n-di-yok ni-ndig #*  
 thing-REL-like 3SG-large  
 They burned and, they planted a food patch and so on a big one.
- (5) *I-ndim trem bou-o / yu-hu situt*  
 3PL-plant sugar head-or 3PL-plant sw.potato  
*ti ba ig-ya hek mpia mpuk /*  
 NOM and 3PL-stand exposed sun fierce  
*lene / eh / sop cin-a / i-jip mi ai #*  
 then eh woman pair-CIT 3PL-cut garden  
 They planted a corn patch, they planted sweet potato vines and they were exposed to the heat of the sun, and then, eh, the pair of women, they cleared a garden.<sup>79</sup>
- (6) *Ninno lene sop cin-a / yu-hu*  
 long.time then woman pair-CIT 3PL-plant  
*situt bi-pud #*  
 sw.potato.vine PUR-complete  
 A long time then the two women, they planted sweet potatoes until it was finished.

<sup>78</sup> In contrast with the final position in (3), the verb *pindei* 'burn (a garden)' is realised with a final velar stop preceding a stop.

<sup>79</sup> While transcribing this text, Hans Iwou suggested that *tut* 'along with' should follow the clause *ig-ya hek mpia mpuk*.

- (7) *E sop cin-a ig-yai munggwom #*  
 Q<sup>80</sup> woman pair-CIT 3PL-get child  
 Then the two women got children.
- (8) *Sop cin-nya ig-yai munggwom-ə can #*  
 woman pair-PL 3PL-get child-CIT two  
 The pair of women got two children.
- (9) *I-bong-ə simug #*  
 3PL-sleep menstrual.hut  
 They stayed (in) the menstrual hut.
- (10) *Lene pinai cin i-ttei biei-a tut yok*  
 then male pair 3PL-carry tree-CIT along 3PL  
*ninno / sop cin #*  
 long.time woman pair  
 So the pair of men carried wood for them a long time, the two women.<sup>81</sup>
- (11) *Sop cin je-ni ji-kwei #*  
 woman pair 2PL-this 2PL-come  
*leu munggwom-nya ikieba tu #*  
 from child-PL toddler already  
 You two women you come. Because the children have already grown up.<sup>82</sup>
- (12) *A / ni-nog-o / hib tiei #*  
 CIT 3SG-like-or pandanus white  
*hib tiei # nggieb big-yo #*  
 pandanus white ripe not-yet  
 (The women answer), It's still like eh, a white pandanus. A white pandanus.  
 (They are) not ripe yet.
- (13) **Dou mona, dou doho ogoa ba wawawa**  
 (A repetition of (12) in Sougb)
- (14) *Ni-hwou big-yo / nye ri no ni-bong yo #*  
 1EXC-come not-yet we GIV 3SG 1EXC-sleep yet  
 We're not coming yet, as for us we're still staying.
- (15) *Ninno ba / i-bong ninno ba*  
 long.time and 3PL-sleep long.time and

<sup>80</sup> A sound, homophonous with the Question marker, is used as a hesitation marker. Alternatively, it is a rendering of the TOPic marker *ne*, with nasal elided.

<sup>81</sup> Hans Iwou remarks that *sop cin* clarifies the pronominal object of this sentence *yok*. In other words, it functions as an afterthought.

<sup>82</sup> The term *kieba* is explained as '*sudah umur tujuh atau delapan bulan* 'they already have the age of seven or eight months'. This is the age at which the father pays the second instalment of the brideprice.

*munggwom-nya i-mbut #*  
 child-PL 3PL-walk

A long time and, they stayed a long time and the children were walking.

- (16) *I-mbut lene pinai cin i-hig /*  
 3PL-walk then male pair 3PL-call  
*Sop cin je-ni ji-kwei #*  
 woman pair 2PL-this 2PL-come

*leu munggwom i-ndig di-ni / leu biei*  
 from child 3PL-large REL-this from tree

*tam nye / njinta tam nye tu #*  
 suppress 1PL food suppress 1PL already

They could walk and then the two men called, You two women you come.  
 Because the children are big now, because we're fed up with the wood, we're fed up with the food.

- (17) *Lo sop cin i-pai ni-hwou big-yo #*  
 but woman pair 3PL-say ipE-come not-yet

*ninno ni-bong ni yo #*  
 long.time 1EXC-sleep this yet

But the women said, We're not coming yet. A long time we'll be staying here yet.

- (18) *Lene / sop cin i-bong lo big lene /*  
 then woman pair 3PL-sleep but not then  
*pinai cin-a i-wim-o / biei-a #*  
 man pair-CIT 3PL-fell-or tree-CIT

*i-wim-o biei-a ba yi-heu nog-o /*  
 3PL-fell-or tree-CIT and 3PL-polish like-or

*i-heu nok biei lub i-bi-ngon-o*  
 3PL-polish like tree stripped 3PL-INS-heart

*hakiceu # hakiceu-a #*  
 hornbill hornbill-CIT

Then, the two women stayed and after a while, the two men cut down eh, a tree.  
 They cut down eh a tree and shaped (it) like eh, they shaped (it) like blank wood  
 and with that they imitated eh a hornbill. A hornbill.

- (19) *I-bidek i-nyihei di-ni i-nyihei*  
 3PL-install 3PL-shoulder REL-this 3PL-shoulder

*di-ma leu ne / i-bidek-o i-hwab nok hakiceu #*  
 REL-that from TOP 3PL-install-or 3PL-nose like hornbill

They installed this shoulder and that shoulder and then, they installed eh their  
 noses (or beaks) like a hornbill.

- (20) *Leu ne / i-bihi pai-a /*  
 from TOP 3PL-each.other QUOT-CIT

*njap lene i-kindig bi-pud ei #*  
 day(light) then 1INC-fix PUR-complete LOC  
 Then they said to each other, Tomorrow then we'll finish it ready (for us to fly).

- (21) *Lene sop cin-a / yo-ni i-gwam igbei-a #*  
 then woman pair-CIT 3PL-this 3PL-sit house-CIT  
 Then the two women, they stayed in the house.

- (22) *Lene yo-ni-a / lene sop cin*  
 then 3PL-this-CIT then woman pair  
*yu-hu situd-a # ig-yai mi-ai #*  
 3PL-plant sw.potato.vine-CIT 3PL-get garden-CIT  
*yu-hu bikau-a #*  
 3PL-plant sweet.potato-CIT  
 Then they, then the two women planted sweet potato vines. They worked the garden. They planted sweet potato.

- (23) *Lene pinai cin yo-ni i-gwam*  
 then male pair 3PL-this 3PL-sit  
*igbei ba i-kindig gi-ma bi-pud*  
 house and 3PL-fix NOM-that PUR-complete  
*leu ri no / i-kindig ba /*  
 from GIV 3SG 3PL-fix and  
*i-ba kwo / tai pingak*  
 3PL-use mat k.o.pandanus piece  
 Then the two men they stayed home and finished that until it was completed after which, they fixed it and, they used mats, (pieces of) *tai* pandanus. (no pause between (23) and (24), in fact these two lines are delivered in very fast speech)

- (24) *I-bidek i-ngou sinon di-ni leu ne*  
 3PL-install 3PL-armpit chest REL-here from TOP  
*i-mba ba / yas cau-o / gi-ni yok dahat ngwig #*  
 3PL-fly and ruin thatch-o NOM-this like break finished  
 They installed the torso and then they flew and, ruined the thatch eh, such that it was completely broken.<sup>83</sup>

- (25) *Ne sop cin i-kwei / lene i-pai bak*  
 TOP woman pair 3PL-come then 3PL-say to  
*sop cin pai-a /*  
 woman pair say-CIT

<sup>83</sup> The term *yas* seems to refer to the power of wind, as in line (26). Here it is used to refer to the turbulence caused by the flapping of the two men's wings.

*Ammani ne hou di-ni hwou big e?*  
 today TOP wind REL-this come not Q

And the two women came, then they said to the two women, Today then, this wind didn't come (at your place)?

- (26) *Hou yas igy-o/ cau dahat bi-ngwig #*  
 wind ruin house-or thatch break PUR-finished  
 The wind has ruined the house, the thatch is all broken.

- (27) *Leu ne/ i-pai-a, nye-ni ne hwou big #*  
 from TOP 3PL-say-CIT 1PL-this TOP come not  
 Then, they (i.e. the women) said, As for us it didn't come (= not where we were).

- (28) *I-mba-mba nyen ba poi-kin-a i-teu mung*  
 3PL-fly-fly just and few-with-CIT 3PL-grab thigh  
*tut sop cin-a lene i-kwei ba /*  
 along woman pair-CIT then 3PL-come and  
*i-bong njap ri no/ sop cin*  
 3PL-sleep daylight GIV 3SG woman pair  
*i-hig pia y-ug mi-ai-si ri #*  
 3PL-ask QUOT 3PL-go garden-NOM GIV  
 They flew around a bit again and almost perched on the two women then they came (back) and they slept (stayed) and one day the two women asked, saying, Let's go to the garden.

- (29) *A ji-bie hwou leu ba ni-nggam mbou ug e #*  
 CIT 2PL-ahead come from and 1EXC-close door go Q  
 (The men answered), You go ahead, we'll close the door first.

- (30) *I-nggam mbou leu ri no ba*  
 3PL-close door from GIV 3SG and  
*tai pingak bidek i-nyehei #*  
 k.o.pandanus piece install 3PL-shoulder  
 They closed the door and after that they took the *tai* pandanus pieces and installed the shoulders (= wings).

- (31) *Bidek gi-ni leu ne/ bie i lub ba*  
 install NOM-this from TOP tree stripped and  
*i-bidek hwab leu ri no i-mba bano #*  
 3PL-install nose from GIV 3SG 3PL-fly ?<sup>84</sup>  
**a a aib edra, aib edra, aib edra, aib houa, aib houa, aib houa**  
 (Sougb: a, a, hornbill fly (3x), hornbill go (3x))

<sup>84</sup> The articulation is not clear. It is rendered as *ba* 'and' during the transcription. The speaker probably has used something like *nok* '3SG' or 'like' to introduce the chanted Sougb which imitates the call of a hornbill.

After they had installed this, the stripped wood and they installed their nose after which they flew away (shouting) A, a, a, hornbills fly, hornbills fly, hornbills go, hornbills go. (= Sougb)

- (32) *I-di-mba*    *ba /*    *i-di-mba*    *ba /*  
 3PL-flap-fly    and    3PL-flap-fly    and
- i-di-mba*    *ri*    *no /*    *y-ug*    *ba /*  
 3PL-flap-fly    GIV    3SG    3PL-go    and
- i-di-mba*    *ba*    *y-ug*    *kikau*    *ba /*  
 3PL-flap-fly    and    3PL-go    continually    and
- i-kui-o /*    *i-kui*    *kimbrim*    *ei-o /*    *mug-a*  
 3PL-ascend-or    3PL-ascend    k.o.bamboo    LOC-or    sea
- ni-brig /*    *mug*    *ni-brig*    *Dowansiba #*  
 3SG-headwaters    sea    3SG-headwaters    Dowansiba

They flew and, they flew and, they flew it was, they went and, they flew and went on and on and, they went up to eh, they went up a *kimbrim* bamboo at the eh, at the headwaters of the sea, the headwaters of the sea Dowansiba.

- (33) *Mug*    *ni-brig*    *leu*    *ne /*    *yo-ni*    *kikau*  
 sea    3SG-headwaters    from    TOP    3PL-this    continually
- y-ug*    *bong*    *ei*    *mug*    *brig #*  
 3PL-go    sleep    LOC    sea    3SG-headwaters
- The headwaters of the sea and then, they went all the way and went to live at the headwaters of the sea.

- (34) *Lo*    *big*    *lene /*    *sop*    *cin*    *i-kwei*    *leu*    *lene*    *i-nggam*    *mbou #*  
 but    not    then    woman    pair    3PL-come    from    then    3PL-close    door
- After a while then, the two women came from (the garden) and they closed the door.

- (35) *I-nggam*    *mbou*    *leu*    *ne /*    *ni-kinjoi*  
 3PL-close    door    from    TOP    3SG-yo.sib
- hig*    *ni-kindig-a /*    *Na-ni*    *a-pai*    *bi-da*  
 ask    3SG-ol.sib-CIT    2SG-this    2SG-say    to-me

*di-kad-o*    ....    *di-ceb*    *big*    *e #*  
 1SG-grab-or    [STUTTER]    1SG-husband    not    Q

They closed the door and then, the younger sister asked her older sister, You didn't tell me to grab eh, my husband, right?

- (36) *Na-ni*    *pai*    *bi-da*    *big*    *e*  
 2SG-this    say    to-me    not    Q
- You didn't tell me, huh? (No pause between (36) and (37))

- (37) *Pai-a*    *annani-a /*    *ni-pug-o /*    *mbo*  
 say-CIT    yesterday-CIT    1EXC-pick-or    pandanus

*ngat / ni-puk mbo ngad api*  
 fruit 1EXC-pick pandanus fruit then  
 She said, Yesterday, we picked eh, the pandanus fruit, we picked the pandanus  
 fruit and then (no pause between (37) and (38))

- (38) *cut ndei-o / ingmuig di-no / ind-ə /*  
 fall hit-or gourd REL-3SG mother<sup>85</sup>  
*amei nda rom de / ingmuig-ə kimbou #*  
 mother hand black POS gourd broken  
 it fell and hit eh, the gourd which, our mother, our mother's heritage, the gourd is  
 broken.<sup>86</sup>

- (39) *Ingmuig y-ug leu leu lo big lene*  
 gourd 3PL-go from from but not then  
*sop cin i-bong #*  
 woman pair 3PL-sleep  
 After the gourds had gone after a while the two women stayed.

- (40) *I-bong ninno ninno lo big lene /*  
 3PL-sleep long.time long.time but not then  
*i-kak minyei / minyei di-no /*  
 3PL-track water water REL-3SG  
*Dowansiba bong-ti-a # minyei-ə kak minyei-a #*  
 Dowansiba sleep-NOM-CIT water-CIT track water-CIT  
 They stayed for a long time and after some time then, they followed a river, the  
 river which, where Dowansiba stayed. River they followed the river.

- (41) *I-kak minyei lene andigpoi pi-ma bong*  
 3PL-track water then old.man ANA-that sleep  
*minyei pi-ma nibrig #*  
 water ANA-that 3SG-headwaters  
 They followed the river and that old man lived at the headwaters of that river.

- (42) *Bong minyei ma ni-brig-ə ba / mbrab*  
 sleep water that 3SG-headwater and speak  
*big / gi-ni yok mbrab big #*  
 not NOM-this like speak not

<sup>85</sup> Here the narrator uses Sougb for 'mother' = *ind-im* '1SG-mother', followed by the vocative form *amei* which Sougb and Hatam share.

<sup>86</sup> The combination of *nda(b)* 'hand' and *rom* 'black' is explained as *warisan* 'heritage'; in Griffiths (1994:44) it is glossed as 'to own, to have used'. I am not certain if the identification of the morphemes is correct. The relation to the previous lines in which the younger sister asks her older sister if she had told her to grab (take? hold on to?) her husband eludes me. Presumably, the gourds refer metaphorically to the husbands, since the opaquely articulated *ingmuig* of line (39) was explained as *yoni* 'they', referring to the men.

*ni-yai gi-ni yok mud #*  
 3SG-eye NOM-this like closed

*gi bon n-oi-nsi cem big #*  
 NOM make 3SG-anus-inside also not

He lived at that river's headwaters and, he did not speak. This one didn't speak. His eyes were likewise closed. There was also not an anus.<sup>87</sup>

- (43) *Leu ne/ leu no-ni non bikau*  
 from TOP from 3SG-this bake sw.potato

*muigy-a # bikau muigy-a yo/*  
 dry-CIT sw.potato dry-CIT yet

*com ei minyei-a ti #*  
 throw LOC water-CIT NOM

Then, because he was baking ripe sweet potatoes. The ripe sweet potatoes and, he threw (them) into the river.

- (44) *Lene sop cin i-ka minyei-a/ lene*  
 then woman pair 3PL-track water-CIT then

*ig-yai bikau-a/ yai bag-o/ minsien-a #*  
 3PL-take sw.potato take for-or dog-CIT

Then the two women followed the river, and they took the sweet potatoes, gave them to eh, the dogs.

- (45) *Lene ig-yai-o/ yai-o/ bikau muig/*  
 then 3PL-take-or take-or sw.potato dry

*ntigud-a yo cin ig-yem ninno ninno*  
 taro-CIT 3PL pair 3PL-eat long.time long.time

*ba/ i-kak minyei ma bi-y-ug ngat andigpoi pi-ma #*  
 and 3PL-track water that PUR-3PL-go see old.man ANA-that

Then they took or, they took or, the ripe sweet potatoes, taros the two of them at all the time and, they were following that river until they went to see that old man.

- (46) *Y-ug ngat andigpoi pi-ma leu ne/*  
 3PL-go see old.man ANA-that from TOP

*andigpoi pi-ma/eh/ i-bong bit leu ne/*  
 old.man ANA-that 3PL-sleep follow from TOP

*andigpoi pi-ma cuk yok pia*  
 old.man ANA-that order 3PL QUOT

*J-ug hai-o ngat sop cin i-ngat*  
 2PL-go pick-or see woman pair 3PL-see

<sup>87</sup> I have no satisfactory explanation for *gini yok* (in other texts also *gima yok*). It seems to convey something like 'it is like...'



*ro mbrab big/ gwam gwam ba*  
 but speak not sit sit and

*mbrab big mm mm mm.*  
 speak not mm mm mm

They went to see that old man and then, that old man, eh, they stayed with (him) and then, that old man ordered them, You go pick vegetables, see the two women saw but he did not speak, he just sat and (could) not speak, mmmmm.

- (47) *Sop cin y-ug hai-o y-ug hai-o*  
 woman pair 3PL-go pick-or 3PL-go pick-or

*jibrig tud-o/ wou-a #*  
 k.o.tree along-or snake-CIT

The two women went (to) pick (vegetables) they went to pick (from) the *jibrig* tree along with eh, a snake.

- (48) *Wou-a ri no i-nggai-o ei jibrig*  
 snake-CIT GIV 3SG 3PL-coil-or LOC k.o.tree

*ni-nggre-ti no-ni ba/ no inggai*  
 3SG-between-NOM 3SG-this and 3SG 3PL-coil

*jibrig nggreti lene i-ngot kep*  
 k.o.tree between then 3PL-weave keep.onto

*ninno leu lene kou leu ig #*  
 long.time from then go from ?<sup>88</sup>

The snake was the one coiled up eh in between the *jibrig* (leaves) he and, he was coiled up in between the *jibrig* leaves and then they tied it all together and went from there.

- (49) *Y-ug hai lene i-kes bak andigpoi pi-ma #*  
 3PL-go pick then 3PL-leave to old.man ANA-that

They went to pick (vegetables) and then left (them) for the old man.

- (50) *I-kwek ba i-kwek leu ri no/*  
 3PL-untie and 3PL-untie from GIV 3SG

They untied and they untied and after that,

- (51) *I-kwek ba ba leu wou di-no*  
 3PL-untie and and from snake REL-3SG

*srer no/ ba ni-bou dad-o*  
 dart 3SG and 3SG-head pierce-or

*andigpoi pi-ma lene sop cin di-ma*  
 old.man ANA-that then woman pair REL-that

<sup>88</sup> It is not clear what this final *ig* does. It does not refer to a house. It may be related to a conjunction-like element. Compare also Kwanding (62).

*i-pai* *pia/* *A-bon* *a-yai* *a-bon* *a-huig/*  
 3PL-say QUOT 2SG-make 2SG-eye 2SG-make 2SG-mouth

*a-bon* *a-oi-nsi/* *le* *piga* *ni-yai*  
 2SG-make 2SG-anus-inside then open 3SG-eye

*cem #* *piga* *ni-nsi* *cem* *bi-mbrab #*  
 also open 3SG-inside also PUR-speak

They untied (it) and and because the snake which darted (at) him, and its head pierced eh, that old man and then the two women said, Do your eyes, do your mouth. Do your anus, then he opened his eyes also. (He) opened his insides too so that he (could) speak.

- (52) *Mbrab* *lene* *sop* *cin* *i-ngot* *ig/eh/*  
 speak then woman pair 3PL-weave house

*mbrab* *leu* *ne/* *ba/* *ngon #*  
 speak from TOP and heart

*I-ndo* *ba* .... *ndon* *n-di-yok* *bu* *big #*  
 3PL-show and [Sougb] point thing-REL-3PL again not

He spoke and then the two women built a house, eh, he spoke and then, and, (he) tried. They showed and (unintelligible Sougb, which was changed into:) he no longer pointed and so on.

- (53) **La le ji-nuk ei ghei de ijin.**  
 (Sougb: meaning is unclear)

- (54) *Leu* *lene* *lo* *big* *lene/* *cuk* *yok #*  
 from then but not then order 3PL

*i-jip* *miai* *ni-ndig* *bibor* *nogindini #*  
 3PL-cut garden 3SG-big very now

*i-jip* *miai* *lene* *wim #*  
 3PL-cut garden then fell

From then after a while then, he ordered them.<sup>89</sup> They cut a very big one of a garden now, they cut a garden and then he felled (the trees).

- (55) *Wim* *lene/* *ndim* *trem-o/* *bikau-o/*  
 fell then plant sugar-or sw.potato-or

*n-di-yok* *i-ti* *ba* *hom* *miai* *bi-put #*  
 thing-REL-like 3PL-cut and weed garden PUR-complete

He felled and then, (they/he?) planted sugarcane, sweet potatoes, and things like that they cut and weeded the garden until it was ready.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>89</sup> In spite of the final contour on *yok*, the construction *cuk yok i-jip* represents indirect speech, as indicated by the person marking on the complement verb; direct speech would have had a second person: *ji-jip*.

<sup>90</sup> The verb *ti* is exclusively used for 'cutting a garden'. The verb *hom* contrasts with *jip* in that the former indicates weeding by pulling out grass and weeds while the latter refers to 'weeding with a machete'.

- (56) *Miai put lene / eh/ kwen njintab-ə*  
 garden complete then eh cook food  
*ba # i-nggog-o / sop cin pi-ma /*  
 and 3PL-search-or woman pair ANA-that  
*i-ceb ba / eh/ i-nggok i-ceb-bat-nya ba*  
 3PL-husband and eh 3PL-search 3PL-husband-COLL-PL and  
*munggwom i-pim tut i-cigy-a #*  
 child 3PL-cry along 3PL-father-CIT  
 The garden was finished and then, eh, he cooked food and. They searched eh,  
 those two women, their husbands and, eh,<sup>91</sup> they searched for their husbands and  
 the children were crying for their fathers.
- (57) *Lene / kwen njintab-ə ba / kwen mem yo*  
 then cook food and cook for 3PL  
*di-no / Sidai-o / Apu-o / yo di*  
 REL-3SG Moskona-or uncivilised-or 3PL REL  
*mbrei pulau di-nyo kou ha-gom /*  
 foreign island REL-up around be-one  
*no-ro / munggwom cin pi-ma /*  
 3SG-but child pair ANA-that  
*i-miap igbit i-cig big lene i-pim #*  
 3PL-hear true 3PL-father not then 3PL-cry  
 Then, he cooked food and, cooked for those who, the Moskona, the uncivilised<sup>92</sup>,  
 those who are foreigners from all the islands around, but, the two children, they  
 didn't really smell<sup>93</sup> their fathers so they cried.
- (58) *I-pim / lene kwen njinta mem-o /*  
 3PL-cry then cook food for-or  
*Tuigy-o / Sreu-o / gi-ni-yok lo /*  
 Sougb-or Meyah-or NOM-this-like but  
*i-ttei njinta ba i-bi-biak yok /*  
 3PL-carry food and 3PL-INS-host 3PL  
*lo munggwom cin pi-ma-nya i-miap igbit*  
 but child pair ANA-that-PL 3PL-cry true

<sup>91</sup> Notice that the speaker is confused, resulting in a VSO order, although the constituents are separated by heavy pauses.

<sup>92</sup> The term *Apu* is explained as *masih biadab* 'still savage' and it refers to people living between Kebar and Merdey.

<sup>93</sup> As in many Papuan languages, there is one lexical item covering both senses of hearing and smell; in this context, apparently 'smell' is meant; cf. line (58).

*i-cig ni-nghab big lene i-pim #*  
 3PL-father 3SG-odour not then 3PL-cry

They were crying, then he cooked food for eh, the Sougb eh, the Meyah eh, and such like but, they carried food and used that to host them, but the two children didn't really smell the odour of their fathers so they (kept) crying.

- (59) *I-pim / lo big lene / i-kwen*  
 3PL-cry but not then 3PL-cook

*njintab-ə bu / mem-o yo di-no mug*  
 food-CIT again for-or 3PL REL-3SG sea

*ni-brig nyo kug.*  
 3SG-headwater up.there go.up

They were crying, after a while then, they cooked food again, for eh those of the headwaters of the sea far away.

- (60) *Mug ni-brig gi-nyo kug lene / kwen*  
 sea 3SG-headwater NOM-up go.up then cook

*njinta mem yo di-no munggwom cin pi-ma*  
 food for 3PL REL-3SG child pair ANA-that

*i-pim big / i-kes i-hyet #*  
 3PL-cry not 3PL-leave 3PL-voice

The headwaters of the sea up there and then, he cooked food for those (from there) those two children didn't cry, they stopped crying (lit. left their voice).

- (61) *I-kes i-hyet leu ne / i-ttei*  
 3PL-leave 3PL-voice from TOP 3PL-carry

*njinta i-biak yok ninno ninno*  
 food 3PL-host 3PL long.time long.time

*ba i-ceb-bat-nya ig-ya ha-can ngat*  
 and 3PL-husband-COLL-PL 3PL-stand be-two only

*ba tungwatu ni-ndig bibor yo-ni*  
 and people 3SG-big very 3PL-this

*i-bi-nggam ser yok lene i-ba*  
 3PL-INS-close keep.out 3PL then 3PL-use

*njinta bi-biak yok ninno ninno*  
 food INS-host 3PL long.time long.time

*lo / i-nggruet / i-pim ninno ninno /*  
 but 3PL-wail 3PL-cry long.time long.time

*i-bi-him ninno ninno ba / njap /*  
 3PL-INS-dance long.time long.time and day

*lene i-pai bak sop cin pi-ma bi-pia*  
 then 3PL-say to woman pair ANA-that INS-QUOT

They stopped their crying and then, they brought food and hosted them for a long time and their husbands stood in the middle of a large crowd and they blocked

them off and then they hosted them with food for a long time but, they were wailing, they were crying for a long time, while they were dancing for a long time and, one day (or the next day), they said to the two women,<sup>94</sup>

- (62) *Ji-krau munggwom cin pi-ma kwei i #*  
 2PL-catch child pair ANA-that come Q  
*munggwom bi-yok i-kwei i/ ba ni-krau*  
 child PUR-put 3PL-come Q and 3SG-catch  
*ser i-nghop tisini # [ti di i-pim-i #]*  
 keep.out 3PL-stomach NOM REL 3PL-cry-Q  
 Take your children this way. Let the children come, perhaps they have a stomach ache.<sup>95</sup>

(As an aside, the speaker asks the children present which language they use when speaking with me:

*Jeni ji-ba mor j-ug pai bak noni?*  
 you 2PL-use Indonesian 2PL-go speak to him

Then he continues his narrative:)

- (63) *Lene/ i-pim lene/ i-krau yok di-no*  
 then 3PL-cry then 3PL-catch 3PL REL-3SG  
*munggwom pi-ma yog i-pim big/*  
 child ANA-that 3PL 3PL-cry not  
*i-kes i-hyet leu ri no.*  
 3PL-leave 3PL-voice from GIV 3SG  
 Then, they cried and then, because<sup>96</sup> they caught them those children didn't cry, they stopped their noise because of that.

- (64) *Yo leu ri no tungwatu*  
 3PL from GIV 3SG people  
*ni-ndig bibor pi-ni yok y-ug*  
 3SG-big very ANA-this like 3PL-go  
*sut yok kikau bi-bou/ i-bri-o/*  
 along 3PL continually PUR-head 3PL-climb-or

<sup>94</sup> Line (61) is delivered with great speed, except for the few, short pauses, and continues immediately with line (62).

<sup>95</sup> The original transcription had in the first line *bi-yok* 'PUR-put', which was changed into *cin pi-ma*. The unarticulated *tisini* was changed into *ti di i-pim-i*. Note that the verb *krau* with its adjunct and object is nominalised by *ti*. This also allows the third person possessive marker. Recall that verbs do not have a third person singular prefix.

<sup>96</sup> It seems that the RELative marker conveys a causal relationship. There are a few other contexts which suggests this possibility, but I have had no opportunity to check this.

- i-bri kibar-ə ba yo y-ug #*  
 3PL-climb ship-CIT and they 3PL-go  
 They after that a huge crowd they went along with them all the way first<sup>97</sup>, they climbed eh, they climbed in a ship and they took off.
- (65) *Yo y-ug / y-ug mug-ə ni-brig ug #*  
 3PL 3PL-go 3PL-go sea-CIT 3SG-headwater go  
 They went, they went away to the headwaters of the sea.
- (66) *Mug ni-brig leu ne / sop*  
 sea 3SG-headwater from TOP woman  
*cin i-nggok yo-ni ninno ninno*  
 pair 3PL-search 3PL-this long.time long.time  
*ninno no-ro big #*  
 long.time 3SG-but not  
 The headwaters of the sea and then, the two women sought them for a long long time but (they found them) not.
- (67) *Lene i-pim bram n-di-yok /*  
 then 3PL-cry follow thing-REL-like  
**Ayede, adeiha antoba yam deij neih**  
 poor.me my.child don't RECIP give banana  
**aucuga kimbigy aucuga dou nahero #**  
 dwarf k.o.banana dwarf to we.two  
 Then they cried following (them) like this, (In Sougb) Poor me and my children, don't give us dwarf bananas, don't give us dwarf *kimbigy* bananas.
- (68) *Lene yo-ni i-bi-bong bu / i-bi-bong*  
 then 3PL-this 3PL-INS-sleep again 3PL-INS-sleep  
*bu i-mai ei #*  
 again 3PL-die LOC  
 Then they stayed with (the crying) again, they remained living and died (in preparation).
- (69) *Lene yo-ni ri no / gi-ma-ri yo-ni /*  
 then 3PL-this GIV 3SG NOM-that-GIV 3PL-this  
*y-ug di-no / yo-ni i-nog-o / eh /*  
 3PL-go REL-3SG 3PL-this 3PL-like-or eh  
*mbrei-o ndoniseni yok / yo-ni pam*  
 foreigner-or Indonesia 3PL 3PL-this family  
*di-ma ri no i-nok Indonesiab-a #*  
 REL-that GIV 3SG 3PL-like Indonesia-CIT

<sup>97</sup> The presence of *bi-bou* 'RES-head' was explained as an instance of 'doing something first/ a moment' as in *gwam bibou = 'tunggu dulu' = 'wait a second'*.

Then they (are) the ones, those (are) they, the went the ones who, they are like, eh, the foreigners the Indonesians, they are the family which is like the Indonesians.<sup>98</sup>

#### Text 4: Kwanding

Told by Tuantiei Dowansiba, at Minyambou, 22 October 1994:

- (1) *Kwanding-ə bong-o / Kwanding-ə bong-o*  
 Kwanding-CIT sleep-or Kwanding-CIT sleep-or  
*Guma gi-ma #*  
 Guma NOM-there  
 Kwanding lived eh, Kwanding lived eh, (at) Guma there.
- (2) *Lene ngat Wam nungugw dip Hambong-a /*  
 then see Wam mountain on.top Hambong-CIT  
*tin coi gwam ke li bə-ket #*  
 install reed sit keep.onto armband PUR-insert  
 Then she saw on top of the mountain Wam Hambong, he had put up a torch and was busy weaving an armband.<sup>99</sup>
- (3) *Li ba bi-ket ei Wam nungugw hu #*  
 armband and INS-insert LOC Wam mountain high.up  
 He was making an armband on top of the mountain Wam.
- (4) *Kwanding-ə gwam lo big lene kut*  
 Kwanding-CIT sit but not then cut  
*kimbrim-ə gom #*  
 k.o.bamboo-CIT one  
*bi-tom no lene kui kak Udop nyo kug #*  
 INS-pole 3SG then ascend track Wariori up.there go.up  
 Kwanding was sitting and after a while she cut a *kimbrim* bamboo. (She) used that as walking stick and she climbed along the Wariori river upstream.
- (5) *Co Ci ti noro hem #*  
 step Rawara NOM 3SG-but cold

<sup>98</sup> This last line is very poorly articulated, with a few pauses and repairs, which makes the identification of morphemes, let alone constituents, very difficult. The import is simply that the speaker identifies the people who left as foreigners, who make up the *fam* Indonesia.

<sup>99</sup> The name *Hambong* is explained as *bintang timur* 'eastern star', i.e. the morning star. The compound of the verb *gwam* 'sit' and the adjunct *kep* (here with the final consonant elided) signals 'being in the process of doing something', 'being occupied'.

- co Udop ti lo dut #*  
step Wariori NOM but warm  
She stepped into the Rawara river but it was cold. She stepped into the Wariori but it was warm.
- (6) *Lene kui gi-no kug bi-co Ci*  
then ascend NOM-up go.up PUR-step Rawara  
*ti/ lo hem no-ro Ci hem/ ne*  
NOM but cold 3SG-but Rawara cold TOP  
*co Udop ti lo dut #*  
step Wariori NOM but warm  
Then she went up there and stepped into the Rawara, but it was cold but the Rawara was cold, and when she stepped into the Wariori it was warm.
- (7) *Lene kui kak Udop kikau*  
then ascend track Wariori continually  
*ba/ co Ndin-ə ti #*  
and step Ndin-CIT NOM  
Then she went up further along the Wariori and, she stepped into the Ndin river.
- (8) *Ndin hem # lene co Udop ti lo dut #*  
Ndin cold then step Wariori NOM but warm  
The Ndin river was cold. Then she stepped into the Wariori but (it was) warm.
- (9) *Lene kui gi-no kug kikau /*  
then ascend NOM-3SG go.up continually  
*con/ co Nja/ maha/ Njad ti/ lo Njad-ə hem #*  
step step Njad ? Njad NOM but Njad-CIT cold  
Then she went up there all the way, she stepped, stepped into the Njad, eh, in the Njad, but the Njad was cold.<sup>100</sup>
- (10) *Co Udop ti lo dut # lene kui*  
step Wariori NOM but warm then ascend  
*gi-no kug kikau/ kui Udop kikau #*  
NOM-3SG go.up continually ascend Wariori continually  
She stepped into the Wariori but it was warm. Then she went on up continually, she went up the Wariori further.
- (11) *Gi-no kug co Hayob ti/ lo Hayob hem #*  
NOM-3SG go.up step Hayob NOM but Hayob cold

<sup>100</sup> Two comments: (i) *kui gi-no kug* may be a realisation of *gi-nyo* 'NOM-up' (realised as *gi-no*) as the object of *kui* and further modified with the related *kug*. It may also represent the conditional (temporal) relator *gi-no*, with a repetition of (an allomorph of) the verb *kui*: *kug*. See also lines (10), (11), (13), (16).

(ii) The narrator is clearly stuttering: *co* 'step into' plus the initial nasal of *Njad*, is abrupted, a second attempt tapers off in a meaningless *maha*, then the sentence is continued.



*ne co Udop ti lo dut #*  
 TOP step Wariori NOM but warm  
 When she went up (and) stepped into the Hayob but the Hayob was cold. And  
 (when) she stepped into the Wariori it was warm.

(12) *Lene kui kikau / kui kikau /*  
 then ascend continually ascend continually  
 Then she kept going up all the time

(13) *Gi-no kui kikau ba / co /*  
 NOM-3SG ascend continually and step  
*Ndan ti lo Ndan-ə hem #*  
 Ndan NOM but Ndan-CIT cold  
*lene / kui Udop kikau #*  
 then ascend Wariori continually  
 When she went up all the time and, stepped (into), the Ndan but the Ndan was  
 cold. Then, she kept going up the Wariori.

(14) *Kikau lene / co Njig ti lo Njig hem #*  
 continually then step Njig NOM but Njig cold  
 All the time then, she stepped into the Njig but the Njig was cold.

(15) *Lene co Udop ti lo dut #*  
 then step Wariori NOM but warm  
 Then she stepped into the Wariori but it was warm.

(16) *Gi-no kug ba / ngat mi-nyei pmot*  
 NOM-3SG go.up and see Nom-water child  
*kwa him di-no Hambong da #*  
 jet very REL-3SG Hambong POS  
 As she went up and, she saw the very tributary's source that belonged to  
 Hambong.<sup>101</sup>

(17) *Ne ntam yon i-kep / lene*  
 TOP swamp.grass close.off 3PL-keep.onto then  
*mbre / ntam yon i-kep #*  
 wide swamp.grass close.off 3PL-keep.onto  
 So some swamp grass closed it off, so it was wide, eh, [REPAIR] swamp grass  
 closed it off.<sup>102</sup>

(18) *Lene co Udop ti lo dut #*  
 then step Wariori NOM but warm  
 Then she stepped into the Wariori but it was warm.

<sup>101</sup> The form *da* is explained as a contraction of *de* 'POSsessive marker' and the citation clitic *-a*.

<sup>102</sup> I have no explanation for the [i] between *yon* and *kep*.

- (19) *Lene / tom-o / bab-o / kimbrim*  
 then pole-or vine-or k.o.bamboo  
*po bi-tom nok pi-ma ba / bi-tug mi-ntab leu #*  
 ANA INS-pole like ANA-that and INS-pound Nom-grass from  
 Then, a pole or, vine or, the *kimbrim* bamboo which she had been using as a  
 walking stick and, she used to poke the grass away.<sup>103</sup>
- (20) *Mi-ntab leu lene / co-wo Udop ti lo Udop hem #*  
 Nom-grass from then step-? Wariori NOM but Wariori cold  
 (When) the grass (was) removed, she stepped eh into the Wariori but the Wariori  
 was cold.
- (21) *Lene nggok nggok lo big lene*  
 then search search but not then  
*ngat kwa him lene / co ti #*  
 see source very then step NOM  
 Then she searched and searched and after a while she saw the very source and,  
 she stepped into (it).
- (22) *Le jug lene kak mi-nyei pmod-a #*  
 then descend then track Nom-water child-CIT  
 Then she went down and followed the river's tributary.
- (23) *Lene ngat kwa him di-no / Hambong*  
 then see jet very REL-3SG Hambong  
*de gi-no ni-kwohop-bat i-de*  
 POS NOM-3SG 3SG-sister-COLL 3PL-POS  
*minyeyi di i-tau-a #*  
 water REL 3PL-draw-CIT  
 Then she saw the very spring which, (it was) Hambong's (water) the one his  
 sisters, their water which they drew.<sup>104</sup>
- (24) *Lene ngat no-ni lene / kui bi-gwam*  
 then see 3SG-this then ascend PUR-sit

<sup>103</sup> Clearly, the narrator makes a mistake at first when he tries to identify what Kwanding uses to poke the grass away. When he finally arrives at the right lexical item he proceeds with the instrument construction, as described in §4.5.2.

<sup>104</sup> This sentence appears to have some garbled syntax. It was explained to mean:

*Hambong de minyeyi kwa him di-no*  
 Hambong POS water spring very REL-3SG  
*ni-kwohop-bat-nya ya-ha-gom i-tau kep minyeyi-a*  
 3SG-sister-COLL-PL 3PL-be-one 3PL-draw keep water-CIT  
 (She saw) Hambong's waterspring (from) which all his sisters usually drew water.

*bimbrai nggramti-a #*

k.o.tree branches-CIT

Then she saw him<sup>105</sup> and then, she climbed and sat in the branches of a 'cherry'-tree.

- (25) *Bimbrai nggramti leu lene / Hambong-a /*  
k.o.tree branches from then Hambong-CIT

*cuk-o / ni-kwohop-bat-nya*  
order-or 3SG-sister-COLL-PL

She was in the branches of the 'cherry'-tree then, Hambong, he ordered eh, his sisters, (no pause between (25) and (26))

- (26) *Ji-tau mi-nyei hi di-dud-i #*  
2PL-draw NOM-water some 1SG-drink-Q  
Please draw some water for me to drink.<sup>106</sup>

- (27) *Leu mpiab tot da ba di-nggobiau #*  
from sun affect I and 1SG-thirsty  
For the sun is burning me and I'm thirsty.

- (28) *Lene / sop cin i-teu ingmuig-ə ba*  
then woman pair 3PL-grab gourd-CIT and

*i-kwei tau mi-nyei-a #*  
3PL-come draw NOM-water-CIT

So, the two women grabbed a gourd and they came and drew (or came to draw) water.

- (29) *Lene i-ngat mi-nyei si-mo jug / lene tungwatu #*  
then 3PL-see NOM-water NOM-there descend then human  
Then they saw down in the water, then (there was) a person.<sup>107</sup>

- (30) *Ne bie nggramti-a / ha # lo*  
TOP tree branches-CIT bird but

*big i-tau minyei-a / i-siber / lo big #*  
not 3PL-draw water-CIT 3PL-pour.out but not

Now (in) the branches, (there was) a bird. After a while they drew water, they poured (it) out, but (there was) nothing.

- (31) *Lene / i-tau mi-nyei bi-siber #*  
then 3PL-draw NOM-water PUR-pour

<sup>105</sup> It is not quite clear who Kwanding saw, whether it was Hambong himself or (one of) his sisters.

<sup>106</sup> This verb sequence was corrected by Hans Iwou to include a PURpositive clitic: *Ji-tau minyei hi bi-di-dut-i* 'You-draw water some PUR-I-drink-Q'. The next line gives the reason for Hambong's request.

<sup>107</sup> During the transcription Hans Iwou rendered *lene tungwatu* as *lo tungwatu*. The use of *lo* conveys more of a surprise, something like 'and lo and behold...', similar to the lines (5)–(20), where every time Kwanding tests a river the water is either cold or warm (in the case of the Wariori).

- lene i-tou kep biei nggramti lo*  
 then 3PL-observe keep.onto tree branches but  
*ha lene mi-nyei si-mo jug tungwatu #*  
 bird then NOM-water NOM-there descend human  
 Then, they drew water and poured it out. Then they closely watched the branches  
 but (there was) a bird and down in the water (there was) a human.
- (32) *Lo big lene i-trai-o # tuei #*  
 but not then 3PL-spit-or \*\*\*  
*le ngat mindhe di-ma*  
 then see animal REL-that  
*leu mi-nyei di-no / ni-kijam Hambong*  
 from NOM-water REL-3SG 3SG-brother Hambong  
*de di-ma bi-ni-tau ug e #*  
 POS REL-that PUR-1EXC-draw go Q  
 After a while she (= Kwanding) spat. tsk. Then (he?she/they??) saw the animal  
 which (came) from the water which, our brother Hambong's (water) which we  
 should draw first.<sup>108</sup>
- (33) *Lo big lene / Kwanding jug leu*  
 but not then Kwanding descend from  
*leu biei nggramti ba / ngat*  
 from tree branches and see  
*sop cin-nya-o ei minyei si*  
 woman pair-PL-or LOC water NOM  
*lene i-tau minyei ba / yai-o /*  
 then 3PL-draw water and get-or  
*ingmuig-ə tut ba / Kwanding-ə ttei #*  
 gourd-CIT along and Kwanding-CIT carry  
 After a while, Kwanding came down from the branches and, (she) saw the two  
 women eh at the water and they were drawing water and, they took eh, got the  
 gourd along with (the water) and, Kwanding and carried (them).
- (34) *Le y-ug kau mbou ba /*  
 then 3PL-go open door and  
*i-kuk-o Kwanding tut ingmuig ei-o /*  
 3PL-make.wait Kwanding along gourd LOC-or

<sup>108</sup> This sentence, delivered in very fast speech, was explained as: 'the women understood that there was something in the water which belonged to their brother Hambong in order that they should draw it up first'. It seems that some repair is going on. A pause follows the relative marker, after which a shift in person orientation, i.e. from direct to indirect speech, seems to occur. Since *minyei* has already been mentioned it is not realised in the NP *ni-kijam Hambong de (minyei) di-ma*.

*hamig si ei-o i-de igbei*  
 basket NOM LOC-or 3PL-POS house

*run ti di-no Hambong da #*  
 room NOM REL-3SG Hambong POS

Then they went and opened the door and, they put eh Kwanding along with the gourd aside in eh, the basket in their partition, which belonged to Hambong.<sup>109</sup>

- (35) *Hambong kui leu ne hara pia /*  
 Hambong ascend from TOP request QUOT  
 Hambong went up and then requested,

- (36) *Sop cin je / minyei hi bi-di-dud-i*  
 woman pair 2PL water some PUR-1SG-drink-?  
*leu di-nggobiau #*  
 from 1SG-thirsty  
 You two women, some water for me to drink for I'm thirsty.

- (37) *Ba/*  
 and  
 And (the women answered),

- (38) *Minyei ni-kes eik di-mo /*  
 water 1EXC-leave LOC REL-there  
*hamig si-ma jug #*  
 basket NOM-that descend  
 The water we left over there, down in the basket.<sup>110</sup>

- (39) *Hamig si-ma jug Hambong brim lo /*  
 basket NOM-that descend Hambong pull but  
*ngat lo ngkiem ne / Kwanding*  
 see but tight TOP Kwanding  
*kat minyei ei ingmuig-ə ti bi-ngkiem #*  
 grab water LOC gourd-CIT NOM PUR-tight  
 (At) the basket down there Hambong pulled but, he saw but (= that) it was stuck so, (it was because) Kwanding had taken hold of the water in the gourd so it was tight.

- (40) *Ba rinyan hi ni-kuk ei hamig*  
 and bride some 1EXC-make.wait LOC basket

<sup>109</sup> A family's partition of a traditional Hatam house, in which various families lived together (men and women separated by a gangway = *piebou*) is a *run*. Within this section there is a small shed-like partition for food and possessions, this is a *hamig*. As in line (16), the POSsessive marker *de* is contracted with the final clitic -*a*.

<sup>110</sup> Notice that the locative preposition *ei* is realised with a final velar stop, preceding the alveolar stop.

*si-ma jug #*  
 NOM-that descend  
 And some bride we left in the basket down there.<sup>111</sup>

(41) *Lene Hambong wak # ba i-bong #*  
 then Hambong marry and 3PL-sleep  
 Then Hambong married (her). And they slept.

(42) *I-bong lene / jip miai-a #*  
 3PL-sleep then cut.grass garden-CIT  
 They slept then, (he) cut a garden.

(43) *I-jip miai ba / i-jip miai ba /*  
 3PL-cut garden and 3PL-cut garden and  
*Hambong ni-kinjoi-nya Mipong i-wim #*  
 Hambong 3SG-yo.sibling-PL k.o.cuscus 3PL-fell  
 They cut a garden and, they cut a garden and, Hambong's younger brothers,  
 Mipong, they felled the trees.<sup>112</sup>

(44) *I-wim ba / i-wim miai ni-ndig*  
 3PL-fell and 3PL-fell garden 3SG-large  
*lo / miai ni-ndig #*  
 but garden 3SG-large  
 They felled and, they felled a big garden but, the garden (was) a big one.

(45) *Lene / i-wim ba i-ya kep i-wim*  
 then 3PL-fell and 3PL-stand keep.onto 3PL-fell  
*ba / miai ngwig #*  
 and garden finished  
 Then, they felled and they kept on felling and, the gardens were finished.<sup>113</sup>

(46) *Miai ngwig lene / i-pindei #*  
 garden finished then 3PL-burn(garden)  
 The gardens were finished and then, they burned them off.

(47) *I-pindei ba / ig-ya kep i-ndig #*  
 3PL-burn and 3PL-stand keep.onto 3PL-burn  
 They were burning off and they were busy burning for a long time.

<sup>111</sup> Apparently, a shift to quoted direct speech, without any formal marking.

<sup>112</sup> This sentence doesn't make it very clear whether it is the women or Hambong who do the cutting. The felling of the trees is done by Hambong's younger brother (recall that *-kinjoi* means 'younger sibling of same sex'), called Mipong, which is also the name of a cuscus species. Presumably, the enclitic *nya* indicates that Mipong was one of a group who did it.

<sup>113</sup> The compound *-ya kep* means 'to be occupied with something for quite some time, with considerable effort'. Hatam has two words that are translated as 'finished': *ngwig* means 'depleted' (Indonesian *habis*) and *put* means 'completed' (Indonesian *selesai*). *Ngwig* is used to express the notion that 'there were no gardens left to do'.

- (48) *I-ndig ba / miai pud #*  
 3PL-burn and garden complete  
 They burned (them) off and, the gardens were ready.
- (49) *Lene Hambong ba / bon ngugw / ni-kinjoi*  
 then Hambong and make fence 3SG-yo.sib  
*bon ngugw ba / ngugw pud #*  
 make fence and fence finished  
 Then Hambong and, he made a fence, his younger brother made a fence and, the fence was ready.
- (50) *Lene i-ndim trem-a ba #*  
 then 3PL-plant sugarcane-CIT and  
*i-ndim trem ba / ya kep*  
 3PL-plant sugar and stand keep.onto  
*trem bi-ndim ba / mi-i-ndim*  
 sugar PUR-plant and POST-3PL-plant  
*trem-a njab i-ndim trem ba /*  
 sugar-CIT day(light) 3PL-plant sugar and  
*trem bou-a / pud #*  
 sugar head-CIT complete  
 Then they planted sugarcane and. They planted sugarcane and, they were busy with planting sugarcane and, their planting (of) sugarcane (and) one day they planted sugarcane and, the sugarcane plot, (it was) ready.<sup>114</sup>
- (51) *Trem bou pud leu ne / i-kuk*  
 sugar head complete from TOP 3PL-make.wait  
*situd ei #*  
 sw.potato.vine LOC  
 After the sugarcane plot was finished, they prepared the sweet potato vines.<sup>115</sup>
- (52) *Lene trem hyei # len i-bon ngugw ba #*  
 then sugar grow then 3PL-make fence and  
*ne sop-nya / yo i-bon ngugw ba /*  
 TOP woman-PL 3PL 3PL-make fence and  
*ne sop-nya i-ndim miai ba i-ndim trem-a #*  
 and woman-PL 3PL-plant garden and 3PL-plant sugarcane-CIT  
 Then the sugarcane grew. Then they made a fence and. Well the women, they

<sup>114</sup> The verb *-ndim* is exclusively used for 'planting' sugarcane. Note the pauses and repairs in this sentence: The first clause ending with the coordinator *ba* receives a final, i.e. falling intonation. The verbatim repetition carries the rising intonation preceding a comma.

<sup>115</sup> The verb *kuk* is explained as *kasi tunggu* 'make wait', and the preposition *ei* in 'stranded' position always conveys some preparation. In other words, they laid out the sweet potato vines ready for planting.

made a fence and, well the women they planted a garden and they planted sugarcane.

- (53) *Ne i-ndig miyai-a / i-ndig miyai-a /*  
 TOP 3PL-burn garden-CIT 3PL-burn garden-CIT  
*i-ndim trem-a ba / trem-a / hyei #*  
 3PL-plant sugarcane-CIT and sugarcane-CIT grow  
 Well they burned a garden, they burned a garden, they planted sugarcane and, the sugarcane, grew.
- (54) *Ne sop-nya i-kuk / situd-a #*  
 TOP woman-PL 3PL-make.wait sw.pot.vine-CIT  
*Kwanding no-ni ni-dohoi-bat-nya kuk*  
 Kwanding 3SG-this 3SG-in.law.ss-COLL-PL make.wait  
*situd ba yu-hu #*  
 sw.pot.vine and 3PL-plant  
 Well the women put ready, the sweet potato vines. Kwanding she (and) her sisters-in-law readied the sweet potato vines and they planted (them).
- (55) *Yu-hu lene miyai-a / situd ce pud #*  
 3PL-plant then garden-CIT sw.pot.vine also complete  
 They planted (sweet potatoes) then the garden, the sweet potatoes were also ready.
- (56) *Ne trem ce hyei #*  
 TOP sugarcane also grow  
 And the sugarcane also grew.
- (57) *Lene / Hambong bon ngugw ninno ba /*  
 then Hambong make fence long.time and  
*ngugw pud #*  
 fence complete  
 Then, Hambong made a fence for a long time and, the fence was ready.
- (58) *Lene / trem hyei / ba trem-a /*  
 then sugar grow and sugar-CIT  
*tou di-ma Hambong-a / ug huk*  
 flower REL-that Hambong-CIT go chase  
*mimbron ug / lene nit-nem-o / Kwanding-a #*  
 brideprice go then 3SG-wife-or Kwanding-CIT  
 Then, the sugarcane grew, and the sugarcane, that flower Hambong (= as it flowered, Hambong), he went away (and) chased (= to look for) a brideprice, then his wife eh, (was) Kwanding.
- (59) *Ug huk mimbron ba / ug / ug*  
 go chase brideprice and go go



*bed ug bong bed-a / mang ari-a /*  
 moon go sleep moon-CIT many week-CIT

*bed-a mang bibor #*  
 moon-CIT many very

He went to chase a brideprice and, he went, he went a month he went (and) slept (= stayed) months, many weeks, months (were) very many.<sup>116</sup>

- (60) *Leu ne / Hambong-a / pai bak ni-kinjoi pia /*  
 from TOP Hambong-CIT say to 3SG-yo.sib QUOT  
 then, Hambong, he said to his younger brother,

- (61) *Ma-a-bi-jaga kep sop-nya ba /*  
 POST-2SG-INS-watch keep.onto woman-PL and  
*ji-bong ser igy-a #*  
 2PL-sleep keep.out house-CIT  
 You keep watch over the women and, you all occupy the house.

- (62) *Ig di-d-ug ba / dari gi-ma bed-a /*  
 ? 1SG-1SG-go and from NOM-that moon-CIT  
*tahun hi ri gi d-ug bong*  
 year some GIV NOM 1SG-go sleep  
*ma jug yo #*  
 there descend yet  
 When I go and, from there months, a year is what I will be gone down there.<sup>117</sup>

- (63) *Leu ne / ug leu lene Mipong ug ba*  
 from TOP go from then Mipong go and  
*mi-nsien ndei-o huk nab-a #*  
 NOM-dog hunt.w.dog-or chase pig-CIT  
 Then, after he had gone Mipong went and went hunting with his dogs eh hunting pigs.

- (64) *Huk nab leu ne / pilei nab leu ne*  
 chase pig from TOP shoot pig from TOP  
*mi-nsien-a / huk nab gi-ma kwei dor*  
 NOM-dog-CIT chase pig NOM-that come run

<sup>116</sup> This line clearly shows confusion: a repetition of 'go' and 'month' plus a reference to 'week' by the Indonesian loan *hari* 'day' which in Hatam becomes *ari* referring to 'Sunday' or 'week'. However, what the speaker wants to communicate is clear: Hambong had the plan to go away for a long time, getting the brideprice for Kwanding together.

<sup>117</sup> It is not quite clear what the sentence-introducing *Ig* does. It seems to indicate something like 'first X will do/happen, before...'. Neither is clear why we have here *di-d-ug*, phonetically [dæduw]; it probably is *da d-ug* 'I 1SG-go'. Here again, the speaker has difficulty with his indications of time. Two Indonesian loans are used: *dari* 'from' and *tahun* 'year'.

*beisi ri ni hig bak ni-kwohop-bat-nya /*  
 garden GIV this ask to 3SG-sister-COLL-PL  
 He hunted pigs and then, he shot a pig and then the dogs, chased the pig there  
 (and) he came running (to) the garden<sup>118</sup> here (and) asked his sisters,

(65) *Ji-kui bie-i-o / leu nab ham je-ni-o #*  
 2PL-ascend tree-or from pig bite 2PL-this-or  
 Climb into a tree or, for the pig will bite you!

(66) *Ji-kui bie-i-o / leu nab ham je-ni-o #*  
 2PL-ascend tree-or from pig bite 2PL-this-or  
*nab ham je-ni-o #*  
 pig bite 2PL-this-or  
 Climb in a tree, for the pig will bite you. The pig will bite you!

(67) *Ne sop-nya i-kui biei leu ne /*  
 TOP woman-PL 3PL-ascend tree from TOP  
*Kwanding kui biei ei di-mo lene /*  
 Kwanding ascend tree LOC REL-there then  
*Mipong dor kwei lene hig huk-o / Kwanding-a #*  
 Mipong run come then ask chase-or Kwanding-CIT  
 Now the women climbed in a tree and then, Kwanding climbed into a tree over  
 there and then, Mipong ran (and) came and then seduced<sup>119</sup> Kwanding.

(68) *Kwanding / Kwan / nab ham na tu-a #*  
 Kwanding Kwan pig bite 2SG already-CIT  
 Kwanding, Kwan, has the pig already bitten you?

(69) *Lene*  
 then  
 Then (Kwanding answered),

(70) *Sop Tinam hwop yok / nya-ci gi-mbres #*  
 woman Tinam girl put ? NOM-wide  
 The Tinam girls are not that easy to take.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>118</sup> *Beisi* is what a garden full of ripening plants is called, when it is ready for harvesting. As the garden is being laid out, it is referred to as *miai*, while an abandoned garden is *susti*.

<sup>119</sup> The sequence *hig* 'ask' *huk* 'chase' conveys 'to seduce'.

<sup>120</sup> The meaning of this sentence was given as *Kami asal Hatam tidak gampang seperti* 'We Hatam women are not that easy (to get)', as represented by the free translation. Mipong had made a sexual overture, by asking her if the pig had bitten her. But Kwanding is not interested in him and rejects him. The actual morphemes are not clear: *yok* may also be '3PL' in which case the following *nya* is 'PLural' and *ci* could be a verb meaning 'chase'. But *nyaci* could be *n-ya ti*, a nominalisation of 'we stand' = 'our standing is in the open', or something similar. The narrator's toothless pronunciation didn't make it easy for other informants to interpret what exactly he did say.

- (71) *A/ nab ham na tu/ nab ham na tu/*  
 INTERJ pig bite 2SG already pig bite 2SG already  
 Ah, the pig has already bitten you, the pig has already bitten you.
- (72) *Nye-ni sop Tinam hwop yok*  
 we-this woman Tinam girl put  
*nya ci gi-mbres #*  
 PL chase.away NOM-wide  
 We Tinam women are not easy to take. (Repetition of (70))
- (73) *Lo big lene Kwanding bong lo big*  
 but not then Kwanding sleep but not  
*lene/ Kwanding ni-ngon sibui lo big*  
 then Kwanding 3SG-heart twist but not  
*ngkwei hanyen ba kwei Guma ug #*  
 return anew and come Guma go  
 After some time Kwanding stayed (and then) after a while, Kwanding was resentful and after some time she returned again and came back to Guma overthere.
- (74) *Sop cin-nya/ yu-hu miai-si i-kwei*  
 woman pair-PL 3PL-plant garden-NOM 3PL-come  
*ngat lo ig ngwak #*  
 see but house empty  
 The two women, they were planting the garden and came and saw but the house was empty.
- (75) *Lene i-hig Mipong-a/*  
 then 3PL-ask Mipong-CIT  
 Then they asked Mipong,
- (76) *N-a-po-nya/ Kwanding ri tou #*  
 ?-CIT-ANA-PL Kwanding GIV where  
 Recently where is Kwanding?<sup>121</sup>
- (77) *Ngkwei ha-nyen tu #*  
 return be-just already  
 She has returned (to her place) again.
- (78) *Ni-ngon sibui sut gi po da*  
 3SG-heart twist along NOM ANA I

<sup>121</sup> The actual structure and meaning of *naponya* is unclear. Also, the actual phonetic utterance [inang iso], which I thought contain the verb *nang* 'flee', was corrected to what is given in line (76).

- di-hig pia / le pai pia /*  
 1SG-ask QUOT then say QUOT  
 She was angry about what I asked (her), (I) said that,
- (79) *nab ham no pi-ma ri #*  
 pig bite 3SG ANA-that GIV  
 the pig had bitten her.
- (80) *Lo big lene Hambong bong yinog kwei #*  
 but not then Hambong sleep long.time come  
 After some time Hambong slept (= stayed) a long time (and) came.
- (81) *Mbut tu mimbron lo big lene i-gwam*  
 walk along brideprice but not then 3PL-sit  
*Hambong kwei #*  
 Hambong come  
 He had travelled with the brideprice for some time they sat (and) Hambong came.
- (82) *Kwei leu ne / hig-o /*  
 come from TOP ask-or  
 He came and then, he asked eh,
- (83) *Sop cin-nya ne / ji-dohoi ri tou #*  
 woman pair-PL TOP 2PL-in.law.ss GIV where  
 Two women now, where is your sister-in-law?
- (84) *I-pai pia /*  
 3PL-say QUOT  
 They said,
- (85) *Mipong-a hig huk ba /*  
 Mipong-CIT ask chase and  
*hig huk nye ri juk ndam*  
 ask chase 1PL GIV descend towards  
 Mipong he seduced and, he seduced us and she went down towards (home).
- (86) *Mipong jug coi igcibei ba*  
 Mipong descend enter shelter and  
*weng mmeng hok igcibei di-no di-mo*  
 wild.taro leaf make shelter REL-3SG REL-that  
*di-bong ni-tig weng tai di-no*  
 REL-sleep 3SG-dig wild.taro around REL-3SG

*mai di ni-tig ei di-ma #*  
 die REL 1EXC-dig LOC REL-that  
 Mipong went down and entered a shelter and he made a shelter of wild taro leaves which is down there where he died and we buried him.<sup>122</sup>

- (87) *No bigyub ndig hyei ei / ni-juig dip*  
 3SG k.o.tree large grow LOC 3SG-hole on.top  
*ni-juig eig di-a #*  
 3SG-hole LOC REL-that  
 There is a big *bigyub* tree growing at, on top of his grave overthere.<sup>123</sup>

- (88) *Lo big lene / Kwanding-a / no-ni kwei*  
 but not then Kwanding-CIT 3SG-this come  
*leu ne / Hambong kwei leu Hambong kwei*  
 from TOP Hambong come from Hambong come  
*ba / bram ba kwei titai Kwanding-a /*  
 and follow and come coax Kwanding-CIT  
 After a while then, Kwanding, she had come away then, Hambong came from (his trip) Hambong came and, followed (her) and came (to) coax Kwanding,

- (89) *Kwanding-a / a-kwei #*  
 Kwanding-CIT 2SG-come  
 Kwanding, come!

- (90) *Lo /*  
 but  
 But (she answered),

- (91) *Nye-ni-a sop Tinam hwop yok / ni-ngon*  
 1PL-this-CIT woman Tinam girl put 1EXC-heart  
*gom / ni-hwou bu big / hwou hwou big /*  
 one 1EXC-come again not come come not  
*di-kwei su #*  
 1SG-come already  
 We Tinam women, (we have) one mind, we won't come again, won't come again, I have already come (here).<sup>124</sup>

- (92) *Lo big leu ne / Hambong su-o nsus*  
 but not from TOP Hambong extend-or comb

<sup>122</sup> The lines (85) and (86) are not certain. These utterances were delivered in very fast speech, without any pause.

<sup>123</sup> The phonetic realisation [eigdia] represents *ei di-ma* 'at REL-that'. Noteworthy is also the possessive prefix to a noun like *juig* 'hole, grave', treating it as an inalienably possessed noun, instead of *ni-de juig* '3SG-POS grave'.

<sup>124</sup> The verb *hwou* is translated as *kwei* 'come', but it refers to movement not directly towards the deictic center. Kwanding has made up her mind -*ngon gom* 'one heart'.

*ba / Kwanding krau ne-te hi #*  
 and Kwanding catch 3SG-side some  
 After a while then, Hambong stretched out eh his comb and, Kwanding caught one end.

- (93) *Lene Hambong krau ne-te hi ba /*  
 then Hambong catch 3SG-side some and

*pim ba / ni-yai nggwei com no /*  
 cry and 3SG-eye liquid throw 3SG

*Hambong ni-ngged-a #*  
 Hambong 3SG-chest-CIT

Then Hambong caught the other end and, (he) cried and, his tears threw it (= touched on) Hambong's chest.

- (94) *Lene / Hambong no-ni pim ba / ni-yai*  
 then Hambong 3SG-this cry and 3SG-eye

*nggwei com-o dor ti nsus ba com*  
 liquid throw-or run NOM comb and throw

*Kwanding ni-ngged-a #*  
 Kwanding 3SG-chest-CIT

Then, Hambong he cried and, his tears hit eh ran along the comb and hit Kwanding's chest.

- (95) *Lo big lene Kwanding-a / no-ni gwam ne*  
 but not then Kwanding-CIT 3SG-this sit TOP

*Hambong ug lene pai bak sop cin-a /*  
 Hambong go then say to woman pair-CIT

After a while Kwanding, she sat (= stayed) while Hambong went and said to the two women,

- (96) *Sop cin je ne / ji-jip miiai*  
 woman pair 2PL TOP 2PL-cut garden

*leu-o / ji-jip miiai leu ji-kijam ne*  
 from-or 2PL-cut garden from 2PL-brother TOP

*ni-juig dip ba i-ngot ig ei-si #*  
 3SG-grave on.top and 1INC-weave house LOC-NOM

You two women now, you cut a garden because, you cut a garden because your brother then on his grave and we will build a house there.

- (97) *Sop cin i-jip miiai leu ne i-kut*  
 woman pair 3PL-cut garden from TOP 3PL-cut

*bum-a ba / i-nju ei #*  
 pole-CIT and 3PL-assemble LOC

The two women cut a garden and then they cut poles and, assembled them in preparation.

- (98) *Lene wim-o bihyub ndig pi-ma ne*  
 then fell-or k.o.tree large ANA-that TOP  
*ninno ninno ba / bihyub pi-ma*  
 long.time long.time and k.o.tree ANA-that  
*bi-tig lene hig sop cin-a /*  
 PUR-collapse then call woman pair-CIT  
 Then (he) felled eh that big *bihyub* tree and (that went on) for a long time and  
 (= until), that *bihyub*-tree collapsed and he called out to the two women,
- (99) *Sop cin je-ni ji-nang-o / biei leu*  
 woman pair 2PL-this 2PL-flee-or tree from  
*biei ti bui hwen je-ni ri no /*  
 tree NOM hit hit 2PL-this GIV 3SG  
 You two women flee eh, the tree from the tree it will kill you.<sup>125</sup>
- (100) **Ajerigo, jugwo, jesiko, merga, momi rene, momi sire, pep re, jog neci.**  
 (While (99) is spoken, this equivalent in Meyah is chanted; this would suggest  
 that the rigin of the story should be sought in Meyah-Moskona area.)
- (101) *Sop cin je-ni-o / ji-nang-o / leu*  
 woman pair 2PL-this-or 2PL-flee-or from  
*biei hwen je-ni-o #*  
 tree hit 2PL-this-or  
 You two women, flee, for the tree will kill you.
- (102) *Lo big lene yongon-a /*  
 but not then repeat-CIT  
 After a while he repeated,
- (103) **Ajerigo, jugwo, jesiko, mergo, norobigo, momi lene ne, ajerigo, yugwo,  
 mergo enogo not go.**  
 (Again, the warning is repeated in chanted Meyah.)
- (104) *Lo big le biei hwen sop cin bi-i-mai #*  
 but not then tree hit woman pair PUR-3PL-die  
 After a while the tree hit the two women and they died.
- (105) *I-mai lene i-ngot ig ni-tig #*  
 3PL-die then 3PL-weave house 3SG-dig  
 They died and then they (presumably Hambong by himself, but then why the  
 plural prefix?) built a grave house.
- (106) *I-ngot ig ni-tig leu ne /*  
 3PL-weave house 3SG-dig from TOP

<sup>125</sup> The final *ri no*, given as explanation of phonetic [jenio], suggests that this warning is nominalised: [X bui hwen jeni]<sub>NOM</sub> 'that X kills you' *ri no* 'GIV 3SG' = 'it is' = 'It is a fact that X will kill you'.

*igy-a / ngot igy-ə ba / kut*  
house-CIT weave house-CIT and cut

*bum-a bi-ngot ig-ə ... ngot*  
pole-CIT INS-weave house-CIT [STUTTER] weave

*ba / ig bi-pud #*  
and house PUR-complete

He built a grave house and then, the house, he built a house and, cut poles and used (them) to build a house, (the speaker stutters) built and, the house was finished.

(107) *Lene but hong-o n-di-yok bi-tab #*

then peel bark-or thing-REL-like PUR-close.wall

Then he peeled tree bark eh stuff like that and closed off the walls.

(108) *Leu ne tot cau ba hu lene bi-mie igy-a #*

from TOP cut thatch and sew then INS-thatch house-CIT

Then he cut thatch and sewed (it) and with that he thatched the house.

(109) *Le but hong-ə bi-tab ig*

then peel bark-CIT INS-close.wall house

*bi-pud lene tig atriem ei-si #*  
PUR-complete then dig fireplace LOC-NOM

Then he peeled tree bark and closed the house off and then he dug a fireplace in there.

(110) *Tig atriem ei-si lene / tot*

dig fireplace LOC-NOM then cut

*hambuig mi-nggwen ba / mi-nggwen ba / heu*  
k.o.bamboo NOM-sharp and NOM-sharp and polish

*nok ndeb lene it tai ig*  
like spike then plant around house

*ni-kou-kou krau mi-nsien ni-de-nya bi-com ba*  
3SG-yard-RED grab Nom-dog 3SG-POS-PL PUR-throw and

*biam ndeb-ə ba / ngwig leu ne /*  
bump.into spike-CIT and finished from TOP

*no-nti kui sud-o /*  
3SG-EMPH ascend along-or

He dug a fireplace there and then, cut a sharp *hambuig* bamboo and, the sharp thing and, he polished like spikes and planted those around the yard of the house grabbed his dogs and threw them into the spikes and, (=until they were) finished and then, he himself went up along with ... (i.e. the leaves mentioned in (111)).

(111) *Mitibom mmeng ba bi-kim micim hambong*

k.o.plant leaf and INS-tie spear hambong

*liem bi-kri ig bou leu ne /*  
shin PUR-tie house head from TOP



*ngi ban-o/ kwo/ n-di-yok ei bou mo #*  
 cloth blanket-or mat thing-REL-like LOC head there

The *mitibom* leaves and with those he tied the spear 'Hambong shin' to the roof of the house and then, (he put) the cloths, sleeping mats, and so on in the entrance way.<sup>126</sup>

- (112) *Lene cat pingai-ə ba/ nju*  
 then unload heap.firewood-CIT and assemble

*igbit ba atriem nyo kou ba/ i-ndig*  
 true and fireplace up yard and 3PL-burn

*hum-ə ba hum yem-o/ hum wa/*  
 fire-CIT and fire eat-or fire Wam

*yem leu ne/ un hou-o Lina ba/*  
 eat from TOP invite wind-or Lina and

Then he took the pile of firewood apart and, assembled it right (i.e. for a fire) and in the area of the fireplace and, he lit a fire and the fire (started) burning eh, the *Wam* fire, consumed and then, he invited the wind of the Lina mountains and:

- (113) **Lo ug Llina ben enga, ben eigya, ben om nggo.**

(This line, just like (114), is chanted in Meyah: You wind of the Lina mountains come this way!)

- (114) **Lo Llina ben enga ben eigya ji ben om nggo.**

- (115) *Lo hou Lina kwei big #*

but wind Lina come not

But the Lina wind did not come.

- (116) *Lene un hou ngsio/ hou Sior-a/*  
 then invite wind [mistake] wind Sior-CIT

Then he invited the wind, the wind from the Sior mountain:

- (117) **Lo Ug Sayori ben enga, ben eigy ji, ben om nggo, ben ousara.**

(Chanted Meyah: But you wind from the Sayori mountains, come.)

- (118) *No-ro hou Sior kwei big lene/*  
 3SG-but wind Sior come not then

*un-o/ hou Nisimoi mo #*  
 invite wind Nisimoi there

But the wind of the Sayori mountain did not come and then, he invited eh, the wind from the Nisimoi there:

<sup>126</sup> During the transcription *bou* in the last line was corrected by *piep-bou* which refers to the entrance or hallway in a traditional Hatam house. The word *bou* 'head' also conveys the concept of 'centre'.

- (119) *Nisimoi-o:*  
Nisimoi.mountain-or  
The Nisimoi
- (120) **Auga, auga, Nisimoi e ben igy, ga ben yig, ben om nggo.**  
(Chanted Meyah: You go, you go, Nisimoi wind come in the house, come down here!)
- (121) *Lo hou .... hou Nisimoi cut ba #*  
but wind [STUTTER] wind Nisimoi fall and  
But the Nisimoi wind fell down and.
- (122) *Ug gi-no kug bi-ngat bingam*  
go NOM-3SG go.up PUR-see cork.tree  
*mmeng-o gi-no kug kikau*  
leaf-or NOM-3SG go.up continually  
*gi-no kug lo /*  
NOM-3SG go.up but  
It went up there and saw leaves of the corktree and went up all the way but,
- (123) *Bingam mmeng jek lo hum-o /*  
cork.tree leaf blaze but fire-or  
*bi-gom un / ri no / hum yem ig*  
PUR-one invite GIV 3SG fire eat house  
*hak bi-nok /*  
just PUR-like  
The cork tree leaves blazed but the fire eh, at once he invited, (then) it (was) that, the fire consumed the house just like that.
- (124) *Hum yem ig di-no / yem su-o /*  
fire eat house REL-3SG eat along-or  
The fire consumed the house, it consumed (everything) along with (it).
- (125) *Yem mitibom mmeng tut micim srei*  
eat k.o.plant leaf along spear slide  
*bi-dat ni-kimam ni-bou /*  
PUR-pierce 3SG-throat 3SG-head  
*mai ug # ei ni-bong ti #*  
die go LOC 3SG-sleep NOM  
(It) consumed the *mitibom* leaves along with the spear (it) slid down until it pierced his throat his head, he died (and) went. At where he was lying.

## Text 5: Kain timur

Told by Yoas Iwou, at Minyambou, 13 November 1995:

- (1) *Da-ni di-pui sut / minyas #*  
 1SG-this 1SG-tell along cloth  
 I will tell about *kain timur* (= ceremonial cloth).
- (2) *Minyas di-ni / ni-nyeng ri no*  
 cloth REL-this 3SG-name GIV 3SG  
*bijib ugjem #*  
 k.o.tree flower  
 This cloth, its name is *Bijib ugjem* (= a tree whose flower is red).

- (3) *Ni-nyeng ri no bijib ugjem #*  
 3SG-name GIV 3SG k.o.tree flower  
 Its name is *Bijib ugjem*.

- (4) *Ba minyas di-ni / eh minyas / nə-nok*  
 and cloth REL-this ... cloth this-like  
*mimbron-ə ../ nye di-no mam-nya /*  
 brideprice-CIT [cough] we REL-3SG inland-PL  
*ei / suku Tuig / Sreu kin Tinam /*  
 LOC tribe Sougb Meyah with Tinam  
*ni-yok ei mem / gi-ma / i-bi-go /*  
 1EXC-put LOC for NOM-that 11NC-INS-cut  
*mimbron-ə mem sop / i-bi-wak sop #*  
 brideprice-CIT for woman 3PL-INS-marry woman  
*kin mpe di-no / i-mai /*  
 with time REL-3SG 3PL-die  
*tau i-kak tut yam / lene i-bi-go*  
 or 3PL-track along RECIP then 3PL-INS-cut  
*ni-mai ni-ngud #*  
 3SG-die 3SG-body

And this *kain timur*, eh *kain timur* is like bride price, we of the interior, at, the tribes Sougb Meyah and Hatam, we put at for that (= save them in order that), they use (them) to pay the bride price for women, they use (them) to marry women. And at the time they die, or people reciprocate, then they use (them) to pay for the dead body.<sup>127</sup>

- (5) *Atau kin mpe di-no / i-cut tut*  
 or with time REL-3SG 3PL-fall along

<sup>127</sup> The verb *kak* 'track' is used in the compound *kak tut yam*, which was explained as the '*kain timur* is *sesuatu tuntutan*', i.e. the *kain timur* is used to pay back; *ni-mai ni-ngud* is realised as [nimaingud].

*sop-nya / i-jem nyeng nok perkara /*  
 woman-PL 3PL-call name like case

*lene / gi-ma cem i-bi-go #*  
 then NOM-that also 3PL-INS-cut

Or at a time when someone commits adultery, what is called a *perkara*,<sup>128</sup> then, that too they pay using (*kain timur*).

- (6) *Lene ni-pou ei si-ri-ni minyas di-ni*  
 then 3SG-before LOC NOM-GIV-this cloth REL-this

*jo bi-nye-ni big #*

be to-us-this not

Then before in this area we didn't have *kain timur*.

- (7) *No-ro / nye-ni nit-nyon-bat-nya /*  
 3SG-but 1PL-this 1EXC-grandfather-COLL-PL

*y-um / minyas di-ni ei mpe di-no /*  
 3PL-meet cloth REL-this LOC time REL-3SG

*penjajahan Belanda / ei mpe di Belanda*  
 colonialisation Dutch LOC time REL Dutch

*no ya ei / Irian jaya di-ni #*  
 3SG stand LOC Irian jaya REL-this

But, our grandfathers, they found, these *kain timur* at the which, the Dutch colonial time, at the time when the Dutch he stayed in, this Irian Jaya.

- (8) *Ba / ni-ngad ei-o / tahun / eh / mpe*  
 and 1EXC-see LOC-or year eh time

*di-ma ri ne / da di-kan tut / mpe*  
 REL-that GIV TOP 1SG 1SG-know along time

*di / nye-ni / da-ni dit-nyon-bat-nya*  
 REL we-this 1SG-this 1SG-grandfather-COLL-PL

*i-ngat minyas di-ni / eh / tug hon*  
 3PL-see cloth REL-this eh pound stop

*yo di-no Timor timur / Irian*  
 3PL REL-3SG Timor east Irian

*timur / eh / yo-ni i-bien #*  
 east eh 3PL-this 3PL-weave

And, we see at eh, the year, eh, the time that is, I know about, the time that, we,

<sup>128</sup> *Perkara* is borrowed from Indonesian; Hatam would be: *i-bon mbrab* 'they make talk' or *i-bon wos*. In other words, if there is talk, there is a problem, witness, *mbrab hi big = tidak ada apa-apa* = 'there's no problem'. The phrase *-cut tut sop* (lit. 'fall along with woman') refers to 'adultery'.

I my grandfathers saw these *kain timur*, eh, by means of the people from East Timor, East Irian, eh, they wove them.<sup>129</sup>

- (9) *I-bien minyas di-ni ba / api /*  
 3PL-weave cloth REL-this and then  
*i-tri leu yo-ni ei-si-ri-ma cem /*  
 3PL-transfer from 3PL-this LOC-NOM-GIV-that also  
*i-bien minyas api / i-yok nok i-de /*  
 3PL-weave cloth then 3PL-put like 3PL-POS  
*kebudayaan / atau mun di bi-wak sop #*  
 culture or thing REL INS-marry woman  
 They wove these *kain timur* and, then, they sold them there too<sup>130</sup>, they wove the *kain timur* and then, they put them like their custom/culture<sup>131</sup>, or like what they used to marry women with.
- (10) *Lene i-kwei sut ei Irian Jaya i-kwei*  
 then 3PL-come along LOC Irian Jaya 3PL-come  
*ei igbei Irian Jaya lene i-bien ei /*  
 LOC house Irian Jaya then 3PL-weave LOC  
*Bintuni / ei kecamatan Bintuni #*  
 Bintuni LOC district Bintuni  
 So they came with (the *kain timur*) to Irian Jaya they came to the house (of) Irian Jaya (= inside Irian Jaya) and they wove at, Bintuni, in the district Bintuni.
- (11) *Api / nye-de andigpoi-nya /*  
 then we-POS old.man-PL<sup>132</sup>  
*i-ngat ba i-pek / leu yo-ni #*  
 3PL-see and 3PL-buy from 3PL-this  
 Then, our parents, they saw and bought (them), from them.
- (12) *I-pek / kin ni-bok di-nok / seratus*  
 3PL-buy with 3SG-price REL-like hundred

<sup>129</sup> In this line the speaker wants to say that he doesn't know exactly the time *kain timur* entered the Hatam area. He pauses and repairs quite a few times. He finally decides to say that the cloths reached the area through (the compound *tug hon* is explained as *melalui* 'through the means, according to') the East Indonesians. They were the ones who made them.

<sup>130</sup> I take it that the subject of this clause refers to the people of *Timur* 'the East' who sold their cloths off to others, such as the Hatam. The verb *tri* is used for 'selling' or 'delivering' a speech, while the antonym is expressed by *pek* 'buy', 'acquire', 'reach'. Thus, the prepositional object *i-tri leu yoni* has the same referent as the subject, see rules for reflexivity, §3.1.

<sup>131</sup> As Hatam equivalents for this Indonesian term, the speaker suggested *-yai-kep-ti* 'take/do-keep.onto-NOM' or *ninsinati* 'method, way of doing things' (presumably, this is polymorphemic as well, but not as transparent as the former term).

<sup>132</sup> This phrase is phonetically realised as [nyentandikpoinya]. There are more speakers who pronounce first plural possessive with a prenasalised alveolar stop which may be voiced or voiceless, but not aspirated: [nyende] or [nye-nte].

*ribu / tau seratus-ə gom / tau dua ratus*  
 thousand or hundred-CIT one or two hundred

*ribu / seratus can #*  
 thousand hundred two

They bought (them), for the price of one hundred thousand, or one hundred, or two hundred thousand, two hundred (= 100,100 or 200,200 Rupiahs).

- (13) *Ba i-bi-tri / i-tri ba jo ninno*  
 and 3PL-INS-sell 3PL-sell and be long.time

*ba / timiei su / ba / tu lene i-kon*  
 and old already and already then 3PL-lift

*ni-nyeng-ə pi-a /*  
 3SG-name-CIT QUOT-CIT

*bihi ni-bok ni-hwen ni-bog-ə gom #*  
 other 3SG-price 3SG-throw 3SG-price-CIT one

And they sold (them) with, they sold and (the ones that) existed a long time and, (were) already old, and, already then they were important so that the price of one had one price.<sup>133</sup>

- (14) *Lene gi-ni ni-hwen ni-bok can #*  
 then NOM-this 3SG-throw 3SG-price two  
 Then this one was twice the price.

- (15) *Lene gi-ni gi-no i-tri / kin*  
 then NOM-this NOM-3SG 3PL-sell with

*mitiei / gi jo ninno di jo /*  
 money NOM be long.time REL be

*i-tri-tri nyen ei taun-a / simnai*  
 3PL-sell-sell just LOC year-CIT ten

*su / lene i-tri ei / tuju ratus /*  
 already then 3PL-sell LOC seven hundred

*kin delapan ratus ribu / lene ni-bok*  
 with eight hundred thousand then 3SG-price

*ni-ba mitiei-ə pek #*  
 1EXC-use money-CIT buy

Then this one, if/when they sold, for money, if it existed a long time which was, they sold back and forth at, years, ten already, then they'd sell for, seven hundred, and eight hundred thousand, and the price, they used money and bought

<sup>133</sup> The phrase *-kon ni-nyeng* 'lift up its name' means 'being important'. The exact function of *ni-hwen* '3SG/1EXC-throw' is not clear. Possibly, it is a Hatam equivalent for *lembar* 'Classifier for sheets of paper', in which case it may be confused with *lempar* 'throw' and subsequently given a literal translation. Whatever the status of this conjecture, the general meaning of this line is: The other cloths, i.e. the ones that are not quite as old are traded for one price (banknote of Rp.100,000), while the old ones are traded for double that price, as stated in line (14).

(the cloths). (In other words, the *kain timur* that they had been trading for ten years would value at seven or eight hundred thousand Rupiahs.)

- (16) *Ba / nye di mam-a ni-pek leu yam /*  
 and we REL inland-CIT 1EXC-buy from RECIP  
*no-ro i-tri bak mbrei-nya kin suku*  
 3SG-but 3PL-sell to foreigner-PL with tribe  
*hi-ter lene i-kan big #*  
 some-other then 3PL-know not  
*ei Irian Jaya lene i-kan big #*  
 LOC Irian Jaya then 3PL-know not  
*no-ro mem suku Tinam / mem suku Tuig /*  
 3SG-but for tribe Tinam for tribe Sougb

*kin mem suku Sreu #*  
 with for tribe Meyah

And, we people of the interior bought from each other, but we didn't sell to foreigners or other tribes at all. (Other tribes) in Irian Jaya then we don't know (= not at all with other tribes). But (only) for the tribes Tinam, Sougb, and Meyah.

- (17) *Ba / nye-ni mpe di ni-mahan tu /*  
 and we-this time REL 1EXC-adolescent already  
**ta** *ni-nok munggwom pilei / lene nye-de*  
 or 3SG-like child young then we-POS  
*nit-ngyon-bat-nya kin andigpoi-nya i-yok*  
 1EXC-grandfather-COLL-PL with old.man-PL 3PL-put

*gi-ni mem nye-ni #*  
 NOM-this for we-this

And, we when were growing up, or we were (still) young, then our, our grandparents and our parents put this away (keep it) for us.

- (18) *Api / ig-yai bak nye-ni ba / nye-ni*  
 then 3PL-take to we-this and we-this  
*cem suar ni-pek / i-ngginau nye-ni*  
 also need 1EXC-buy 3PL-teach 1PL-this  
*le-n-hye-po ni-hyen na-o /*  
 from-3SG-voice-ANA 1EXC-look.after pig-or  
*ni-nggok mitiei ba ni-pek gi-ni*  
 1EXC-search money and 1EXC-buy NOM-this  
*leu-bi-ni-hye-po nye-ni cem ni-ma #*  
 from-INS-3SG-voice-ANA 1PL-this also 1EXC-get

Then, they gave them to us and, we too usually bought them, they taught us in order that we hold pigs, (that) we look for money and we bought these, in order that we too would acquire (*kain timur*).

- (19) *Lene / da-ni cem di-ma / wer mang tu #*  
 then 1SG-this also 1SG-get near many already  
 Then, I too got some, a few.
- (20) *Api / nog-in-di-ni lene / perkembangan /*  
 then like-thing-REL-this then development  
*tug hon pembangunan / bi-tut / injil-ə*  
 pound stop development PUR-along gospel-CIT  
*coi Irian Jaya / kikau*  
 enter Irian Jaya continually  
*bi-pek nye-ni nogindia lene suar / eh/*  
 PUR-reach we-this now then need eh  
*ni-ba-pa-kep budaya di-ni /*  
 1EXC-INS-use-keep.onto culture REL-this  
*nok hiasan ei igbei #*  
 like decoration LOC house  
 So, nowadays then, (after) development and building, along with, the gospel have entered Irian Jaya, all the way until it reached us now then usually, eh, we use this culture, as decoration in our homes.
- (21) *No-ro / mem mimbron-ə bu big #*  
 3SG-but for brideprice-CIT again not  
 But no longer as bride price.
- (22) *Suar / ni-bi-go perkara-o /*  
 need 1EXC-INS-cut case-or  
*gi-ma-yo bu big #*  
 NOM-there-like again not  
 Usually, we use (them to) pay (for), court cases eh, things like that not any more.
- (23) *Suar ni-bi-go ni-mai ngud-o /*  
 need 1EXC-INS-cut 3SG-die body-or  
*gi-ma-yo bu big #*  
 NOM-that-like again not  
 We no longer use them to pay (as compensation for) deaths and so on.
- (24) *No-ro / nok hiasan / leu-bi-ni-hye-po /*  
 3SG-but like decoration from-INS-3SG-voice-ANA  
*mpe di nye-de munggwom-e / atau turis-nya*  
 time REL we-POS child-Q or tourist-PL  
*i-kwei e lene ni-ndo bi-yok pi-a*  
 3PL-come Q then 1EXC-show to-3PL QUOT-CIT  
*nye di-no / mam / Tuig kin Sreu /*  
 we REL-3SG inland Sougb with Meyah



*kin Tinam leu suku Arfak / nye-de*  
with Tinam from tribe Arfak 1PL-POS

*kebudayaan di ni-ba-pa-ke ri #*  
culture REL 1EXC-INS-use-keep.onto GIV

But, as decoration, so that, at the time our children, or tourists come then we (can) show them what we from, the interior, the Sougb and the Meyah, and the Tinam from the Arfak tribes, (it is) our culture that we used.

- (25) *Gi-ma-ri-no / di-kan bi-pi-a / lene*  
NOM-that-GIV-3SG 1SG-know PUR-QUOT-CIT then  
*gi-ter leu minyas di-ni hi-kin bu /*  
NOM-other from cloth REL-this some-with again

*nok mieb-o / siban-o / eh / joy-o /*  
like beads-or bracelet-or eh bracelet-or

*nok gi-ma-yok cem / nok mimbron / nok na-o #*  
like NOM-that-like also like brideprice like pig-or

That being so I know that, then (there are) other things than these *kain timur*, like beads eh, seashell bracelets eh, bracelets, and so on as well, (we use) as brideprice, like pigs eh.

- (26) *Lene / gi-no ni-ndig di ba-mahal*  
then NOM-3SG 3SG-large REL INS-expensive

*leu minyas di-ni /*  
from cloth REL-this

*lene ni-nyeng ri no kibisrai #*  
then 3SG-name GIV 3SG cloth

Then, if/when a big one which is more expensive than the *kain timur*, then its name is *kibisrai*.<sup>134</sup>

- (27) *Gi-no njirie ni-de / harga tau*  
NOM-3SG surpass 3SG-POS price or

*ni-de ni-bok / njiriek leu minyas*  
3SG-POS 3SG-price surpass from cloth

*di-ni bu #*  
REL-this again

That one surpasses its, the price or its price, (it) surpasses again this *kain timur*.<sup>135</sup>

- (28) *Kibisrai lene / gi-ma cem nok kebudayaan /*  
cloth then NOM-that also like culture

<sup>134</sup> *Kibisrai* is explained as *kain toba*, which is a more expensive type of ceremonial cloth.

<sup>135</sup> Note that I interpret *gi-no* as subject of *njiriek* 'surpass', although in most contexts this form functions as a coordinator 'if' or 'when'. Possibly, it has that function here too, in which case this sentence has no explicit subject, but then there would not be an apodosis to the clause introduced with *gi-no*. *Njiriek* is realised without the final consonant in the first line.

*api ni-de ni-bok / nok satu juta lima*  
 then 3SG-POS 3SG-price like one million five

*ratus / di-i-pek ei mitiei ti*  
 hundred REL-3PL-buy LOC money NOM

*atau dua juta #*  
 or two million

The *kibisrai* then, that one is also (used) as culture, then its price (is), like one million five hundred (thousand), which they buy with money, or two million (rupiahs).

- (29) *Atau bisa i-bi-pek tungwatu #*  
 or can 3PL-INS-get human #  
 Or it is possible to buy people with (those cloths).

- (30) *Atau bisa i-ba tungwatu ba i-bi-ruei / eh/*  
 or can 3PL-use human and 3PL-INS-change eh

*minyas kipsirai di-ma #*  
 cloth cloth.toba REL-that

Or it is possible they use humans and they use (them) to exchange for, eh, that *kain toba*.<sup>136</sup>

- (31) *Lene / tut gi-ni / lene / eh/*  
 then along NOM-this then eh

*Sreu-nya / kipsirai lene mang bibor /*  
 Meyah-PL cloth then many very

*Sreu-nya i-bap / suku Sreu / kin Tuig-nya*  
 Meyah-PL 3PL-use tribe Meyah with Sougb-PL

*i-ba-pa-ke kipsirai mang bibor #*  
 3PL-INS-use-keep.onto cloth many very

Then, as far as this is concerned, then, eh, the Meyah, *kibisrai* then (there are) very many, the Meyah use, the Meyah tribe and the Sougb, they possess a lot of *kibisrai*.<sup>137</sup>

- (32) *Lene Tinam / eh/ i-ma / yo di i-nyeng-ə*  
 then Tinam eh 3PL-get 3PL REL 3PL-name-CIT

*jei / d-andigpoi da di-tngyon-bat-nya*  
 long 1SG-old.man 1SG 1SG-grandfather-COLL-PL

<sup>136</sup> Whereas earlier instances were realised as [kəbisrai], here it is [kipsərai].

<sup>137</sup> Yoas Iwou explains the mixed Indonesian-Hatam verb *ba-pa(kai)-kep* as 'possess' here, whereas in all other contexts it is glossed as 'make use of'. In this line again the *kain toba* is realised as [kipsərai].

*i-ma gom-gom he #*  
 3PL-get one-one just  
 Then the Tinam, eh, they got, those who are important, my father my grandfathers they got just a few.

- (33) *Gi-nog-ə/ andig Bijeibei-o, nok da*  
 NOM-like old.man Bijeibei-or like 1SG  
*di-cig andig Ngitbei-o/ gi-nok da*  
 1SG-father old.man Ngitbei-or NOM-like 1SG  
*dit-nygon di-no/ dip-mum di-no/*  
 1SG-grandfather REL-3SG 1SG-uncle REL-3SG  
*andig Pungnyai-o/ yo di-ma-yok*  
 old Pungnyai-or 3PL REL-that-like  
 Like the old man Bijeibei or, my father the old man Ngitbei, like my grandfather or my uncle's grandfather Pungnyai, people like them,

- (34) *Api i-ma gom-gom he mpe*  
 then 3PL-get one-one just time  
*di bon perang suku di-no i-pilei-a*  
 REL make war tribe REL-3SG 3PL-shoot-CIT  
*bi-mai su api bi-go/ atau mpe*  
 PUR-die already then INS-cut or time  
*di-no/ i-de munggwom i-wak sop/*  
 REL-3SG 3PL-POS child 3PL-marry woman  
*lene i-ba-pa-kep mem i-bi-go #*  
 then 3PL-INS-use-keep.onto for 3PL-INS-cut  
 So they had just a few, at the time there was a tribal war, when they'd shoot someone dead then they'd use them to pay, or when, their children married they'd use (cloths) to pay with (cloths for the women).

- (35) *Gi-ma-ri-no/ jo kikau ba no-ro*  
 NOM-that-GIV-3SG be continually and 3SG-but  
*nogindia pek nye-ni cem/*  
 now reach we-this also  
*ni-ba-pa-kep no-ro/ suar/*  
 1EXC-INS-use-keep.onto 3SG-but need  
*ni-bi-wak sob-ə bu big #*  
 1EXC-INS-marry woman-CIT again not  
 Therefore, this lasted some time and but now it has reached us also, we make use of (them) but, usually, we no longer use them to marry women.

- (36) *Hon/ ti-ri-ni ni-ngges/ no-ro*  
 stop NOM-GIV-this 1EXC-release 3SG-but  
*ni-bi-mau igbei nok/ tandamata*  
 1EXC-INS-decorate house like souvenir

*tau* *nok* / *kenangkenangan* /  
or like keepsake

*nok* *nye-de* *kebudayaan* *leu* / *suku*  
like we-POS culture from tribe

*Tinam* *kin* *suku* *Sreu* #  
Tinam with tribe Meyah

It has stopped, now we have left (this), but we use them to decorate our homes as, souvenirs or as, memories, as our cultural heritage from, the Tinam tribe and the Meyah tribe.

- (37) *Gi* *n-di-a* *ri* #  
NOM thing-REL-CIT GIV  
That's it.

- (38) *Gi-ma* *cem* *minyas* *pi-ni* / *nok* /  
NOM-that also cloth ANA-this like

*i-bi-pek* *na-o* / *i-bi-pek*  
3PL-INS-buy pig-or 3PL-INS-buy

*di-hyei-o* / *gi-no* / *i-suar* *di-hei* /  
REL-grow-or NOM-3SG 3PL-need REL-grow

*ei* *minu* *hi-ter* / *lene* *suar* /  
LOC place some-other then need

*i-hig* *yo* *tut* *di-hyei* *ni-de* *bok* /  
3PL-ask 3PL along REL-grow 3SG-POS price

*atau* *ni-de* *harga* / *leu-bi-n-hye-po* / *eh* /  
or 3SG-POS price from-INS-3SG-voice-ANA eh

*i-suar* *minyas* *i-pigy-i*  
3PL-need cloth 3PL-how.many-Q

That also this *kain timur*, (is) like, we use (them) to buy pigs eh, we use (them) to buy, ground or, if they need ground, at another place, then usually, they'd asked them about the price of the ground, or its price, in order to, eh, how many *kain timur* they need. (no pause between (37) and (38))<sup>138</sup>

- (39) *Lene* *minyas-ə* *gom* *e* *can* *e* *ningai* *e* /  
then cloth-CIT one Q two Q three Q

*atau* *bisa* *minyas-ə* *muhui* *e* / *lene* /  
or can cloth-CIT five Q then

<sup>138</sup> This line begins an addendum to the information about *kain timur*, which had been formally closed off with the formulaic *gi-n-di-a-ri* 'that's it'.

*i-ba minyas ni-bi-pek di-hyei-ə cem #*  
 3PL-use cloth 1EXC-INS-buy REL-grow-CIT also  
 Then (it is) one two three *kain timur*, or possibly five *kain timur*, then, they'd use *kain timur* to buy ground as well.

- (40) *Nok/ eh/ nye-de andigpoi-nya i-bi-pek*  
 like eh 1PL-POS old.man-PL 3PL-INS-buy  
*di-hyei-ə tu/ lene gi-no mem*  
 REL-grow-CIT already then NOM-3SG for  
*i-bi-wak sop pi-ma cem/*  
 3PL-INS-marry woman ANA-that also  
*bi-hig yo di-no nyeng-ə jei lene*  
 PUR-ask 3PL REL-3SG name-CIT long then  
*yai minyas simnai/ atau nyatungwa gom #*  
 take cloth ten or twenty one  
 Like, eh, our parents bought ground with (them), and if in order to buy women too, (they) would ask those who were rich [important] and take ten *kain timur*, or twenty.

- (41) *Api/ bi-kin na-o/ n-di-yok*  
 then PUR-with pig-or thing-REL-like  
*mieb-o/ siban-o/ n-di-yok #*  
 beads-or bracelet-or thing-REL-like  
 Then, also pigs, and so on, beads eh, bracelets eh, and so on.<sup>139</sup>

- (42) *No-ro gi/ yo di-i-ma mang big/*  
 3SG-but NOM 3PL REL-3PL-get many not  
*lene/ ig-yai nok/ can/*  
 then 3PL-get like two  
*atau ningai/ atau gom/ nok #*  
 or three or one like  
 But if, those who didn't have many, then, they'd take like, two, or three, or one, like (that).

- (43) *Gi n-di-a ri #*  
 NOM thing-REL-CIT GIV  
 That's it.

<sup>139</sup> The PURpositive clitic on *kin* is unexplained.

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