A grammar of Maybrat

A language of the Bird's Head, Irian Jaya, Indonesia

Philomena Dol

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Tkom am refo mkah tatia ysia tme
(see page 166)

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Conventions

The following symbols are used:

[ ]	phonetic representation
/ /	phonemic representation
| |	very short pause
/	short pause
#	long pause
'	lexical main accent, precedes accented syllable
ˌ	lexical secondary accent, precedes accented syllable
ˌ	accent in connected speech, precedes accented syllable
ˋ	(grave accent) over a vowel: falling pitch
ˊ	(acute accent) over a vowel: rising pitch
‾	(bar) over vowels in a sequence: allegro speech
~	varies with
σ	syllable
|	syllable boundary
: :	morphophonological representation
-	morpheme boundary
ø	covert person prefix
Ø	place from which a constituent has been (re)moved
1; 2; 3	in person prefixes: first person; second person; third person
' '	in examples: translation
<	derived from
< >	translation including complete glosses in the running text
{}	compound form (see section 4.3.5)
[[ ]]	complement (see section 8.3)
//	clause boundary
.	in glosses: the two words together render the meaning of the glossed word
——>	is realised as
+	form occurs only once in the data
?	questionable form
*	unacceptable or unattested form

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses:

ADV	adverbial
C	consonant
CSC	Coordinate Structure Constraint
DET	determiner
DISJ	disjunctive coordinator
DIST	distance
EMPH	emphatic
ENUM	enumerator
GEN	general
INCEPT	inceptive
INT	interrogative
k.o.	kind of

Conventions

l.	line
ll.	lines
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	nominal
Nas	Nasal
NEG	negator
NOM	nominaliser
NP	Noun Phrase
OS	opposite sex
P	plural
PART	particle
POSS	possessive
PRESTT	presentative
PROHIB	prohibitive
REDUP	reduplicated morpheme
REL	relativiser
S	singular
SPEC	specific
SS	same sex
s-V	subject (prefix) - Verb
SVC	Serial Verb Construction
TRANS	transitiviser
U	unmarked
V	vowel
Ind	Indonesian
Du	Dutch
Eng	English

Other conventions:

italics	Maybrat forms, unless otherwise indicated
bold	Indonesian forms
bold italic	geographical names
<u>underlined</u>	botanical names, unless otherwise indicated
SMALL CAPITALS	grammatical markers

Maps

Map 1: Indonesia (based on Comrie 1990:186).

Maps

Map 2: the Bird's Head (based on Reesink 1996:xi).
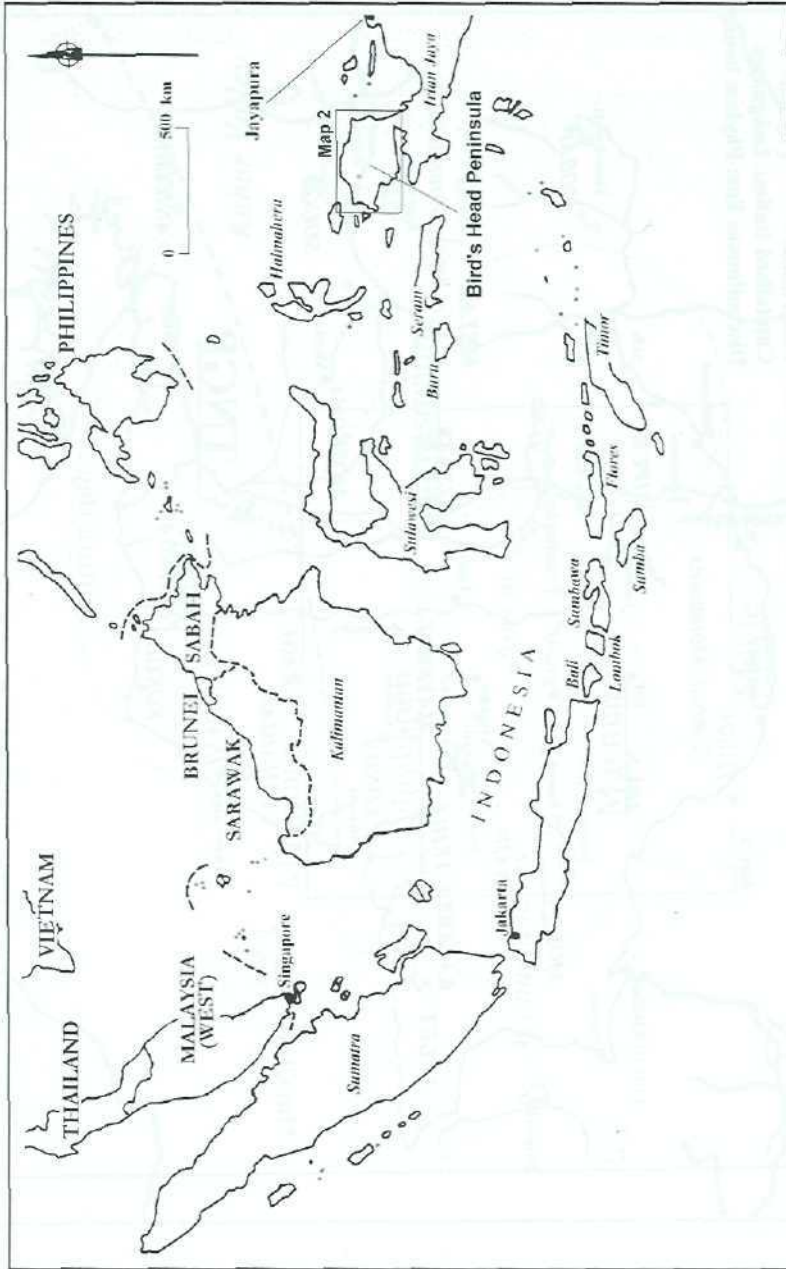
Map 3: the *Maybrat* (based on Reesink 1996:xi).

In this map only village names have been included, i.e. places in the forest (see, for instance, many places mentioned in appendix I) are not indicated.

Chapter 1   Introduction
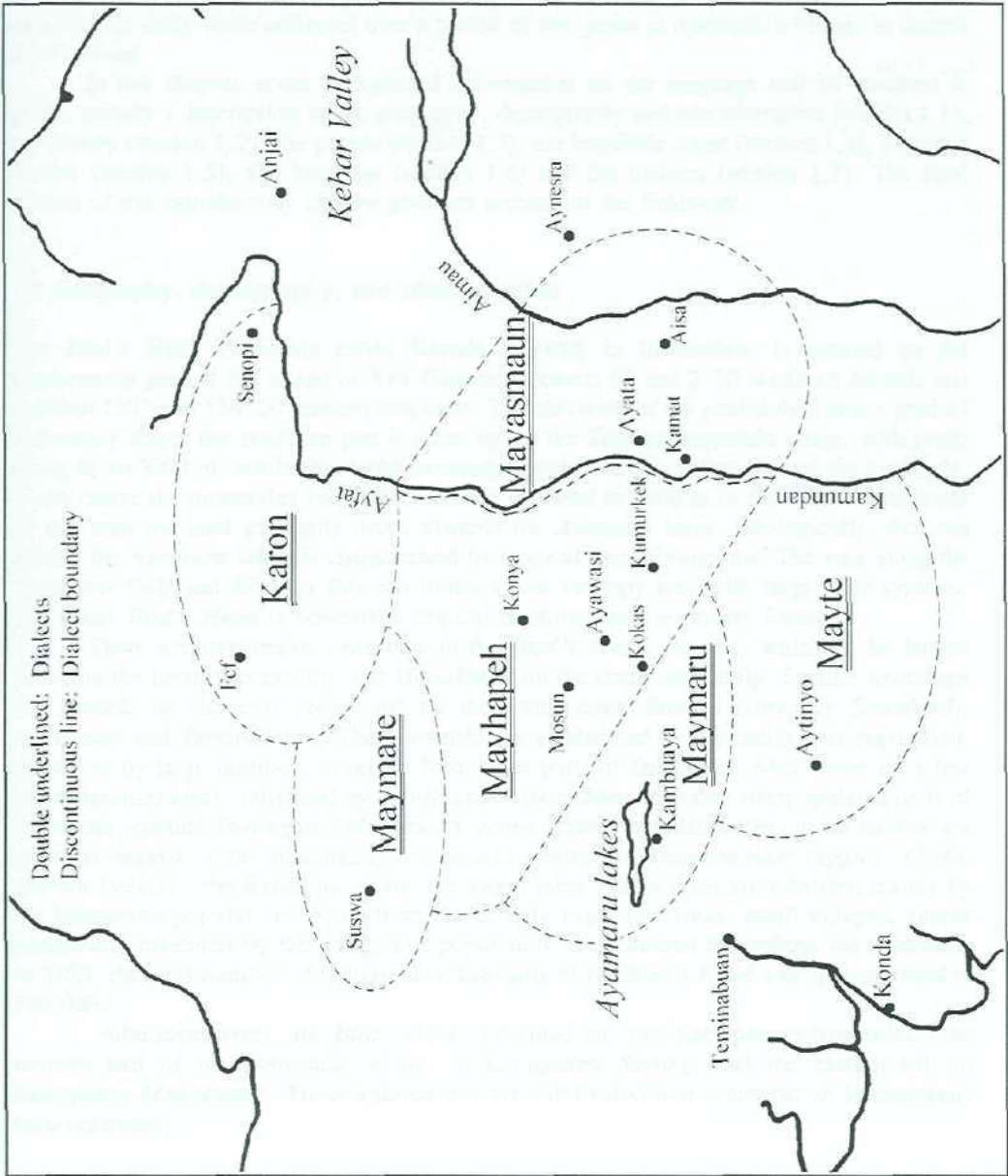
Maybrat is a Papuan language which is spoken in the central area of the *Bird's Head* Peninsula, *Irian Jaya*, *Indonesia*. The total number of speakers is approximately 22,000 (Brown 1991:1). Despite the fact that it is one of the larger local languages in *Irian Jaya* in terms of numbers of speakers, a comprehensive grammar on this language has hitherto not been published. The objective of the present study is to provide a detailed linguistic description of the phonology, morphology, syntax and features of discourse of *Maybrat*. The data for this study were collected over a period of two years in *Ayawasi*, a village in central *Bird's Head*.

In this chapter some background information on the language and its speakers is given, namely a description of the geography, demography and administration (section 1.1), the history (section 1.2), the people (section 1.3), the linguistic scene (section 1.4), previous studies (section 1.5), the language (section 1.6) and the dialects (section 1.7). The final section of this introductory chapter gives an account of the fieldwork.

1.1 Geography, demography, and administration

The *Bird's Head* Peninsula called **Kepala Burung** in Indonesian, is situated on the westernmost part of the island of *New Guinea*, between 0˚ and 2˚20' southern latitude and between 130˚ and 134˚20' eastern longitude. The elevation of the peninsula forms a gradual decreasing slope: the northern part is taken up by the *Tamrau* mountain range, with peaks rising up to 3000 m, while the *Arfak* mountains constitute the eastern part of the peninsula. In the centre the mountains rise from 800 m in the west to 2800 m in the east. To the south of this area the land gradually drops towards the *Ayamaru* lakes. Geologically, the area around the *Ayamaru* lakes is characterised by tropical karst formations. The area along the *MacCluer Gulf* and *Bintuni Bay* constitutes a low swampy area with large river systems. The entire *Bird's Head* is covered in tropical rainforest and secondary forest.

There are two major townships in the *Bird's Head*: *Sorong*, which is the largest town, on the north western tip; and *Manokwari* on the north eastern tip. Smaller townships are *Ransiki* on the east coast; and on the south coast *Bintuni* (formerly *Steenkool*), *Inanwatan* and *Teminabuan*. These townships are inhabited by the indigenous population, as well as by large numbers of people from other parts of *Indonesia*. Also, there are a few transmigration areas, inhabited by transmigrants from *Java* and other overpopulated parts of *Indonesia*, outside *Sorong* and *Manokwari*. Some densely populated areas in the interior are *Ayawasi* (approx. 1200 inhabitants) and the area around the *Ayamaru* lakes (approx 17,000 (Brown 1991:1)), the *Kebar* plains and the *Anggi* lakes. These areas are inhabited mainly by the indigenous population. Apart from the densely populated areas, small villages, almost exclusively inhabited by the indigenous population, are scattered throughout the peninsula. In 1985, the total number of indigenous inhabitants of the *Bird's Head* was approximated at 100,000.[1]

Administratively, the *Bird's Head* is divided into two **kabupatens** (regencies): the western half of the peninsula belongs to **kabupaten** *Sorong*, and the eastern half to **kabupaten** *Manokwari*. These **kabupatens** are subdivided into a number of **kecamatans** (sub-regencies).

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[1] Figure taken from *Irian, bulletin of Irian Jaya* volume XVIII, 1990, pages 71 and 73.

Ayawasi, the site of research for the present study, falls under **kabupaten** *Sorong*, **kecamatan** *Ayfat*. It is located in the central *Bird's Head* peninsula, at 1°10′ southern latitude and 132°27′ eastern longitude. It is located at an elevation of 450 m. The average temperatures are between 25°C and 30°C during the daytime, and around 20°C at night. There is 5,500 - 6,000 mm of rain per year: rainfall is highest in May and June, and lowest in December and January. *Ayawasi* is situated at the centre of the *Ayfat* region.

1.2 History

The prehistory of the *Bird's Head* is sketchy at best. Radiocarbon dating of archaeological finds suggests that migrations from eastern *Indonesia* towards *Australia* and *New Guinea* occurred as early as 40,000 years Before Present (BP), or even earlier (Bellwood et al.1998:233). It is possible that in this period the *Bird's Head* peninsula was a landing place for migrants crossing to present day *Irian Jaya*, *Papua New Guinea* and *Australia* (Jelsma 1998:41, refers to Birdsell 1977), but no evidence of this has been found in the *Bird's Head*. However, recent archaeological research by Pasveer in a cave near the *Ayamaru* lakes revealed that human occupation in this area goes back to at least 8,000 years ago (Pasveer 1998:86).[2]

Until well into the 20th century, the population in the *Bird's Head* was semi-nomadic: they lived in gardens which were made by clearing part of the forest. If one garden was exhausted, they abandoned it and made a new garden. In addition to gardening, they hunted and gathered food in the forest to supplement their diet. People lived together in clans, and made their gardens on their ancestral grounds (Schoorl 1979:22). Even today, especially in the *East Ayfat*, many people still live in very small groups in the forest, and hardly ever come to the villages.

Little is known about the history of the interior of the *Bird's Head* before 1900. We know that there were ancient trade routes between *China* and the *Moluccan* islands of *Banda* and *Buru*. Evidence in the form of pottery, linen, porcelain, beads and certain types of treebark (for the preparation of perfumery) suggests this trade extended as far as *West New Guinea* (Schoorl 1979:21).

From 1910 onwards, attempts were made by the Dutch colonial government to create villages in the *Bird's Head*. The mission has played an important role in this, helping with the formation of schools in new villages. In 1911 the first (Protestant) missionaries started their missionary activities in the south of the *Bird's Head*. In 1949, the Franciscans landed in *Sausapor*, on the north coast, and began their activities in the *Karon* area, later extending their activities to the *Mare* area (around *Suswa*) and the *Ayfat* area. In the middle of the 1950s, these Franciscans were replaced by Augustinian missionaries (Schoorl 1979:24).

Ayawasi was established around 1953. Under auspices of the Catholic mission an airstrip was built near the village, and eventually the population moved from their old location, slightly to the south of *Ayawasi*, to a location immediately along the airstrip. Since 1967 the AMA (Association of Missionary Aviation) has run regular services to *Ayawasi*. These services are used for supplies for the clinics, transportation of food supplies, and for

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[2] Both Jelsma and Pasveer worked within the framework of "The Irian Jaya Studies: a programme for interdisciplinary research (ISIR)".

passengers. In 1993 the runway in *Ayawasi* was lengthened and the surface was made harder to enable the Merpati, one of Indonesia's local airlines, to run services to *Ayawasi*.

At the beginning of the 1950s a primary school was founded in *Ayawasi*, and around 1992 a high school (**Sekolah Menegah Pertama**, SMP) was introduced. In 1964 a small outpatients' clinic was established in *Ayawasi*, headed by a nurse from a Dutch missionary congregation.[3] The clinic in *Ayawasi* is now the largest of the clinics in the area. *Ayawasi* has the largest missionary post in the area, with two Fathers, two Brothers, and three to four Sisters of the Franciscan order living there permanently.

Most houses are made of wood, built above the ground on poles, although during the time I lived in *Ayawasi*, more people began to build houses with a cement foundation. A large number of houses have corrugated iron roofs, but some poorer people still use sagoleaves as roofing material.

1.3 The people

In *Ayawasi* and throughout the *Ayfat* region, people mainly sustain themselves through hunting, fishing and gardening (slash and burn techniques). Some villagers have domesticated pigs, chickens and goats. Popular staple foods are cassava, sweet potatoes and taro, grown in gardens within walking distance of the village. Rice is available in the local shops, but it is only bought by people who are financially better off. Vegetables are cultivated, and edible wild forest plants are gathered.[4] Most people do not have a permanent income. Some enterprising villagers have a shop, and a small number of *Maybrat* people are employed by the schools as teachers or by the Catholic mission as nurses and administrators.

Although many people from different clans now live together in *Ayawasi*, the social organisation is still based on individual clans: people from one clan live closely together in one part of the village, where each family usually has its own house. Gardens are still made in the ancestral grounds as much as possible. If one wants to make gardens in the grounds of other clans, the village head and the representatives of the people who are entitled to these grounds have to be consulted. A kinship diagram (based on Schoorl (1979:154-155), and my own data) to illustrate the social organisation on an individual level is given in appendix IV.

Maybrat society is built around a system of exchange and reciprocity: if one asks a (material) favour from someone else, the other person is 'entitled' to ask something in return. The system is based on capacity. This implies that richer people are expected to give more in these exchange situations than poorer people. This often means that people with salaries, for instance teachers, have to share this income with the rest of their clan, and with other people who have done them favours. These people will, for instance, often end up paying the school fees for many more children than just their own.

Within the system of exchange, ceremonial cloth plays an important role. These cloths are exchanged among people on occasions such as marriage, the birth of a child, death and to settle fights (for instance, over matters such as adultery, or the accidental killing of a domesticated pig). There is a variety of cloths, some very old, and others quite new (cloths

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[3] This was the *Congregatie van het Kostbaar Bloed* (Schoorl 1979:24).

[4] Schoorl (1979:30-56) gives a long list of foodstuffs. Avé (1998) extensively lists vegetables and tubers, including their scientific names.

may also be bought on the market in *Sorong*). Each clan, and individuals in a clan, possesses ceremonial cloth. On the occasion of a marriage, the family of the man has to pay an amount of ceremonial cloth, depending on the 'value' of the woman,[5] to the family of the woman. These cloths are gathered not only from his parents, but also from other family-members, and from people who owe the man's family cloth. The cloths are then given to the family of the woman, who distribute them to their family, and to people whom they owe cloths. Many of the negotiations in the exchange of cloth are led by older men, referred to as *rae popot* 'wise men, rich men'. The system of who owes whom cloths is complex, and has been described by Schoorl (1979:171-208) and Elmberg (1968) for the *Maybrat*. Ceremonial cloth is used throughout the *Bird's Head* (with the exception of Inanwatan (van Oosterhout, p.c.)) and has been described by Miedema (1984) for the *Kebar* people, and Haenen (1991) for the *Moi* people.

1.4 The linguistic scene

According to Foley, on the island of *New Guinea* 1,000 languages are spoken, 750 of which have been classified as Papuan languages, the remainder being Austronesian (Foley1986:8). Extensive pioneering work has been done by Wurm, Voorhoeve and Laycock[6] to establish genetic links between Papuan languages.[7] The majority of Papuan languages can be classified as Trans-New Guinea Phylum (TNGP) languages, a Phylum which runs across the entire island. In addition, some smaller phyla have been defined. Foley (1986) gives an overview of the different genetic groupings of the languages of New Guinea, although he is more reserved about the degree of interrelatedness than, for instance, Wurm (1981 and 1982).

Traditionally, three groups of Papuan languages were defined on the *Bird's Head*: 1) the languages belonging to the West Papuan Phylum; 2) the east *Bird's Head* language Hatam; and 3) the South *Bird's Head* Stock, which typologically belongs to the TNGP (see map) (Voorhoeve (1984)). In addition to these, Austronesian languages are found on the *Bird's Head*. The language described in the present study is a family level isolate within the

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[5] A woman's 'value' depends, for instance, on her education, her social position in the village, whether she has a job, and how well she is expected to be capable of raising a family.

[6] Some publications include Voorhoeve and McElhanon (1970), Voorhoeve (1975), Wurm (1975) and Wurm et al. (1981 and 1982).

[7] To establish the interrelatedness of languages, a standard word list of approximately 200 non-cultural items is used (a so-called Swadesh list). Two languages which share over 81% cognates are said to be dialects of the same language; languages sharing 29%-80% cognates are members of one and the same language Family; languages sharing 12%-28% cognates belong to different Families, but are related on a Stock level. Cognation percentages of 6%-11% place the languages in different Stocks, but in the same Phylum. Cognation percentages of less than 6% are not accepted as proof of genetic relationship (Wurm & McElhanon 1975:152).

West Papuan Phylum (WPP).[8] This phylum also includes some *North Halmahera* languages (Voorhoeve 1987a:717).[9]

Some characteristics shared by all the WPP[10] languages of the *Bird's Head* are their SVO word order, as opposed to the SOV order of those of the TNGP languages. All WPP languages have prefixes that are coreferent with the subject (for verbs), or with the possessor (of inalienably possessed nouns). In most languages there is a gender distinction, and an opposition between inclusive and exclusive forms in the first person plural (Reesink 1996:2).[11] There seem to be some similarities in the pronominal prefix systems across WPP languages, suggesting a genetic relation (Reesink 1996:4). All known languages display sequences of verbs under one clausal intonation contour (Reesink 1996:6), and the word order in NPs is generally: Noun-Adjective-(Classifier)-Numeral-Determiner (Reesink 1996:8). Nominal compounds generally have the order 'N1 + N2' , where the whole noun is 'a kind of N2' (Reesink 1996:13).

Recent research,[12] however, has indicated that viewing the WPP as a group of genetically related languages is difficult to maintain: in a comparative study Reesink has hypothesised no less than seven unrelated language groups (Reesink 1996:18). A striking feature of these languages is the low number of shared lexical items found between the groups, contrasting with typological similarities. This has led to the hypothesis that thousands of years ago, possibly even before the arrival of the Austronesians on the peninsula,[13] a number of unrelated languages were spoken in the *Bird's Head* peninsula. Through trade a kind of 'Sprachbund' emerged, in which morphosyntactic features were shared, but vocabularies were not (Reesink 1996:x). So, instead of finding new evidence for the interrelatedness of the languages of the WPP, recent research has only created an even more confusing linguistic map of the *Bird's Head* area.

1.5 Previous research in *Maybrat*

Before 1993, some research had been done in the *Maybrat* area. The first linguistic notes were made by J.-E. Elmberg, who worked in the Ayamaru area between 1953 and 1957. *The Popot Feast Cycle* (1966) includes 16 pages of transcriptions of texts in the dialect of

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[8] A family level isolate is a language which, on its own, comprises one Family of a Stock (Wurm & McElhanon 1975:152).

[9] Foley (1986) does not discuss the WPP at all, as hardly any information on this Phylum was available.

[10] Some WPP languages on *Halmahera* have SOV word order (Voorhoeve 1988:192-193).

[11] Both the SVO word order and the inclusive/exclusive distinction are typically Austronesian characteristics. Maybrat is an exception, as this opposition is not grammatically expressed, see section 4.1.1.

[12] Within ISIR, work has been done on the languages Moi (Menick 1995; 1996); Hatam (Reesink 1999), Inanwatan (de Vries 1996); Mpùr (Odé 1995:1996).

[13] According to radiocarbon dating of archaeological remains, the Austronesian population started to disperse into *Western Oceania* around 3300 BP (Bellwood et al. 1998:233).

Ayamaru (below referred to as *Maymaru*). These transcriptions give an idea of the language, but the English translations are free, i.e. there are no interlinear glosses, and there is no morphological breakdown. No orthographic conventions are given, so only very superficial phonetic information can be gathered from these texts. The work also includes a short word list. Elmberg's PhD dissertation, 'Balance and Circulation: Aspects of tradition and change among the Mejprat of Irian Barat' (1968), includes a transcription of a myth in *Maybrat*. There is an extensive *Maybrat*-English word list which includes over 1500 lexical items. Again, no morphological information is given, but a short introduction to the orthography gives an idea about how the language is pronounced.

The first published information about the people in *Ayawasi* appears in an ethnography by H. Schoorl, 'Mensen van de Ayfat: Ceremoniële ruil en sociale orde in Irian Jaya-Indonesia' (1979).[14] In the description, many *Maybrat* terms are included. These terms only represent a small part of the language material Schoorl collected in *Ayawasi*: extensive word lists and recordings of myths, some of which had been transcribed, were kindly given to me when I started working on the *Maybrat* language.

More recently, two linguistic articles based on fieldwork in *Ayamaru* were published by W.U. Brown, namely 'Mai Brat nominal phrases' (1990) and 'A quantitative phonology of Mai Brat'(1991).

A word list including approximately 2500 lexical items in *Maybrat* / Indonesian / English was published by UNCEN-SIL.[15] These words are arranged according to semantic category, and in alphabetical order. Some other works have also been published by UNCEN-SIL: one of these is a book which includes five stories about the origins of rivers and lakes.[16] These works are also based on the *Ayamaru* dialect.

Recently, research has been conducted in the *Bird's Head* within the framework of the programme 'Irian Jaya Studies, a Programme for Interdisciplinary Research' (ISIR).

1.6 The language

The name *Maybrat* (see next paragraph for this orthography)[17] is morphologically a compound noun (for an analysis of compound nouns, see section 4.3.5), consisting of two members. The first is *mai*, a noun meaning 'sound'. This form can also function as a verb stem, as in, for instance *n-mai* 'You make a sound'; *p-mai* 'We make a sound'. The second part, *brat*, seems to refer to the type of sound, in other words, the particular language

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[14] 'People of the Ayfat, ceremonial exchange and social organisation in Irian Jaya-Indonesia'.

[15] 'Aam ro Mai Brat - Perbendaharaan Kata Bahasa Mai Brat -Mai Brat Vocabulary', Publikasi Khusus Bahasa-bahasa Daerah Seri B, No. Program Kerjasama UNCEN-SIL (Universitas Cenderawasih - Summer Institute of Linguistics), 1988.

[16] 'Bosair ro aya msya maru (Origins of Rivers and Lakes)'. Percetakan Universitas Cenderawasih, Irian Jaya, Indonesia, 1988.

[17] In section 2.1.2 I point out that if [j] and [w] occur phonetically in this position, they are allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively, and not of /y/ and /w/. Since the orthography I use is based on the phonemic structure of a form (see section 3.6), one would expect the form *Maibrat*. However, in spelling the name of this language as *Maybrat*, I follow the orthography that the *Maybrat* themselves use. The forms [maj'brɔt] and [maj'prɔt] vary freely, although the former is more common, hence the orthography.

variety. However, the isolated form *brat* is unattested. The people who speak *Maybrat* refer to themselves as *rae ro Maybrat* < man REL {sound *brat*} > 'the people who speak *Maybrat*'. These people are subdivided into groups according to the area where they originate, for instance, the people in *Ayawasi* are referred to as *rae Hapeh*, those of the *East Ayfat* as *rae Asmaun*, those of *Fef* as *rae Karon*, those of *Suswa* as *rae Mare*.[18] In *Ayawasi* it was agreed that these people all qualified as *rae ro Maybrat*, since everyone spoke the same language, although the dialects differed.

Maybrat is spoken in the kecamatans *Ayfat*, *Ayamaru*, *Aytinyo*, *Kebar* and *Sausapor*, of which kecamatan *Ayfat* is most centrally located. The area where *Maybrat* is spoken covers approximately 2570 km² (Schoorl 1979:11).

With the establishment of schools in the area, the Indonesian language has also become widely used. In *Ayawasi*, where a primary school was established in the early 1950s, many people under 50 years of age, as well as all younger people, are bilingual in *Maybrat* and Indonesian. Older people often speak Indonesian[19] to some extent, but prefer to speak *Maybrat*. Some older people speak no Indonesian at all. Indonesian is the standard language in the schools, in contacts with the mission and in the Church.[20] At the hospital, *Maybrat* is often used by the local nurses when dealing with the elderly. In daily life, both *Maybrat* and Indonesian are used, although I noted a preference for *Maybrat*. Children learn the two languages simultaneously. *Maybrat* speakers often pepper their *Maybrat* with Indonesian words (but rarely the other way around), or they switch back and forth between *Maybrat* and Indonesian.[21] Older members of *Maybrat* families who live in the cities, usually people who grew up in a village in the interior, may use *Maybrat*. Their children, however, only have a limited passive knowledge of the language.

Maybrat has a number of linguistically interesting characteristics. Morphologically, there are two classes of nouns: those that are obligatorily prefixed for possession, namely kinship terms and terms for body-parts, and those that are not prefixed. The nouns that are obligatorily prefixed receive person prefixes in exactly the same way as verbs.

Maybrat has an elaborate system of complex demonstratives comprising three bases which express distance from the point of view of the speaker. Suffixes are taken according to gender, and the choice of prefix depends on the syntactic function, its meaning, and specificity. For instance, there are distinct prefixes to refer to specific areas as opposed to large areas. A number of demonstratives also have derived functions, such as temporal

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[18] The naming for groups of people is rather confusing: the people of *Ayata*, for instance, were referred to as *rae asmaun* by the people of *Ayawasi*. However, the people of *Ayata* objected to this and in turn referred to the people living to the east of them (in *Aynesra*) as *rae asmaun*. I didn't manage to grasp this way of giving names.

[19] The Indonesian used is actually an East Indonesian variant of Indonesian, referred to as Malay, which is spoken as the "lingua franca" in large parts of East Indonesia, including Irian Jaya (cf. van Minde 1997:8, 9; Wurm & Hattori 1982: map 46).

[20] When I lived in *Ayawasi*, Father J. Fatem, a *Maybrat* speaker from *Ayata*, occasionally held his sermon in *Maybrat*.

[21] I have not studied what the motivations are for using Indonesian, even in circumstances where the equivalent of what one wants to say is available in *Maybrat*.

adverbials and anaphoric referents, while others can function as markers for locative and temporal adverbial clauses. In the formation of interrogative forms, some of the demonstrative prefixes are used.

The number system is based on body-parts: the numbers from 'one' to 'four' are unique terms, and these are combined with terms for hand/finger and foot/toe to form the numbers up to 'nineteen'.

Many notions which in, for instance, English and Dutch are expressed by prepositions are expressed by verbs in *Maybrat*, although it is obvious from the morphological and syntactic behaviour of these *Maybrat* forms that they are less 'verby' than their true verbal counterparts.

Syntactically, the most striking feature of *Maybrat* is the occurrence of verb sequences. Despite their formal similarity, a distinction between several different types of sequence can be made.

The present description is based on the language as it is spoken in *Ayawasi*. However, as I mentioned earlier, *Ayawasi* is a relatively new village. Until it was formed, the people used to live in small groups on their ancestral grounds. The language they spoke was the same, but small (mainly lexical) differences occurred from one family to another.[22] When these families moved to *Ayawasi*, they each brought their own 'family dialect' with them. The people who originally lived in the area where *Ayawasi* is now built have the following family names: *Tenau, Yumte, Kosho*. Especially older people who are originally from areas further away from *Ayawasi* can often be identified as such on the basis of their speech. This is illustrated in a lot of the recorded tales: for example, four terms were found in *Ayawasi* to denote one and the same animal, 'cassowary', but all originate from a different area, namely *posakof* (originally from *Mosun*), *kakru* (originally from *Pori*, formerly at one hour walking distance from *Ayawasi*, but now attached to *Ayawasi*), *ru kair* (*Ayawasi*), and *pohoho* (unclear origin). In the younger generation, raised in *Ayawasi*, lexical differences were not as pronounced as in the older generations. In other words, *Ayawasi* is a melting-pot of a number of different, but very closely related, 'family dialects', which over 30 years have become more alike. In the description, I have indicated the forms which are clearly 'family dialectal'.

1.7 Dialects

According to the local population, *Maybrat* is spoken in six dialects, which they define according to the area where each dialect is spoken. The criterion for the population is mutual intelligibility: people referred to a dialect as **Bahasanya sama, tetapi logatnya lain** 'The language is the same, but the way of speaking / the dialect is different'. The fact that, for instance, the dialects *Mayasmaun* and *Mayhapeh* are highly similar is supported by the fact that my main informant in *Ayawasi* had no problem in translating a *Mayasmaun* text recorded in *Aisa* into *Mayhapeh*.[23] The *Maybrat* themselves could always establish the origin of a

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[22] Similar small differences occur today, for instance between *Ayawasi* and *Mosun*, a village located at only a two-hour walk from *Ayawasi*. However, these differences are too small to qualify as true dialectal differences.

[23] *Po mna Sarbukun* 'The story of Sarbukun', recorded in *Aisa*, the narrator is Nico Fatem.

speaker by his accent. In the description of the dialects, I have maintained the division made by the local population.

The six dialects are listed below, followed by some of the villages where the dialect is spoken (see also map 3). With the exception of *Karon*, in all dialect names the word *mai* 'sound' is present.

Mayhapeh[24]   (*Ayawasi, Kokas, Mosun, Konya, Kumurkek*)
Mayasmaun   (*Ayata, Kamat, Aisa*)
Karon   (*Senopi, Fef*)
Maymare   (*Suswa, Sire*)
Maymaru   (*Ayamaru*)
Mayte   (*Aytinyo, Fuoh*)

Of all dialects lists of words containing between 300[25] and 700 items each were recorded and transcribed. Trips were made to the *East Ayfat* to record a word list of the dialect *Mayasmaun* (in *Ayata*), *Mayte* (in *Fuoh*, to the south of *Ayata*) and to *Senopi* for the dialect of *Karon*. Material recorded with a speaker from *Fef* (in *Senopi*), turned out to be nearly identical to the material recorded in *Senopi*: I conclude that in *Fef* and *Senopi* the same dialect is spoken. For *Maymare* two informants from *Suswa* who temporarily lived in *Ayawasi* were used, and for *Maymaru* a woman who grew up near *Lake Ayamaru* and now lives in *Ayawasi* was employed.

On the basis of a preliminary lexical inventory based on a list of 236 items, the following two observations can be made: firstly, the differences between the dialects are mainly lexical. Comparison of the word lists yielded the following cognate precentages:

	Mayhapeh
Karon	72%
Mayasmaun	81%
Mayte	78%
Maymaru	93%
Maymare	85%[26]

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[24] Phonetic [x] is consistently rendered 'h' orthographically, see section 3.6.

[25] Some lists are short because of time-pressure: in *Fuoh*, for instance, I only had one evening to work with people.

[26] These figures are to be interpreted as preliminary results only: in many cases where the form in a dialect list differed from the form in *Ayawasi*, the difference was not dialectal. Instead I had been given a synonymous form which was also used in *Ayawasi*. Compare, for instance Eng. "sofa", "couch" and "settee", which are lexically different, yet may be used to refer to one and the same thing. Because these results are not conclusive, I have only given cognate percentages for *Mayhapeh* compared to the other dialects, and have not compared these other dialects with each other.

Some examples of lexical differences are as follows:

Mayhapeh	Maymare	
tfo kawia	bukana	'knife'
turaf	hrofir	'wall'
pron aya	bruwai	'bamboo water container'
sa	kkai / swuok	'fish'
kak ara	ames	'marsupial'

Mayhapeh	Maymaru	
saur	samas aof	'baked sago'
yaf	tapet	'wound'
awe	srien mboh	'slave'
taur	susur	'bow'
parir	mataf	'shrimp'

With only 7% lexical differences out of a total of 400 lexical items, the dialects of *Maymaru* and *Mayhapeh* differ very little, and these two could be regarded as one dialect. However, it is generally agreed by speakers of both varieties that they do constitute different dialects. This is mainly due to the differing pronunciations: speakers of *Maymaru* speak a lot faster than those of *Mayhapeh*, and the latter often have trouble understanding the former.

Mayhapeh	Mayte	
tkat	apet	'scar'
fane rapuoh	kak iya	'wild pig'
musiah	sremai	'They hunt'
fra	taif	'stone'
krem sau	tamam	'six'

Mayhapeh	Mayasmaun	
thai awiah	tuo haniah	'I am hungry'
kuwian	min	'paddle'
haperek	bifut	'capsised'
intape	fuoh	'rope'
owa	frukak	'butterfly'

Mayhapeh	Karon	
payir	srof	'rainbow'
atu	mana	'mountain'
htat	sru	'mud'
snok	ni	'sand'
rapu knu	mnau	'morning'

Lexically, *Karon* differs the most from *Mayhapeh*, which is probably why it was classified as a separate language in surveys (Voorhoeve (1987b); Berry & Berry (1987)).

Secondly, where *Mayhapeh* uses voiceless stops, other dialects often use voiced stops. In section 2.1.2.1 I illustrate that in *Mayhapeh* there is no phonemic distinction between

voiced and voiceless stops, and that the appearance of voiced and voiceless allophones seems to be rule-governed. Some dialectal examples:

Mayhapeh	Maymare	
['popɑt]	['bobɑt]	'vegetables'
['parit]	['barit]	'steps'
[kə'rɛm]	[ŋgə'rɛm]	'their finger'

Mayhapeh	Maymaru	
[put]	[but]	'leech'
['xapɑx]	['xabɑx]	'It breaks'
[təti'jɛn]	[tidi'jɛn]	'I sleep'
['tuo]	[djo]	'I'

In *Maymaru*, voiceless stops also occur word-initially and intervocalically, e.g. [po'ti] 'firefly'; ['mapu] 'It is small'; ['tijɪt] 'four' and ['xate] 'louse'.

Mayhapeh	Mayte	
[təki'jɑs]	[təgi'jɑs]	'I tell'
[po]	[bo]	'thing'
[por'mapuwo]	[bor'mabuwo]	'sky'
['rapu]	['rabu]	'morning'
['kapɛs]	['kabɛs]	'ghost'
[mə'pɔx]	[mə'bɔx]	'It is white'
['tɛra]	['dɛra]	'It is dark'

Mayhapeh	Karon	
[pɔx]	[bɔx]	'ashes, white'
[mə'tɑx]	[mə'dɑx]	'dog'
['kijɑm]	['gijɑm]	'They are ill'

However, not all stops in *Karon* are voiced, e.g. [po] 'thing'; ['tijain] 'day before yesterday'; [kɔs] 'parrot'.

In *Mayhapeh* and *Karon*, there seem to be some differences in the use of person prefixes: some *Karon* forms have prefixes where *Mayhapeh* cognates do not and vice versa. Compare, for instance, *Mayhapeh* m-hai <3U-die> with *Karon* hai 'They die'. In *Mayhapeh*, *hai* is an unacceptable form. Similarly in *Mayhapeh* the inalienably possessed noun -haf 'stomach' always takes a subject prefix (t-haf 'my stomach', n-haf 'your stomach' etc.), while *Karon* haf 'stomach' is acceptable. The initial consonant in a number of *Karon* forms is homophonous with the third person masculine prefix y-, e.g. yauf 'egg' (*Mayhapeh* m-auf); yru 'They fly' (<ru 'bird') (*Mayhapeh* fru 'They fly'). Some *Karon* forms noted by Voorhoeve show differences along the same lines, e.g. *Karon* aru yawian vs. *Mayhapeh* ru mawian 'bird feathers' (Voorhoeve, p.c., based on fieldnotes).

1.8 Fieldwork

The reason for selecting *Ayawasi* as a site for fieldwork was threefold. Firstly, *Ayawasi*, with its large and almost completely bilingual community, is a good place to collect language data. Secondly, some anthropological fieldwork had already been conducted in *Ayawasi*, resulting in an ethnography (Schoorl (1979), see also section 1.5). Thirdly, from a practical point of view, the people at the missionary post were willing to assist at the beginning of the fieldwork period, and, *Ayawasi* has an airstrip providing some access to the township of *Sorong*. Because I found many good informants in *Ayawasi*, I decided to collect the bulk of my data there.

Fieldwork was conducted in two periods, from September 1993 - February 1995 and from October 1995 - March 1996. Initially Indonesian was used as the contact language. A start was made with acquiring a basic knowledge of *Maybrat* in the form of words, greetings, short questions that could be asked in the village, and short sentences. Subsequently, a word list of 700 lexical items was recorded, as well as three short stories. A number of people were asked to help transcribe and translate the texts. In the meantime, I acquired enough oral proficiency to conduct conversations.

After having formulated preliminary hypotheses about the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language, more texts were recorded, transcribed, and translated with the help of several people. These texts were analysed and any queries were discussed with informants. The texts were used as the basis for the elicitation of new material: constructions or features that were not understood, or that required more data, were elaborated on with informants. Some of this elicitation was done by constructing sentences, and asking a native speaker to improve them.

Most of the data were entered into two computer databases: for the analysis of the phonological data the programme 'FindPhone' was used and for interlinearising texts the programme 'Shoebox'.[27] The initial phonological analysis was based on 900 forms in the database, and was later supplemented by more material. The Shoebox programme contained over 2700 types of words. Eventually the recorded and written text material totalled over 45.000 tokens (approx. 60 typed pages).

In addition to the material entered into the digital databases, a concordance was made by hand, based on the collected texts. This concordance included examples of different sentence types, instances of lexical items that were not yet fully understood, instances of the use of different types of words in natural text, e.g. demonstratives, question words etc. The concordance proved practical in elicitation with informants, because all the information in a particular field, plus the source of that information, was easily accessible. For instance, when the function and occurrence of a particular deictic element had to be analysed, examples were taken from the concordance. These examples could then be used as a basis for further elicitation.

Towards the end of my stay in *Ayawasi*, much of the elicitation as well as the transcriptions were done monolingually. This, and conversations conducted and overheard in the village, proved a valuable source of new data.

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[27] Both of these databases were developed by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).

The data on which this grammar is based comprises the following material:

stories and myths
These stories include traditional tales, incorporating trickster stories, myths, fables, children's stories, speeches (made in Church), travel accounts, conversations, explanations, historical narratives, and family histories. Some of this material was recorded by others, e.g. Han Schoorl and Wanda Avé, and given to me to work out.

written material
When people in *Ayawasi* realised that I recorded stories and subsequently transcribed them, they occasionally brought in written material. This material included explanations, such as how to grow sago; how to hunt and cut up a pig; a number of letters to me (including a recent e-mail!); a traditional tale; a list of names of snakes; a list of names of plants; and a farewell speech written by two villagers and said in church by a parting Brother.

conversations
Some material was recorded, and other material was noted down while talking to villagers, or when overheard.

elicited material
The elicited material includes lists of words and short sentences recorded at the beginning of the fieldwork as well as self-constructed sentences and contrasting pairs made while working with informants.

During the time I stayed in Ayawasi, a number of other researchers from the ISIR project lived there for shorter or longer periods as well. I worked together closely with Avé (ethnobotany), and we sometimes collected data together. Polak (botany), Avé and I also assisted each other with the translations and interpretations of names of plants that the botanists had collected, and we regularly interpreted other data we received together. Odé visited in order to assist me in the analysis of a phonetic problem (see section 3.1.4).

The present book aims to give an overview of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the *Maybrat* language as it is spoken by the people of *Ayawasi*. Ideally, this work can be used as a reference grammar: it gives information about the most important structural and typological aspects of *Maybrat*. With this in mind, the grammar is full of illustrative examples centered around contrasts in form and meaning, which are discussed in the text. The work, which is mainly descriptive, draws on insights formulated by Dik (1987, 1997), Givón (1985, 1990) and Shopen (1985). Many ideas for the description come from typological work by Foley (1986), Comrie (1989), Croft (1990) and Hopper & Traugott (1993). The terminology is kept as neutral as possible: less traditional terms are clearly defined before they are used.

In this chapter I will give an account of the sound-pattern of *Maybrat*. In section 2.1 I will begin with a description of the vowels (2.1.1) and the consonants (2.1.2), including allophones and lists of contrasts.

Section 2.2, on phonotactics, gives sequences of vowels and consonants that occur in mono- and poly-morphemic forms. In section 2.3, a description of syllable and word structure is given. The epenthetic vowel schwa ([ə]) is discussed in section 2.3.2. In section 2.4 stress is treated. First, I will illustrate how stress works on the word level, followed by stress in connected speech. Subsequently, in section 2.5 some other phonetic features are described. In section 2.6 some elliptic phenomena that occur in 'allegro' speech are illustrated. In section 2.7, I will examine intonation in connected speech and finally, in section 2.8, I will illustrate how foreign sounds are adapted in *Maybrat*.

Before starting the description of the sound-pattern of *Maybrat*, it is appropriate to make a note about the glosses that are given for verbs and inalienably possessed nouns. With the exception of adverbial verbs (see section 8.2), all verbs take an obligatory person prefix, which is either overt (phonologically expressed) or covert (not phonologically expressed). Verbs typically function as predicates, and are therefore glossed as such. Examples of verbs that take an overt person prefix are /t-amo/ 'I go'; /y-nit/ 'He tells'. Verbs that take a third person unmarked person prefix /m-/ ('3U') are translated as 'she', 'they' or 'it' e.g. /m-ama/ 'She comes'; /m-xaf/ 'She is pregnant'; /m-kias/ 'They tell'; /m-tie/ 'It breaks'. Verbs that take a covert person prefix are also glossed as 'she', 'they' or 'it', i.e. /ø-saso/ 'she searches'; /ø-kiam/ 'They are ill'; /ø-ptek/ 'It falls'. In these examples, 'ø' marks a covert person prefix (see section 3.1.2). Likewise, inalienably possessed nouns, which take the same prefixes as verbs, with an /m-/ prefix are translated as 'her', 'their' or 'its', e.g. /m-na/ 'her head'; /m-atia/ 'their father'; /m-aim/ 'its wing'.[1]

In the examples in this chapter I have not given morpheme boundaries, because they are irrelevant for the present discussion.

2.1 Phonemes

There are five vocalic phonemes and eleven consonantal phonemes. The phonemes are presented between slashes '/ /', and the allophones of each phoneme between square brackets '[ ]'. Where possible, examples of the phonemes in word-initial, word-medial and word-final position are presented. In the phonetic forms, main stress is marked by " ' " preceding the syllable, and secondary stress, if heard, by ' , ' preceding the syllable. The consonantal status of the phonemes /y/ and /w/ is discussed separately in section 2.1.3 below.

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[1] See section 4.2 on verbs and section 4.3.1 on inalienably possessed nouns.

2.1.1 Vowels

The phonemic vowels of *Maybrat* are given in the vowel diagram in (1):

(1)
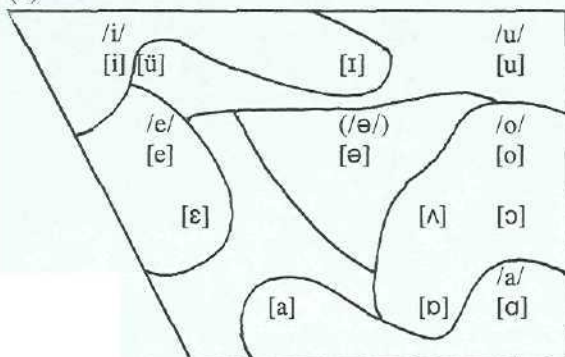
The vowel /ə/ occurs in some words as an optional phoneme. In word-final position after another vowel, [j] and [w] occur as allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively.

2.1.1.1 Allophones of the vowels

Below the phonetic realisations of the vowels are given:

/i/ —> [i]   high front close unrounded vowel
        ['ita]   /ita/   'leaf'
        [mir]   /mir/   'orange'
        ['toni]   /toni/   'their cheek'

        /i/ is optionally realised as high central half-close unrounded vowel [ɪ] when followed by a velar consonant /k/:

[ɪ]   ['manik]   ~   ['manɪk]   /manik/   'oil'
        ['wasik]   ~   ['wasɪk]   /wasik/   'They burn'

[j]   In word-final position following a vowel, /i/ may be realised as [j]:[2]
        [tə'xaj]   ~   [tə'xai]   /txai/   'I die'
        [saj]   ~   ['sai]   /sai/   'only'

---

[2] For practical reasons, in phonetic transcriptions, only the form with the vocalic allophone [i] is given. The same goes for the phoneme /u/ in word-final position after another vowel, which can be phonetically realised as [u] or [w] (see below).

/e/ —> [e]   mid front close unrounded vowel in open syllables:

['ejɔk]	/eok/	'two'
[xə'rexa]	/xrexa/	'their tongue'
['remo]	/remo/	'village'
['sawe]	/sawe/	'torch'

/e/ is realised as mid front open unrounded vowel [ɛ] in closed syllables, except when closed by a non-phonemic [ʔ]:

[ɛ]	[ɛt]	/et/	'tattoo'
	['tatɛm]	/tatem/	'my hand'
	[mɛs]	/mes/	'blood'
	[kə'rɛk]	/krek/	'her armpit'

/a/ —> [a]   low central unrounded vowel

['tasin]	/tasin/	'my rib'
[jə'rar]	/yrar/	'his molar'
[pam]	/pam/	'axe'
[tima'ra]	/tima'ra/	'my ear'

[a] is in free variation with low back unrounded vowel [ɑ] in closed syllables, except when closed by a non-phonemic [ʔ]:

[ɑ]	[təki'jas]	~	[təki'jɑs]	/tkias/	'I say'
	[tə'fat]	~	[tə'fɑt]	/tfat/	'I fell (a tree)'
	['takan]	~	['takɑn]	/takan/	'my eye'
	['sapan]	~	['sapɑn]	/sapan/	'They are shy'

However, when directly followed by /x/, /a/ is always realised as [ɑ]:

['xapɑx]	/xapax/	'It is cracked'
['awijɑx]	/awiax/	'taro'
['tasɑx]	/tasax/	'I laugh'
['xajɑx]	/xayax/	'It is different'
['amɑx]	/amax/	'house'

/o/ —> [o]   mid back close rounded vowel in open syllables, and optionally in monosyllabic words ending in [m]:

['rako]		/rako/	'firewood'
['tefo]		/tefo/	'here'
['soka]		/soka/	'their mouth'
[om]	~ [ɔm]	/om/	'rain'

/o/ is realised as mid back open rounded vowel [ɔ] in closed syllables, or when preceded by a high vowel:

[ɔ]	[fə'rɔk]	/frok/	'They emerge'
	[pə'rɔn]	/pron/	'bamboo'
	[sɔx]	/sox/	'They deceive'
	['mɔntijaf]	/montiaf/	'microlepia sp''
	['maɔn]	/maon/	'It is sharp'
	[ɔx]	/ox/	'already'
	['suwɔ]	/suo/	'faeces'
	['tuwɔ]	/tuo/	'I'
	['mijɔ]	/mio/	'where?'

[ɔ] is in free variation with low back open rounded vowel [ɒ] when directly preceded by /u/ and followed by a velar consonant:

[ɒ]	['mamuwɔx]	~	['mamuwɒx]	/mamuox/	'It is raw'
	[təsü'wɔk]	~	[təsü'wɒk]	/tsuok/	'I throw out/over'
	[xəpu'wɔx]	~	[xəpu'wɒx]	/xpuoh/	'It is small'

[ɔ] is in free variation with centralised vowel [ʌ] when directly preceded by /u/ and followed by /t/:

[ʌ]	[təsu'wɔt]	~	[təsu'wʌt]	/tsuot/	'I close'
	[ˌtisəku'wɔt]	~	[ˌtisəku'wʌt]	/tiskuot/	'I push'
	[təmu'wɔt]	~	[təmu'wʌt]	/tmuot/	'I hide someting'

/u/ —> [u]   high back rounded vowel

	['umam]	/umam/	'sweat'[4]
	['mauf]	/mauf/	'contents'
	[ru]	/ru/	'bird'

[u] is in free variation with high front rounded vowel [ü] before a rounded vowel:

[ü]	['kuwɔ]	~	['küwɔ]	/kuo/	'sago flour'
	['tuwɔ]	~	['tüwɔ]	/tuo/	'I'
	['nuwɔ]	~	['nüwɔ]	/nuo/	'you (s)'
	[sənu'wɔm]	~	[sərü'wɔm]	/sruom/	'louse'

In word-final position following a vowel, /u/ may be realised as [w]:

[w]	[tə'faw]	~	[tə'fau]	/tfau/	'I fill'
	[saw]	~	['sau]	/sau/	'one'

In some monomorphemic CV(C)-words, the vowel /ə/ occurs as an optional phoneme. Below, both the forms with and without schwa are given. The occurrence of either a form with or without an optional phoneme /ə/ seems unpredictable.

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[3] The young leaves of *montiaf* are mixed with pandan fruits, cooked and eaten (Avé 1998:50).

[4] In this form, stress may also fall on the second syllable, i.e. [u'mam].

(2) /yu/   [ju]   ~   /əyu/   [ə'ju]   'bag'[5]
     /te/   [te]   ~   /əte/   [ə'te]   'below'
     /ti/   [ti]   ~   /əti/   [ə'ti]   'night'
     /mes/ [mɛs] ~   /əmes/ [ə'mɛs]   'diplazium sp'[6]; 'blood'
     /naf/ [naf] ~   /ənaf/ [ə'naf]   'seeds'
     /xat/ [xat] ~   /əxat/ [ə'xat]   'fireplace'

An optional phoneme also occurs in the following forms of the structure CV|V(C), in which schwa is also optional word-initially. In these, the first V is invariably /i/:

(3) /tia/   ['tija]   ~   /ətia/   [əti'ja]   'how much'
     /tief/ ['tijɛf] ~   /ətief/ [əti'jɛf] 'ground kangaroo'
     /kiet/ ['kijɛt] ~   /əkiet/ [əki'jɛt] 'cloth'

The forms in (2) and (3) are exhaustive.

Some examples of doublets, i.e words that have two phonemic forms, are given below:

(4) ['jejam]   /yeam/   ~   ['jijam]   /yiam/   'They roll'
     ['feja]   /fea/   ~   ['fija]   /fia/   'They suck'

     ['puwɑx]   /puax/   ~   ['puwɔx]   /puox/   'enemy'
     [təku'wɑx]   /tkuax/   ~   [təku'wɔx]   /tkuox/   'I pick'
     [pəru'wɑx]   /pruax/   ~   [pəru'wɔx]   /pruox/   'We pick (fruit)'

     ['misijɪr]   /misiyir/ ~   ['misijɛr]   /misier/ 'They are drunk'
     ['tijɪt]   /tiyit/   ~   ['tijɛt]   /tiet/   'four'
     ['tijɪf]   /tiyif/   ~   ['tijɛf]   /tief/   'ground kangaroo'
     [tɪki'jɪf]   /tkiif/   ~   [tɪki'jɛf]   /tkief/   'They divine'
     ['sisijɪt]   /sisiyit/ ~   ['sisijɛt]   /sisiet/ 'front porch'

     [a'jo]   /ayo/   ~   [a'ju]   /ayu/   'sun'

---

[5] *yu* is a traditional bag, woven from pandan leaves, with a long strap. The bag is carried on the head.

[6] *mes* is a fern-like vegetable; the leaves are cooked and eaten (Avé 1998:21). In the remainder of this work, *mes* is translated as 'fern vegetable'.

A glottal stop [ʔ] occurs phonetically, but is not phonemic. It occurs frequently in word-initial position when a V-initial word is uttered in isolation (for instance during elicitation of a word list). [ʔ] is optional following a V in word-final position. The occurrence of the glottal stop also seems to be heavily dependent on the speaker.

[ʔ]	[aːm]	~	[ʔaːm]	/am/	'traditional raincape'[7]
	['ita]	~	['ʔita]	/ita/	'leaf'
	[ɔm]	~	[ʔɔm]	/om/	'rain'
	['takeʔ]	~	['take]	/take/	'I tie'
	['mataʔ]	~	['mata]	/mata/	'They drink'
	[sə'teʔ]	~	[sə'te]	/ste/	'They wait'

In monosyllabic words that receive stress in connected speech, the vowel is phonetically lengthened:

(5)	[iː]	/i/	'ant'
	[kiː]	/ki/	'jambu'
	[ɛːt]	/et/	'tattoo'
	[saː]	/sa/	'fish'
	[kaːt]	/kat/	'It is dry'
	[toː]	/to/	'rattan rope'
	[ɔːx]	/ox/	'already'
	[uː]	/u/	'up'
	[puːt]	/put/	'leech'

Stress, which is a property of syllables, is discussed in section 2.4.

2.1.1.2 Minimal pairs showing contrasts for vowels

In this section some minimal pairs showing contrasts for vowels are given.

/i/	vs	/e/	/i/	'ant'
			/e/	'far'
			/is/	'yesterday'
			/es/	'first'
			/tatim/	'I go first'
			/tatem/	'my hand'
			/smi/	'dream'
			/sme/	'male'
			/mai/	'They hit; PROHIB, sound'
			/mae/	'They are at'

---

[7] *am* are used as traditional raincapes, and are used as sleeping mats Nowadays *am* is also used to refer to 'letter'.

/a/	/i/	'ant'	
	/a/	'rope'	
	/tisu/	'dark'	
	/tasu/	'my face'	
	/mati/	'and then'	
	/mata/	'They drink'	

/o/	/ira/	'just now'
	/ora/	'garden'
	/si/	'needle'
	/so/	'dibble'
	/tnit/	'I tell'
	/tnot/	'I think'
	/tfi/	'I blow'
	/tfo/	'machete'

/u/	/i/	'ant'
	/u/	'above'
	/in/	'earthquake'
	/un/	'deep'
	/ttis/	'my tendon'
	/ttus/	'I add'
	/maim/	'wing'
	/maum/	'border'
	/kais/	'buttocks'
	/kaus/	'boil'
	/mti/	'night'
	/mtu/	'They call'

/e/ vs	/a/	/te/	'below'
		/ta/	'left'
		/mes/	'blood'
		/mas/	'It is swollen'
		/fene/	'mother'
		/fane/	'pig'
		/sape/	'<u>diplazium sp</u>'[8]
		/sapa/	'worm'

/o/	/tasen/	'I get up'
	/tason/	'I kiss'
	/tfe/	'crocodile'
	/tfo/	'machete'

/u/	/tet/	'bridge'
	/tut/	'corner'

[8] The young leaves of *sape* are put in a bamboo container, cooked and eaten (Avé 1998·21).

/a/	vs	/o/	/ax/	'frog'
			/ox/	'already'
			/txax/	'I tear'
			/txox/	'I run'
			/akax/	'above'
			/akox/	'turtle'
			/mata/	'leaf'
			/mato/	'hole'
		/u/	/tao/	'my foot'
			/tuo/	'palm wine'
			/mata/	'They drink'
			/matu/	'They appear'
			/fra/	'stone'
			/fru/	'It flies'
/o/	vs	/u/	/tao/	'my sibling (SS)'
			/tau/	'my lung'
			/maom/	'outside'
			/maum/	'border'
			/ro/	'POSS'
			/ru/	'bird'
			/saso/	'They search'
			/sasu/	'seashore'

2.1.2 Consonants

The *Maybrat* consonantal phonemes are given below:

(6)

	bi-labial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	/p/ [p] [b]		/t/ [t] [tʰ] [t°]		/k/ [k] [g] [k°]
nasal	/m/ [m] [ŋ]		/n/ [n]		
fricative		/f/ [f] [Φ]	/s/ [s]		/x/ [x] [ɣ]
trill			/r/ [r] [ɾ]		
approximant	/w/ [w]			/y/ [j]	

All consonantal phonemes can occur in word-initial and word-medial position. The phonemes /p/, /w/ and /y/ cannot occur in word-final position.[9]

2.1.2.1 Allophones of the consonants

The phonetic description of the consonantal phonemes and their main allophones is given below.

Plosives:

/p/ —> [p], [b] bilabial plosive

['pejɑk]	~	['bejɑk]	/peak/	'They throw away'
['tapum]	~	['tabum]	/tapum/	'I lie on my stomach'
['tapɑm]	~	['tabɑm]	/tapam/	'land'

The bilabial plosives [p] and [b] vary freely. The reason for choosing the symbol /p/ to represent both the voiceless allophone [p] and the voiced allophone [b] is twofold: first,

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[9] Phonetically, [w] and [j] occur in word-final position as allophones of /u/ and /i/ respectively, see section 2.1.1.

phonetically [p] is more common, even intervocalically, thus [tapɑm] 'ground' is more common than [tabɑm]. Second, of the other plosives, the dental plosive is always realised as a voiceless stop, so that voiceless /t/ is the most obvious phonemic form. The velar plosive [k] only varies freely with [g] intervocalically, so that voiceless /k/ is an obvious phonemic representation. Because the bilabial plosive belongs to the same natural class as the alveolar and velar plosives, and the latter two are voiceless, I choose the symbol /p/ to represent the bilabial plosives [p] and [b].

/t/ —> [t]   voiceless alveolar plosive

	[tima'ra]	/tima'ra/	'my ear'
	['tatɛm]	/tatem/	'my hand'
	['pɔi:t]	/poiit/[10]	'food'

[t] varies freely with aspirated alveolar plosive [tʰ] and unreleased alveolar plosive [t°] in word-final position:

[tʰ]	[xɔt]	~	[xɔtʰ]	/hot/	'saliva'
	['pɔi:t]	~	['pɔi:tʰ]	/poiit/	'food'

[t°]	['pɔi:t]	~	['pɔi:t°]	/poiit/	'food'
	['xapɔt]	~	['xapɔt°]	/hapot/	'They are satisfied'

/k/ —> [k]   voiceless velar plosive

	[kaŋ]	/kan/	'embers'
	['wikaŋ]	/wikan/	'tears'
	[ˌtanafə'rɑk]	/tanafrak/	'my skull'

[k] and [g] vary freely intervocalically:

[g]	['pɔkuwo]	~	['pɔguwo]	/pokuo/	'a feast'
	[təki'jɑs]	~	[təgi'jɑs]	/tkias/	'I tell'

[k] varies freely with [k°] in word-final position:

[k°]	[pə'tɑk]	~	[pə'tɑk°]	/ptak/	'They open'
	['manɪk]	~	['manɪk°]	/manik/	'oil'

To recapitulate, only the plosive /p/ can be realised as voiced and voiceless in word-initial position. Whereas intervocalically the plosives /p/ and /k/ can be realised phonetically as both voiced and voiceless, the phoneme /t/ only has a voiceless realisation intervocalically. In word-final position, the plosives show no phonetic contrast between voiced and voiceless. Both /t/ and /k/ have an unreleased allophone in word-final position. The only aspirated plosive attested in the data is word-final [tʰ].

---

[10] In this form, the plural stem of -ait 'eat' occurs, which contains a sequence of like vowels, see section 3.3. Phonetically, this vowel is long, see section 2.2.1.

Nasals:

/m/ —> [m] voiced bilabial nasal

[mɛs]	/mes/	'blood'
['amɑx]	/amax/	'house'
['taim]	/taim/	'I cook'

[ŋ] voiced velar nasal

[ˌajaŋkə're]	/aya mkre/	'tributary'	(< *aya* 'water'; *kre* 'branch')
[ɑŋkə're]	/amkre/	'sagoleaf'	(< *a* 'liana',[11] *kre* 'branch')
[ɑ'ŋkafu]	/amkafu/	'<u>merremia sp</u>'[12]	
[si'ŋkis]	/simkis/	k.o. needle	(< *si* 'needle' *kis* '?')

The forms incorporating a velar nasal all seem to be compound forms, because of the placement of main stress (see section 2.4). The velar nasal assimilates to the following velar stop resulting in a homorganic cluster. I assume that [ŋ] historically derives from an unmarked subject prefix /m-/ (see section 3.1 and section 4.1.1) which was affixed to the second member of the compound. A similar instance of a form with a possible remnant of an unmarked subject prefix is [mpair] 'place' in which the subject prefix and the following stop are also homorganic. [mpair] is possibly a spatial noun (see also section 4.3.1).

Alternatively, [ŋ] is the result of prenasalisation. Prenasalisation of stops is common in Papuan languages, cf. Foley (1986:61-62).[13]

/n/ —> [n][14] voiced alveolar nasal

['namo]	/namo/	'You (S) go'
['ana]	/ana/	'they'
[kəro'fɛn]	/kro'fen/	'their kidney'Fricatives:

/f/ [f] voiceless labio-dental fricative, varies freely with voiceless bilabial fricative [Φ]:

[Φ]					
	['fijɑf]	~	['Φijɑance	/fiaf/	'yellow'

	['fijɑf]	~	['Φijɑations	/fiaf/	'yellow'
	[a'fi]	~	[a'Φi]	/a'fi/	'roof'
	[sɔf]	~	[sɔΦ]	/sof/	'attic'

---

[11] The meaning of /a/ is unclear, but this element occurs frequently (it was found in over 90 times) in plant names.

[12] The sap of the stem of the *angkafu* tree is used against cough (Avé 1998:54). Because many plant names are syntactically compounds (see also section 4.3.5), I conclude that this is also a compound, in which the first element is isomorphous to *a* in *angkre* 'sagoleaf'.

[13] Another alternative is that [ŋ] is analysed as an epenthesised element between a vowel and a following voiceless velar stop /k/ in compounds, since [ŋ] in this position is completely predictable. This would make its status the same as that of [ə] between CC-clusters.

[14] [n] as an allophone of /n/ only occurs in loanwords, for example in [sɛŋkɔr] <Du *Steenkool* (see example (73)).

/s/	[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative		
		[sə'mɔs]	/smos/	'nasal mucus'
		['asam]	/asam/	'sugarcane'
		[sa:]	/sa/	'fish'

/x/	[x]	voiceless velar fricative, varies freely with voiced velar fricative [ɣ]:				
		['xajɑx]	~	['ɣajɑx]	/xayax/	'They cough'
		[xərɛn]	~	[ɣərɛn]	/hren/	'They sit'
		['rixa]	~	['riɣa]	/rixa/	'late afternoon'
		['amɑx]	~	['amɑɣ]	/amah/	'house'
		[mə'tɑx]	~	[mə'tɑɣ]	/mtah/	'dog'

Trill:

/r/	[r]	voiced alveolar trill		
		[ru]	/ru/	'bird'
		['ara]	/ara/	'tree'
		[tə'ɣaɾ]	/txar/	'I know'

		[r] varies freely with voiced alveolar tap [ɾ], except word-initially:				
	[ɾ]	[rir]	~	[riɾ]	/rir/	'lightning'
		['rere]	~	['reɾe]	/rere/	'shortly'
		['sirɔ]	~	['siɾɔ]	/siro/	'They are tired'
		[sərɔx'ni]	~	[səɾɔx'ni]	/sroxni/	'They forget'[15]

Approximants:

/w/	[w]	bilabial approximant		
		['wikan]	/wikan/	'tears'
		['kuwijan]	/kuwian/	'flesh'
		['awijɑx]	/awiax/	'taro'

/y/	[j]	palatal approximant		
		['juwan]	/yuan/	'It is light (weight)'
		['jisijɪr]	/yisiyir/	'He is drunk'

---

[15] This is possibly a compound form, judging by the placement of stress (see section 2.4).

2.1.2.2 Minimal pairs showing contrasts for consonants

Phonological contrasts for consonants are given below:

/p/	vs	/t/	/peta/	'together'
			/teta/	'top end of wooden house posts'
			/put/	'leech'
			/tut/	'corner'
			/mapo/	'flood'
			/mato/	'hole'
		/k/	/pron/	'bamboo'
			/kron/	'It sounds'
			/tpo/	'I hold'
			/tko/	'I burn something'
		/m/	/pur/	'wasp, bee'
			/mur/	'around'
			/petu/	'paddle'
			/metu/	'They still are'
			/spi/	'It is spicy'
			/smi/	'They dream'
			/sapan/	'They are shy'
			/saman/	'treebark'
		/f/	/po/	'thing'
			/fo/	'now'
			/apan/	'snake'
			/afan/	'caterpillar'
			/tpo/	'I hold'
			/tfo/	'machete'
		/w/	/sape/	'diplazium sp'
			/sawe/	'torch'
/t/	vs	/k/	/ttus/	'I add'
			/ktus/	'It is broken'
			/tsom/	'I play'
			/ksom/	'their gall'
			/mata/	'They drink'
			/maka/	'It winds' (e.g. a winding track)
			/ttai/	'my bone'
			/tkai/	'I meet'

/n/	/atu/	'mountain'	
	/anu/	'you (P)'	
	/tata/	'I drink'	
	/tana/	'my head'	
	/ait/	'he'	
	/ain/	'drum'	
	/tet/	'rattan bridge'	
	/ten/	'enemy'	
/r/	/tefo/	'here'	
	/refo/	'this'	
	/tatu/	'I pull out'	
	/taru/	'I pay'	
	/put/	'leech'	
	/pur/	'wasp, bee'	
/s/	/tuo/	'I'	
	/suo/	'faeces'	
	/tau/	'my lung'	
	/sau/	'one'	
	/sato/	'island'	
	/saso/	'They search'	
	/tatia/	'my father'	
	/tasia/	'my heart'	
	/mat/	'five'	
	/mas/	'It is swollen'	
/w/	/tia/	'I suck'	
	/wia/	'frog'	
	/tata/	'I drink'	
	/wata/	'fishtrap'	
	/xawe/	'They refuse'	
	/tawe/	'I fall'	

/k/	vs	/x/	/mkai/	'They find'
			/mxai/	'They die'
		/y/	/akox/	'turtle'
			/ayox/	'sky'

/m/	vs	/n/	/manes/	'They are old'
			/nanes/	'You are old'
			/smi/	'dream'
			/sni/	'They are paralysed'
			/tama/	'I come'
			/tana/	'my head'
			/maom/	'outside'
			/maon/	'It is sharp'
			/masim/	'They sell'
			/masin/	'her rib'
		/f/	/mrok/	'They are startled'
			/frok/	'They emerge'
			/remo/	'village'
			/refo/	'this'
			/maum/	'border'
			/mauf/	'contents'
		/r/	/mefo/	'here (PRESTT)'
			/refo/	'this'
			/maim/	'wing'
			/mair/	'beginning'
		/w/	/mata/	'They drink'
			/wata/	'fishtrap'
/n/	vs	/s/	/fon/	'rope'
			/fos/	'wind'
		/r/	/pun/	'firefly'
			/pur/	'wasp'
/f/	vs	/s/	/fo/	'now'
			/so/	'dibble'
			/tafox/	'fire'
			/tasox/	'my mouth'
			/tauf/	'forest'
			/taus/	'I urinate'
		/r/	/txaf/	'my stomach'
			/txar/	'I know'
		/w/	/safe/	'dark (colour)'
			/sawe/	'torch'

/s/	vs	/x/	/sawe/	'torch'
			/xawe/	'They refuse'
		/r/	/wasi/	'smoke'
			/wari/	'waistband'
			/taus/	'I urinate'
			/taur/	'bow'
		/y/	/srar/	'They dance'
			/yrar/	'his molar'
		/w/	/tasia/	'my heart'
			/tawia/	'I cry'
/x/	vs	/r/	/srax/	'arm/legband'
			/srar/	'They dance'

2.1.3 The phonemes /y/ and /w/

The segments [j] and [w] can be analysed as consonantal phonemes /y/ and /w/ respectively, or as allophones of the vowel phonemes /i/ and /u/. The reasons for analysing these segments as consonantal phonemes are as follows:[16] firstly, in word-initial position, [j] and [w] are distinctive, regardless of whether they occur before a vowel or before a consonant.[17] When [i] vs. [j] and [u] vs. [w] are artificially contrasted, the forms in which a vowel [i]/[u] instead of a semi-vowel [j]/[w] is realised were rejected (marked '*') by informants.

(7) *[iaf]   vs.   [jaf]   /yaf/   'wound'
     *['iimpəra] vs.   ['jimpəra] /yimpra/ 'It is tame'
     *['iuwan]   vs.   ['juwan]   /yuan/   'It is light'

---

[16] An analysis in which [j] and [w] are allophones of /i/ and /u/ is given by Brown (1991), who did his fieldwork in Ayamaru. He bases his argument on distinctive stress patterns. He argues that in unstressed positions, the non-consonatal segments /i/ and /u/ can be realised as [y] (corresponding to [j] in the present description) and [w] respectively. For example, /ni'o/ 'you' becomes / nio/ ['n'i], while in /'nio/ 'You are tall' /i/ remains non-consonantal, yielding ['niyo]. In Ayawasi, these forms appear as ['nuwo] 'you' and ['nijo] 'You are tall'. Some phonemic contrasts for stress according to Brown are: ['nasɔm] 'You carry' vs [na'som] 'your name is'; ['maru] 'She cuts' vs. [ma'ru] 'lake'; ['anə] 'they' vs. [a'na] 'fence' and ['moo] 'She takes' vs. [mo'o] 'She itches'. In Ayawasi all these forms appear as homophones ['nasɔm] 'You carry, your name is', ['maru] 'She cuts, lake'; ['ana] 'they, fence' and ['moo] 'She takes, She itches'. Other forms where Brown notes differing main stresses are [a'max] vs. Ayawasi ['amɑx] 'house'; [re're] vs. Ayawasi ['rere] 'later'; [ta'bam] vs. Ayawasi ['tapɑm] 'earth'; [na'a] vs. Ayawasi ['na:] 'your leg'; [i'so] vs. Ayawasi ['iso] 'road, trail'. In other words, whereas Brown found stress to be phonemic, which enables him to make generalisations about the realisation of the semi-vowels in unstressed positions, I only found stress to be weakly phonemic. Admittedly the forms mentioned as homophones are suspicious, but elaborate acoustic and perceptual experiments did not result in a verifiable difference between the members of each pair (see chapter 3, footnote 3).

[17] The sequence /wC/ is very uncommon.

| *['uata] | vs. | ['wata] | /wata/ | 'fishtrap' |
| *['uyo] | vs. | [wə'jo] | /wyo/ | 'quickly' |

Similarly when a semi-vowel [j]/[w] instead of a vowel [i]/[u] is realised, the forms are rejected:

(8)	*[jən][18]	vs.	[i:n]	/in/	'earthquake'
	*[jə'ra]	vs.	['ira]	/ira/	'just now'
	*[jə'sɔ]	vs.	['iso]	/iso/	'track'
	*[jə'sie]	vs.	['isie]	/isie/	'sun'
	*[wə'mam]	vs.	['umam]	/umam/	'sweat'

Intervocalically, when within a morpheme [i]/[u] instead of a vowel [j]/[w] is realised, the forms are rejected, regardless of whether V1 and V2 are like vowels or not:

(9)	*['aia]	vs.	['aja]	/aya/	'water'
	*['toio]	vs.	['tojo]	/toyo/	'where'
	*[pa'iir]	vs.	[pa'jir]	/payir/	'rainbow'
	*[fa'iir]	vs.	[fa'jir]	/fayir/	'decoration'

[j] and [w] also appear as epenthetic elements between specific sequences of vowels, see section 2.2.1.[19]

2.2 Phonotactics

In this section I will discuss the various possible sequences of consonants and vowels in monomorphemic forms. Section 2.2.1 will deal with sequences of vowels and in section 2.2.2 sequences of consonants are discussed.

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[18] An epenthetic vowel schwa invariably occurs between two consonants (see section 2.3.2).

[19] Alternatively, word-initially and word-medially, the pairs /y/ and /i/, and the pairs /w/ and /u/ can be analysed as being in complementary distribution, as the distinctive minimal pairs given above are not fully airtight: some informants were unsure whether the forms marked '*' in (7)-(9) were incorrect. The majority, however, did reject them, which is why I analysed /y/ and /w/ as phonemic.

2.2.1 Sequences of vowels

The vowel sequences that occur in the data are given in below:

(10)

V2→ V1↓	i	e	a	o	u
ı	x	x	x	x	
e			x	x	
a	x	x		x	x
o	x			x	
u			x	x	x

Combinations of like vowels only occur in plural verb stems (see also section 3.3):

(11) /piit/   [pi:t]   'We eat'
      /niit/   [ni:t]   'You (P) eat'
      /poos/   [po:s]   'our schoulder'
      /noos/   [no:s]   'your (P) shoulder'
      /puut/   [pu:t]   'We climb'
      /nuut/   [nu:t]   'You (P) climb'

In the forms in (11), the vowel must be phonetically long, while in monosyllabic stems the vowel is optionally phonetically long. In this way, the following contrasts can be made:

(12) /put/ 'leech' vs. /puut/ 'we climb'
      /po/   'thing' vs. /poo/   'our shoulder'

Because the phonetically long vowels in (11) are interpreted phonologically as sequences of like vowels, and not as phonologically long vowels, the forms in (12) do not constitute minimal pairs.

Combinations of unlike vowels in which the first vowel is low occur in word-initial position (13), word-medial position (14), and in word-final position (15):

(13) /ai/   ['ai]   'alone'
      /ae/   ['ae]   'yes (affirmative)'
      /au/   ['au]   'she, it'
      /aof/   ['aɔf]   'sago'

(14) /xaen/   ['xaɛn]   'It is shallow'
      /kais/   ['kais]   'their buttocks'
      /mauf/   ['mauf]   'contents'
      /maon/   ['maɔn]   'It is sharp'

(15) /mai/   ['mai]   'They hit; PROHIB; sound'
      /tae/   ['tae]   'I am at'
      /sau/   ['sau]   'one'
      /tao/   ['tao]   'my foot; my sibling (SS)'

In the VV-sequences below a phonetic glide [j] or [w] occurs between the vowels. Because there are no minimal pairs that warrant a distinction between /VV/ and /VyV/ or /VwV/, I will assume that this glide is non-phonemic.[20] The quality of the glide can be predicted from the quality of the first vowel in the sequence: if this is a front vowel (/i/ or /e/), the glide is [j], and if it is a back vowel (/u/ or /o/), the glide is [w]. Examples of word-medial sequences where [j] is inserted appear in (16), and where [w] is inserted in (18). Corresponding word-final sequences appear in (17) and (19) respectively.

(16) /riox/   ['rijɔx]   'They destroy with hand'
      /wiak/   ['wijɑk]   'canoo'
      /kream/   [kə'rejɑm] 'They cut'

(17) /skie/   [səki'je]   'They build'
      /fio/   [fijo]   k.o. grass
      /sia/   ['sija]   'with'
      /fea/   ['feja]   'They swallow'
      /sreo/   [sə'rejo]   'It is accurate'
      /reo/   ['rejo]   'tight'

(18) /puax/   ['puwɑx]   'enemy'

(19) /suo/   ['suwo]   'faeces'
      /tuo/   ['tuwo]   'I'
      /toa/   ['towa]   'I don't know'

2.2.2 Sequences of consonants

As stated in section 2.1.2, any single consonantal phoneme can occur in word-initial position. In word-final position any single consonantal phoneme can occur except for /p/, /y/ and /w/.

In monomorphemic forms, sequences of two consonants occur in two positions:1) in morpheme-initial position, and 2) in morpheme-medial position on the condition that the first C in such a CC-cluster is a nasal. In (20) below I have indicated the morpheme-initial CC-clusters that occur:

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[20] An attempt was made to oppose /VV/ and /VyV/ or /VwV/, but the answers given by informants were not equivocal, and they were not able to give minimal pairs.

(20)

C2 → / C1 ↓	p	t	k	m	n	f	s	x	r	w	j
p		X	X						X		
t	X		X	X	X	X			X	X	
k	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	
m		X							X		
n										X	
f		X			X				X		
s	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
x	X	X		X	X^{21}	X			X	X	
r	X								X^{22}		
w									X		X
y							X^{23}				

Some examples:

(21) /ptek/   [pə'tɛk]   'It falls'
      /pka/   [pə'ka]   'sacred thing'
      /pruo/   [pəru'wo]   'rack over fireplace'

      /tpir/   [tə'pir]   'It blocks (the way)'
      /tkah ase/ [tə,kɑx 'ase]   '*Tkah Ase*'
      /tmo/   [tə'mo]   'female family member'[24]
      /tna/   [tə'na]   'recently'
      /tfo/   [tə'fo]   'machete'
      /tre/   [tə're]   'bracelet'
      /twok/   [tə'wɔk]   'They enter'

---

[21] Only in onomatpoeic /xnir/ [xə'nir], denoting a growl.

[22] Only in onomatopoeic /rra/ [rə'ra], denoting the sound made by a particular kind of bird.

[23] Only attested in the Christian name Ysias [jə'sijɑs] (see also section 3.6).

[24] See appendix IV for the kinship term /tmo/.

/kpai/	[kə'pai]	'crab'
/ktus/	[kə'tus]	'It breaks (ropes)'
/kkai/	[kə'kai]	'It is in two (e.g. it broke)'
/kmo/	[kə'mo]	'They are angry'
/knu/	[kə'nu]	'It is dark'
/ksom/	[kə'sɔm]	'their gall'
/kro/	[kə'ro]	'They follow'
/kwir/	[kə'wir]	'They strengthen (in a ritual)'
/mpo/	[mə'po]	'They hold'
/mti/	[mə'ti]	'evening'
/mrie/	[məri'je]	k.o. tree
/nwar/	[nə'war]	*'Nwar'*
/ftah/	[fə'tɑh]	'It breaks'
/fne/	[fə'ne]	'mother, mummy'
/fra/	[fə'ra]	'stone'
/fyok/	[fə'jɔk]	'sheet of sagotree used for kneading sago'
/spi/	[sə'pi]	'They pierce'
/sten/	[sə'tɛn]	'fat'
/skie/	[səki'je]	'They build'
/sme/	[sə'me]	'male'
/snie/	[səni'je]	'moon'
/sfot/	[sə'fɔt]	'They strengthen'
/ssaum/	[sə'saum]	k.o. small bird
/sxat/	[sə'xɑt]	'comb'
/sre/	[sə're]	'wrong'
/swi/	[sə'wi]	k.o. bird
/xpat/	[xə'pɑt]	'hammer'
/xta/	[xə'ta]	'They sleep elsewhere'
/xmun/	[xə'mun]	'their chest'
/xfuox/	[xəfu'wɔx]	'kite'
/xren/	[xə'rɛn]	'They sit'
/xwuom/	[xəwu'wom]	'dry season'
/rpi rpa/[25]	[rə,pi-rə'pa]	'tapping (e.g. noise of rain on roof)'
/wrot/	[wə'rɔt]	'fissure'
/wyo/	[wə'jo]	'quickly'

In forms that take a person prefix, any C can follow, in other words, /tC/, /nC/, /yC/, /mC/ and /pC/, where C is any consonantal phoneme, occur (see section 3.1 and section 4.1 for person prefixes).

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[25] This is a reduplicated form, see section 3.5.

It appears that *Maybrat* has a large number of combinatory possibilities of Cs in word-initial position at the phonemic level. However, phonetically all the CC-sequences indicated above are broken up by an epenthetic schwa. Similar combinatory possibilities of consonants at the phonemic level is also reflected in Kalam, a Papuan language described by Pawley (1966). In this language too there are no consonant clusters at the phonetic level, as all are broken up by a transition vowel [ɨ] (Foley 1986:50-51).

Some examples of /Cr/ sequences are given in (22):

(22) /pron/   [pə'rɔn]   'bamboo'
      /trat/   [tə'rat]   'daylight'
      /krek/   [kə'rɛk]   'their armpit'
      /fri/   [fə'ri]   'They find'
      /xrexa/   [xə'rexa]   'their tongue'

People who are bilingual in *Maybrat* and Indonesian can pronounce [Cr]-clusters: they are influenced by Indonesian, which also has this type of cluster, and have learned how to pronounce it:

(23) ['prɔn]   'bamboo'
      ['trat]   'daylight'
      ['krɛk]   'their armpit'
      ['fri]   'They find'
      ['xrexa]   'their tongue'

In /sr/ sequences [ə] is invariably epenthesised:

(24) /srot/   [sə'rɔt]   'They are fast'
      /srar/   [sə'rɑr]   'They dance'
      /sre/   [sə're]   'They are wrong'

Examples of CC-clusters broken up by epenthetic schwa are given in section 2.3.2.
Examples of word-medial CC-clusters are:

(25) /xampax/   ['xɑmpɑx]   'tip of sagosheet'
      /nimpon/   ['nimpɔn]   'watermelon';
      /xampat/   ['xɑmpɑt]   'woodtrunk';
      /kram'yo/ [kərɑm'jo]   'canthium sp'.[26]

The only instance of a word-medial CC-sequence in which the first C is not a nasal is /wox'rarar/ 'They shout'. I suspect that this is a compound form, as the main stress is on the second syllable, and not on the first. Phonetically a schwa (see section 2.3.2) is optionally inserted between the [xr] sequence, i.e. [wɔxə'rarar]. In other words, the word-medial cluster /xr/ behaves like a word-initial CC-sequence, suggesting that the first member of the compound is /wo/, and the second /xrarar/.

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[26] *kramyo* is used for poles, and as firewood (Avé 1998:11). Given the placement of stress, this form is possibly a compound form.

In multimorphemic forms, CC-sequences, though uncommon, may occur across morpheme boundaries, as in, for instance, compound nouns (see also section 4.3.5).

(26)   /apit kek/   [ˌapit'kɛk]   k.o. banana
                < [a'pit] 'banana' + [kɛk] 'red'

        /piek safe/   [ˌpijɛk'safe]   k.o. fruit
                < ['pijɛk] (generic name)²⁷ + ['safe] 'black'

2.3 Syllable and word structure

In the present section I will begin by describing the structure of syllables and words which do not include schwa, and illustrate what the basic syllable pattern in *Maybrat* is. Subsequently I will incorporate the forms which include schwa in the analysis. The description is based on monomorphemic forms. However, in the examples I also use forms which take a covert person prefix. Since this person prefix is not phonologically realised, these forms behave like monomorphemic forms from a phonological point of view.

2.3.1 Syllabification

A clear distinction can be made between consonants (C) and vowels (V). Vowels are always syllabic (i.e. they are more prominent, or sonorous sounds, cf. Crystal (1991:338-339)), whereas consonants can never be syllabic. The latter occur at the periphery of syllables.

(27)   V   /u/   'louse'
        CV   /ru/   'bird'
        VC   /am/   'traditional raincape'
        CVC   /mes/   'blood'

Given the syllabified phoneme-strings, the maximal syllable expansion is CVC. The predominant pattern is CV.

Lists of polysyllabic words are presented in (28), where syllable boundaries are marked '|'. Types found only once are marked '⁺'.

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²⁷ *piek* regularly occurs as a first member in compound nouns denoting plant names, cf. Avé (1998:B20-B21).

(28)   *Two syllables:*
            V|V   /a|u/   'she'
            V|CV   /a|fi/   'roof'
            V|VC   /a|of/   'sago'
            V|CVC   /a|max/   'house'

            CV|V   /ma|i/   'They hit; PROHIB; sound'
            CV|CV   /sa|to/   'island'
            CV|VC   /ma|on/   'It is sharp'
            CV|CVC   /ta|fox/   'fire'

            CVC|CVC   /xam|pax/   'tip of sagosheet'

            Three syllables:
            V|CV|V   /i|si|e/   'sun'
            CV|CV|V   /sa|wi|a/   'spear'
            ⁺CVC|CV|CV   /kam|te|fo/   k.o. wood[28]
            CV|CV|VC   /ki|ni|ax/   'It is small'

The number of forms having word-patterns containing word-medial CC-sequences are as follows, where the total number of types exceeds 2300:

(29)   *Two syllables:*
            CVC|CVC   3 x

            Three syllables:
            CVC|CV|CVC   3 x

Forms that allow more than three syllables are forms obtained through derivations, such as compound nouns (section 4.3.5) and the numerals (section 4.6).[29]

It seems that the maximum number of syllables in inflected words is three. However, given the meaning of many of these trisyllabic words, they may in fact be compounds. For instance /kam|te|fo/ 'k.o. wood' could well be a compound noun, given that many names for plants and trees are compound nouns (see section 4.3.5 on compound nouns).

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[28] *kamtefo* does not occur in the Botanist's list (Avé 1998). In Ayawasi people referred to this as kayu **Cina**, literally 'Chinese wood'.

[29] The only attestation of a four-syllabic word, /ˌsut|pa|ˈhe|ko/ 'to pull cigarette with much smoke', is likely to be a compound form, given the stress pattern for compounds, see section 2.4.1. However, I have not been able to confirm this. The form was found in a text recorded by H. Schoorl in the period between August 1969 and February 1972.

2.3.2 The vowel schwa

So far in the discussion of sequences of consonants and syllabification, I have ignored forms which include the vowel schwa. In this section I discuss the distribution of the vowel schwa, and some consequences for the phonotactic structure of *Maybrat*.

First, schwa invariably occurs between two Cs in word-initial position, see section 2.2.2. Because of this predictable distribution, schwa does not have phonemic status. Some phonemic representations are given below, followed by the phonetic representations:

(30) /ptek/   [pə'tɛk]   'It falls'
      /pnem/   [pə'nɛm]   'It is flat'
      /tfo/   [te'fo]   'machete'
      /twok/   [te'wɔk]   'They enter'
      /kpai/   [ke'pai]   'crab'
      /mtax/   [mə'tɑx]   'dog'
      /ftax/   [fe'tɑx]   'It breaks (shells)'
      /sxat/   [se'xat]   'comb'
      /sfakot/   [se'fakɔt]   'They yawn'
      /xmun/   [xe'mun]   'their chest'
      /rrie/   [reɾi'je]   'lizard'
      /yfun/   [ye'fun]   'Superior Being'

The diagrams in (31) and (32) illustrate that [ə] is as prominently present as the other Vs in the utterances with respect to duration, formant structure and amplitude:[30]

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[30] The diagrams below are based on recordings made by Odé and myself in Ayawasi. They were analysed in the speech program GIPOS (Graphical Interactive Processing of Speech) developed at the Institute for Perception Research in Eindhoven, The Netherlands by E. Gigi (under the supervision of L. Vogten), in which the PSOLA (Pitch Synchronous Overlap and Add) technique for speech synthesis, based on waveform editing is implemented. For the analysis of the recordings, version v2.1h was used).

40   Chapter 2

(31) ['ait   jə-hu   'tauf   jə-sija   'j-atija]
      3M   3M-stay   forest 3M-with   3M-father
      (ait   yhu   tauf   ysiya   yatiya)
      'He stays in the forest with his father.'
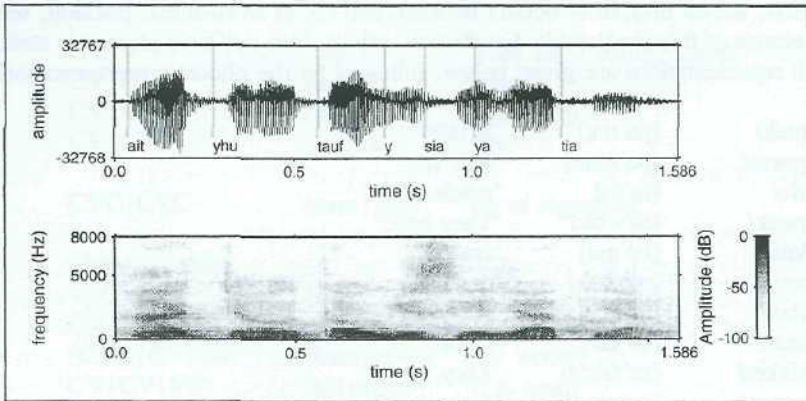
(32) [tə-sija   'ana]
      1S-with   3P
      (tsiya   ana)
      'I with them'
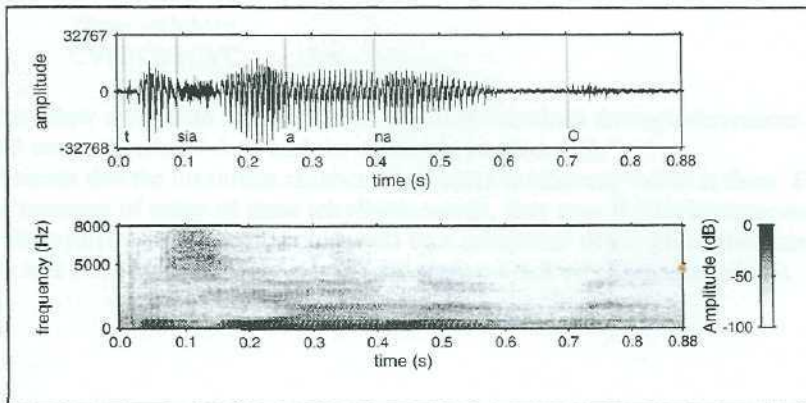
On the basis of (31) and (32), I will assume that [ə] is syllabic. Thus, the syllable structure
of forms involving [ə] is as follows:

(33) /mno/   [mə'no]   CV|CV   'She does (something)'
      /tpo/   [tə'po]   CV|CV   'I hold'
      /mnan/   [mə'nan]   CV|CVC   'It is enough'

On the assumption that [ə] is syllabic, forms including [ə] conform to the prominent syllable structure CV.

In word-medial position, schwa also occurs between two Cs in a sequence, unless the first C is a nasal, as illustrated in (35). Both examples in (34) are reduplicated forms, cf. section 3.5.

(34) /mfokfok/   [məˌfokə'fok]   CV|CV|CV|CVC   'They roll'
      /mnaxnax/   [məˌnɑxə'nɑx]   CV|CV|CV|CVC   'They move randomly'

(35) /xampax/   ['xɑmpɑx]   CVC|CVC   'tip of sagosheet'
      /frampu/   [fə'rɑmpu]   CV|CVC|CV   '*Frampu*'

Like the schwa between two Cs, the schwa in word-initial position is always syllabic.

(36) /te/   [te]   CV   'below'
      /əte/   [ə'te]   V|CV

      /naf/   [naf]   CVC   'seeds'
      /ənaf/ [ə'naf]   V|CVC

      /tia/   ['tija]   CV|V   'how much'
      /ətia/ [əti'ja] V|CV|V

The epenthetic schwa assimilates to a following vowel: schwa is fronted and raised preceding /i/ (e.g. (37)); rounded and lowered preceding the semi-vowel /w/ (e.g. (38)), and rounded fronted and raised preceding /wi/ (e.g. (39)). Some examples appear below, where [ɪ] represents a fronted raised vowel ([ə‹^]), [ɔ] represents a rounded lowered vowel ([ə˅]), and [ü] represents a rounded fronted raised vowel ([ə‹^]):[31]

(37) [ɪ]   /mtie/   [mɪti'je]   'It is broken'
            /tkief/   [tɪki'jɪf]   'They divine'

(38) [ɔ]   /mwau/   [mɔ'wau]   'They roast'
            /mwak/   [mɔ'wɑk]   'It is crooked'
            /swar/   [sɔ'wɑr]   'smell'

(39) [ü]   /twian/   [tüwï'jɑn]   'I scoop'
            /kwian/   [küwï'jɑn]   'meat'
            /kwir/   [kü'wir]   'They strengthen'

It could be argued that the first syllable in the forms above is a phonemic vowel, i.e. **/titie/*; **/mowau/; */tuwian/* etc. The vowels [ɪ], [ɔ] and [ü] in these forms would then be allophones of the vowels /i/, /o/ and /u/ respectively. However, if this were the case, then the stress in these words would be on this first syllable (see the following section). As it is, none of the

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[31] See for stress assignment in these forms section 2.4.1.

words have a stressed first syllable, indicating that the vowel in first syllable behaves like schwa, which is normally unstressed. I therefore analyse it as schwa.

2.4 Stress

In this section I will discuss lexical stress, and stress in connected speech.

2.4.1 Lexical stress

Lexical stress in *Maybrat* seems to be weakly phonemic, as it cannot be fully predicted. However, some generalisations which predict stress can be made: stress can only fall on a phonemic, non-reduced V. As a rule, main stress, marked "'", falls on the initial syllable of bisyllabic words, as illustrated in (40), and most trisyllabic words, as illustrated in (41). In trisyllabic words, a secondary stress, marked ',', may be heard on the final syllable.

(40)	/a	max/	['amɑx]	'house'
	/a	rin/	['arin]	'situation'
	/si	ro/	['siro]	'They are tired'
	/fi	am/	['fijɑm]	'catfish'
	/a	ya/	['aja]	'water'

(41)	/ra	pu	oh/	['rapu‚wɔx]	'forest'
	/i	si	e/	['isi‚je]	'sun'
	/a	wi	ax/	['awi‚jɑx]	'taro'
	/a	wi	a/	['awi‚ja]	'who'

The epenthetic vowel [ə] cannot receive stress, so it is 'skipped' in stress assignment:

(42)	/t	tor/	[tə'tɔr]	'I carry on back'
	/p	fos/	[pə'fɔs]	'We are cold'
	/t	fo/	[tə'fo]	'machete'
	/f	tax/	[fə'tɑx]	'It breaks (shell)'
	/t	xax/	[tə'xɑx]	'I tear'

In the trisyllabic forms below, the first full vowel is /i/, immediately followed by a semi-vowel [j]. The first syllable contains schwa. In these forms, main stress falls on the final syllable of the word, as shown in (43). No secondary stress is heard, as schwa cannot receive stress, and the syllable containing /i/ does not receive any stress, as it is directly adjacent to the syllable taking the main stress, and there is a constraint on two adjacent stressed syllables within a word (cf. Hayes (1995:25) for the typological pattern of rhythmic distribution of stress in language).

(43)	/f	ni	a/	[fəni'ja]	'woman'
	/t	ti	en/	[təti'jɛn]	'I sleep'
	/t	ki	ef/	[təki'jɛf]	'I divine'
	/m	si	er/	[məsi'jɛr]	'They are drunk'

In nominalised forms, i.e. forms in which the nominaliser *po-* 'NOM' is prefixed to a verb (stem) (cf. section 4.3.4), the main stress falls on the first full syllable of the stem:

(44) /po¦kax/   [po'kɑx]   'burnt garden'   (*-kah* 'burn')
      /po¦x¦ren/   [poxə'rɛn]   'chair'   (*hren* 'sit')
      /po¦kom/   [po'kɔm]   'pen'   (*-kom* 'write')

If the word contains more than three syllables, for instance in compound nouns, the main stress falls where the main stress of the second member of the compound falls. Secondary stress falls on alternating syllables to the left and right of the main stress, as shown in (45):

(45) /a¦ra¦ma¦wi¦a/   [ˌara'mawiˌja]   'ixora sp'[32]   (*ara* 'tree')
      /ta¦o¦k¦rem/   [ˌtaokə'rɛm]   'my toe'   (*t-ao* 'my foot'; *krem* 'toe')
      /por¦ma¦pu¦o/   [ˌpɔr'mapuˌwo]   'sky'   (*por* '?'; *mapuo* 'tip')

Some examples of different positions of the stress are given in (46). No explanation has been found for these alternations, and they are therefore analysed as doublets. Variations in stress in these forms were not pointed out by informants.[33]

(46) /ka¦pan/   ['kapɑn]   ~   /ka¦'pan/   [ka'pɑn]   'eel'
      /sa¦pe/   ['sape]   ~   /sa¦'pe/   [sa'pe]   'They peel'
      /si¦mus/   ['simus]   ~   /si¦'mus/   [si'mus]   'cockroach'
      /ta¦son/   ['tasɔn]   ~   /ta¦'son/   [ta'sɔn]   'I kiss'
      /to¦ni/   ['toni]   ~   /to¦'ni/   [to'ni]   'their cheek'
      /u¦mam/   ['umam]   ~   /u¦'mam/   [u'mam]   'sweat'

Some forms in which stress cannot be predicted according to the patterns described above are given below.

(47) /pa¦'yir/   [pa'jir]   'rainbow'
      /fa¦'yir/   [fa'jir]   'to decorate'
      /o¦'ra/   [o'ra]   'garden'
      /a¦'fi/   [a'fi]   'roof'
      /a¦'yo/   [a'jo]   'sun'

2.4.2 Stress in connected speech

Word stress serves as the basic input to stress in connected speech. Alternating stressed syllables form the prominent rhythmic structure. In the examples below, I have placed "'" preceding the accented syllable.

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[32] *ara mawia* is used as firewood, and to make poles for houses (Avé 1998:41).

[33] In other forms, placing the main stress on a wrong syllable resulted in a correction by a native speaker, but never hindered intelligibility.

(48) ['fane 'mamo   'mata   'aja]
      /fane m-amo   m-ata   aya/
      pig   3U-go   3U-drink   water
      'The pig goes and drinks water.'

(49) ['ku   'maku   'mamo   'saso   'pitis]
      /ku   m-aku   m-amo   ø-saso   pitis/
      child 3U-small   3U-go   ø-search   money
      'The small child goes and searches money (i.e. he looks for work).'

In connected speech, stressed syllables may occur in adjacent positions. For instance, in (50), the sequence ['um 'sau 'jamo] 'at one time' contains two adjacent stressed syllables. In (51), the sequence [jə'no 'po 'mɔf] 'He does good things'[34] contains three stressed syllables.

(50) ['um   'sau   'jamo 'saso   'kak]
      /um   s-au   y-amo ø-saso   kak/
      moment   one-3U   3M-go ø-search   cuscus[35]
      'At one time he went and looked for cuscus.'

(51) ['rae   re'tait   jə'rɔx   jə'no 'po
      /rae   re-a-ait   y-roh   y-no   po
      person   location.SPEC-near-3M   3M-descend 3M-do thing

      'mɔf]
      m-of/
      3U-good
      'This man descends and does good things.'

When one or more stressed syllables occur, an epenthetic schwa sometimes precedes a monosyllabic word, creating an 'offbeat' between two syllables. For example, in (52) a schwa precedes [sau] 'one', resolving the clash between the adjacent stressed syllables in the sequence [yə'tɔr ə'sau] 'He carries one on his back'. In (53) a similar process resolves the clash in [rae təki'jɛf ə'po] 'People divine something'.

(52) ['ait   jə'tɔr   ə'sau   'je   'jamo
      /ait   y-tor   s-au   y-e   y-amo
      3M   3M-carry.on.back.   one-3U   3M-return   3M-go

      'mae   mə'suf]
      m-ae   msuf/
      3U-at   Msuf
      'He carries one on his back and he returns and comes to Msuf.'

_____

[34] This form may function as a single clause and is also translated as such, although in the corresponding example it is not. See also example (52).

[35] A 'cuscus' is a small marsupial which lives in trees, and is often hunted at night for food.

(53)   ['rae   təki'jɛf   ə'po   fo   pə'rut]
       /rae   tkief   po   f-o   ø-prut/
       person   ø-divine   thing near-U   ø-all
       'People divine all these things.'

In allegro speech, stress clashes may be resolved by reduction of stress on a lexically stressed syllable. This is illustrated in (54) - (56), where places where the stress has been reduced are underlined. In (56), the word [jəsija] 'he with' does not receive a main stress at all. Instances where stresses adjacent to other stresses are removed are sometimes referred to as 'destressing rules' (Hayes 1995:36), and, as appears from Hayes' case studies, are attested in many languages.

(54)   ['pi   sait   'jasɔm   sɛrɑx 'wata][36]
       /pi   s-ait   y-asom   srax wata/
       man   one-3M   3M-name   Srax Wata
       'A man's name is Srah Wata.'

(55)   ['rae   mə'rɔs   mo   'wata   fo]
       /rae   m-ros   m-o   wata   f-o/
       person 3U-stand   3U-take   fishtrap   very.near-U
       'The people get up and fetch this fishnet.'

(56)   [jəpo   'jaut   'sajim   jəsija   'rae]
       /y-po   y-aut   ø-sayim   y-sia   rae/
       3M-hold 3M-climb   ø-share   3M-with   person
       'He holds it and he climbs and shares it with the people.'

2.5 Other phonetic features

Many older speakers of *Maybrat* blow through their nose (marked '₀') at the end of a sentence (as in (57)). This movement seems to be completely arbitrary: it does not, for instance, signal to the hearer that more is to come, or, conversely, that the speaker has nothing more to say. '₀''s are well attested all over the Bird's Head (e.g. Menick (p.c.), Odé (p.c.), Reesink (p.c.)).

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[36] [sɛrɑx'wata] behaves like a compound noun: the main stress is where the stress on the second member is, while the secondary stress is on the stressed syllable of the first member.

(57) [təsija   'ana ̥]
      /t-sia   ana/
      1s-with   3P
      (tsiya   ana)
      'I with them'
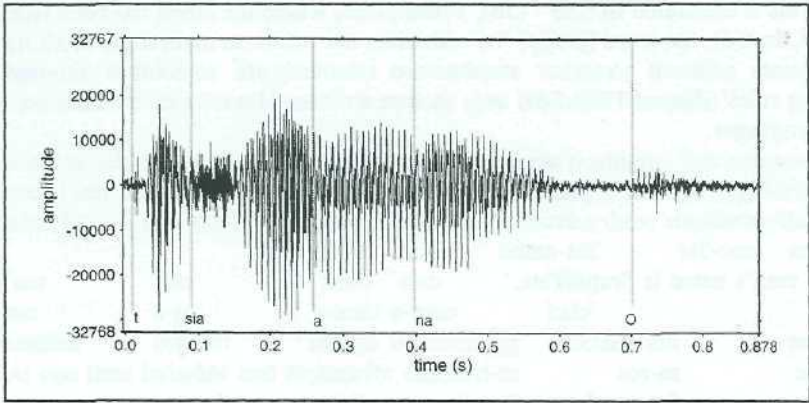
If forms ending in /t/ are uttered in isolation, or when they occur in sentence-final position, the pronunciation of /t/ may be postponed, so that it is heard later than expected. In such forms, there is a silence between the vowel and the word-final [t]:

(58) [tuwo taj.........t]
      /tuo t-ait/
      1s   1s-eat
      (tuo tait)
      'I eat.'
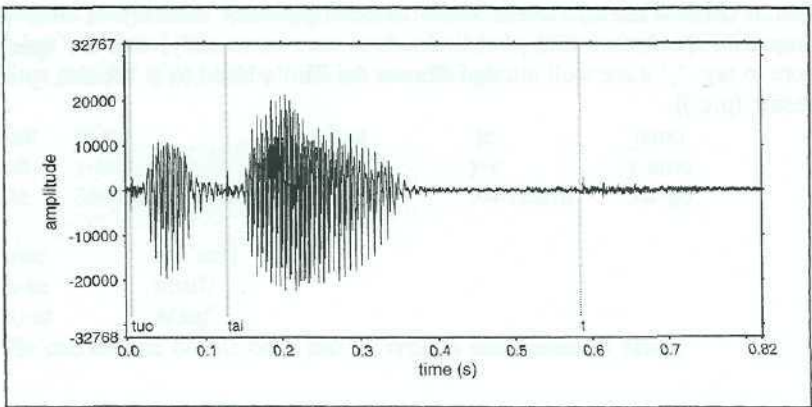
2.6 Some elliptic phenomena

The description of the sounds of *Maybrat* so far has been based on slow (lento) speech. In allegro speech, some elliptic phenomena, i.e. the reduction of certain vowels, occur, which are listed below:

In words containing three syllabic vowels, of which the second vowel is /i/ or /u/, there is a tendency to reduce these vowels /i/ or /u/ to [j] or [w] respectively in allegro speech. The result is that two syllables (or prominence-peaks) instead of three are heard.[37] Reduction of a syllable /i/ or /u/ only occurs within morphemes. Examples are given below: (59) represents a word uttered in lento speech, and (60) represents the same word, uttered in allegro speech.

(59) syllable

			σ		σ		σ	
phonetic realisation	['r	a	p	u	w	ɔ	x]
CV-structure	C	V	C	V	C	V	C
phoneme-structure	/r	a	p	u	o	x/

(60) syllable

			σ			σ		
phonetic realisation	['r	a	p	w	ɔ	x]
CV-structure	C	V	C	V	V	C
phoneme-structure	/r	a	p	u	o	x/

Some more examples of words which have three syllables phonemically and phonetically in lento speech (second column), but in which only two are realised phonetically in allegro speech (third column):

(61)

	σ σ σ	σ σ	
/a|wi|ax/	['awijɑx]	['awjɑx]	'taro'
/so|ku|os/	['sokuwɔs]	['sokwɔs]	'They order'
/ta|ku|o/	['takuwɔ]	['takwɔ]	'I feast'

---

[37] The physical correlates of these prominence peaks can be defined as intensity, duration and amplitude.

                        σ σ σ   σ   σ
/a¦wi¦et/   ['awijɛt]   ['awjɛt]   k.o. pandanus[38]

                        σ σ σ   σ   σ
/ma¦wi¦an/   ['mawijɑn]   ['mawjɑn]   'their hair'

In trisyllabic words that do not have a sequence /iV/ or /uV/ in their second and third syllable, such a reduction does not occur:[39]

(62)   σ   σ σ
    /kam¦'te¦fo/   [kɑm'tefo]   k.o. wood

                             σ σ σ σ
    /woh¦'ra¦rar/   [wɔxə'rarar]   'They shout'

In allegro speech, when a schwa occurs as an optional phoneme in word-initial position (see section 2.1.1.1), in forms where the second syllable contains a vowel /i/, /i/ may also be reduced to [j]. Note that the placement of stress is on the first full vowel in the forms where the /i/ is reduced:

(63)   σ σ   σ   σ
    /tief/   ['tijɛf]   [ə'tjɛf]   'ground-kangaroo'

                 σ σ   σ   σ
    /kiet/   ['kijɛt]   [ə'kjɛt]   'cloth'

If the syllabic /i/ or /u/ in a trisyllabic word is reduced to [j] or [w] in allegro speech, the first syllable receives stress, and there is no secondary stress·

(64)   /sokuos/   ['sokwɔs]   'They order'
        /hifuoh/   ['hifwɔx]   'They are diligent'
        /samuoh/   ['samwɔx]   'It is heavy'
        /pawiah/   ['pawjɑx]   'nutmeg'

---

[38] In Indonesian, this fruit is referred to as **buah merah** The fruit is cooked, and the red flesh, which is full of seeds, is eaten. The seeds are spat out

[39] Both of the forms below are possibly compound nouns, given the placement of main stress.

2.7 Intonation

Maybrat clauses are dominated by a single intonation contour. A single intonation contour is characterised by a rise in pitch on the stressed syllable of the last word of a clause followed by a very sharp drop. Pitch contours are marked in the examples below.[40]

(65) ['ana 'mamo   'sorɔŋ]
      /ana   m-amo   sorɔŋ/
      3U   3U-go   *Sorong*
      (ana   mamo   Sorong)
      'They go to *Sorong*.'

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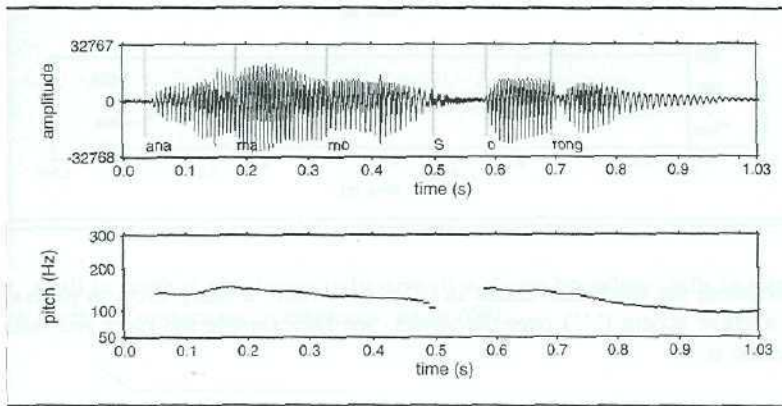
[40] In the pitch contours, some corrections as to the voiced/unvoiced detection have been made by performing close-copy stylisation, i.e. some fundamental frequency contours have been replaced with straight line segments to yield perceptual equality with the original fundamental frequency (F0 curves). The pitch is placed on an ERB-rate scale (Equivalent Rectangular Bandwith rate) (Odé 1996:64-65).

(66) [ə'ti   tuo   səmi   'po]
      /ti   tuo   ø-smi   po/
      night   1s   ø-dream   thing
      (əti   tuo   smi   po)
      'At night I dream.'
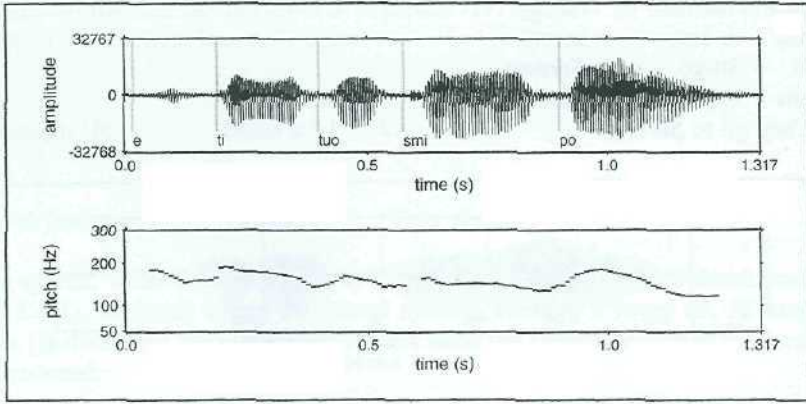
In this description, the pitch movement in (65), i.e. where a sharp drop in pitch occurs, is marked by a grave accent ('`') over the vowel, see for example the rises and falls in pitch given in section 6.1.

(67) [fəni'ja   mape   'ku   məxu   kə're]
      /fnia   m-ape   ku   m-hu   kre/
      woman   3u-give.birth   child   3u-stay   hut
      (fnia   mape   ku   mhu   kre)
      'Women who give birth stay in a hut.'[41]

---
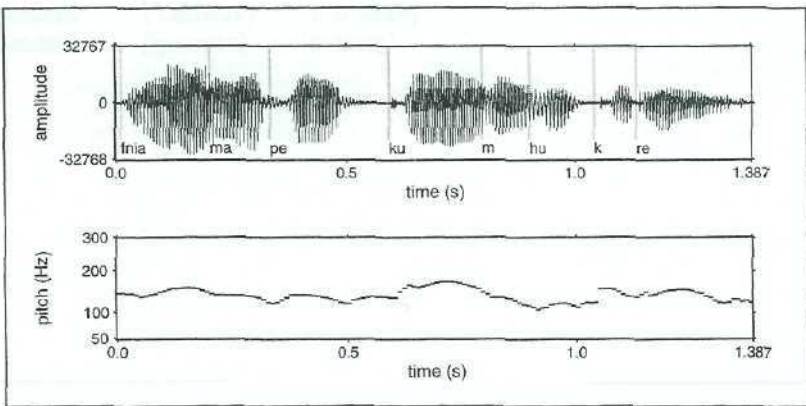
[41] A *kre* is a special hut built in the forest, which is used by women to give birth.

(68)   ['ana   mamo   ʤaja'pura   mo   'am]
        /ana   m-amo   ʤayapura   m-o   am/
        3P   3U-go   *Jayapura*   3U-take   letter
        (ana   mamo   *Jayapura*   mo   am)
        'They go to *Jayapura* and take a letter.'
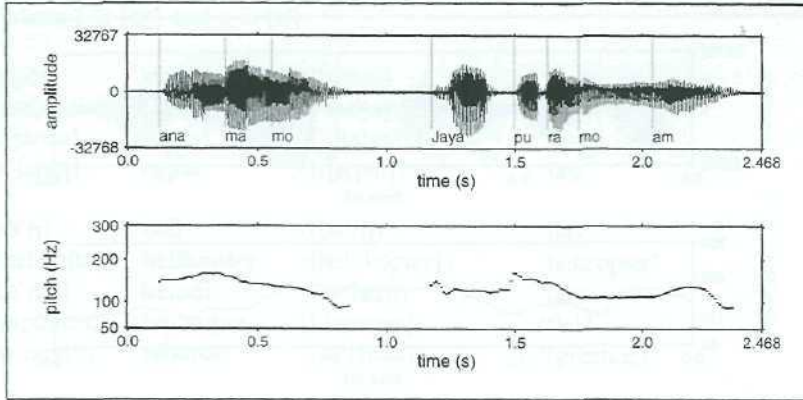
However, a fall in pitch is not always indicative of a clause-boundary: falls in pitch may also be used to mark an opposition in emphasis, as in (69):

(69)   a.
        ['jɑn   səkije   'amɑx]
        /yan   ø-skie   amax/
        Yan   ø-build   house
        'Yan (as opposed to, for instance, Henkie) built a house.'

        b.
        ['jɑn   səkije   'amɑh]
        /yan   ø-skie   amax/
        Yan   ø-build   house
        'Yan built a house (as opposed to, for instance, a shed).'

In allegro speech, clauses may lose their individual intonation-contour, as in (70). In this example, '||' marks a clause-boundary, although there are no intonational criteria by which this boundary can be established.

(70) ['ait   rae   'popɔt ‖   'po   məsijɑr]
      /ait   rae   popɔt   po   m-siar/
      3M   man   rich   ceremonial.cloth   3U-many
      (ait   rae   popɔt   po   msiar
      'He is a rich man, he has many ceremonial cloths.'
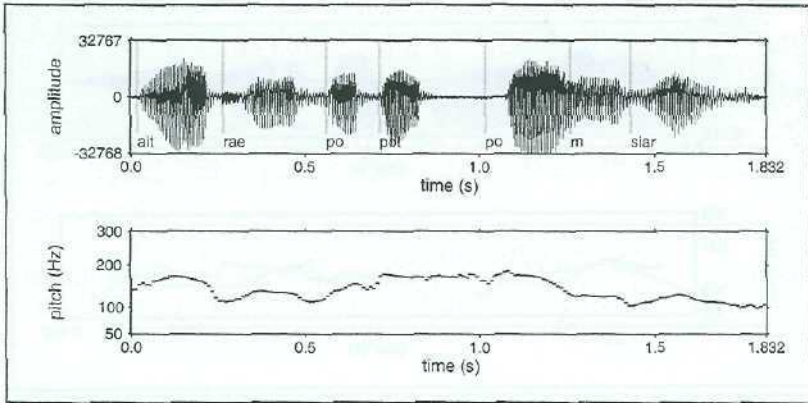
Small rises and falls in pitch to mark prominence also occur. These are usually irrelevant for the demarcation of constituency. An example:

(71) ['musijɑx   mə'no   mə'no   mə'no
      /m-usiax   m-n-o   m-n-o   m-n-o
      3U-hunt   PRESTT-yonder-U   PRESTT-yonder-U   PRESTT-yonder-U

      'mama   'sija   'sija   'sija][42]
      m-ama   sia   sia   sia/
      3U-come   with   with   with
      'They hunted everywhere, accompanied by many dogs.'

Pitch movements that rise, as in (71), are marked by an acute accent (' ') over the vowel, see for example the rises and falls in pitch given in section 6.1. In appendix I rises and falls in pitch are marked for reference.

     Contrastive intonation contours are attested in constructions involving so-called 'cognition verbs'. They are discussed in section 8.3. Throughout this work, intonation will be used as a test for constituency, most notably in chapter 8 on 'sequences of verbs'.

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[42] This is a specific use of the 'comitative', see section 8.5.

2.8 Adaptation of foreign sounds

Since the arrival of the Dutch missionaries and, later, the Indonesian administration, Malay (later Bahasa Indonesia) has been used as a lingua franca in Ayawasi. Older people who have not learned Indonesian in school adapt Indonesian to the sound-pattern of *Maybrat*. Some typical examples appear below. The Indonesian forms are given in bold type in the middle column, where **j** is [ʤ] and **c** is [tʃ].

(72)　['sijɑf]　**siap**　(['sijap])　'ready'
　　　['satija]　**saja**　(['saʤa])　'only, just'
　　　[ti'jarɑn]　**jalan**　(['ʤalan])　'walk'
　　　[si'japɑt]　**cepat**　([tʃə'pat])　'fast'

　　　[pə'ri]　**beli**　([bə'li])　'buy'
　　　[heri'koftɛr]　**helikopter**　([heli'kɔptɛr])　'helicopter'
　　　[kə'rati]　**keladi**　([kə'ladi])　'taro'
　　　['rapɑŋɑn]　**lapangan**　(['lapaŋan])　'field'
　　　[sə'ramɑt]　**selamat**　([sə'lamat])　'(greeting)'

The following two examples are borrowings from Dutch. In [pəris], Du [l] has been substituted by [r]. In [seŋkɔr], the Du [st] cluster has become [s]:

(73)　[pə'ris]　Du *politie*　'police'
　　　['sɛŋkɔr]　Du *Steenkool*　'*Steenkool*' (now *Bintuni*)

There are a few instances of the borrowing of Indonesian sounds in the pronunciation of *Maybrat* words in the data. In each case the form with the 'borrowed phoneme' was pronounced by a person well-educated in Indonesian.

(74)　/tiain/　['tiʤain]　'the day before yesterday'
　　　/kosu/　['kotʃu]　'Kocu' (clan name)[43]

---

[43] The name /kosu/ is commonly pronounced as ['kotʃu], and has been accepted as such. Older people, however, pronounce it as ['kosu]. Hypercorrection of [s] into [tʃ] occurs more often, e.g. **sepatu** [sə'patu] 'shoe' is often pronounced as [tʃə'patu] in Ayawasi.

Morphophonology is concerned with the phonological changes that take place when morphemes are put together. In this chapter I will describe five morphophonological processes that are relevant to the description of *Maybrat*.

The first process, described in section 3.1, concerns person prefixes for verbs and inalienably possessed nouns. Morphologically, these forms can be divided into two classes: (1) those that take an overt person prefix, i.e. a prefix that is phonologically realised, and (2) those that take a covert person prefix, i.e. a prefix that is not phonologically realised. There seem to be a number of exceptions to the generalisations in (1) and (2) that have to be lexically marked.

A second morphological process which provides arguments for the existence of a phonological glide between two vowel sequences is the formation of interrogatives, discussed in section 3.2.

In section 3.3 I will describe the omission of /a/ in certain forms after taking a person prefix, and in section 3.4. the deletion of one vowel if two vowels occur across a morpheme boundary is discussed. Finally, in section 3.5, I will briefly describe reduplication, a morphological process which also involves some phonological change.

The forms that appear in this chapter are the phonological forms, unless otherwise stated. Morpheme boundaries are indicated everywhere. At the end of this chapter, in section 3.6, I will give the orthographic conventions that will apply for the remainder of this work. These conventions are based on the morphophonological forms.

3.1 Person prefixation

In *Maybrat*, verbs and inalienably possessed nouns (including kinship terms) can be divided into two classes morphologically, namely a class that takes overt person prefixes, and one that takes covert person prefixes. The information that is contained in the person prefix refers to both person and, in the first person and in the third person masculine, number. The person prefixes are as follows:

(1)

	1	2	3M	3U
S	*t-*	*n-*	*y-*	
P	*p-*			*m-*

Some examples of verbs that take overt person prefixes:

(2)

		'agree'	'hold'	'die'
s	1	/t-isi/	/t-po/	/t-xai/
	2	/n-isi/	/n-po/	/n-xai/
	3M	/y-isi/	/y-po/	/y-xai/
	3U	/m-isi/	/m-po/	/m-xai/
P	1	/p-isi/	/p-po/	/p-xai/
	2	/n-isi/	/n-po/	/n-xai/
	3	/m-isi/	/m-po/	/m-xai/

The basic rule which underlies the phonological expression of person prefixes is as follows: all vowel-initial stems take overt person prefixes; consonant-initial stems cannot take an overt person prefix if in the resulting form the total number of syllables exceeds two. The implications of this rule for different forms of verbs are discussed below.

3.1.1 Forms that take an overt person prefix

Forms that take overt person prefixes can be divided into three formally different types: first, all forms with vowel-initial stems take an overt person prefix. The paradigm of the verb /-isi/ 'agree' in (2) is illustrative of this. In these forms a person prefix is overt because this prefix does not add an extra syllable (V) to the final form Some examples:

(3)   a.   /t-ate/   ['t-ate]   CV|CV   'I bathe'

       b.   /y-ehoh/   ['j-exɔx]   CV|CVC   'He stabs'

       c   /n-akut/   ['n-akut]   CV|CVC   'your son'

Some more examples of forms with V-initial stems that take overt person prefixes appear in (4).

(4)   /t-e/   CV   'I give'
       /t-o/   CV   'I take'
       /t-amo/   CV|CV   'I go'
       /t-ia/   CV|V   'I suck'
       /t-usiax/   CV|CV|VC   'I hunt'

       /t-ao/   CV|V   'my foot, my sibling (SS)'
       /t-oni/   CV|CV   'my cheek'
       /t-atia/   CV|CV|V   'my father'

A second category of forms that receive an overt person prefix are monosyllabic stems with a stem-initial C, namely CV or CVC. An example is the paradigm of the verb /-po/ 'hold' in (2). Affixing of a person prefix results in a CC-cluster in word-initial position As pointed out in section 2.2.2, these CC-clusters are broken up by an epenthetic schwa. Because the epenthetic schwa is syllabic (cf. section 2.3.2), the resulting form consists of two syllables:

(5) a.

                  σ   σ

        /y-rɔs/   [jə-'rɔs]   CV|CVC   'He stands'

    b.

                  σ   σ

        /n-hu/   [nə-'xu]   CV|CV   'You stay'

    c.

                  σ   σ

        /m-pat/   [mə-'pɑt]   CV|CVC   'her tooth; They are from'

Some more examples of forms with mono-syllabic stems appear in (6).

(6) /t-no/   CV|CV   'I do'
    /t-se/   CV|CV   'I place'
    /t-nit/   CV|CVC   'I tell a story'
    /t-per/   CV|CVC   'I step on'

    /t-me/   CV|CV   'my mother'
    /t-xaf/   CV|CVC   'my stomach'

There are a number of forms which have bisyllabic stems, yet do take overt person prefixes. These forms have stems of the form CV|V(C), i.e. the second syllable is V-initial. Some examples:

(7) a.   /n-kai/   [nə-'kai]   CV|CV|V   'You meet'
    b.   /y-naif/   [jə-'naif]   CV|CV|VC   'his nose'
    c.   /m-wau/   [mɔ-'wau]   CV|CV|V   'They roast'
    d.   /t-kias/   [tə-ki'jɑs]   CV|CV|VC   'I tell'
    e.   /y-suo/   [jə-su'wo]   CV|CV|V   'He defecates'
    f.   /m-sia/   [mə-si'ja]   CV|CV|V   'They are with'

However, all these forms contain a vowel /i/ or /u/ which in elliptic speech may be reduced to [j] or [w] respectively (see section 2.6), thus resulting in a phonetically monosyllabic stem:

(8) a.   /n-kai/   [nə-'kaj]   CV|CVC   'You meet'
    b.   /y-naif/   [jə-'najf]   CV|CVCC   'his nose'
    c.   /m-wau/   [mɔ-'waw]   CV|CVC   'They roast'
    d.   /t-kias/   [tə-'kjɑs]   CV|CCVC   'I tell'
    e.   /y-suo/   [jə-'swo]   CV|CCV   'He defecates'
    f.   /m-sia/   [mə-'sja]   CV|CCV   'They are with'

In other words, the phonetic realisation of the forms in (8) seems to be the input for the morphophonological behaviour: these forms behave like the monosyllabic stems discussed in (5) and (6). Some more examples of similar forms are given below.

(9) /t-xai/   CV|CV|V   CV|CVC   'I die'
    /t-fau/   CV|CV|V   CV|CVC   'I fill in bag'
    /t-xaif/   CV|CV|VC   CV|CVCC   'I chop'
    /t-tien/   CV|CV|VC   CV|CCVC   'I sleep'

/t-pies/	CV│CV│VC	CV│CCVC	'I order'
/t-ruax/	CV│CV│VC	CV│CCVC	'I pick'
/t-suof/	CV│CV│VC	CV│CCVC	'I steal'
/t-wuom/	CV│CV│VC	CV│CCVC	'I plant'

3.1.2 Forms that take a covert person prefix

Bisyllabic stems of the form CV│CV(C) i.e. forms in which the second syllable is C-initial, take covert person prefixes. Covert person prefixes are person prefixes that are not phonologically realised. In (10a) a form with two full syllables is given. (10b) and (10c) are CC-initial, where the first syllable contains an (epenthetic) syllabic schwa. The starred forms give the unacceptable trisyllabic forms after addition of an overt person prefix.[1]

(10)	a.	/xawe/	['xawe]	CV│CV	'I refuse' 'You refuse' etc.	*[t-ə'xawe]
	b.	/snuk/	[sə'nuk]	CV│CVC	'I count' 'You count' etc.	*[t-əsə'nuk]
	c.	/fri/	[fə'ri]	CV│CV	'I meet' 'You meet' etc.	*[t-əfə'ri]

Some more examples of bisyllabic stems appear in (11) (forms consisting of two syllables), and (12) (forms with an epenthetic schwa in the first syllable).

(11)	/kapuk/	CV│CVC	'I close eyes'
	/sayim/	CV│CVC	'I share'
	/tumuk/	CV│CVC	'I ask'

(12)	/ste/	CV│CV	'I wait'
	/tpe/	CV│CV	'I open'
	/xmun/	CV│CVC	'my chest'
	/frok/	CV│CVC	'I emerge'
	/krun/	CV│CVC	'I throw inside'
	/krek/	CV│CVC	'my armpit'

In (13) I give stems which phonetically contain three syllabic Vs. As in the bisyllabic stems in (10)-(12), the person prefix is never phonologically expressed.

---

[1] In all the forms that take covert person prefixes, only the gloss for first person singular, and in the first example of each type, that for the second person singular, has been given. Of course, other glosses also apply.

(13)   /ksie/   CV | CV | V   'I sneeze'
       /periet/   CV | CV | VC   'I divide'
       /samuox/   CV | CV | VC   'I am heavy'
       /sokuos/   CV | CV | VC   'I order'
       /tkief/   CV | CV | VC   'I divine'

       /sroxni/   CV | CVC | CV   'I forget'
       /srokena/   CV | CV | CV | CV   'I deceive'

In the interlinear glosses in the examples in the ensuing chapters, I will represent a covert (or phonologically repressed) person prefix as 'ø'. This is based on the assumption that any verb, whether overtly prefixed or not, can function as a clause, i.e. as a constituent consisting minimally of a predicate and its arguments (cf. chapter 6, introduction). According to this definition all verbs must contain at least a subject argument, which is expressed by the obligatory person prefix.

I do realise that the introduction of a 'zero-morpheme' may seem redundant, since its occurrence is restricted to two word classes, namely the class of verbs (section 4.2) and the class of inalienably possessed nouns (section 4.3.1). Normally, the word-class that a form belongs to is clear from its syntactic behaviour, and, given the morphophonological description here, the absence of an overt person prefix on these forms can be predicted. However, I have chosen to mark covert person prefixes throughout this work for two reasons: firstly, there are a number of forms where there is an opposition between the presence versus the absence of a person prefix, namely in Number Phrases (section 5.1 4) and in adverbial verbs (section 8.2). This contrast can be expressed in the zero morpheme by its presence versus its absence. Also, typologically, in many languages the description of sequences of verbs (or serial verb constructions) hinges on the presence versus the absence of inflection on the verbs. In my view, the description of sequences of verbs in *Maybrat* (chapter 8) is unambiguous by marking all the inflections, be they overt or covert. This prevents misinterpretations about the syntactic behaviour of the verbs in these sequences.

3.1.3 Some exceptions

So far, the analysis of the constraints on the phonological expression of person prefixes in terms of the syllable structure has been straightforward: forms with monosyllabic stems, and forms with V-initial stems take overt person prefixes. C-initial forms with bisyllabic stems take covert person prefixes, unless the second syllable in the stem is V-initial, or the stem contains a VV-sequence where one V is a (reducible) /i/ or /u/. C-initial stems with two or more syllables take covert person prefixes. There are two categories of forms, however, that do not seem open to such a straightforward solution. To begin with, the forms in (14) are bisyllabic, and the second syllable of the stem is V-initial. By analogy to the forms in (7) and (9), they would be expected to receive an overt person prefix. However, prefixed forms are rejected, as indicated in the last column in the examples below:

(14)   /kiam/   ['kijɑm]   CV | VC   'I am ill'   *[m-'kijɑm]
       /fia/   ['fija]   CV | V   'I swallow'   *[m-'fija]
       /yuo/   ['juwo]   CV | V   'I flee'   *[m-'juwo]

The question arises why the forms in (14) do not take an overt person prefix, while those in (7) and (9) do. Given the difference in morphophonological behaviour between these forms, it can be assumed that they are structurally different. However the forms (7), (9) and (14) are phonologically identical. In other words, the forms in (14) seem to be exceptions to the rule formulated above for overt person-prefixes. This suggests that the rule for prefixation cannot be exclusively formulated according to CV structure of forms. I propose that the forms in (14) are lexically marked as exceptions to the generalisations formulated above.[2]

A second group of forms that do not tally with the observation that mono-syllabic stems can take an overt person prefix is given in (15). These forms, despite the fact that they constitute mono-syllabic stems, never take overt person prefixes. Like the forms in (14) above, these forms are marked lexically as exceptions to the rule of person prefixing.[3]

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[2] An alternative solution is as follows: if on a morphophonological level it is assumed that the glides [y] and [w] between the vowels in (14) are not epenthetic, but phonologically present, i.e. /y/ and /w/, then the stems of the forms in (14) can be represented as in (a) below. This yields forms in which the second syllable of the stem is C-initial, i.e. forms that are analogous to those in (10), (11) and (12):

(a)   /kiyam/   ['kijɔm]   CV|CVC   'I am ill'
       /fiya/   ['fija]   CV|CV   'I swallow'
       /yuwo/   ['juwo]   CV|CV   'I flee'

The difference in morphological behaviour between all these forms could then be explained in terms of CV-structure, just like the other forms. However, there are no minimal pairs to warrant a distinction between the presence versus the absence of the glides /y/ and /w/ in this position. As such, the distinction would have to be described on a morphophonological level. A solution along these lines is described and discussed in Dol (forthcoming).

Obviously this morphophonological criterion does not work for forms that never take a person prefix. For example, nouns that have a /VyV/ sequence or a /VwV/ sequences may be transcribed morphophonologically as either :VyV: / :VwV: or as :VV:, as illustrated in (b):

(b)   ['tijɛf]   :tief: or   :tiyef: 'ground kangaroo'
       ['tijɛt]   :tiet: :tiyet: 'four'
       ['kijɛt]   :kiet: :kiyet: 'cloth'
       ['pijɑx]   :piax: :piyax: 'ficus sp'

       ['tuwo]   :tuo: or   :tuwo: 'I'
       ['tuwɔx]   :tuox: :tuwox: 'place'
       ['kuwo]   :kuo: :kuwo: 'sago-powder'

[3] There is one way to explain the odd behaviour of the forms in (15), namely that they are a relic of what was once a distinction in length. Throughout the collection of data, informants kept insisting on audible differences between certain homophones, for instance between the forms given in chapter 2, footnote 16 (['nasɔm] 'You carry, your name is'; ['maru] 'She cuts, lake'; ['ana] 'they, fence' and ['moo] 'She takes, She itches'; and [mə'tɑx] 'dog, It is bitter' etc.). The strategies to find this difference were as follows: 1) Recordings were made of the words both in isolation and in context. In these recordings no differences were found after thorough analysis with the speech program GIPOS (Graphical Interactive Processing of Speech, see also chapter 2, footnote 30); 2) The recordings mentioned in 1) were manipulated, whereby: a) the vowels in the forms were lengthened/shortened, and the pitch at which they were uttered was changed; and b) putative minimal forms uttered in a context were interchanged. The results of these manipulations were offered to informants, but no clear indications for the existence for minimal pairs was found; 3) Perception experiments were performed, in which one informant was asked to utter relevant (i.e. members of the putative minimal forms) and irrelevant forms in random order in isolation, and another informant was asked to translate these

(15) /tom/ [tɔm] 'I vomit'
                   'you vomit'
                   etc.

/tim/ [tim] 'I send'
/sax/ [sɑx] 'It is unripe'
/sox/ [sɔx] 'I deceive'
/kat/ [kɑt] 'It is dry'

3.2 Formation of question words

The formation of question words suggests the presence of a morphophonological glide between two vowels. Question words are formed by adding an interrogative particle *-yo* or *-ye* to a demonstrative base.[4] Some examples (forms between ': :' are morphophonological representations):

16) /to-yo/   :to-yo: 'where' (SPEC)
     /wo-yo/   :wo-yo: 'where' (GEN)

Two other forms, including the morphophonological representations, appear below:

(17) /fi-ye/   :fi-ye: 'how'
     /mi-yo/   :mi-yo: 'where' (ADV)

Theoretically, the morphophonological forms in (17) could be *:fie: and *:mio:, as these could underlie the same phonetic forms as those given above, i.e. [fije] and [mijo] respectively. However, it is clear from the forms in (16) that the interrogative suffix is :y:-initial. By analogy, I conclude that the suffixes in the forms in (17) are also :y:-initial, in other words, that the glide in these forms is morphophonologically present

3.3 /a/-initial stems

Maybrat verbs and inalienably possessed nouns (including kinship terms) of which the stem begins with /a/, lack this /a/ in the first and second person plural forms (but not in the third person unmarked). In other words, there is an alternation between first and second person plural stems and the rest. If the first and second person plural stems are C-initial, the CC-sequence resulting after prefixation with a phonologically expressed person prefix is broken up by an epenthetic schwa.

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forms into Indonesian. It was found that informants could not differentiate between putative minimal pairs. Based on the results of 1), 2) and 3) I conclude that there is no difference, but given the speakers' insistence, there may once have been a difference in, for instance, length, that has disappeared, but which has persisted in the morphophonology of verbs. If this is the case, the forms considered in (15) may have had phonologically 'long' vowels, which, like bisyllabic stems, disqualified them for overt prefixation.

[4] See section 4.6 for a detailed discussion of interrogative forms.

(18)		1S	1P	2P	3U
/t-amo/	'I go'	/t-amo/	/p-mo/	/n-mo/	/m-amo/
/t-ata/	'I drink'	/t-ata/	/p-ta/	/n-ta/	/m-ata/
/t-awia/	'I cry	/t-awia/	/p-wia/	/n-wia/	/m-awia/
/t-atia/	'my father'	/t-atia/	/p-tia/	/n-tia/	/m-atia/

First and second person plural stems which are vowel-initial are phonetically long. These phonetically long vowels are analysed as sequences of two like vowels, as illustrated in (19). Alternatively, they can be analysed as /V:/. However, no minimal pairs were found to warrant a phonemic distinction beween long and short vowels, whereas vowel sequences do occur, cf. section 2.2.1.

(19)		1S	1P	2P	3U
/t-aim/	'I cook'	/t-aim/	/p-iim/	/n-iim/	/m-aim/
/t-aus/	'I urinate'	/t-aus/	/p-uus/	/n-uus/	/m-aus/
/t-ao/	'my foot'	/t-ao/	/p-oo/	/n-oo/	/m-ao/
	or 'my sibling.ss'				

In the derivation of some nominal forms (see also section 4.3.4), the plural stem of the verb is used:

(20)   :po-iit: ['po-iːt]   'food, things we eat'
                < :po: 'NOM' + :it:, plural stem of :-ait: 'eat'

        :po-pat: ['po-pɑt] 'vegetables, vegetables we eat'
                < :po: 'NOM' + :pat: plural stem of :-apat: 'eat vegetables'

Moi (Menick, p.c.) and Tehit (Flassy 1991), two other languages of the Bird's Head, also have a difference between singular and plural stems.

3.4 Alternations in prefixes

In the formation of possessive forms, the possessive prefix :ro: 'POSS' is attached to a pronoun. This prefix has two phonetic realisations: [r] if the following pronoun is vowel-initial, and [ro] if the following pronoun is consonant-initial.[5]

(21)	personal pronouns			possessive forms		
	:tuo:	['tuwo]	'I'	:ro-tuo:	['ro-tuwo]	'mine'
	:nuo:	['nuwo]	'you'	:ro-nuo:	['ro-nuwo]	'yours'
	:ait:	[ait]	'he'	:ro-ait:	[r-ait]	'his'
	:au:	[au]	'she'	:ro-au:	[r-au]	'hers'

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[5] This morphophonemic rule does not always apply, see section 4.1.2.

A similar rule applies for the emphatic prefix :po: 'EMPH', as illustrated below:

(22) personal pronouns   emphatic forms
      :tuo: ['tuwo]   'I'   :po-tuo: ['po-tuwo]   'myself'
      :nuo: ['nuwo]   'you'   :po-nuo: ['po-nuwo]   'yourself'
      :ait: [ait]   'he'   :po-ait: [p-ait]   'himself'
      :au: [au]   'she'   :po-au: [p-au]   'herself'

See section 4.1.3. and section 4.1.4 for a discussion of these forms.

The question words ['p-awija] and ['r-awija] are also formed in this way:

(23) :po-awia: ['p-awija]   'what'
      :ro-awija: ['r-awija]   'whose'

See section 4 5 for the formation of question words.

Some more instances in which there is an alternation in the form of the possessive prefix:

(24) :ira: ['ira]   'just now, previously'
      :ro-ira: ['r-ira]   'that of just now/previously'

      :iwai: ['iwai]   'just now'
      :ro-iwai: ['r-iwai]   'that of just now'

      :ewok: ['ewɔk]   'two'
      :po-ewok: ['p-ewɔk]   'twosome'

However, this alternation does not always apply: many temporal adverbs and all names form an exception to this pattern.

(25) :is: [is]   'yesterday'   :ro-is: [ro-'is]   'that of yesterday'
      :agus: ['agus]   'Agus'   :ro-agus: [ro-'agus]   'Agus''
      :eka: ['eka]   'Eka'   :ro-eka: [ro-'eka]   'Eka's'

3.5 Reduplication

The function of reduplication is to intensify the meaning of a word, usually a verb, and sometimes an adverb. The resulting form semantically contains an element of 'randomness'. Formally, if the reduplicated word is a verb, then only the verb-stem is copied, as illustrated in (26). If the stem of a form is monosyllabic, then the person prefix appears on the first member of the reduplicated form, and an epenthetic schwa is inserted between the two members to avoid a stress clash. This is illustrated in (26).

If there are more than two syllables in a form after reduplication, then the main stress falls where the main stress of the second (i.e. reduplicated) member falls. The secondary stress is where the main stress of the first member falls. In other words, the stress pattern is similar to that of compound nouns, cf. section 2.4.1.

(26)   :m-fit-fit: [mə-ˌfitə'fit]   'They yank out a lot'
                                         < :m-fit: 'They yank out'
        :m-fok-fok: [mə-ˌfɔkə'fɔk]   'They roll'
                                         < :m-fok: 'They fall spontaneously'
        :m-nax-nax: [mə-ˌnɑxə'nɑx]   'They move randomly'
                                         < :nax: 'It moves'

If after reduplication the resulting form consists of less than four syllables, the main stress is on the first full syllable of the word, as illustrated in :xrer-er: below.

(27)   :kro-kro: [kəˌro-kə'ro]   'They follow constantly'
                                      < :kro: 'They follow'
        :xrer-er: [xə'rɛrɛr]   'It makes a prolonged smooth sound'[6]
                                   < :xrer: 'It makes a smooth sound'

In some forms, the vowel in the reduplicated member changes to :a: as illustrated below:

(28)   :m-sun-san: [mə-ˌsun-ə'sɑn]   'It makes lots of noise'
                                          < :m-sun: 'It makes noise' (e.g. running water)
        :frit-frat: [fəˌrit-fə'rɑt]   'They are busy'
                                          < :frit: 'They move'
        :frok-frak: [fəˌrɔk-fə'rɑk]   'Everyone emerges'
                                          < :frok: 'They emerge'
        :frur-frar: [fəˌrur-fə'rɑr]   'They are stretched all over the place'
                                          < :frur: 'They stretch out'
        :krox-krax: [kəˌrɔx-kə'rɑx]   'They make a long loud noise'
                                          < :krox: 'They make a loud noise'
        :ptok-ptak: [pəˌtɔk-pə'tɑk]   'randomly'
                                          < :ptok: 'immediately'
        :rpi-rpa: [rəˌpi-rə'pa]   'tapping (noise of rain on roof)'
                                      < *:rpi: (unattested in the data)
        :surut-surat: [ˌsurut-'surɑt]   'It is completely broken'
                                            < :surut: 'It is broken'
        :nini-nina: [ˌnini-'nina]   'pitchdark, ignorant (figuratively)'
                                        < :nini: 'pitchdark'

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[6] In this form, only part of the stem seems to be copied, i.e. *[xəˌrerxə'rer].

3.6 Orthographic conventions

Based on the observations made in chapter 2, and some of the conclusions drawn in this chapter, I will adopt the following orthographic conventions for the remainder of this work:

Vowels:

Phoneme		Allophones	Orthographic symbol
/i/	——>	[i], [ɪ]	*i*
/e/	——>	[e], [ɛ]	*e*
/a/	——>	[a], [ɑ]	*a*
/o/	——>	[o], [ɔ], [ɒ], [ʌ]	*o*
/u/	——>	[u], [ü]	*u*
/ə/	——>	[ə]	*e*, ə

If /ə/ occurs as an optional morpheme in word-initial position, it is written as *e*. The grapheme *e* in this position invariably represents the optional phoneme /ə/, except in the forms *ewok* /ewɔk/ 'two' and *eok* /eɔk/ 'two'; and /et/ 'tattoo' which are the only attested /e/-initial forms. If /ə/ occurs between words or between reduplicated morphemes as an offbeat to resolve a stress clash (see section 2.4.2, 3.5), it is only written when it is relevant to the example. /ə/ between two consonants in word-initial position is never written, as its occurrence is completely predictable.

Consonants:

Phoneme		Allophones	Orthographic symbol
/p/	——>	[p], [b]	*p*
/t/	——>	[t], [tʰ], [t°]	*t*
/k/	——>	[k], [g], [k°]	*k*
/m/	——>	[m],	*m*
		[ŋ][7]	*ng*
/n/	——>	[n]	*n*
/f/	——>	[f], [Φ]	*f*
/s/	——>	[s]	*s*
/x/	——>	[x], [ɣ]	*h*
/r/	——>	[r], [ɾ]	*r*
/w/	——>	[w]	*w*
/y/	——>	[j]	*y*

/x/ will be rendered *h* because in the Indonesian orthography, which the *Maybrat* use in school, the symbol *x* does not exist. The symbol which corresponds to /x/ most closely is *h*.

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[7] Also as an allophone of /n/ in loanwords, see chapter 2, section 2.1.2.1 and 2.8.

ng is used to represent [ŋ], which only occurs preceding [k], for instance in *angkre* [aŋkre] 'sagoleaf'.

The forms that are lexically marked because they receive a covert person prefix, whereas on the basis of their form this would not be expected (see section 3.1.3), do not appear in their phonemic form: they have the grapheme *y* or *w* between the vowels in their orthography. The reason for this is that the morphological behaviour of these forms can then be deduced from the orthographical form. Thus: e.g. *kiyam* :kiyam: 'They are ill', *tkias* :t-kias: 'I tell'. In the case of alienably possessed nouns, i.e. the forms that lack morphology in the form of an overt person prefix, the phonological form is the basis for the orthographical form, i.e. *fiam* /fiam/ 'catfish'; *tuo* /tuo/ 'I'; *kiet* /kiet/ 'cloth'. In all these forms, the quality of the glide in these forms, which is thus not orthographically represented, can be deduced from the quality of the first vowel in the sequence (see section 2.2.1). In forms containing a vowel sequence where the glide cannot be predicted, the glide is invariably written.

In names of people, often Christian names or names derived from Dutch,[8] the original spelling is retained. This spelling is often, but not always, adapted to the Indonesian spelling, for example *Maria* [ma'rija]; *Lys* [lis] (< 'Elisabeth'); *Since* ['sintʃə] (< Du 'Sientje'); *Yance* ['jantʃə] (< Du 'Jantje'); *Henky/Henkie* ['xɛŋki] (< Du 'Henkie'); *Ysias* [jə'sijɑs]; *Yan Piter* [jɑn 'pitər] (< Du 'Jan-Pieter').

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[8] Dutch names were sometimes given to people under the influence of the Dutch Missionaries, see section 1.2.

In the present chapter, *Maybrat* words are assigned to different word classes. I will define word classes on the basis of two grammatical criteria, namely morphological and syntactic (cf. Schachter 1985:3).

A word is the smallest unit of a sentence which has positional mobility (Cruse 1986:35) and which cannot be interrupted by a pause (Lyons 1968:202). According to these criteria, *amah* 'house' and *fane* 'pig' are words: they have positional mobility in the sentence and they cannot be interrupted by a pause. By the same criteria, *t-kias* 'I tell' and *re-f-o* 'this very.near' are words, albeit morphologically complex ones: they each consist of more than one morpheme.

In *Maybrat*, the following thirteen word classes can be defined:

> pronouns (person deixis)
> verbs
> nouns
> demonstratives
> question words
> numerals
> adverbs
> location markers
> directionals
> coordinators
> subordinate clause markers
> enumerators
> interjections

Person deixis is the first item to be discussed (section 4.1). The reason for this early presentation is that it can then be referred to in the subsequent discussion of the largest (open) classes, i.e. those of verbs (section 4.2) and nouns (section 4.3). In the presentation of verbs, the morphological properties are discussed in section 4.2, and from section 4.2.1 onwards the different classes of verbs are discussed. At the end of section 4.2 I will describe derivation. Section 4.3, on nouns, begins with a discussion of inalienably possessed nouns which include kinship terms, terms for body parts and spatial nouns, and alienably possessed nouns. Subsequently, lexical nominalisation and compound nouns are treated. The class of demonstratives is described in section 4.4, followed by a discussion on question words in section 4.5. Following this, in section 4.6, the number system, which is based on terms for body parts, is presented. The five sub-classes of adverbs, namely temporal adverbs, manner adverbs, aspect adverbs, locative adverbs, negators and focus adverbs are discussed in section 4.7. Section 4.8 covers locational forms including location markers and directionals. Finally, the remaining word classes are presented, namely coordinators (section 4.9), subordinate clause markers (section 4.10), the enumerator (section 4.11), and interjections (section 4.12). In each section, I will first give the morphological characteristics (if present) of a word class, followed by syntactic criteria in cases where morphological criteria alone are not sufficient.

There are some instances where the classes overlap. For instance, in the class of numerals (section 4.6), inalienably possessed nouns that refer to body parts, such as *atem* 'hand/arm' and *krem* 'finger/toe' (section 4.3.1) are used. The demonstrative forms (section 4.4) comprise demonstrative prefixes, and some of these prefixes are also used on interrogative forms (section 4.5). The two location markers *to* 'LOC' and *wo* 'LOC.GEN'

(4.8.1) seem to be related to demonstrative prefixes (section 4.8.1). Likewise, the morpheme *ro*, which marks relative clauses (section 4.10.1), and the forms *wo-re* and *fi-re*, which mark locative and manner adverbial clauses respectively (section 4.10.2), all include morphemes that are related to demonstrative forms. In other words, a morpheme cannot always be assigned to one single word class.

4.1 Person deixis

Person deixis is expressed through bound personal pronouns in the form of person prefixes on verbs and inalienably possessed nouns, and through free personal pronouns. The free personal pronouns can be affixed with *ro-* 'POSS' and *po-* 'EMPH' to form possessive and emphatic personal pronouns. In some emphatic forms, a numeral is used to express person deixis. Syntactically, pronouns may be used in the place of a noun or a noun phrase.

In section 4.1.1 I will discuss the person prefixes. Following this, in section 4.1.2, the personal pronouns are presented. In section 4.1.3 and 4.1.4 the possessive and emphatic forms are introduced. Finally, in section 4.1.5, I will give examples of emphatic forms that include a numeral.

4.1.1 Person prefixes

In section 3.1 I introduced the person prefixes, and the morphophonological constraints that dictate whether or not they are phonologically expressed. The person prefixes are repeated below:

(1)

		free form	bound form
S	1	*tuo*	*t-*
	2	*nuo*	*n-*
	3M	*ait*	*y-*
	3U	*au*	*m-*
P	1	*amu*	*p-*
	2	*anu*	*n-*
	3	*ana*	*m-*

Possibly, the first and second person singular bound forms are derived from the respective free forms. For the other forms, there does not seem to be an overt morphological connection between the bound forms and the free forms. In the free forms of the plural pronouns, the first phoneme is invariably /a/, while the second is a nasal.

Person prefixes are taken by verbs and inalienably possessed nouns. There is subject agreement, i.e. in clauses the person prefix on the verb must be coreferent with the subject of the clause (e.g. (2)), and inalienably possessed nouns take a person prefix that agrees with the possessor of the noun (e.g. (3)).

(2)   a   *ait*   *y-amo*   b.   *nuo*   *n-amo*
            3M   3M-go   2S   2-go
            'He goes'   'You go'

(3)   a.   *t-ana*   b.   *y-ana*
           1S-head   3M-head
           'my head'   'his head'

Because words from two different word classes take these person prefixes, the presence of a person prefix cannot be used as the sole criterion to classify a word. Therefore, syntactic criteria are needed as well, as will be illustrated in the course of the discussion on verbs and nouns.

There is a distinction in gender, namely between masculine and unmarked in the third person singular pronoun in both the free forms and the bound forms. Gender is according to natural gender: masculine is used for male human and, for instance in fables, male animate. In both cases, the referent must be singular:

(4)   *rae*   *y-amo*   *aya*[1]
      man   3M-go   water
      'The man goes to the river.'

(5)   *fane*   *y-tien*
      pig   3M-sleep
      'The boar sleeps.'

The unmarked bound form *m-* is used to refer to all third person forms that do not fall under the heading 'masculine human singular', i.e. all other third person singular and plural forms. Some examples:

(6)   *fai*   *m-haif*   *rako*[2]
      woman   3U-chop   firewood
      'The woman/women chop(s) firewood.'

(7)   *ru*   *m-amo*   *Senopi*
      bird   3U-go   *Senopi*
      'The aeroplane/aeroplanes[3] go(es) to *Senopi*.'

(8)   *fane*   *m-aku*   *m-som*
      pig   3U-small   3U-play
      'The piglet/piglets play(s).'

Gender in nouns is further discussed in section 4.3.3.

The examples in (6)-(8) can be interpreted as both singular and plural, because the person prefix *m-* is ambiguous in this respect. The only instances of third person forms in which the distinction between singular and plural is clear are those where the subject of the

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[1] *aya* is used to refer to 'water' and 'river'. In this work, I have translated *aya* as 'water'.

[2] *rako* is a lexicalised compound noun, consisting of the noun *ara* 'wood' and the verb -*ko* 'burn'.

[3] *ru* 'bird' is also used to refer to 'aeroplane'.

clause (or the possessor in case of an inalienably possessed noun) is masculine human, cf. (4) and (9):

(9)   *rae*   *m-amo*   *aya*
    man   3U-go   water
    'The men go to the river.'

The form in (10) can refer to singular and plural: a way to disambiguate this is by using a personal pronoun explicitly, as illustrated in (11) and (12):[4]

(10)   *fnia*   *m-amo*   *aya*
    woman   3U-go   water
    'The woman/women go to the river.'

(11)   *fnia*   *au*   *m-amo*   *aya*
    woman   3U   3U-go   water
    'The woman goes to the river.'

(12)   *fnia*   *ana*   *m-amo*   *aya*
    woman   3P   3U-go   water
    'The women go to the river.'

The unmarked free form *au* may refer to both humans and inanimates. For instance, the referent of the subject *au* '3U' in (13) below is an aeroplane.

(13)   *au*   *m-aut*   *oh*
    3U   3U-climb   already
    'It has already taken off.' (lit. 'It already climbed ')

Maybrat makes no morphological distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural. It is, however, possible to distinguish between the two by combining the free and the bound pronominal forms. When *amu*, the first person plural free personal pronoun, is followed by a verb with a first person plural person prefix *p-*, this refers to a group of people including the speaker but excluding the listener, e.g. (14). Semantically, this is the 'exclusive' form. The second person plural personal pronoun *anu*, followed by a verb with a second person prefix *n-*, is used to refer to a group of people excluding the speaker, i.e. the 'second person plural', as in (15). The semantic 'inclusive' form is expressed by using the free pronoun *anu* followed by a verb that takes a first person plural person prefix *p-*, as illustrated in (16).

(14)   *amu*   *p-kah*   *ora*
    1P   1P-burn   garden
    'We (excl.) burn a garden.'

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[4] See also section 5.6, under appositional NPs.

(15)   *anu*   *n-not*   *p-awiya*[5]
        2P   2-think   thing-INT
        'What do you think?'

(16)   *anu*   *p-kias*   *ania*
        2P   1P-tell   each.other
        'You (and we), we tell each other.'

In the second person, there is no difference between singular and plural in the pronominal prefixes. So, (17) below is ambiguous.

(17)   *n-fot*   *fiam*   *re-t-o*
        2-catch   catfish   location.SPEC-near-U
        'You (S, P) catch that catfish!'

If the verb involved has an *a*-initial stem, singular and plural forms can be distinguished in the second person, since plural forms of this type lack the vowel *a*. An example is given in (18) (cf. also section 3.3).

(18)   a.   *n-ama*
              2-come
              'You (s) come!'

        b.   *n-ma*
              2-come.P
              'You (P) come!'

The second person plural is also used to refer to you (P) in a very general sense, for example in (19), in which the second person form is adequately translated as 'one'.[6]

(19)   *n-ros*   *n-pet*   *rae*   *n-o*   *po*   *ka*
        2-stand   2-woman.marry.man   man   2-take   ceremonial.cloth eh?
        'You mean when one gets up and marries a man, one receives ceremonial cloth, right?

All the free forms of the personal pronouns can function as the head of an NP (see section 5.1), and as the subject or object in a clause (see chapter 6).

In addition to these pronominal forms, *Maybrat* has a form to refer to 'twosome', namely *pae(n)*. This form can only refer to humans. Like the free personal pronouns, *pae(n)* can function as a subject in a clause. However, it is unattested in object position. *pae(n)* has

[5] In interrogative forms, *y* is used between vowels since it is assumed *ya* in these forms is an interrogative suffix, by analogy to other interrogative forms. See section 4.5

[6] Formally, this form can also refer to singular. However, then the sentence would have been addressed to one person in particular, which was not the case here.

a plural referent, but it is unmarked for person, because the person prefix on the following verb can be any plural form:

(20) *paen*   *p-uut*   *p-ma*
      twosome   1P-climb.P   1P-come.P
      'We (excl.) two climb and come.'

(21) *paen*   *n-mo   to*   *tauf*
      twosome   2-go.P LOC   forest
      'You two go to the forest!'

(22) *paen*   *m-amo*   *aya*
      twosome   3U-go   water
      'The two (of them) go to the river.'

4.1.2 Possessive pronouns

To indicate possession, a possessive marker *ro-* 'POSS' is prefixed to the free form of the pronoun. In the first and second person singular this marker is in free variation with the marker *a-*. If the personal pronoun begins with a vowel, the possessive prefix normally appears as *r-* (see also section 3.4). The possessive pronouns are as follows:

(23)   person   possessive form
     S   1   *ro-tuo / a-tuo*
             2   *ro-nuo / a-nuo*
             3M   *r-ait*   (<*ro-ait*)
             3U   *r-au*   (<*ro-au*)
     P   1   *r-amu*   etc.
             2   *r-anu*
             3   *r-ana*

If the possessor is emphasised, the possessive prefix may appear as *ro-*, even though the following pronoun is vowel-initial:

(24) a.   *amah   r-ait*
            house   POSS-3M
            'his house'

      b.   *amah   ro-ait*
            house   POSS-3M
            'his house (and not someone else's)'

Unlike the free forms of the personal pronouns, these possessive forms cannot function as a subject or an object in a clause. They can only function as modifiers to a nominal head in an NP:

(25)   *amah   r-au*   *m-of*
        house POSS-3U   3U-good
        'Her house is nice.'

If the possessor is not expressed by a pronoun, *ro* functions as a morpheme to mark the possessor:

(26)   *ora*   *ro-Yan*
        garden   POSS-Yan
        'Yan's garden.'

See section 5.2 for more discussion of possessive forms.

4.1.3 Emphatic pronouns

The free forms of the personal pronouns can be prefixed by the form *po-* 'EMPH' to express emphasis. *po-* is adequately translated as 'alone' or 'on my/your/etc. own'. If the pronoun begins with a vowel, the prefix appears as *p-*.

(27)   person   form
        S   1   *po-tuo*
              2   *po-nuo*
              3M   *p-ait*   (< *po-ait*)
              3U   *p-au*   (< *po-au*)
        P   1   *p-amu*   etc.
              2   *p-anu*
              3   *p-ana*

These emphatic forms cannot function as a subject or an object in a clause, but only as manner adverbials, as illustrated in (28). See section 6.8.2 for a discussion on manner adverbials.

(28)   *m-roh*   *p-ana*   *aya*
        3U-descend   EMPH-3P   water
        'They descend to the river on their own.'

4.1.4 Other forms

The form *po* can also be prefixed to the numerals *s-ait* 'one-3M' and *eok* 'two'. The resulting forms, *po-s-ait* 'alone' and *p-eok* 'two alone' are pronouns that can function as a subject, as in (29) and (30). It is unattested in object position. *po-s-ait* can also refer to a female as in (29b). The form *°po-s-au* does not occur. *p-eok* and *pae(n)* ((31) and (32)) both refer explicitly to two people, although the difference between these two forms is not clear.[7] In (31), *peok* functions as an apposition to the head of the NP *ana* (cf. section 5.6 for appositions).

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[7] It may be the case that one of these forms is dialectal.

(29) a.   *po-s-ait*   *y-amo Kumurkek*
             EMPH-one-3M 3M-go *Kumurkek*
             'He goes to *Kumurkek* alone.'

      b.   *po-s-ait*   *m-amo*   *Kumurkek*
             EMPH-one-3M 3U-go   *Kumurkek*
             'She goes to *Kumurkek* alone.'

(30) *p-eok*   *p-mo*   *Mosun*
       EMPH-two   1P-go   *Mosun*
       'The two (of us), we go to *Mosun*.'

(31) *ana*   *p-eok*   *m-hu*   *akah*
       3P   EMPH-two   3U-stay   above
       'The two, they stay above.'

(32) *paen*   *p-uut*   *p-ma*
       two   1P-climb.P   1P-com.P
       'The two of us come up.'

The pronominal form *ania* 'each other' is used to express reciprocity. *ania* can occupy the object position (but not the subject position) in a clause.

(33) *rae*   *m-siar*   *m-me*   *ania*
       person   3U-many   3U-fight   each.other
       'Many people fight with each other.'

(34) *ana*   *ø-sayim*   *ania*
       3P   ø-share   each.other
       'They share it with each other.'

4.2 Verbs

Morphologically, verbs can be defined as those words that take obligatory person prefixes. Under certain circumstances this prefix is not phonologically realised due to morphophonological constraints. These constraints, as well as paradigms of declined verbs, have already been discussed in section 3.1. Some paradigms representative of all the different morphophonological paradigms are given in (35) for the sake of convenience:

(35)		'not know'	'do'	'sleep'	'climb'	'emerge'
S	1	*t-oa*	*t-no*	*t-tien*	*t-aut*	*ø-frok*
	2	*n-oa*	*n-no*	*n-tien*	*n-aut*	*ø-frok*
	3M	*y-oa*	*y-no*	*y-tien*	*y-aut*	*ø-frok*
	3U	*m-oa*	*m-no*	*m-tien*	*m-aut*	*ø-frok*
P	1	*p-oa*	*p-no*	*p-tien*	*p-uut*	*ø-frok*
	2	*n-oa*	*n-no*	*n-tien*	*n-uut*	*ø-frok*
	3	*m-oa*	*m-no*	*m-tien*	*m-aut*	*ø-frok*

Syntactically, verbs are words that can function as a minimal predicate. The person prefix is coreferent with the subject of the clause. In (36) this subject is not expressed as an NP, while in (37) it is (see section 6.3 for a discussion on subject NPs in clauses).

(36)   *y-amo*
       3M-go
       'He goes.'

(37)   *rae*   *y-amo*
       man   3M-go
       'The man goes.'

Only three forms are attested without a person prefix for reasons other than morphophonological ones, namely *-akus* 'left.behind', *-rof* 'follow' and *-roh* 'descend'. In constructions in which these prefixless verbs feature, they are invariably directly preceded by an overtly or covertly inflected verb. An example of *-akus* functioning as an (intransitive) main verb is given in (38a), which consists of two clauses separated by a comma. (39b) includes the same verb, but without a person prefix:

(38)   a.   *rae*   *m-e*   **biskui,**   *tuo*   *t-akus*
            man   3U-give   biscuit   1S   1S-leave.behind
            'The people give biscuits, I'm left out.' (i.e. I don't get any)

       b.   *t-se*   *akus*   *sasu*
            1S-place   left.behind   sweet.potato
            'I place the sweet potato and leave it behind temporarily.'

In constructions like (38b), the bare-stem verb functions as an adverbial, i.e. it modifies or specifies the preceding verb. These constructions are described in detail in section 8.2.

In compound nouns of the type N+V, where V is an 'adjectival verb', a person prefix may also be omitted, see section 4.3.5.

4.2.1 Classes of verbs

In section 3.1 I distinguished between a number of morphological classes of verbs. In this section I will make a sub-division according to syntactic criteria. A straightforward distinction between the classes of verbs is made according to transitivity: intransitive verbs can only receive one argument, whereas transitive verbs can take two arguments. However,

transitivity is not the only criterion for the classification of verbs, as a more subtle grouping can be made. For example, in the class of intransitive verbs a class of 'adjectival' verbs, which can function attributively in an NP, can be identified. Likewise, in the class of transitive verbs, the ability of verbs to take certain types of objects has syntactic consequences for their behaviour in sequences of verbs.

Intransitive verbs are discussed in section 4.2.2, followed by a discussion of transitive verbs in section 4.2.3. Within these sections, the various sub-classes are introduced. I will give examples of each type of verb in a clause, and refer to the relevant sections in chapter 6 (on the clause) and chapter 8 (on sequences of verbs) for more detailed syntactic motivations according to which these sub-classes can be defined.

4.2.2 Intransitive verbs

The only argument that an intransitive verb can take is a subject. There are three classes of intransitive verbs, namely regular intransitive verbs, adjectival verbs, and quantifying verbs. Each class is discussed in turn below.

4.2.2.1 Regular intransitive verbs

The class of regular intransitive verbs includes verbs that can only function predicatively. Examples of typically intransitive verbs are:

(39)   *-awe*   'fall'
           -haf   'pregnant'
           -hai   'die'
           kron   'sound'
           ksie   'sneeze'
           -tie   'break (sticks)'

Some of these intransitive verbs can be made transitive by attaching the derivative prefix *-i-* TRANS (see section 4.2.4).

Some clauses featuring intransitive verbs are:

(40)   *rae*   *y-atiet*
        man   3M-perish
        'The man perishes.'

(41)   *smai tapam*   *m-o*
        {bean land}[8]   3U-grow
        'The peanuts grow.'

---

[8] *smai tapam* is a compound noun: compound nouns are separated by a single space in the text, and enclosed between braces in the glosses, cf. section 4.3.5.

An apparent exception in the series of intransitive verbs is the expression *-hai awiah* 'to be hungry', given in (42).[9] The form *-hai awiah* here suggests that an intransitive verb receives a nominal object. However, this object is not a regular nominal object, as it cannot be extracted through relativisation, as illustrated in (43).[10] This suggests that the expression *-hai awiah* is an idiomatic expression.

(42) *y-hai*   *awiah*
      3M-die   taro
      'He is hungry.'

(43) *'awiah*   *ro*   *y-hai*   *m-api*
      taro   REL   3M-die   3U-big

4.2.2.2 Adjectival verbs

Adjectival verbs are verbs that can function predicatively in a clause, as well as attributively in an NP. Semantically, they express typically 'adjectival' notions, such as dimension ('big', 'small', 'thick' etc.), physical property ('hard', 'soft', 'heavy', 'light' etc.), colour ('black', 'white', 'red' etc.), value ('good', 'bad' etc.) (Dixon 1977:31). It is not unusual for a language to show a convergence between verbal and adjectival notions, so that both are expressed in one word class, usually that of 'verb' (Dixon 1977). Some examples of adjectival verbs, given in antonym pairs are:

(44) *-anes*   'old'   –   *-aku*   'young'
      -of   'good'   –   *-kair*   'bad'
      kiniah   'small'   –   *-api*   'big'
      -ria   'tall'   –   *-apuf*   'short'
      samuoh   'heavy'   –   *yuan*   'light'

The class of adjectival verbs incorporates six colour terms:

(45) *-poh*   'white' (lit. 'ashes')
      safe   'black'
      -kek   'red'
      fiyaf   'yellow'
      safom   'green'
      knu   'dark' (used for dark colours, including blue)

This system of six terms is in accordance with the categorisation of basic colour terms across languages, as introduced by Berlin & Kay (1969). Berlin & Kay stipulate that languages make use of eleven basic colour terms, which are hierarchically organised as follows:

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[9] This expression is the only term attested to express hunger, i.e. it does not apply just to a desire to eat *awiah* 'taro'.

[10] See section 6.6 for a discussion on relativisation in clauses.

(46)   black <   red   <   yellow   <   blue   <   etc.
        white   green

This hierarchy is used to illustrate that if a language has a term X for a colour anywhere on the hierarchy, then this implies that it also makes use of the terms to the left of term X. *Maybrat* has a term to denote 'blue' and other dark colours, and it indeed has all the colour terms for colours to the left of 'blue' as well.[11]

Syntactically, adjectival verbs can function both predicatively and attributively. The adjectival verb -*api* in (47a) functions predicatively. The subject of this clause is *fane re-t-o*. Conversely, in (47b) -*api* functions attributively: it modifies the head noun *fane*. *fane m-api re-t-o* constitutes an NP which functions as the object of the verb *fnak* 'stab'.

(47)   a.   *fane*   *re-t-o*   *m-api*
              pig   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-big
              'This pig is big.'

        b.   *tuo*   *ø-fnak fane*   *m-api*   *re-t-o*
              1S   ø-stab pig   3U-big   location.SPEC-near-U
              'I stab this big pig.'

Adjectival verbs that are used attributively receive a person prefix that is coreferent with the head of the NP:

(48)   *pi*   *y-anes*   *re-t-o*
        man   3M-old   location.SPEC-near-U
        'that old man'

(49)   *ku*   *m-of*   *re-f-o*
        child   3U-good   location.SPEC-very.near-U
        'this good child'

With the exception of some quantifying verbs, none of the other verb classes contain verbs that can be used attributively. An illustration is given below. In (50a) -*asah* 'laugh' is used predicatively. The same verb cannot be used attributively in an NP, as illustrated in (50b).

(50)   a.   *fai*   *re-t-o*   *m-asah*
              woman   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-laugh
              'This woman laughs.'

        b.   *°t-kai*   *fai*   *m-asah*   *re-t-o*
              1S-meet   woman   3U-laugh   location.SPEC-near-U

The fact that the 'adjectival' verbs can function attributively in an NP (see section 5.1.2) could be used as an argument to introduce a separate word class 'adjective' for *Maybrat*.

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[11] See also Foley (1997:152-159) for a discussion on colour categorisation and types of basic colour terminologies.

However, this is undesirable because the adjectival verbs retain all the formal morphological properties of verbs, whether they function predicatively (as in (47a)) or attributively (as in (47b)). In addition, the ability to function predicatively is a function typically associated with verbs. Introducing a separate category 'adjective' would conceal this morphological and functional similarity between verbs and adjectives.

4.2.2.3 Quantifying verbs

Semantically, quantifiers are words that express contrasts in quantity (Crystal 1991:286). As is the case for adjectival notions, *Maybrat* uses forms that are morphologically verbs to express quantifying notions. Dik (1989:153) points out that relative adjectives, such as 'big'/'small', 'heavy'/'light' etc. and relative quantifiers such as 'many'/'some'/'few' are notionally similar to one another. Thus, it is not surprising that *Maybrat* expresses both adjectival notions and quantifiers in one category. The fact that quantification is expressed through verbs is not exceptional (cf. Schachter (1985:38)). Three of the forms in (51), namely *-kak*, *-tut* and *-siar* are morphologically identical to verbs in that they take person prefixes.

(51)	*-kak*	'absolutely everyone/thing'
	prut	'everyone/thing'
	pria(n)	'everyone/thing'
	-tut	'everyone' (small group)
	wisau	'everyone/thing'
	waro	'little'
	okair	'little'
	-siar	'many'

It is difficult to make a clear-cut semantic distinction between some of these quantifiers. I have attempted to make some contrasts below:

While *-kak* means 'absolutely everyone/thing', cf. (52), *prut* just refers to 'everything, all' as in (53). In other words, *-kak* is more extreme than *prut*.

(52)	*m-su*	*aya*	*m-kak*
	3U-drown	water	3U-absolutely.everyone
	'Every single one of them drowns.'		

(53)	*m-ait*	*awiah*	*ø-prut*
	3U-eat	taro	ø-everything
	'They eat all the taro.'		

The difference between *prut* and *pria* is that *prut* primarily refers to inanimates, cf. (53), whereas *pria* primarily refers to animates, cf. (54)-(55):

(54)   *m-tien*   *ø-pria*
        3U-sleep   ø-everyone
        'Everyone sleeps.'

(55)   *m-hu*   *m-ape*   *ø-pria*
        3U-stay   3U-give.birth   ø-everyone
        'Everyone lives (there) and bears children.'

However, in (56) *prut* refers to animates, while in (57) *pria* refers to inanimates:

(56)   *ø-prut*   *m-nan*   *po-ø-safom*
        ø-everyone   3U-like   NOM-ø-green
        'Everyone (stands) like grass'   (They all stand so close together that they are
                                               like grass.)

(57)   *asam*   *ø-pria*
        sugarcane   ø-everything
        'all the sugarcane' / 'This is all sugarcane.'

These examples illustrate that a clear-cut semantic distinction between *prut* and *pria* in terms of animate and inanimate cannot be made.

Unlike *prut* and *pria*, *prian* 'everything' can only refer to inanimates.

(58)   *m-amo*   *m-hu*   *m-kah*   *ø-prian*
        3U-go   3U-stay   3U-burn   ø-everything
        'They go and they stay there and they burn everything.'

wisau 'everything, everyone' is used for both animates and inanimates. It refers to a large group, as opposed to *-tut* 'everyone', which can only refer to a small group, of less than ten people. Some examples:

(59)   *p-tut*   *p-mo*   *aya*
        1P-everyone   1P-go.P   water
        'We (small group) all go to the river.'

(60)   *rapu*   *anu*   *ø-wisau*
        morning   2P   ø-everyone
        'Good morning to you all.'

okair and *waro* 'little' differ little semantically, but they do have different syntactic properties: like *pria(n)* 'everyone/thing', *okair* cannot function as an attributive in an NP. Apart from clearly showing characteristics of quantifiers, *waro* can also function as a temporal adverbial meaning 'in a little while', cf. section 6.7.1.1. Some examples in which *okair* and *waro* function as quantifiers:

(61) *rae*   *m-ama*   *m-me*   *ania*   *ø-okair*
     man   3U-come   3U-fight   each.other   ø-little
     'The people come and they (only) fight each other a little.'

(62) *kamean*   *y-o*   *mes*   *ø-waro*
     black.cockatoo   3M-take   blood   ø-little
     'The black cockatoo takes a little bit of blood.'

In conclusion, it seems that there are a number of synonyms or near-synonyms in the class of quantifying verbs.[12]

Morphologically, some quantifying verbs take person prefixes:

(63) *rae*   *m-kak*
     man   3U-absolutely.everyone
     'absolutely everyone of the people'/'There are people everywhere.'

(64) *anu*   *n-siar*
     2P   2-many
     'many of you'/'You are with many.'

(65) *amu*   *p-tut*
     1P   1P-everyone
     'everyone of us (incl.)'/'We (incl.) are with many.'

The other quantifiers listed above do not take person prefixes. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that they are formally verbs. The problem is that they all consist of two syllables, which, if they were verbs, means that they cannot take person prefixes because of the morphophonological constraint on bisyllabic words (cf. section 3.1). By analogy to *-kak*, *-siar* and *-tut* I conclude that the words that express quantifying notions in *Maybrat* are formally verbs. They are therefore given a covert person prefix 'ø-'.

Like adjectival verbs, quantifying verbs can either function attributively or predicatively (except *prian* and *okair*, which can only function predicatively, see above). This is indicated in the translations of (63)-(65) above. An example where there are syntactic criteria to determine whether the quantifying verb functions attributively or predicatively appears below. In (66a) *n-siar* functions attributively in the NP *anu n-siar f-o*. This NP functions as a subject. In (66b) *n-siar* functions predicatively, its subject is *anu f-o*. Intonationally, both examples constitute a clause:

(66) a.   *anu*   *n-siar*   *f-o*   *n-mo*   *ayà*   /
         2P   2P-many   very.near-U   2-go.P   river
         'The many of you go to the river.'

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[12] This synonymy can possibly be attributed to the fact that these forms are taken from different dialects. Unfortunately I have been unable to verify this.

b.   *anu   f-o   n-siàr /*
      2p   very.near-U   2-many
      'There are many of you.'

Admittedly, there are only a few forms in which a demonstrative is available to prove the syntactic function of the quantifying verbs. Although (63) has a typically 'clausal' intonation pattern, this was not so clear for (64) and (65). In (67) it is not clear what the syntactic function of the quantifying verb is, since there are no conclusive intonational cues.[13] It is also unclear whether there is a significant semantic difference:

(67) a.   *amah   ø-wisau   re-f-o*
            house   ø-all   location.SPEC-very.near-U
            'all these houses/every house'

      b.   *amah   re-f-o   ø-wisau*
            house   location.SPEC-very.near-U   ø-all
            'all the houses/every house'

It seems that in (67) the quantifying verb 'floats' through the sentence. A property associated with quantifiers is their ability to 'float' through a syntactic constituent rather than occupy a fixed position (Crystal 1991:286), so the pair in (67), and the other examples where the syntactic function of the quantifying verb seems elusive may be typical for this particular word class.

4.2.3 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs can take two arguments, namely a subject and an object. *Maybrat* does not have verbs that can take more than two arguments. A distinction is made between different classes of transitive verbs based on their behaviour in sequences of verbs. In this section, I will define these classes. The syntactic motivations for assigning these verbs to their respective sub-classes are given in chapter 8.

4.2.3.1 Regular transitive verbs

The object argument of a regular transitive verb must be a noun ((68)), a pronoun ((69)), a demonstrative ((70)), or an NP ((71)):

(68) *t-ehoh   fane*
      1S-stab   pig
      'I stab the pig.'

(69) *m-ape   ait*
      3U-carry.on.back   3M
      'She carries him on her back.'

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[13] Both examples were elicited, and both had a clausal intonation pattern.

(70) *n-kom*   *re-t-o*
      2-write   location.SPEC-near-U
      'You write this.'

(71) *y-nit*   *po-mna*   *ro*   *m-of*
      3M-tell   NOM-tell.tale   REL   3U-good
      'He tells a tale which is nice.'

The object argument of a regular transitive verb need not be expressed: if the object is known from the preceding discourse, it can be omitted without rendering the utterance ungrammatical, cf. (72). Constraints on the omission of objects are discussed in section 6.4.

(72) *y-kom*
      3M-write
      'He writes.'

4.2.3.2 Motion verbs and position verbs

Motion verbs and position verbs occur in verb sequences which seem coordinating, but which differ from coordinating constructions according to one important criterion, namely they do not conform to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967). This constraint stipulates that it is not permitted to extract objects out of a coordinating construction. Verb sequences that involve motion verbs and position verbs typically violate this constraint, hence the subclassification. Extraction of objects out of constructions that include these verbs is discussed extensively in section 8.7.

The verbs that exhibit this different syntactic behaviour in sequences of verbs are given below. This list is not intended to be exhaustive:

(73)   motion verbs:
              -amo 'go'
              -ama 'come'

(74)   position verbs:
              -ros 'stand'
              -hu   'stay'
              hren 'sit'

Each of these verbs can be used as a regular transitive verb with a nominal object. Some examples:

(75) *y-amo amah*
      3U-go house
      'He goes to the house.'

(76) *m-hu*   *ora*   *r-au*
      3U-stay   garden   POSS-3U
      'She stays in her garden.'

Examples of some of these verbs in verb sequences are given below:

(77)   a.   *t-amo   t-ate*   *aya*
             1s-go   1s-bathe   water
             'I go and bathe in the river.'

        b.   *ø-hren y-kias*   *po-mna*
             ø-sit   3M-tell   NOM-tell.tale
             'He sits and tells a tale.'

4.2.3.3 'Shared argument construction' verbs

The verbs in (78) are assigned to a separate class because they can occur in so-called 'shared argument constructions'. These are constructions of the type 'X verb$_1$ Y verb$_2$ (Z)', in which Y functions both as the object of verb$_1$ and as the subject of verb$_2$.

(78)   *-o*   'take'
             -po   'hold'
             -ehoh   'stab'

In (79)-(81) these verbs function like regular transitive verbs:

(79)   *t-o*   *tfo*
       1s-take   machete
       'I take a machete.'

(80)   *y-po*   *ku*   *ø-kintah*
       3M-hold   child   ø-small
       'He holds the small child.'

(81)   *m-ehoh*   *fane*
       3U-stab   pig
       'She stabs the pig.'

(82) and (83) give examles of some of these verbs in a shared argument construction.

(82)   *t-tu*   *aya*   *m-amo*   *cerek*
       1s-pour   water   3u-go   thermos.flask
       'I pour water into the thermos flask.'

(83)   *t-ehoh*   *kau*   *m-hai*
       1s-stab   rat   3u-die
       'I kill the rat.' (lit. 'I stab the rat and it dies.')

What these verb sequences have in common with verb sequences involving motion verbs and position verbs is that they also violate the CSC. The syntactic behaviour of these verb sequences is described in section 8.7.

4.2.3.4 Complement-taking verbs

There are a number of different types of verbs that can take either a nominal object or a clausal object. These are the causative verb -*no* 'do'; the verb -*awe* 'say'; and 'perception verbs' (see (84)) and 'mental activity verbs' (see (85)). The distinction between these two types is purely semantic. These lists are not intended to be exhaustive.

(84)	-*ari*	'hear'
	-*he*	'see'
	-*nin*	'smell'
	-*not*	'think'

(85)	*hawe*	'refuse'
	-*oa*	'not know'
	-*sam*	'be afraid'
	skoh	'enjoy'
	winaut	'hope'

In (86a) an example involving -*no* with a nominal object is given. In the corresponding b-example this verb has a clausal object, namely *y-awe* 'He falls.'.

(86) a. *t-no   po   m-kair*
       1S-do thing 3U-bad
       'I do something bad.'

    b. *t-no   y-awe*
       1S-do 3M-fall
       'I make him fall.'

Causative constructions are described in section 8.3.1.

In (87a) the verb -*awe* 'say' (-*awe* 'fall' and -*awe* 'say' are homophones) takes a clausal object. -*awe* can also occur with a nominal object, cf. (87b).

(87) a. *y-awe   y-aut   ara*[14]
       3M-say   3M-climb   tree
       'He says he climbs into the tree.'/'He wants to climb into the tree.'

    b. *y-awe   po*
       3M-say   thing
       'He says something.'

---

[14] *ara* is used to refer to 'tree' and 'wood'. In this work, I have translated *ara* as 'tree'.

As illustrated in (87a), the verb *-awe* can refer to the act of 'saying' as well as to the thought content of the speaker. In the latter usage, I call these forms 'pseudo quotative constructions'. See section 8.3.2 for a description of the semantic and syntactic characteristics of pseudo-quotative constructions.

An example of a perception verb and a mental activity verb with a nominal object:

(88)   *t-he   rae*
        1s-see   person
        'I see a man.'

(89)   *nuo   ø-skoh   nuo*
        1s   ø-enjoy   2s
        'I like you.'

The verb *-ari* includes a range of meanings: *-ari* can be translated as 'hear', as in (90) and (91):

(90)   *m-ari   rae   m-asi   toya*
        3u-hear   person   3u-sing   song
        'She hears people singing a song.'

(91)   *t-ari   rae   m-kias,   t-ari   rae*
        1s-hear   person   3u-talk   1s-hear   person

        m-nit
        3u-tell
        'I hear people talking, I hear people telling.'

Apart from 'hear', *-ari* also has a more generic meaning, namely 'to feel' or 'to perceive involuntarily', as illustrated in (92)-(94). This phenomenon is also attested in other Papuan languages, for instance in Usan, a language spoken in the **Madang** province in **Papua New Guinea**. In this language, the verb igub can take an object which semantically refers to sound, in which case it means 'hear'. However, when it is translated as 'smell', igub refers to an uncontrolled (involuntary) act (Reesink 1987:135-136).

(92)   *t-ari   t-fos*
        1s-hear   1s-wind[15]
        'I feel cold.'

(93)   *t-ari   m-kair*
        1s-hear   3u-bad
        'I feel it is bad (it feels bad).'

---

[15] *fos* can also function as a noun meaning 'wind', e.g. *fos m-fi* 'the wind blows'. Semantically, the noun *fos* 'wind' and the verb stem *-fos* in *t-fos* 'I am cold' seem related.

(94)   *t-ari*   *fra*   *m-ami*   *t-ao*
       1s-hear   stone   3U-pierce   1s-foot
       'I feel a stone piercing my foot.'

In (95) and (96) examples of sentences involving perception verbs which take an object complement are given. In (95) *fai m-amo* 'the woman goes' functions as the object of *t-he*; in (96) *t-amo ora* 'I go to the garden' functions as the object of (96).

(95)   *t-he   fai*   *m-amo*
       1s-see   woman   3U-go
       'I see the woman go.'

(96)   *ø-skoh*   *t-amo   ora*
       ø-enjoy   1s-go   garden
       'I enjoy going to the garden.'

Sequences of verbs involving perception verbs and mental activity verbs, and the syntactic behaviour of these sequences, are described in detail in section 8.3.

4.2.3.5 Prepositional verbs

There are a number of prepositional notions that are expressed by forms which are morphologically verbs. These include locative verbs, and the verb *-kah*, which semantically covers the notion of 'involvement with (object)'. In more traditional terms, *-kah* can be translated as instrumental/recipient/benefactive.

(97)   *-ae*   'at'
             -kit   'towards'
             -pat   'from'
             -kah   'with'/'to'/'for'

Although these verbs are similar to transitive verbs, they are less 'verby'. There are three features which distinguish these verbs from the other transitive verbs.
     First, the only verb that is attested as a main verb is *-ae* 'at', as in (98). The other verbs cannot function as main verbs, as illustrated for *-kit* in (99).

(98)   *y-ae   **Sorong***
       3M-at   *Sorong*
       'He is in *Sorong*.'

(99)   *¨t-kit*   *ora*
       1s-towards   garden

-kit and *-pat* always take a person prefix that is coreferent with the subject of the preceding verb:

(100) y-amo   y-kit   aof   r-ait
       3M-go   3M-towards   sagotree   POSS-3M
       'He goes to his sagotree.'

(101) p-ma   p-pat   ora   ro-Sely   m-me
       1P-come.P   1p-from   garden   POSS-Sely   3U-mother
       'We come from Sely's mother's garden.'

Second, unlike -kit and -pat, -ae may, and -kah must have a defective paradigm, taking a third person unmarked person prefix m- which is not in agreement with the subject of the clause. Because -ae can also function as a main verb, an acceptable contrast can be made with a defective paradigm verb ((102a)) and an inflected verb ((102b)). This is not the case for -kah in (103). In fact, it is debatable whether -kah should be classified as a verb at all. The reason for assuming it is a verb is twofold: first, mkah occurs in constructions similar to those with the other prepositional verbs, i.e. preceded by another verb, and invariably followed by an NP which functions as the object of the prepositional verb. Second, the form -ae occurs in two guises: one with a declining paradigm and one with a defective paradigm. I assume by analogy that mkah is also a defective paradigm verb, thus morphologically m-kah, where the putative declining variety has become obsolete.

(102) a.   ait   y-amo m-ae   amah
             he   3M-go 3U-at   house
             'He goes home.'

       b.   ait   y-amo y-ae   amah
             he   3M-go 3U-at   house
             'He goes and he is at home.'

(103) a.   t-ai   m-kah   ara
             1s-hit 3U-with   tree
             'I hit with a stick.'

       b.   *t-ai   t-kah   ara
             1s-hit 1s-with   stick

-kah can function as a main verb meaning 'wear'. This is illustrated in (104). It can also occur in a sequence of verbs, as in (105) and (106).

(104) t-kah   onfuk[16]
       1s-wear   clothes
       'I wear clothes.'

(105) tuo   t-amo   t-kah   onfuk
       1s   1S-go   1s-wear   clothes
       'I go and I wear clothes.'

_____

[16] onfuk is possibly derived from po n-fuk < thing 2-wear > 'thing you wear'.

(106)   *y-ama*   *y-kah*   *po-ø-fayir*
    3M-come   3M-wear   NOM-ø-decorate
    'He comes and he wears decorations.'

It is unclear whether *-kah* 'wear' and *-kah* 'with'/'to'/'for' derive from one single morpheme.

Third, unlike transitive verbs, from which an object can be omitted. prepositional verbs invariably occur with an object. Omitting this object results in an ungrammatical utterance, cf. (107b).

(107)   a.   *m-ama*   *m-pat*   ***Mosun***
        3U-come   3U-from   ***Mosun***
        'They come from *Mosun.*'

     b.   **m-ama*   *m-pat*
        3U-come   3U-from

Thus, prepositional verbs seem to be less 'verby' than other transitive verbs. As such, their verbal status is questionable. The syntactic behaviour of prepositional verbs is described in detail in section 8.4.

4.2.3.6 Comitative

The comitative, marked by the verb *-sia*, is used to conjoin NPs. Adequate translations of *-sia* are 'and', 'with' or 'accompanied by'. When *-sia* takes both a subject and an object, the resulting constituent can function as an argument in a clause. An example is given in (108), where *tuo t-sia ait* functions as the subject of the predicate *p-mo*.

(108)   *tuo*   *t-sia*   *ait*   *p-mo*   ***Mosun***
     1S   1S-with   3M   1P-go.P   ***Mosun***
     'I go to *Mosun* with him.' (lit. 'I with him, we go to *Mosun.*')

(109)   *t-amo **Mosun***   *t-sia*   *Lys*
     1S-go ***Mosun***   1S-with   Lys
     'I go to *Mosun* with Lys.'

-sia is similar to the verbs expressing oblique notions in two ways: *-sia* cannot function as a main verb, and *-sia* rarely occurs without an object. The morphological and syntactic properties of *-sia* are described in detail in section 8.5.

4.2.4 Derivation on verbs: *-i-*

The derivational affix *-i-* 'TRANS' changes the valency of verbs from intransitive to transitive. This affix in turn takes a person prefix that must be coreferent with the subject of the following verb. Therefore, it is possible that *-i-* has a verbal origin. *-i* also occurs as an independent verb meaning 'tie', as in (110), but it seems unlikely that the form *-i-* in the sequence *-i-* + V is semantically related to *-i* 'tie'.

(110)   *ait*   *y-i*   *fane*   *m-ao*
    3M   3M-tie pig   3U-leg
    'He ties the pig's leg.'

Derivation with *-i-* applies to a restricted number of verbs only, and does not seem to be productive. There are two types of verbs that can undergo derivation with *-i-*, which are given below:

To begin, *-i-* can precede verbs that semantically refer to 'break':

(111)   *-tie*   'break (sticks)'
        ktus   'break (ropes)'
        ftah   'break (shells)'

Below, in the a-forms the verbs are used intransitively, while in the b-forms they function as transitive verbs. These verbs must take a derivational affix *-i-* when functioning as transitive verbs, e.g. (114), derived from (112b), which is ungrammatical.

(112)   a.   *ara*   *m-tie*
        tree   3U-break
        'The tree breaks.'

    b.   *tuo*   *t-i-t-tie*   *ara*
        1S   1S-TRANS-1S-break   tree
        'I break the tree.'

(113)   a.   *son*   *m-arak*   *ø-ftah*
        coconut   3U-empty   ø-break
        'The coconut shell breaks.'

    b.   *y-i-ø-ftah*   *son*   *m-arak*
        3M-TRANS-ø-break   coconut   3U-shell/skin
        'He breaks the coconut-shell.'

(114)   **t-tie*   *ara*
    1S-break   tree

Secondly, the verb *frok* 'emerge' can function as a transitive verb, as illustrated in (115). If *frok* takes a derivational affix *-i-*, the meaning of the verb changes to 'take out'. A contrastive example is given in (116). The prefix on *-i-* must be coreferent with the subject of the verb, cf. (116b) and (117).

(115)   *ara*   *re-f-o*   *ø-frok*   *Siwa*   *y-naif*
    tree   location.SPEC-very.near-U   ø-emerge   Siwa   3M-nose
    'The wood emerges from Siwa's nose.'

(116) a.   *po*   *ø-frok*   *m-pat*   **lemari**
           thing   ø-emerge   3U-from   cupboard
           'Something emerges out of the cupboard.'

       b.   *tuo*   *t-i-ø-frok*   *po*   *m-pat*   **lemari**
           1S   1S-TRANS-ø-emerge   thing   3U-from   cupboard
           'I take something out of the cupboard.'

(117) *ait*   *y-i-ø-frok*   *po*   *m-pat*   **lemari**
       3M   3M-TRANS-ø-emerge   thing   3U-from   cupboard
       'He takes something out of the cupboard.'

Three verb forms that formally include *i* are *-isapos* 'brush', *-isasie* 'wrap up' and *-iwarok* 'insert'. These verb forms always function as transitive verbs. The *i* in these forms is likely to be a transitivising prefix, so that the morphological representation of these verbs could be *-i-ø-sapos*, *-i-ø-sasie* and *-i-ø-warok*. These forms are apparently fossilised forms, since their putative intransitive counterparts, i.e. **ø-sapos*, **ø-sasie* and **ø-warok* are unattested in the data. Some examples of these transitive verbs are:

(118) *ait*   *y-i-ø-sapos*   *onfuk*
       3M   3M-TRANS-ø-brush   clothes
       'He brushed the clothes.'

(119) *ana*   *m-i-ø-sasie*   *kak*
       3P   3U-TRANS-ø-wrap.up   meat
       'They wrap up the meat.'

(120) *to-tis*   *to-f-o*   *m-aut*[17]   *m-i-ø-warok*   *sai*
       area.N-behind   area.N-very.near-U   3U-climb   3U-TRANS-ø-insert   only
       'At the back here, they lift (the loincloth) up and they just tuck it (into the rope around their waist).'

4.3 Nouns

Maybrat nouns can be defined according to the following syntactic criteria: firstly, they can be modified by a number of items in an NP, as in (121) (see also chapter 5); secondly, they can follow a locative adverb, as in (122) (see section 4.7.4); and thirdly, they can function as the subject or the object in a clause, as in (123) and (124) respectively (see also chapter 6). In the examples below, the nouns are underlined:

(121) *amah* *m-api*   *re-t-o*
       house 3U-big   location.SPEC-near-U
       'this big house'

---

[17] In this context, the verb *-aut* 'climb' refers to 'getting dressed'. Another example is *t-aut* celana 'I get dressed in trousers'.

(122) *fra*   *m-hu*   *kait*   *m-ata*
       stone   3U-stay   near   3U-leaf
       'The stone is near the leaf.'

(123) *t-atia*   *y-asah*
       1S-father   3M-laugh
       'My father laughs.'

(124) *ait*   *y-po*   *pron*
       3M   3M-hold   bamboo
       'He holds the bamboo.'

A distinction can be made between inalienably possessed nouns and alienably possessed nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns take a person prefix, whereas alienably possessed nouns cannot. However, this morphological criterion does not always work, since inalienably possessed nouns take prefixes in exactly the same way as verbs, as was illustrated in section 3.1. In other words, some inalienably possessed nouns take a covert person prefix because of morphophonological constraints. The distinction between inalienably and alienably possessed nouns must therefore be made according to two criteria, namely morphological, and syntactic. The following criteria apply:

a.   Inalienably possessed nouns take an overt or covert person prefix;
       the order in possessive constructions where the inalienably possessed noun expresses the possessed is 'possessor-possessed'.

b.   Alienably possessed nouns never take a person prefix;
       the order in possessive constructions where the alienably possessed noun expresses the possessed is 'possessed-possessor'

Below, I will begin with a description of the morphological and syntactic properties of firstly inalienably possessed nouns in section 4.3.1 and secondly alienably possessed nouns in section 4.3.2. In section 4.3.3 I will discuss gender and number for both inalienably and alienably possessed nouns. In section 4.3.4 the different types of derivation of nouns from words from other word classes is illustrated. Finally, in section 4.3.5, noun compounds are discussed.

4.3.1 Inalienably possessed nouns

Inalienably possessed nouns include kinship terms, terms for body parts, and spatial nouns. All take person prefixes in the same way as verbs do. Some paradigms of terms for kinship terms are given in (125).[18]

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[18] In Appendix IV I have included a table giving the most common kinship terms in *Maybrat*.

(125)		'sibling same sex'	'wife'	'in-law of male, same sex'
S	1	t-ao	t-fain	ø-sniem
	2	n-ao	n-fain	ø-sniem
	3M	y-ao	y-fain	ø-sniem
	3U	m-ao	*m-fain[19]	ø-sniem
P	1	p-o	p-fain	ø-sniem
	2	n-o	n-fain	ø-sniem
	3	m-ao	m-fain	ø-sniem

Other examples of kinship terms are -atia 'father'; -me 'mother'; -aku 'child'; -akut 'child'; -a 'husband' and sayuoh 'in-law of male, opposite sex'.

In possessive constructions where an inalienably possessed noun is the 'possessed', the order of the constituents is possessor-possessed. The prefix on the inalienably possessed noun must agree with the head noun for person and number. Some examples:

(126)	Sely	m-me	'Sely's mother'
	Sely	3U-mother	

(127)	amu	p-tia	'our father'
	1P	1P-father.P	

(128)	Simon	ø-sniem	'Simon's in-law'
	Simon	ø-in.law	

Human or animal 'families' are also expressed as inalienably possessed notions. Some examples:

(129)	ait	y-atin	'his family/group'
	3M	3M-group	

(130)	fane	m-sif	'the pig's nest'
	pig	3U-nest	

A second group of inalienably possessed nouns are terms for body parts. This group also includes attributes of plants and animals. Examples of prefixation on terms for body parts are given below:

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[19] The term m-fain 'her wife' is not used to refer to any social relation among the Maybrat. m-fain invariably means 'their wives'. Likewise, y-a 'his husband' does not occur. Of course I could have tried to elicit the theoretical possibility that two people of the same sex got married, but I didn't, since Maybrat society is not as 'open minded' as Dutch society.

(131)   'head'   'tooth'   'buttocks'
S   1   *t-ana*   *t-pat*   *ø-hren*
     2   *n-ana*   *n-pat*   *ø-hren*
     3M   *y-ana*   *y-pat*   *ø-hren*
     3U   *m-ana*   *m-pat*   *ø-hren*
P   1   *p-na*   *p-pat*   *ø-hren*
     2   *n-na*   *n-pat*   *ø-hren*
     3   *m-ana*   *m-pat*   *ø-hren*

Other examples of terms for body parts which take person prefixes are *-atem* 'hand/arm'; *-haf* 'stomach', *-asu* 'face'; *-asoh* 'mouth'; and *krem* 'finger/toe'.

Some examples of possessive constructions involving terms for body parts:

(132)   *fnia*   *m-ao*   'the woman's foot'
         woman   3U-foot

(133)   *Yan*   *y-asoh*   'Yan's mouth'
         Yan   3M-mouth

(134)   *Potafit*   *ø-krem*   'Potafit's finger'
         Potafit   ø-finger

Some terms for body parts of animals are *-aim* 'wing' and *-awian* 'feathers/fur'. Examples of these terms in possessive constructions:

(135)   *ru*   *m-aim*   'the bird's wing'
         bird   3U-wing

(136)   *kak*   *m-awian*   'the cuscus' fur'
         cuscus   3U-feathers/fur

Terms for body parts include attributes of plants. Some are listed in (137). With the exception of *kre* 'branch', all these forms are naturally marked with a third person prefix *m-*. Only three of these terms are attested with different person prefixes, albeit with a slightly different, but related, meaning: *y-akan* 'his eyes'/'his testicles'; *y-arak* 'his skin'; *y-ns* 'his veins'.

(137)   *m-air*   'foot of tree'
                m-akan   'stone of fruit/seed'
                m-ake   'fruit'
                m-apuo   'top, tip'
                m-ata   'leaf'
                m-arak   'shell/skin'
                m-tau   'trunk'
                m-tis   'root'

Some examples of possessive constructions:

(138) *ara*   *m-air*   'the tree's foot' (the foot of the tree)
     tree   3U-foot.of.tree

(139) *po sten*   *m-akan*   'corn's seeds'
     {corn}   3U-seed

(140) *ara*   *m-ake*   'tree's fruit'
     tree   3U-fruit

(141) *ara*   *m-apuo*   'tree's top' (the treetop)
     tree   3U-top

(142) *ara*   *m-ata*   'tree's leaf'
     tree   3U-leaf

(143) *son*   *m-arak*[20]   'coconut's shell'
     coconut   3U-shell/skin

(144) *ataf*   *m-tau*   'the ironwood's trunk'
     ironwood   3U-trunk

(145) *ara*   *m-tis*   'tree's root'
     tree   3U-root

(146) *ara*   *ø-kre*   'tree's branch'
     tree   ø-branch

Some of the nouns referring to attributes of plants, namely *m-ake* 'its fruit', *m-akan* 'its seed', *m-ata* 'its leaf' as well as the body part term *m-ana* 'its head' can function as classifiers in an NP, see section 5.1.3.

A last category of inalienably possessed nouns are the spatial nouns. Spatial nouns are nouns that refer to relational parts of objects (Svorou 1993:83), such as 'the inside', 'the outside', 'the middle' etc. In many languages terms for spatial relations derive from terms for body parts (cf. Svorou 1993; Hopper & Thompson 1994; Heine et. al. 1991; Foley 1997). In *Maybrat*, there are two (elicited) instances of terms for body parts that are used to refer to a 'spatial' notion, namely *-asu* 'face' and *soka* 'mouth'. Both terms refer to the concept 'front'.[21] They enter into the same type of possessive relation as the other terms for body parts, as illustrated in (147) and (148):

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[20] *m-arak* also means 'It is empty.'

[21] Other forms are unattested, e.g. *amah ø-kpor* 'the back of the house' where *ø-kpor* means 'back of a human or animal'.

(147)   *amah   m-asu*   'the front of the house'
        house   3U-face

(148)   *amah   ø-soka*   'the front of the house'
        house   ø-mouth

Other spatial nouns found in *Maybrat* are given in (149).

(149)   *m-aom*   'outside'
                m-ato   'hole, inside'
                m-asuf   'middle'
                m-aum   'border'
                m-ur   'around'

These nouns are formally similar: all begin with '*m*', which coincides with the third person unmarked person prefix. There is one form which is evidence for the fact that *m-* is a person prefix. It is given in (150). Here, *-ato* 'hole' receives a third person masculine person prefix *y-*. This form is taken from a text recorded by Han Schoorl in the period between 1972-1974, i.e. 25 years before I collected data in *Ayawasi*. Although informants were able to translate it, they identified it as a form that is no longer used.

(150)   *ait   y-ato*
        3M   3M-hole
        'He is riddled (with bullets).' (lit. 'He is holed.')

Other forms with putative person prefixes other than *m-* appeared unacceptable upon elicitation, e.g **t-asuf*, **t-apuo*.[22]
        Examples of possessive constructions involving spatial nouns are:

(151)   *amah   m-aom*   'outside the house' (lit. 'the outside of the house')
        house   3U-outside

(152)   *aya   m-asuf*   'the middle of the water' (lit. 'the water's middle')
        water   3U-middle

(153)   *ara   m-ato*   'inside the tree' (lit. 'the tree's inside')
        tree   3U-hole

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[22] The form *suf* 'middle' is used by members of the Air family, who have their origins in the area to the north of *Ayawasi*. *suf* is semantically similar to *m-asuf* 'middle', the form used in *Ayawasi*. Formally, the 'northern' form lacks a putative person prefix *m-*, and a vowel *a*. An example is *iso suf* 'the middle of the path' which is a possessive construction of the type possessor-possessed:

    y-amo   ø-frok   iso   suf
    3M-go   ø-emerge   path   middle
    'He emerges at the middle of the path.'

The uniformity in the first consonant '*m*' in the spatial nouns can hardly be attributed to sheer coincidence: it suggests that the spatial nouns are fossilised forms of inalienably possessed nouns that used to take person prefixes other than *m-*. Given the uniformity in form among the spatial nouns, the (archaic) form in (150), and the similarity in behaviour of all these nouns in possessive constructions, I conclude that spatial nouns are a sub-class of inalienably possessed nouns.

Although the spatial nouns are classified as a sub-class of the nouns, their nominal character can arguably be questioned: as opposed to regular nouns, spatial nouns lack some typically nominal features. For example, *m-ato* is the only spatial noun that can function as the subject of a clause (e.g. (154)), or as the head of an NP (e.g. (155)).

(154) *m-ato*   *m-ae   ara*
       3U-hole   3U-at   tree
       'There's a hole in the wood.'

(155) *m-ato*   *m-api*   *re-t-o*
       3U-hole   3U-big   location.SPEC-near-U
       'this big hole'

Another form which may be a spatial noun is *mpair* 'place'. Although this form is unattested in possessive constructions of the type 'possessor-possessed', it is formally similar to the other spatial nouns in that it is *m*-initial.[23] It can occur as the head of an NP:

(156) *mpair   m-of*
       place   3U-good
       'The place is good.'

While spatial nouns are in some ways formally and syntactically similar to other inalienably possessed nouns, they also lack some properties that are typically associated with nouns.

4.3.2 Alienably possessed nouns

Alienably possessed nouns are those forms which cannot take person prefixes. In other words, unlike the inalienably possessed nouns, the possessor of an alienably possessed noun is not marked on the noun.

In possessive constructions where the alienably possessed noun is the possessed, the order of the constituents is possessed-possessor, where the possessor is preceded by the possessive marker *ro*. Some examples:

(157) *amah   ro-Petrus*   'Petrus' house'
       house   POSS-Petrus

(158) *amah   ro-t-atia*   'my father's house'
       house   POSS-1S-father

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[23] See also section 2.1.2.1 in the discussion on the allophones of /m/.

(159) *po-ø-satoh*   *r-au*   'her possessions'
       NOM-ø-collect   POSS-3U

(160) *fane*   *ro-Yan*   'Yan's pig'
       pig   POSS-Yan

See section 5.2 for a more detailed treatment of possessive constructions.

4.3.3 Gender and number in nouns

Maybrat nouns have natural gender: nouns referring to male human or, in some cases, male animate, are masculine. The other nouns are unmarked. This gender distinction is only expressed in inalienably possessed nouns in the third person singular. Some examples of masculine and unmarked subjects appear below, where the subject of the clause is formally a kinship term ((161) and (162)), a body-part term ((163) and (164)) and an alienably possessed noun ((165) and (166)).

(161) *y-atia*   *y-anes*
       3M-father   3M-old
       'His father is old.' / 'his old father'

(162) *y-me*   *m-anes*
       3M-mother   3U-old
       'His mother is old.' / 'his old mother'

(163) *ait*   *y-ana*   *m-poh*
       3M   3M-head   3U-white
       'His hair is white.' / 'his white hair'

(164) *ait*   *y-atem*   *m-api*
       3M   3M-arm   3U-big
       'His arm is big.' / 'his big arm'

(165) *amah   m-api*
       house 3U-big
       'The house is big' / 'the big house'

(166) *tafoh   m-ait*
       fire   3U-burn
       'The fire burns.'

As indicated in (163) and (164), attributes of masculine humans (or animates) are unmarked with respect to gender. Therefore the person prefix on the following adjectival verbs is *m-*.

Nouns are never marked for number. Hence, *fane* 'pig' can refer to one or to more pigs. Likewise, *m-atem* can mean 'her hand' or 'her hands', and *y-fain* can mean 'his wife' or 'his wives'. Whether a noun has one or more referents must be inferred from the context in which the noun is used.

4.3.4 Derivation of nouns

In *Maybrat*, there are three different ways in which verbs can be nominalised. I will refer to these as objective nominalisation, instrumental nominalisation, and agentive nominalisation (Comrie & Thompson 1985:351-356). These terms are semantically motivated: they refer to the type of noun that is produced in nominalisation. For instance, in instrumental nominalisation nouns which mean 'an instrument for "verbing"' are derived. In addition to these three types of nominalisation processes, two more can be identified: 'noun-to-noun' nominalisation (Comrie & Thompson 1985:395) and 'adverb-to-noun' nominalisation.

What all these processes have in common is that nominalisation is effected by prefixing *po* 'thing' to a following verb form or noun. In this process, *po* functions as a nominaliser, and will appear as *po-* in the texts and glossed as NOM. This is done to distinguish nominalised forms from homophonous forms that constitute clauses, cf. (176)-(178) below. Nominalised forms conform to the criterion for word-hood in that they cannot be broken up by a pause without rendering the utterance ungrammatical or changing the meaning of the utterance. In this section I will only discuss lexical nominalisation, and mention clausal nominalisation in passing, to illustrate my point. Clausal nominalisation, i.e. relativisation, will be treated in detail in section 5.5.6.

In objective and instrumental nominalisation *po-* is prefixed to a bare verb stem. Via objective nominalisation, nouns are formed which mean 'a thing we "verb"'. It is the first/second person plural verb stem that is used in this type of nominalisation, as illustrated in (168) and (169). Some examples:

(167) *po-kah*
NOM-burn
'garden' (lit. 'thing we burn')

(168) *po-iit*
NOM-eat.P
'food' (lit. 'thing we eat')

(169) *po-kuo*
NOM-feast.P
'feast' (lit. 'thing we feast')

(170) *po-hren*
NOM-sit
'chair' (lit. 'thing we sit (on)')

I assume that the form in (171) is also an instance of objective nominalisation, although the putative verbal form *'mna* 'tell tale' is unattested in the data:

(171) *po-mna*
NOM-tell.tale
'tale'

In instrumental nominalisation, the resulting noun means 'an instrument for "verbing"' (cf. Comrie & Thompson 1985:353). An example:

(172)   *po-kom*
        NOM-write
        'pen' (lit. 'instrument for writing')

In agentive nominalisation, nouns meaning 'a thing which "verbs"' are derived from verbs. These verbs take a third person unmarked person prefix, except when they cannot do so due to morphophonological constraints. Some examples:

(173)   *po-m-haf*
        NOM-3U-pregnant[24]
        'pumpkin' (lit. 'thing that is pregnant')

(174)   *po-m-afit*
        NOM-3U-bite
        'mosquito' (lit. 'thing that bites')

(175)   *po-ø-safom*
        NOM-ø-green
        'grass' (lit. 'thing that is green')

It could be argued that forms like (173)-(175) are clausal nominalisations rather than lexical nominalisations, since the verbal form can also function as a minimal clause. However, there are a number of arguments against this: first, the forms in (173)-(175) are formally similar to instrumental and objective nominalisations in that they take a prefix *po-*. Secondly, these forms are phonologically words: they cannot be interrupted by a pause without changing the meaning of the utterance. In (176)-(178) the verbal form functions predicatively, and *po* functions as the subject of the clause.

(176)   *po*   */*   *m-haf*
        thing   3U-pregnant
        'The thing is pregnant.'

(177)   *po*   */*   *m-afit*
        thing   3U-bite
        'The thing bites.'

(178)   *po*   */*   *ø-safom*
        thing   ø-green
        'The thing is green.'

---

[24] The form *-haf* has two functions: as an inalienably possessed noun it means 'belly', and as a verb it means 'pregnant'. The two forms are arguably related.

On the basis of the structural similarity to other types of nominalisation, i.e. the presence of the prefix *po-*, and the fact that a pause cannot be inserted in these forms without changing their meaning, I conclude that (173)-(175) are instances of lexical nominalisation, and not clausal nominalisation.

In (179) and (180) examples of so-called 'noun to noun' nominalisation (Comrie & Thompson 1985:395-397) are given. In this type of nominalisation, a noun takes a prefix *po-* in the same way as the verbal form in (167)-(175). The resulting form means 'thing of "noun"'. Some examples:

(179) *po-hoho*
       NOM-plain
       'cassowary'

(180) *po-m-ata*
       NOM-3U-leaf
       'pandan leaf'

An alternative solution for forms like (179) and (180) would be to analyse them as noun compounds (see the following section): formally they consist of two juxtaposed nouns. and semantically they are similar to noun compounds because a form is created which can be interpreted as 'a kind of N1', where N1 is *po* 'thing'. However, the process which creates a form like that in (179) and (180) is formally analogous to the other types of nominalisation discussed in this section, where the element *po-* is crucial. Therefore, I will consider forms like '*po*-noun' to be nominalisations.

In (181) *ti* (< *mti* 'night') takes a prefix *po* to derive the form *po-ti* 'firefly'. Literally, *po-ti* can be interpreted as 'thing of the night'. This makes it semantically similar to 'noun to noun' nominalisation, although *mti* is formally a temporal adverb (see section 4.7.1). It may seem odd that a noun is derived from an adverb, but (many) temporal adverbs are names used to refer to time, and they can be used in an NP, for instance *rapu knu re-f-o* < morning ø-dark location.SPEC-very.near-U > 'this early morning'.

(181) *po-ti*
       NOM-night
       'firefly'

4.3.5 Compound nouns

The term compound noun is used to refer to forms which are composed of two words from major word classes which together function as a noun. In *Maybrat*, a distinction can be made between two types of compound noun, namely N + N and N + V. In this section, I will first discuss the phonological characteristics of these two types of compound noun. Subsequently, I will consider some formal aspects of each type of compound noun. Because some types of compound noun are formally similar to possessive constructions, NPs consisting of a head plus modifiers, or clauses, it will appear that both syntactic and semantic criteria are needed to differentiate between the different types of constituents.

Phonologically, compound nouns constitute a single word, because they do not allow a pause between the two members of the compound without reducing the meaning of the

compound to that of its individual members. For example *aya kre* 'tributary' (< *aya* 'water', *ø-kre* 'branch') will come to mean 'water, branch' if a pause is inserted. The stressed syllables in compound nouns are those syllables which would be stressed in each individual member if uttered in isolation, with the main stress being on the second member, and the secondary stress on the stressed syllable on the first member, as in (182). If this results in two adjacent stressed syllables, the stress on the first member is moved one syllable to the left, if possible. This is illustrated in (183), where the stress, which is normally on the second syllable of *apit* 'banana'[25] has moved to the first syllable. Compound nouns with more than two stressed syllables are unattested. Some examples (in the remainder of this description, compound nouns are separated by a single space in the text, and enclosed between braces in the glosses):

(182)   *fane 'rapuoh*
        {pig forest}
        'wild pig'

(183)   *,apıt 'kek*
        {banana red}
        k.o. banana

Compound nouns cannot be broken up by, for instance, the possessive marker *ro*: in some cases this yields a meaningless or ungrammatical utterance, as in (184) and (185) respectively, and in others it changes the meaning of the expression, as in (186a) and (187a):

(184)   *ara*   *ro-sasu*
        tree   POSS-sweet.potato

(185)   *apit*   *ro-kek*
        banana   POSS-red

(186)   a.   *kau*   *ro-tapam*
             rat   POSS-land
             'rat of the ground'

        b.   *kau tapam*
             {rat land}
             'groundrat' (a k.o. rat)

(187)   a.   *fane*   *ro-rapuoh*
             pig   POSS-forest
             'pig of the forest'

        b.   *fane rapuoh*
             {pig forest}
             'wild pig'

---

[25] *apıt* is an exception to the general stress pattern, see also section 2.4.1.

Semantically, in all compound nouns, the second member modifies the first. For example, in compounds of the form N1 + N2, the resulting noun is 'a kind of N1'.
Some examples of N+N compounds appear below:

(188) *aya kre*   'tributary'   (< *aya* 'water' + *ø-kre* 'branch')
       fane samu   'domesticated pig'   (< *fane* 'pig' + *samu* 'house'[26])
       fra awiah   'chalk'   (< *fra* 'stone' + *awiah* 'taro')
       apan payir   k.o. snake   (< *apan* 'snake' + *payir* 'rainbow')

Many names for plants and animals are formally compound nouns of the form N+N. In these compounds, N1 is the generic term, and N2 is the specifier. Cross-linguistically, the use of compounds for specific terms of a generic level term is well-attested (Croft 1990:183). Some examples:

(189) *ara ataf*   'ironwood tree'   (< *ataf* 'iron')
       ara atu   'ardisia sp'   (< *atu* 'mountain')
       ara awiah   'gymnostoma sp'   (< *awiah* 'taro')
       ara fra   'dubouzetia sp'   (< *fra* 'stone')
       ara hiyot   'resin tree'
       ara ki   'jambu air tree'[27]   (< *ki* 'jambu')
       ara pawiah   'nutmeg tree'   (< *pawiah* 'nutmeg')
       ara sasu   'cassava'   (< *sasu* 'sweet potato')
       ara nawe   'breadfruit tree'   (< *nawe* 'breadfruit')
       ara sah   'pinnata sp'   (< *sah* 'fruit of pinnata sp')[28]

N+N compound nouns where the first member is an inalienably possessed noun are unattested. Two examples of compound nouns where the second member is formally an inalienably possessed noun appear in (190a) and (191a). Both are names for a kind of banana. Like in other compound nouns, the second member modifies the first member. These forms seem similar to the constructions in (190b) and (191b). However, the latter are possessive constructions, in which *y-atem* and *ø-wai* are inalienably possessed nouns. Apart from the fact that these b-forms are semantically different from the noun-compounds, they are formally different as well: the b-forms allow insertion of a pause, and the order of constituents is modifier-head, as opposed to head-modifier in the a-forms.

(190) a. *apit yatem*   b. *fane   y-atem*
           {banana yatem}   pig   3M-arm
           "'yatem' banana'   'pig's arm'

---

[26] *samu* 'house' is primarily used in *Ayamaru* and *Aytinyo*. In *Ayawasi amah* 'house' is more common, although *'fane amah* 'domesticated pig' is not used.

[27] **jambu air** is 'aquea sp', an edible fruit with a high water content.

[28] In Indonesian referred to as **matoa**.

(191) a.   *apit wai*   b.   *fane   ø-wai*
             {banana wai}   pig   ø-tooth
             "'wai' banana'   'pig's tooth'

In N + V compounds, the V does not always take a person prefix, as illustrated in (192).

(192) *apit kek*   k.o. banana (red)   (< *apit* 'banana'; *-kek* 'red')
       apan poh   k.o. snake (white)   (< *apan* 'snake'; *-poh* 'white')
       a poh   k.o. rattan (light in colour)   (< *a* 'rattan'; *-poh* 'white')

The lack of a person prefix on the verb makes this type of compound noun formally different from NPs in which the V functions as a verbal modifier of a head noun (193a), or where the V functions as a predicate, as in (193b).[29]

(193) a.   *apit*   *m-kek*   *re-t-o*
             banana   3U-red   location.SPEC-near-U
             'the red banana'

       b.   *apit*   *m-kek*   *oh*
             banana   3U-red   already
             'The banana is already red.'

Consider the following forms, where the V takes a covert person prefix:

(194) a.   *ara fiyaf*   *m-api*
             {tree yellow}   3U-big
             'The 'yellowtree' is big.'

       b.   *ara*   *ø-fiyaf*   *re-f-o*
             tree   ø-yellow   location.SPEC-near-U
             'this yellow tree.'

       c.   *ara*   *ø-fiyaf*   *oh*
             tree   ø-yellow   already
             'The tree is already yellow.'

Although there is no clear phonological difference between the compound noun (194a) and forms where the verb functions attributively (194b) or predicatively (194c), a difference can be made. Unlike in compound nouns, in forms where the verb functions attributively, the noun and the verb can be separated by a pause without changing the meaning of the utterance. Inserting a pause between the noun and the verb in a compound noun results in a change of meaning, as illustrated in (195):

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[29] The form *ara m-kek* to refer to '<u>antidesma sp</u>' is attested, Thus, the terms *ara kek* and *ara m-kek* seem to refer to the same type of tree.

(195) a.   *ara fiyaf*   *re-f-o*
       {tree yellow}   location.SPEC-near-U
       'this 'yellowtree''

    b.   *ara*   /   *ø-fiyaf*   *re-f-o*
       tree   ø-yellow   location.SPEC-near-U
       'this yellow tree'

Some more examples of this type of compound noun:

(196)   *ara kat*   'aceratium sp'   (< *ara* 'tree'; *kat* 'dry'[30])
       ara knu   'annesijoa novoguineensis sp'   (< *ara* 'tree'; *knu* 'dark')
       koh safe   'diospyros sp'   (< *safe* 'black')
       krere fiyaf   'mesua sp'   (< *fiyaf* 'yellow')[31]

Two forms that seem compound nouns, but of which the second member is unattested in isolation, are given in (197a) and (198a) below. These forms can be broken up by *ro*, as illustrated in the corresponding b-varieties, although it is unclear whether *ro* here should be analysed as a possessive marker or as a relative clause marker.[32] Likewise, it is not clear what the difference in meaning between the a- and b-forms below is. Alternatively, *sme* and *ano* could be analysed as adjectival forms, but then the lack of a person prefix on the form *ano* cannot be accounted for. Possibly, the forms in (197) and (198) are idioms.

(197) a.   *rae*   *sme*   b.   *rae*   *ro*   *sme*
       person   male   person   POSS/REL   male
       'man'   'man'

(198) a.   *fnia*   *ano*   b.   *fnia*   *ro*   *ano*
       woman   female   woman   POSS/REL   female
       'woman'   'woman'

4.4 Demonstratives

All demonstratives forms in *Maybrat* are morphologically complex. The demonstratives constitute a speaker-oriented system: the base in each form refers to physical distance away from the speaker. A distinction is made between three distances (the results in this section have also been described in Dol (1998)):

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[30] *kat* 'dry' is formally a verb. It can, however, not receive a person prefix, despite the fact that it contains only one syllable. Viz. section 3.1.3 for more similar exceptions.

[31] *koh* and *krere* both seem generic names, as there are many examples of plant names including these elements in the botanists' lists. However, I have not been able to trace their meaning.

[32] The possessive marker and relative clause marker are homophonous, see section 5.4.

(199)   *-f-*   'very.near'
           -t-   'near'
           -n-   'far'

The actual physical distances that these forms refer to are as follows: *-f-* 'very near' refers to something which is very near to the speaker, i.e. something he can actually touch. Objects that are a little further away, but still within reach, are referred to with the base *-t-* 'near'. *-n-* 'far' is used to indicate objects that are far away from the speaker. The distances referred to by *-t-* and *-n-* are relative: if two objects are both far away, *-n-* applies to the object that is farthest away, and *-t-* to the one nearer. *-f-* however, only applies to objects that are within physical reach of the speaker.

A fourth form, *-au* is unmarked for distance: it is used when the actual distance away from the speaker is irrelevant. *-au* can be adequately translated as 'there'. The demonstrative form *au* is homophonous to the third person singular pronoun *au* 'she'. Given that generally third person pronouns and demonstratives are often related to each other (cf. Greenberg 1985:271), it is possible that the demonstrative *-au* and the free pronoun *au* 'she' have a common origin (the same is true for the masculine suffix *-ait* and the third person masculine free pronoun *ait* 'he', see (206a)). These two forms may be related to each other.[33]

Some contrasts featuring forms which include the demonstrative bases are given in (200)-(203). The prefix *re-* and suffix *-o* in these forms will be discussed later:

(200)   *po-kom*   *re-f-o*   (the pen is held or touched)
        NOM-write   location.SPEC-very.near-U
        'this pen very near'

(201)   *po-kom*   *re-t-o*   (the pen is within reach)
        NOM-write   location.SPEC-near-U
        'this pen near'

(202)   *po-kom*   *ro-n-o*   (the pen is out of reach)
        NOM-write   location.SPEC-far-U
        'that pen far'

(203)   *po-kom*   *re-au*   (the pen can be anywhere)
        NOM-write   location.SPEC-U.DIST
        'that pen (unspecified for distance)'

Having contrasted the demonstrative bases, (204) gives a full overview of all the demonstrative forms. If a form is unattested, and is not expected to exist, a cell in a table is left empty. If a form is expected to exist but unattested in the data, a note has been made.

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[33] One informant insisted that the demonstrative form was *-ao* and the pronominal form *au*, so that the two contrasted. I have, however, not been able to verify this contrast.

(204): Demonstrative forms in *Maybrat*

Syntactic function	Demonstrative base+suffix → Demonstrative prefix ↓	-f-o / -f-i 'very near'	-t-o[34] / -t-ait 'near'	-n-o / -n-e 'far'	-au 'U.DIST'	interrogative base 'INT' -yo / -ye[35]	location markers (see also last two rows)[36]
attributive[37]	no prefix	f-o	t-o	n-o			
	re- 'location.SPEC'	re-f-o / re-f-i	re-t-o / re-t-ait/ re-t-i	ro-n-o / re-n-e	re-au		
	we- 'location.GEN'	we-f-o	we-t-o	wo-n-o	we-au	wo-yo	wo 'LOC.GEN'
	te- 'area.N'	te-f-o	te-t-o	to-n-o	te-au	to-yo	to 'LOC'
	ti- 'side.N'	ti-f-o	*ti-t-o[38]	ti-n-o	ti-au		
adverbial	pe- 'area.ADV'	pe-f-o	pe-t-o	pe-n-o / po-n-o[39]			
	me- 'PRESTT'	me-f-o	me-t-o / me-t-ait	m-n-o	me-au	mi-yo	
	fi- 'similar to'	fi-f-o	fi-t-o / fi-t-ait	fi-n-o	fi-au	fi-ye	
location markers	to 'LOC'	to-f-o	*to-t-o[40]	to-n-o	to-au		
	wo 'LOC.GEN'	wo-f-o	*wo-t-o	wo-n-o			

In (204), on the horizontal axis, I have given the demonstrative bases as well as the suffixes. There are three masculine suffixes, namely -i/-ait/-e: -ait and -e specifically combine with the bases -t- and -n- respectively. Hence, the form *re-f-ait*, for instance, is unacceptable. The suffix -i can combine with both the bases -f- and -t-. Of the masculine suffixes, -ait is isomorphous with the free form of the third person masculine pronoun *ait* 'he'. These

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[34] The form *t-a*, a dialectal form originally from the area to the north of *Ayawasi*, is also used in *Ayawasi*. Some of the examples in this description contain this form.

[35] These forms are discussed in section 4.5.

[36] These forms are discussed in section 4.8.1 and 4.8.2.

[37] In fact, many of the forms analysed as attributive adverbials could also be analysed as adverbials, so that, for instance *fai re-t-o* would mean 'the woman here', and not 'this woman'. However, their occurrence in NPs, as opposed to the 'adverbial' forms, as well as the fact that these forms cannot modify a clause, are arguments to view them as attributive forms rather than adverbial ones.

[38] The form *ti-t-o* is unattested in the data. A possible explanation for this is that normally only two sides, e.g. of a river, are relevant.

[39] The form *po-n-o* is unattested in *Ayawasi*. I recorded it in *Kokas*, a village situated approximately 8 kilometres to the south of *Ayawasi*. The form *pe-au* is unattested.

[40] The forms *to-t-o* and *wo-t-o* are unattested in the data.

suffixes are used in the same way as person prefixes, namely according to natural gender. This gender distinction is only relevant for the choice of suffix if the demonstrative functions as a modifier to a noun and refers to a specific item (i.e. in combination with the demonstrative prefix *re-*), and in the 'presentative' and with a *fi-* 'similar.to' prefix, but only if the demonstrative base is *-t-*. In all other cases the suffix *-o* is used. Some examples in which masculine and unmarked forms are contrasted:

(205) a.   *rae*   *re-f-ı*
             man   location.SPEC-very.near-3M
             'this man very near'

       b.   *fai*   *re-f-o*
             woman   location.SPEC-very.near-U
             'this woman very near'

(206) a.   *rae*   *re-t-ait*
             man   location.SPEC-near-3M
             'this man'

       b.   *fai*   *re-t-o*
             woman   location.SPEC-near-U
             'this woman'

(207) a.   *rae*   *re-n-e*
             man   location.SPEC-far-3M
             'that man'

       b.   *fai*   *ro-n-o*
             woman   location.SPEC-far-U
             'that woman'

On the vertical axis in Table 1 I have indicated the demonstrative prefixes. Phonologically, these prefixes (with the exception of the *fi-* and *ti-* -forms) normally have the form /Ce/, unless the demonstrative base is *-n-*: then the form of the prefix is /Co/. Three exceptions are *pe-n-o*, *m-n-o*, and the masculine form *re-n-e*.

In the demonstrative forms a distinction can be made between demonstratives that function attributively, namely those carrying a prefix *re-*, *we-*, *te-* or *ti-*, and demonstratives that function adverbially, namely those with a prefix *pe-*, *me-* or *fi-*. A contrast between two demonstrative forms that both refer to area, *te-* and *pe-*, is given in (208) and (209): in the forms with *te-* the demonstrative functions attributively and in the forms with *pe-* it functions adverbially:

(208) a.   *amah   te-t-o*
            house   area.N-near-U
            'the house near here'

     b.   *y-tien   pe-t-o*
            3M-sleep   area.ADV-near-U
            'He sleeps near here.'

(209) a.   *amah   to-n-o*
            house   area.N-far-U
            'that house there (far)'

     b.   *y-tien   po-n-o*
            3M-sleep   area.ADV-far-U
            'He sleeps there (far).'

The form in (210) is ungrammatical, because a demonstrative with a prefix *pe-* cannot be used attributively:

(210) *amah   pe-f-o*
        house   area.ADV-very.near-U

In the remainder of this section, I will first describe the attributive demonstrative forms, followed by the adverbial demonstrative forms.

4.4.1 Demonstratives that function attributively

Demonstratives that function attributively are defined as those forms that typically occupy the last position in an NP and that modify the head noun in an NP. In the forms given in (200)-(203) and (205)-(207) above, the demonstrative forms are used attributively. The demonstrative prefix *re-* is used because the head noun is specific, i.e. it can be pinpointed. In these forms, the prefix may be omitted without significantly changing the meaning of the utterance.

(211) *po-kom   (re-)f-o*
        NOM-write   (location.SPEC-)very.near-U
        'this pen very near'

(212) *po-kom   (re-)t-o*
        NOM-write   (location.SPEC-)near-U
        'this pen near'

(213) *po-kom   (ro-)n-o*
        NOM-write   (location.SPEC-)far-U
        'that pen far away'

(214)   *po-kom*   *(re-)au*
        NOM-write   (location.SPEC-)U.DIST
        'that pen (unspecified for distance)'

In the attributive demonstrative pronouns, a contrast in specificity can be made: as opposed to *re-*, the prefix *we-* is used if the referent of the head noun is non-specific, i.e. it cannot be pinpointed. Compare, for example, (215a) and (216a) with their respective b-forms (repeated from (200) and (201)). (215a) is used when a pen is within reach, but its exact position is not known, i.e. it is not clear whether the pen is in front of the speaker, behind the speaker etc.[41] Conversely, (215b) is used when the exact position of the pen is known.

(215)   a.   *po-kom*   *we-f-o*
             NOM-write   location.GEN-very.near-U
             'this pen very near around here'

        b.   *po-kom*   *re-f-o*
             NOM-write   location.SPEC-very.near-U
             'this pen very near'

(216)   a.   *po-kom*   *we-t-o*
             NOM-write   location.GEN-near-U
             'this pen near around here'

        b.   *po-kom*   *re-t-o*
             NOM-write   location.SPEC-near-U
             'this pen near'

A contrast including the base *-au*, using the demonstrative prefixes *re-* and *we-* is given in (217) and (218). In (217), the head noun refers to a location to the west (indicated by *ete* 'direction where the sun sets') of the point of reference (that point of reference here is *Ayawasi*). This location cannot be pinpointed, so the prefix *we-* is used. In (218) *Fra Mukete* refers to a specific location, i.e. a location that can be pinpointed.[42] Therefore, the demonstrative prefix *re-* appears in the demonstrative modifying *Fra Mukete*.

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[41] In some dialects, notably those spoken to the south of *Ayawasi*, *we-* is used for plural as opposed to *re-*, which is used for singular.

        a.   amah   ro-n-o
             house   location.SPEC-far-U
             'that house far away'

        b.   amah   wo-n-o
             house   location.GEN-far-U
             'those houses far away'

In *Ayawasi*, *re-* can refer to both singular and plural.

[42] *Fra Mukete* is located to the west of *Ayawasi*, which is indicated by *-ete* in the place name.

(217) *tapam   ete   we-au*   *m-of*
land   below   location.GEN-DIST.U   3U-good
'The land to the west there is good.'

(218) *ø-frok*   **Fra   Mukete**   *re-au*
ø-emerge   **Fra   Mukete**   location.SPEC-DIST.U
'They arrive at **Fra Mukete** there.'

In the attributive demonstratives there is a semantic contrast between prefixes that refer to 'location', (*re-* and *we-*) and a prefix that refers specifically to 'area' (*te-*). Some examples contrasting *re-* and *te-* are given in (219) and (220). In the b-forms the demonstrative form refers to the house itself. Conversely, in the a-forms, the demonstrative refers to the place where the house is situated:

(219) a   *amah   te-t-o*
house   area.N-near-U
'the house here'

b.   *amah   re-t-o*
house   location.SPEC-near-U
'this house'

(220) a.   *amah   to-n-o*
house   area.N-far-U
'the house there'

b.   *amah   ro-n-o*
house   location.SPEC-far-U
'that house'

An opposition between *te-* and *re-* in the context of a sentence:

(221) a.   *pi   ait   ro   y-hu*   *amah   te-f-o*
man   3M   REL   3M-stay   house   area.N-very.near-U
'The man who lives in the house near this place.'

b.   *pi   ait   ro   y-hu*   *amah   re-f-o*
man   3M   REL   3M-stay   house   location.SPEC-very.near-U
'The man who lives in this house.'

The prefix *ti-* refers to 'side.N'. A contrast between *re-* and *ti-*:

(222)   a.   *aya   re-f-o*
             water   location.SPEC-very.near-U
             'this river'

        b.   *aya   ti-f-o*
             water   side.N-very.near-U
             'this side of the river.'

A contrast between *te-* 'area.N' and *ti-* 'side.N':

(223)   a.   *aya   to-n-o*
             water   area.N-far-U
             'the river there'

        b.   *aya   ti-n-o*
             water   side.N-far-U
             'that side of the river'

An example including two demonstrative forms with a *ti-* prefix:

(224)   *ti-f-o*   /   *m-amo*   *ti-au*   *si*   *ø-frok*
        side.N-very.near-U   3U-go   side.N-DIST.U   also   ø-emerge

        rae   ro   Kocu
        man   REL   Kocu
        'On this side, it runs over to that side too, and it emerges at the people of Kocu.'[43]

Attributive demonstratives can be used as a substantive, as illustrated below:

(225)   *re-t-o*   *m-of*
        location.SPEC-near-U   3U-good
        'This is good.'

(226)   *me-f-o*[44]   *tuo*   *t-ros*   *u*   *we-f-o*
        PRESTT-very.near-U   1S   1S-stand   again   location.GEN-very.near-U
        'Now I stand here again.'

(227)   *m-e*   *m-ama*   *m-sas*   *te-f-o*
        3U-return   3U-come   3U-inspect   area.N-very.near-U
        'They return and come and inspect this area.'

---

[43] This sentence is taken out of a description of the boundaries of the grounds of the Tenau people. The speaker describes that the boundary is on a side of a mountain, and that at some point it becomes adjacent to the grounds of the Kocu people.

[44] In this example *me-f-o* functions as a temporal adverbial, see also section 6.8.1.

(228)	*m-piet*	*m-amo*	*ti-n-o*	*m-piet*
	3U-throw	3U-go	side.N-far-U	3U-throw

	m-amo	*ti-f-o*
	3U-go	side.N-very.near-U

'She throws it to the side there and she throws it to the side here.'

4.4.2 Demonstratives that function adverbially

Demonstratives that function adverbially are defined as those forms that modify a clause in the same way in which adverbs can modify clauses. Adverbial demonstratives take a demonstrative prefix *pe-*, *me-* or *fi-*. These forms occupy the clause-final position. In (208) and (209) I gave contrasts for demonstratives functioning attributively (prefix *te-*), and adverbially (prefix *pe-*). The following example illustrates that *pe-f-o* functions as a locative adverbial, i.e. it is placed in clause-final position, and it specifies 'where' the event described in the clause takes place (cf. section 6.8.6). Substituting *te-f-o* in this position would make it unacceptable.

(229)	*pastor*	*Joni*	*y-hu*	*akus*	*pe-f-o*
	Father	Joni	3M-stay	left.behind	area.ADV-very.near-U

'Father Johnny stays behind here.'

The demonstrative prefix *me-* is used to express presentative forms. Examples of presentative forms are the French *voici* 'here is...' and *voilà* 'there is...' (cf. Andersen & Keenan 1985:279). Some examples:

(230)	*m-ama*	*me-t-o*
	3U-come	PRESTT-near-U

'Here she comes.'

(231)	*rae*	*y-ros*	*m-n-o*
	man	3M-stand	PRESTT-far-U

'There the man stands.'

Some contrasts between *me-* and *re-* are given in (232) and (233). The a-forms constitute nominal clauses, while the b-forms constitute NPs:

(232)	a.	*po-kom*	*me-f-o*
		NOM-write	PRESTT-very.near-U

'Here is the pen.'

	b.	*po-kom*	*re-f-o*
		NOM-write	PRESTT-very.near-U

'this pen very near'

(233) a. *po-kom*   *me-au*
        NOM-write   PRESTT-DIST.U
        'Here is the pen.' (distance is irrelevant)

    b. *po-kom*   *re-au*
        NOM-write   location.SPEC-DIST.U
        'that pen' (distance is irrelevant)

Presentative forms with base *-t-* obligatorily take a masculine suffix if the head noun (e.g. (234)) or the subject of the clause (e.g. (235)) has a masculine human referent. Presentative forms with other bases and a masculine suffix are unattested in the data.

(234) *rae*   *me-t-ait*
     man   PRESTT-near-3M
     'Here (near) is the man.'

(235) *y-ama*   *me-t-ait*
     3M-come   PRESTT-near-3M
     'Here he comes '

As illustrated in (232a), (233a) and (234), demonstrative forms that can take a prefix *me-* can follow an NP. Some more examples are given in (236) and (237). These forms function like clauses, and are therefore nominal clauses.

(236) *ku*   *m-n-o*
     child   PRESTT-far-U
     'There is the child.'

(237) *amah* *ro-*Pastor   *m-n-o*
     house POSS-Father   PRESTT-far-U
     'There, far away, is the house of the missionaries.'

An alternative solution would be to assume that in forms like (236) and (237), *m-n-o* is a predicative form, and to relate the prefix *me-* to the third person unmarked person prefix *m-*. Compare, for instance, the negator *fe* 'NEG' in *Maybrat*, which can function both predicatively ((238a)) and adverbially ((238b)):

(238) a. *kak*   *m-fe*
        meat   3U-NEG
        'There is no meat.'

    b. *ait*   *y-asah*   *fe*
        3M   3M-laugh   NEG
        'He does not laugh.'

However, if the demonstrative prefix *me-* were analysed as a person prefix *m-*, then it would be expected that the resulting predicative forms would be *[mə'fo], *[mə'to], *[mə'no] and

'[m'au] (where "' marks a stressed syllable): person prefixes are phonologically realised as [Cə] if the stem of a form begins with a consonant, and syllables including [ə] cannot receive stress. As it is, three of these demonstrative forms are realised as ['mefo], ['meto] and ['meau], where the first syllable is stressed ([mə'no] is the only exception). Since these forms are phonologically similar to all the other demonstrative forms, in which the first syllable is a demonstrative prefix, I will analyse the first syllable in the presentative forms as a demonstrative prefix as well, and not as a person prefix *m-*.

The last adverbial demonstrative forms to be discussed are forms prefixed with *fi-* 'similar.to'. (239) gives a contrast between *fi-f-o* and *fi-n-o*. In (240), *fi-t-o* functions as an adverbial, and *po fi-t-o* functions as a nominal clause.

(239)   *n-no*   *fi-f-o*,   *n-no*   *fi-n-o*   *mai*
             2-do   similar.to-very.near-U   2-do   similar.to-far-U   PROHIB
             'Do it like this, don't do it like that.'

(240)   *ø-frok*   *to*   *fi-ra*[45]   *to*   ***Kumurkek***   *po*
             ø-arrive   LOC   similar.to-PART   LOC   ***Kumurkek***   thing

             fi-t-o
             similar.to-near-U
             'He arrives, like, at ***Kumurkek***, it is like that.' (i.e. an unknown distance is compared to a known one.)

Demonstrative forms with a prefix *fi-* 'similar to' can also function as manner adverbials, cf. section 6.8.2.

4.5 Question words

Question words are used to request information. In a sentence, these question words take the place of the constituent that is questioned. Interrogative constructions are discussed in more detail in section 7.1. In this section, I will discuss the morphological features of the class of question words in *Maybrat*.

Below, a list of the question words is given. With the exception of *ro-yo*, the forms under (241a) also appear in (204).

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[45] The form *fi-ra* is dialectal (from the area to the north of *Ayawasi*), rendered *fi-re* in *Ayawasi*. *fi-re* is a marker for manner in adverbial clauses. For a discussion, see section 9.2.3.

(241) a.   *to-yo*   area.N-INT   'where?'
          wo-yo   location.GEN-INT   'where?'
          mi-yo   PRESTT-INT   'where?'
          fi-ye   similar.to-INT   'how?'
          ro-yo   REL-INT   'which one?'

     b.   *awiya*   'who?'
          r-awiya   POSS-who   'whose?'
          p-awiya   thing-who   'what?'

     c.   *tiya*   'how much/many?'
          titiya   'when?'

The interrogatives under (a) formally consist of two morphemes: an interrogative base *-yo* or *-ye* (the choice of interrogative base seems to be lexically rather than phonologically or morphologically motivated) preceded by an interrogative prefix or a relativiser.

As indicated in the third column above, there are three forms that are translated into English as 'where'. The difference between these forms depends firstly on the specificity of the interrogated location (*to-* vs. *wo-*), and secondly on the syntactic function of the question word (*to-* and *wo-* vs. *mi-*).

The interrogative prefix *to-* is related to the demonstrative prefix *te-* 'area.N': both refer to an area, and both can be used as a substantive. Likewise, the interrogative prefix *wo-* and the demonstrative prefix *we-* are related: both refer to 'general' locations. A contrast between *to-yo* and *wo-yo*:

(242)   *n-amo to-yo*
       2-go   area.N-INT
       'Where are you going?'

(243)   *m-amo*   *wo-yo*
       3U-go   location.GEN-INT
       'Where does she go?' (implication: she does not have a clear goal)

In other words, the contrast in specificity between *to-yo* and *wo-yo* is the same as that between *te-f-o* and *we-f-o*, where in both cases the form with *we-/wo-* is the generic form.

to-yo and *wo-yo* are normally used to question the locational object of a verb, as illustrated in (242) and (243): they are used as substantives. *to-yo* and *wo-yo* contrast with *mi-yo*. *mi-yo* can be used as a substantive, but it can also function adverbially. Given that some of the other prefixes are derived from the demonstrative forms, it seems likely on functional grounds that the interrogative prefix *mi-* is related to the demonstrative prefix *me-* 'PRESTT', despite the presence of the vowel /i/ rather than /o/ in the prefix. Some examples with *mi-yo* appear below: in (244) *mi-yo* functions as a substantive. In (245) and (246) *mi-yo* is used adverbially: these are nominal clauses.[46] (247) illustrates that *to-yo* cannot function adverbially.

---

[46] Here too, it can be argued that *mi-yo* functions predicatively.

(244) *m-apo   mi-yo*
      3U-be   PRESTT-INT
      'Where is she?'

(245) *ku   mi-yo*
      child   PRESTT-INT
      'Where is the child?'

(246) *mpair ro   y-tien   mi-yo*
      place   REL   3M-sleep   PRESTT-INT
      'Where is the place where he sleeps?'

(247) **n-naif   to-yo*
      2-nose   area.N-INT

In other words, the relation between *mi-yo* on the one hand and *to-yo/wo-yo* on the other is the same as that between *me-f-o* on the one hand and *te-f-o/we-f-o* on the other: forms with a prefix *me-/mi-* function adverbially, while the rest cannot.[47]

The form *ro-yo* 'which one' consists of an interrogative base preceded by the relative clause marker *ro* 'that' (see section 4.10.1). *ro-yo* is used in questions where a choice is offered:

(248) *nuo   n-ama* **terima**   **agama**   *ro-yo*
      2S   2-go   receive   religion   REL-INT
      'Which religion do you (go and) accept?'

The element *fi-*, which seems to be isomorphous to the demonstrative prefix *fi-* 'similar to', can be affixed with the interrogative base *-ye* to form *fi-ye* 'how'. Some examples:

(249) *t-no   fi-ye*
      1S-do   similar.to-INT
      'How do I do it? (lit. 'Like what should I do it?')

(250) *y-awe   fi-ye*
      3M-say   similar.to-INT
      'What does he say?' (lit. 'Like what does he say it?')

---

[47] Although I have just stated that the form *to-yo* cannot function predicatively, there are a few examples in the data which suggest the opposite:

    a.   **belanga**   /   *po   to-yo*
            cooking.pot   thing   area.N-INT
            'Cooking pots, from where are these things?'

    b.   *m-o   p-awiya* /   *kan   to-yo*
            3U-take thing-what   charcoal   area.N-INT
            'What are they to take (for cooking), where is the charcoal?'

All the interrogative forms discussed so far have been multimorphemic, and for all of them an interrogative base -yo/-ye could be identified. The interrogative forms in (241b) (i.e. awiya, r-awiya, p-awiya) and (241c) (i.e. tiya, titiya) are not as obviously polymorphemic. The last syllable in these forms is invariably [ja], similar to the interrogative forms -yo and -ye. By formal analogy to the other interrogative forms, I will assume that the [j] in [ja] is isomorphous to [j] in -yo and -ye. [ja] is therefore rendered ya. The portion preceding [ja] in awiya, r-awiya, p-awiya, tiya and titiya cannot be identified as existing morphemes in the language (with the possible exception of ti-, see below).

The form awiya 'who' can be affixed with the possessive prefix ro- or the nominal prefix po- to form interrogatives that mean 'whose' and 'what' respectively. In both forms the vowel in the prefix is elided because awiya is vowel-initial (see also section 3.4).

(251)   awiya   ø-skie   amah
        who   ø-build   house
        'Who built the house?'

(252)   ku   r-awiya   m-awia
        child   POSS-who   3U-cry
        'Whose child cries?'

(253)   pi   y-ko   y-no   p-awiya   e?
        man   3M-roast   3M-do NOM-who   hey
        'Hey, what does the man roast?' (lit. 'The man roasts, what does he do?')

Some examples with tiya 'how much', 'how many':

(254)   rae   m-ana   tiya
        man   3U-head   how.many
        'How many people?'

(255)   anu   n-hu   to   m-ato[48]   to   n-kuo   kai   tiya
        2P   2-stay LOC 3U-hole   LOC   2-feast   time   how.much
        'How long do you stay inside there and feast?'

Examples of titiya 'when' appear below.[49]

(256)   titiya   n-ama
        when   2-come
        'when will you come?'

---

[48] The combination of to and mato to express a prepositional notion 'inside' is well attested, see section 4.8.3.

[49] The first syllable ti in titiya is possibly related to the temporal adverb ti PAST (see section 4.7.1). Although here ti- does not refer to a period in the past, it does refer to time, given that the form titiya means 'how much time', as opposed to tiya, which means 'how much'.

(257) *titiya*   *n-atia*   *y-sia*   *n-me*   *m-ama*   *pe-f-o*
      when   2-father   3M-with   2-mother   3P-come   area.ADV-very.near-U
      'When will your father and mother come here?'

4.6 Numerals

In many Papuan languages, the counting system is based on terms for body-parts: in addition to referring to a body-part, these terms also denote a particular number. Such systems have been described by, for instance, Laycock (1975); de Vries (1992;1993). In *Maybrat*, the terms for the numbers from 'one' up to 'four', and in some dialects 'five', are unique terms. From 'six' upwards, the numbers are referred to by using terms for hands/fingers and feet/toes, until 'one man is dead/gone' representing 'twenty' is reached. Papuan counting-systems based on five numbers are well-known, and are found in, for instance, the Papuan New Guinean East Sepik and the Eastern and Western Highlands as well as in in Irian Jaya (Smith 1988:9 and 12).

The numerals in *Maybrat* form a closed class of words. The cardinal numbers from one to five are as follows:

(258)   *s-au / s-ait*   'one'
            ewok / eok[50]   'two'
            tuf   'three'
            tiet   'four'
            mat / tem-s-au[51]   'five'

Of these, the terms for 'one' are the only morphologically complex ones: both consist of a number base *s-* 'one' followed by an unmarked pronoun *au* 'she, it' or a masculine pronoun *ait* 'he'. *s-ait* only applies when the head noun is masculine singular:

(259) a.   *fnia*   *s-au*
            woman   one-3U
            'one woman'

      b.   *amah*   *s-au*
            house   one-3U
            'one house'

(260) *pi*   *s-ait*
      man   one-3M
      'one man'

---

[50] Both of these forms are used in *Ayawasi*.

[51] In *Ayawasi*, *mat* and *tem s-au* are both used. *tem s-au* is a structurally complex form which derives from *tem* (< *-atem*) 'hand' and *s-au* 'one'. It is invariably used by members of the Tenau-family, who have their origins in the area directly to the south of *Ayawasi* (see Appendix 1 for the story of origin of this family). The term *mat* for 'five' is at present most commonly used in *Ayawasi*.

The numbers from 'six' upwards are all structurally complex. From 'six' to 'nine' the terms literally mean 'one finger' for 'six', 'two fingers' for 'seven' etc., where it is understood that one hand has already already been counted. For 'ten' *s-t-atem* is used, which includes the word *t-atem* 'my hand'.[52] *s-* 'one' includes both hands when referring to 'ten'. Below, a morpheme-by-morpheme translation of the term for 'six' appears:

(261)   *krem*   *s-au*   'six'
        finger/toe   one-3U
        'one finger'

The terms for 'six' to 'ten':[53]

(262)   *krem s-au*   'six'
            krem ewok   'seven'
            krem tuf   'eight'
            krem tiet   'nine'
            s-t-atem   'ten'

The numbers from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' are given in (263):

(263)   *oo krem s-au*   'eleven'
            oo krem ewok   'twelve'
            oo krem tuf   'thirteen'
            oo krem tiet   'fourteen'
            oo s-au m-uf   'fifteen'
            oo s-au krem s-au   'sixteen'
            oo s-au krem ewok   'seventeen'
            oo s-au krem tuf   'eighteen'
            oo s-au krem tiet   'nineteen'

All these terms include the element *krem* 'finger/toe' and *oo*, the plural stem of *-ao* 'foot' (see section 3.3). *krem* is an inalienably possessed noun, which normally receives a *o-* prefix. Consider, however, the form *tem*, which derives from *-atem*, in *tem s-au* 'five', and *oo* in the numerals given in (263) which derives from *-ao*. These do not receive a person prefix. By analogy to these forms, I assume that *krem* also does not receive a (albeit covert) person prefix in the numerals. Admittedly, the form *s-t-atem* does incorporate a person prefix, but this form constitutes the only example in the numerals described. I assume that *s-t-atem* is an exception to the rule.

From 'eleven' to 'fourteen' the terms literally mean 'foot-toe-one' for 'eleven', 'foot-toe-two' for 'twelve' etc., where it is understood that two hands have already been counted. The term for 'fifteen' literally means 'one full foot', as indicated below:

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[52] *-atem* is used to refer to 'hand/arm', and *-ao* to 'foot/leg'. In my discussions on numerals (see also section 5.1 4) I translate them as 'hand' and 'foot' respectively

[53] *tanam* 'six' is a unique number term which is used in the area around *Ayfinyo* It was never given to me as the equivalent of 'six' by inhabitants of *Ayawasi*

(264) *oo*   *s-au*   *m-uf*   'fifteen'
       foot   one-3U   3U-full
       'one full foot'

From 'sixteen' up to and including 'nineteen' the terms literally mean 'foot-one-toe-one' for 'sixteen'; 'foot-one-toe-two' for 'seventeen' etc. The fact that one foot has been counted is indicated in the term *oo s-au*. A morpheme-by-morpheme translation of the term for 'sixteen' is as follows:

(265) *oo*   *s-au*   *krem*   *s-au*   'sixteen'
       foot   one-3U   finger/toe   one-3U
       'one foot, one toe'

The term for 'twenty' literally means 'one man is dead/gone':

(266) *rae*   *s-ait*   *y-hai*   'twenty'
       man   one-3M   3M-dead
       'One man is dead/gone.'

Counting is accompanied by gestures: when counting up to twenty, the fingers and the toes are touched. Counting usually starts with the little finger of one of the two hands. Each finger is folded. When all fingers have been counted, a fist is made, which is held up to indicate 'five'. Subsequently, the fingers of the other hand are counted, again starting with the little finger. For 'ten', the palms of both hands are put together and held up. After this, the toes are counted, starting with the little toe on one foot, until the little toe on the other foot is reached.[54]

Multiples of twenty are given below. Literally, the number of 'men gone' are counted. When people have to count large amounts in *Maybrat*, which still happens in, for instance, the exchange of ceremonial cloth, they make multiples of twenty, which are then in turn counted.

(267)   *rae s-ait y-hai*   'twenty'
             rae ewok m-hai   'fourty'
             rae tuf m-hai   'sixty'
             etc.

Numerals from twenty onwards can theoretically be constructed by adding up digits. However, nowadays Indonesian is used for these numbers. Elicited examples of numerals above twenty in *Maybrat* were not unequivocal. Because of this, they will be ignored in the present description.

Ordinals are made by using the relativiser *ro* (see section 5.3 on relative clauses):

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[54] Only the older people still count like this. Younger people normally count in Indonesian, and most can only count up to 'ten' in *Maybrat*. Younger people do not touch the corresponding body-parts when counting in *Maybrat*.

(268) *ro*   *tuf*   'the third'
       REL   three

(269) *ro*   *mat*   'the fifth'
       REL   five

(270) *ro*   *s-t-atem*   'the tenth'
       REL   one-1S-hand

The demonstrative prefix *ti-* 'side.N' can be attached to *s-au* 'one' to form *ti-s-au* 'one side'. Some examples:

(271) *ait*   *ø-safa*   *ti-s-au*
       3M   ø-slice   side.N-one-3U
       'He slices on one side (of, e.g. a large chunk of meat).'

(272) *tuoh*   *ro*   *atu*   *ti-s-au*   *to*   *m-asom*   **Mmuk**
       place   REL   mountain   side.N-one-3U   LOC   3U-name   **Mmuk**
       'The place on that side of the mountain is called Mmuk.'

Syntactically, the structurally complex number terms resemble NPs, although the head noun receives no person prefix. I will illustrate this in section 5.1.4.

4.7 Adverbs

An adverb is a word that modifies or specifies an event expressed by a predicate. The class of adverbs constitutes a closed class of words, most of which are morphologically simple. A distinction based on semantic and syntactic criteria can be made between a number of different types of adverbs, namely temporal adverbs, manner adverbs, aspect adverbs, location adverbs, negators and focus adverbs. None of the lists of adverbs presented below are intended to be exhaustive.

4.7.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs place an event that is described in the clause in time. These adverbs occur in clause-initial position. The following temporal adverbs can be identified:

(273) *is*   'yesterday'
    one   'today, now'
    men   'later, tomorrow'
    ftiah   'the day after tomorrow'
    ira   'just now, previously'
    iwai(n)   'just now'
    rere   'later'
    tian   'formerly, in the past'
    mti   'night'
    tna   'recently'
    pose   'a long time ago'

Some examples:

(274) *men*   *t-ama*   *u,*   *ftiah*   *t-ama*   *u*
    tomorrow   1S-come   again   day.after.tomorrow   1S-come   again
    'Tomorrow I will come again, and the day after tomorrow I will come again.'

(275) *tian*   *rae*   *m-ame*   *fai*   *Ais*   *m-ruk*
    formerly   man   3U-stab   woman   Ais   3U-submerge

    re-t-o
    location.SPEC-near-U
    'Formerly people stabbed (=killed) the woman Ais, and they submerged her there (in a hole).'

When a time reference later than *ftiah* 'the day after tomorrow' is needed, the numerals from *tuf* 'three' upwards can function as time adverbials, as in (276) and (277).

(276) *tuf*   *ru*   *m-api*   *m-ama*
    three   bird   3U-big   3U-come
    'In three days the big aeroplane will come.'

(277) *mat*   *p-ehoh*   *fane*
    five   1P-stab   pig
    'In five days we will stab (=kill) the pig.'

The marker *ti* 'PAST' can precede a numeral that functions as a temporal adverbial to refer to a specific time span in the past, compare (276) and (278):[55]

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[55] *ti-* 'side N' (cf. section 4.4.) and *ti* 'PAST' are homophones which are possibly related, as in many languages temporal deictic forms are derived from demonstrative forms (cf. also section 6.8.1).

    The element *t-i* in (a) below is unrelated to either *ti-* 'side.N' or *ti* 'PAST' Rather, it is a contracted form of *t-imara* 'my ear'. Compare (b), in which the subject is 3M. The expression *-imara m-tuk* 'ears are closed' is common to refer to small children who do not yet understand fully what goes on in the adult world.

(a) *tuo*   *tian*   *t-i*   *m-tuk*   *t-awia*   *toro*
    1s   formerly   1S-ear   3U-closed   1S-cry   continuously

(278) *ti*   *tuf*   *ru*   *m-api*   *m-ama*
       PAST   three   bird   3U-big   3U-come
       'Three days ago the big aeroplane came.'

The syntactic behaviour of temporal adverbials in the clause is discussed in more detail in section 6.8.1.

4.7.2 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs say something about the way in which an event takes place. Most manner adverbs can only modify a predicate, while others can modify an NP as well. Therefore, a sub-division into two groups based on syntactic criteria seems warranted: the first group constitutes manner adverbs that can only modify a predicate. Some examples:

(279) *ae*   'indeed'
       mimo   'very'
       kaket   'well, carefully'
       ninan[56]   'at random'
       toro   'many times' (connotation: until bored)
       war   'reject'

In a clause, these adverbs occur following the verb, but they do not necessarily occur in clause-final position, as indicated in (281). Some examples in a clause:

(280) *Petrus y-mat*   *Hosti m-sia*   *Eka*   *kaket*
       Petrus 3M-observe   Hosti 3U-with   Eka   well
       'Petrus observes Hosti and Eka well.'

(281) *m-ao*   *ro*   *m-anes*   *iwai*   *m-hu*   *ninan*
       3U-sibling.SS REL   3U-old   just.now   3U-stay   at.random

       to   *tauf*
       LOC   forest
       'Her older sister (mentioned) just now lives wherever (suits her best) in the forest.'

The form *war* 'reject' would semantically also qualify as a verb: however, it never occurs with a subject prefix. Like other manner adverbs, it occurs in clause-final position, and it says something about the way in which an event (in (282) about 'how' something is put (away)) takes place. I therefore analyse it as a manner adverb.

'Formerly, (when) my ears were closed, I cried continuously.'

(b)   *ait*   *tian*   *y-i*   *m-tuk*   *y-awia*   *toro*
       3M   formerly   3M-ear 3U-closed   3M-cry   continuously
       'Formerly, (when) his ears were closed, he cried continuously.'

[56] This form fits the structural and semantic pattern of reduplicated forms (see section 3.5). However, the form *nin*, which is the hypothetical stem of such a form, is unattested in the data.

(282) p-se   war
      1p-place   reject
      'We rejected it.'

Two other manner adverbs are *ati* 'really' and *tu* 'indeed, really, truly'. They can modify a clause (cf. (283)) or an NP (cf. (284)). The semantic difference between these two adverbs is not clear. They always occur in constituent-final position.

(283) m-atiet   ati   a
      3U-perish   really INT
      'Did she really perish?'

(284) rae   tu   me-t-ait
      person   really PRESTT-near-3M
      'He is a human.' (lit. 'He is a real man.')

The syntactic behaviour of manner adverbs in clauses is described in section 6.8.2.

4.7.3 Aspect adverbs

Aspect refers to the internal temporal structure of an event (Foley 1986:143). In *Maybrat*, aspect is expressed through adverbs. Examples of aspect adverbs are:

(285) fawen   'long time'
      oh   'already'
      sai   'just'
      twat   'always'
      u   'again'[57]
      wia   'before'
      yoyo   'continuously'
      tipuo   'immediately, straight away'
      fares   'still'
      ewa   'often, always'

Aspect adverbs always follow the verb and the object in the clause. Some examples of aspect adverbs in a clause are:

(286) ana   m-amo   fawen
      3P   3U-go   long.time
      'They go/are gone for a long time.'

(287) ait   y-kom   am   u
      3M   3M-write letter   again
      'He writes a letter again.'

---

[57] The aspect adverbial *u* 'again' is homophonous with the preposition *u* 'up'.

(288) *ku*   *ait*   *y-awia*   *sai*
     child   3M   3M-cry   just
     'The child just cries.'

The syntactic behaviour of aspect adverbials is discussed in section 6.8.3.

4.7.4 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs say something about where an event takes place. Locative adverbs always follow the verb in a clause. Four locative adverbs can be identified in *Maybrat*:

(289) *e*   'far'
     kait   'near'
     akah   'above'
     ete   'below'

Some examples in which these adverbs feature:

(290) **Kokas**   *m-hu*   *e*   *fe*[58]   **Mosun**   *m-hu*   *e*
     Kokas   3U-stay   far   NEG   **Mosun**   3U-stay   far
     'Is **Kokas** farther away (from **Ayawasi**) or **Mosun**?'

(291) *ait*   *y-tien*   *kait*
     3M   3M-sleep   near
     'He sleeps nearby.'

(292) *t-amo* *akah*
     1s-go   above
     'I go up.' (lit. 'I go 'to above'.')

(293) *n-ama*   *ete*
     2-come   below
     'Come down.'

With the exception of *e* 'far', these locative adverbs can also be followed by an NP, as illustrated in (294)-(296). There are more elements that express 'location' that can be followed by an NP. I will return to this in section 4.8.

(294) *amah* *m-hu*   *kait*   *aya*
     house   3U-stay   near   water
     'The house is situated near the river.'

(295) *ku*   *ait*   *y-hu*   *akah*   *ara*   *pawiah*   *re-t-o*
     child 3M   3M-stay   above   tree   nutmeg   location.SPEC-near-U
     'The child is up in this nutmeg-tree.'

---

[58] The negator *fe* here functions as a disjunctive coordinator, cf. section 9.1.3.

(296) *fane   m-hu   ete   amah*
       pig   3U-stay   below   house
       'The pig stays below the house.'

4.7.5 Negators

The class of negators is a subclass of the adverbs. I discuss them in a separate section because of their semantic function: all deny a previous statement or assumption.

The adverb *fe* 'NEG' is used to negate a clause. It invariably occurs in clause-final position. Some examples:

(297) *ana   m-amo   Kumurkek   fe*
       3P   3U-go   *Kumurkek*   NEG
       'They do not go to *Kumurkek*.'

(298) *ait   y-atak   fe*
       3M   3M-tough   NEG
       'He is not angry.'

The adverb *fe* can also be used predicatively, in which case it receives a person prefix *m-*. In this instance, *m-fe* negates an NP.

(299) *arko*[59]   *m-fe*
       firewood   3U-NEG
       'There is no firewood.'

(300) *pae   m-he   m-fe*
       twosome   3U-see   3U-NEG
       'The two see it does not work.'

When *-fe* is used predicatively, there is no agreement between the person prefix on *-fe* and the subject of the clause. Hence, (301a) is unacceptable. Instead, (301b) must be used:

(301) a.   **rae   ro   sme   y-fe*
            man   REL   male   3M-NEG

      b.   *rae   ro   sme   m-fe*
            man   REL   male   3U-NEG
            'He is not a male.'

The scope of the negator *fe* in clauses is discussed in section 6.9.1-6.9.2. In section 6.9.3 some problems with the distinction between *fe* and *m-fe* are discussed.

The adverb *mai* 'PROHIB' marks the 'prohibitive'. *mai* can be adequately translated as 'don't'. It invariably occurs in clause-final position. An example:

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[59] *arko* 'firewood' is related to *rako* 'firewood' (see footnote 2 in this chapter). It is an example of metathesis.

(302) n-ata   aya   re-t-o   mai
       2-drink   water location.SPEC-near-U PROHIB
       'Don't drink that water!'

Some more examples of the prohibitive are given in section 7.2.

There are other negators, i.e. forms that correct the previous assertion, namely *kayie* 'not' and *peroh* 'wrong'. These adverbs are always followed by a correction of the previous statement. *kayie* can only deny nominal constituents. *peroh* can deny both NPs and clauses. Some examples:

(303) **Koru** **kayie** *m-tut* *m-ama*   *m-hu*   *fte*   **Tuoh** **Pamai**
       Koru not   3U-all   3U-come   3U-stay   area   **Tuoh** **Pamai**
       'Not at **Koru**, they all come and lived in the area **Tuoh Pamai**.'

(304) **Fanataf** [60] *ta* [61] /   *peroh* *ait*   *ø-kpat*   **Kocu** **Ata**
       Fanataf LOC   wrong   3M   ø-leave   **Kocu** **Ata**
       '(He leaves) **Fanataf** there. No, he leaves **Kocu Ata**.'

These negators are further discussed in section 6.9.4, under the heading 'negation involving other adverbials'.

4.7.6 Focus adverbs

The focus adverbs listed in (305) are used to draw attention to the event expressed in the clause. They usually occur in clause-final position, but may also precede the object in a clause. The marker *re* may be related to the manner adverb *rere* 'carefully'. *re* is adequately translated as 'please'.

(305) *iye*   'too'
       si   'also'
       suek   'immediately, straight away'
       re   'please'

Some examples with *iye* and *re*:

(306) *ø-frok*   *m-ae* *swia* *m-api*   *f-o*   *iye*
       ø-emerge   3U-at   *swia* 3U-big   very.near-U   too
       'They also emerge at this big *swia* tree.' [62]

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[60] In some cases, family names and the places where they are from coincide, as is the case here with Fanataf and Kocu.

[61] This is the same dialectal form as mentioned in note 30 in this chapter.

[62] *swia* is sterculia sp.

(307) *m-ape*   *Maria* *m-pet*   *Agus* *Baru* *ewa*   *y-asom*
       3U-give.birth   Maria   3U-marry   Agus   Baru   often   3M-carry.on.shoulder

       rako   *y-ama*   *wo-f-o*   *iye*
       firewood   3M-come   location.GEN-very.near-U   too
       'She gave birth to Maria, who married Agus Baru, who also often brings firewood
       here.'

(308) *n-ama re*
       2-come   please
       'Please come.'

The syntactic characteristics of *re* 'please' are discussed in section 7.2.

The adverb *si* can occur once in a clause, as in (309) and (310), in which case its
function is similar to that of *iye*:

(309) *fai*   *m-hu*   *si*   ***Kuom***
       woman   3U-stay   also   ***Kuom***
       'The woman also lives at *Kuom*.'

(310) *yamo si*   *tipuo*
       3M-go also   immediately
       'He, too, goes immediately.'

However, *si* can also occur at the end of each clause in a sequence of two clauses, as in
(311). In this context, *si* expresses simultaneity (see also section 9.1.6).

(311) *nuo*   *n-o*   *re-f-o*   *si,*   *tuo*   *t-o*
       2S   2-take   location.SPEC-very.near-U   also   1S   1S-take

       re-f-o   *si*
       location.SPEC-very.near-U   also
       'While you take this one, I will take the other one.'

suek is semantically a kind of intensifier, and is adequately translated as 'immediately, very
much'[63]

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[63] In the example below the adverb *suek* semantically modifies the NP *ku kiniah*. A number of informants
gave the translation presented below, and not 'The small children are very small.', as would be expected if *suek*
is interpreted as a clausal modifier.

       ku   *ø-kiniah*   *suek*
       child   ø-small   very.much
       'all the small children'

(312) *ait*   *y-amo*   *suek*   *ø-frok*   **Kumurkek**
       3M   3M-go   immediately   ø-emerge   **Kumurkek**
       'He goes immediately and he arrives at *Kumurkek.*'

(313) *ftiah*   *n-ama*   *suek*
       day.after.tomorrow   2-come   immediately
       'The day after tomorrow you must come immediately.'

Syntactic characteristics of the focus adverbs given in (305), with the exception of *re* 'please', are further discussed in section 6.8.4.

4.8 Location

There are a number of forms that indicate where or in what direction the action described in the clause takes place. Some of these forms have already been discussed, namely spatial nouns (section 4.3.1), demonstratives (section 4.4) and locative adverbs (section 4.7.4). In this section I will discuss the remaining forms that express location. These are, roughly speaking, the location markers *to* 'LOC' and *wo* 'LOC.GEN', and the directionals *u* 'up' and *tis* 'behind'. While some of these forms can function as free morphemes, others are only attested as bound forms. What all the forms expressing location have in common is that they occur in the location periphery in clause, and that the main verb in the clause in which they occur is normally a motion or position verb (cf. section 4.2.3.2).

4.8.1 *to* and *wo*

The forms *to* and *wo* are related to the demonstrative prefixes *te-* 'area.N' and *we-* 'location.GEN'. Recall that these prefixes are also used in the formation of question words (cf. section 4.5). Because *to* and *wo* have a very general function, that is, they are used to mark forms that express 'location', they are glossed as LOC and LOC.GEN respectively. Below, I will describe these location markers. *wo* is only used in complex directionals, and the discussion of these forms is deferred until section 4.8.2.

When *to* functions as a location marker, it marks the following NP as a location. It can be adequately translated as 'to, at'. *wo* cannot function as a location marker. This is 'natural', since when a location marker precedes an NP that expresses location, this is a location that can be pinpointed. Therefore, the use of the general location marker *wo* here is inadequate. Some examples:

(314) *ø-frok*   *to*   **Kumurkek**
       ø-emerge   LOC   **Kumurkek**
       'He arrives at Kumurkek.'

(315) *amu*   *p-mo*   *to*   *rapuoh*
       1P   1P-go   LOC   forest
       'We go to the forest.'

(316) ku   ø-kiniah   m-som   to   tauf
       child   ø-small   3U-play   LOC   forest
       'The children play in the forest.'[64]

In this position, *to* is not obligatory. In (317) a form with and one without *to* is given. The semantic difference between these two forms is minimal: In the a-form, the fact that *Sorong* refers to a location is specified by *to*, although in the b-form, it is obvious that *Sorong* refers to a location from the semantic content of the object. There is, however a syntactic difference between these two forms: in (317b) *Sorong* functions as a regular nominal object, i.e. it can be extracted through relativisation. This is not the case in (317a). This difference is further discussed in section 6.8.6.

(317) a.   *y-amo to*   *Sorong*
             3M-go LOC   *Sorong*
             'He goes to *Sorong*.'

       b.   *y-amo Sorong*
             3M-go *Sorong*
             'He goes to *Sorong*.'

4.8.2 Directionals

The forms *u* 'up' and *tis* 'behind' are classified as directionals. Like *ete*, *u*, but not *tis*, can function as a location adverb:

(318) m-hu   u
       3U-stay   up
       'They are above.'

u can also modify the adverb *akah* 'above'. Here, *u* creates emphasis. A contrast is given in (319).

(319) a.   *ana*   *m-amo*   *akah*   *u*   *faut*
             3P   3U-go   above   up   hilltop
             'They go to the very top of the hill.'

       b.   *ana*   *m-amo*   *akah*   *faut*
             3P   3U-go   above   hilltop
             'They go to the top of the hill.'

The forms *tis* and *totis* can function as temporal adverbials, as described in section 6.8.1.

u and *tis* can be prefixed with the location marker *to* to form the morphologically complex directionals *to-u* 'direction where the sun rises'; and *to-tis* 'behind'. The locative adverb *ete* can also be prefixed with *to* to form *to-te* 'direction where the sun sets'. Here, the optional phoneme schwa (see section 2.1.1.1) never occurs.

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[64] *to tauf* is also used to indicate 'outside'; it need not necessarily be in the forest

In each of these complex directionals, the stress is on the first syllable, e.g. '*to|te*, '*to|u* and '*to|tis* (where '|' marks a syllable boundary, see Ch. 2). Conversely, in the type of forms discussed in the previous section, for instance, *to* '*ta|uf* 'to the forest', and *to* '*ra|puoh* 'to the forest', the stress is not on *to* but on the first syllable of the following noun. This suggests that in the latter forms *to* functions like a preposition, whereas in *to-te*, *to-u* and *to-tis*, *to* functions as a morpheme in a word.

The complex directionals *to-u*, *to-te* and *to-tis* can function as location adverbials in a clause. Some examples·

(320) *t-amo   to-u*
       1S-go   LOC-up
       'I go in the direction where the sun rises.'

(321) *y-pat   to-te*
       3M-from   LOC-below
       'He comes from the direction where the sun sets.'

(322) *fai   m-hu   to-tis*
       woman   3U-stay   LOC-behind
       'The woman stays behind there.'

The form *to-au* 'LOC-U.DIST', but not *to-f-o* and *to-n-o*, can also function as a location adverbial in a clause:

(323) *ana   m-amo   to-au*
       3P   3U-go   LOC-U.DIST
       'They go there.'

With the exception of *to-au*, each of these complex directionals can be followed by an NP:

(324) *ana   m-amo   to-te   Frakron*
       3P   3U-go   LOC-below   *Frakron*
       'They go in the direction where the sun sets, to *Frakron*.'

(325) *ait   y-hu   to-u   Meah*
       3M   3M-stay   LOC-up   *Meah*
       'He lives in the direction where the sun rises, in *Meah*.'

(326) *au   ø-hren to-tis   amah*
       3U   ø-sit LOC-behind   house
       'She sits behind the house.'

to-te and *to-u* express the direction of the action. Compare, for instance, the two forms below:

(327) a.   *t-amo   to-te*   ***Jakarta***
            1s-go   LOC-below   ***Jakarta***
            'I go in the direction where the sun sets, to ***Jakarta.***'

       b.   *t-amo   to-u*   ***Jayapura***
            1s-go   LOC-up   ***Jayapura***
            'I go to ***Jayapura.***'

The combination of '*wo*+directional' that functions as an adverbial (analogous to in (320)-(322)), or '*wo*+directional' followed by a noun (analogous to (324)-(326)) is not possible.

The complex directionals can be followed by a demonstrative form *to-f-o* 'LOC-very.near-U' or *to-n-o* 'LOC-far-U'.[65] The function of this demonstrative form is to further specify the distance at which the action described in the clause takes place. Some examples:

(328) *to-tis*   *to-f-o*   *m-aut*   *m-i-ø-warok*   *sai*
       LOC-behind   LOC-very.near-U   3U-climb   3U-TRANS-ø-insert   only
       'At the back here, they lift (the loincloth) up and they just insert it (into the rope around their waist)'.

(329) *ku*   *ø-kiniah*   *m-som*   *to-u*   *to-n-o*
       child   ø-small   3U-play   LOC-up   LOC-far-U
       'The small child plays up there (specific place) (in the direction where the sun rises).'

(330) *m-amo*   *m-ape*   *m-amo*   *m-amo*   *to-te*
       3U-go   3U-give.birth   3U-go   3U-go   LOC-below

       to-n-o   *m-ape*   *Baru*   *m-ase*
       LOC-far-U   3U-give.birth   Baru   3U-large
       'They go and they multiply and they move down (in the direction where the sun sets) for a long time and they multiply until the Baru family is big.'

(331) *ana*   *m-amo*   *to-tis*   *to-f-o*
       3P   3U-go   LOC-behind   LOC-very.near-U
       'They go behind there, nearby.'

In the discussion on question words in section 4.5 I illustrated that the difference between the interrogative prefixes *to* and *wo* is one of specificity: whereas *to* refers to a specific location, *wo* refers to a general location, i.e. a location that cannot be pinpointed. This same difference is found in forms where a complex directional prefixed with *wo* is followed by a demonstrative form.

(332) *ku*   *ø-kiniah*   *m-som*   *to-te*   *to-f-o*
       child   ø-small   3U-play   LOC-below   LOC-very.near-U
       'The small child plays below here (specific place).'

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[65] Examples of a complex directional followed by *to-t-o* 'LOC-near-U' are unattested in the data.

(333) *ku   ø-kiniah   m-som   wo-te   wo-f-o*
      child   ø-small   3U-play   LOC.GEN-below   LOC.GEN-very.near-U
      'The small child plays at a place below here (general place).'

Similar forms with *wo* are:

(334) *au   m-amo   wo-u   wo-f-o*
      3U   3U-go   LOC.GEN-up   LOC.GEN-very.near-U
      'She walks up here.'

(335) *ku   ro   sme   y-som   wo-t-e   wo-n-o*
      child   REL   male   3M-play   LOC.GEN-below   LOC.GEN-far-U
      'The boy plays down there.'

to and *wo* cannot be used in combination with each other in a locative expression, i.e. **to-te wo-n-o*.

4.8.3 Other forms with *to*

There are two spatial nouns preceded by *to* 'LOC', namely *to m-ato* (cf. (336) and (337)) and *to m-apuo* ((338)). (336) is structurally analogous to forms including '*to*+N' (e.g. (314)-(316)). In (337) and (338), however, '*to*+spatial noun' is followed by yet another noun. In these examples, '*to*+spatial noun' + N expresses a prepositional notion. In the following section I present evidence which suggests the appearance of prepositions.

(336) *ana   ø-twok   m-tien   to   m-ato*
      3P   ø-enter   3U-sleep   LOC   3U-hole
      'They enter and they sleep inside.'

(337) *fane   m-sia   ku   r-au   to   m-ato   m-sif*
      pig   3U-with   child   POSS-3U   LOC   3U-hole   3U-nest
      'The pig with her children are inside the nest.'

(338) *y-he   y-amo   ø-frok   to   m-apuo   ana*
      3M-see   3M-go   ø-emerge   LOC   3U-tip   fence
      'He looks and he goes and emerges at the tip of the fence.'

4.8.4 Prepositional behaviour of some locational forms

The locative adverbs *akah* 'above' and *ete* 'below' and the directional *tis* 'behind' can follow a noun, as illustrated in (339)-(340). In this respect *akah, ete* and *tis* are syntactically similar to the spatial nouns, which occur in possessive constructions in which the spatial noun follows the head noun (see section 4.3.1).

(339) *y-hu   ara   akah*
      3M-stay   tree   above
      'He is in the top of the tree.' (lit. 'the tree's 'above'')

(340)   *fiam*   *aya*   *ete*[66]
         catfish   water   below
         'There are catfish under the water.' (lit. 'the water's 'below'')

(341)   *smai*   *m-ae*   *amah*   *tis*
         bean   3u-at   house   behind
         'The beans are behind the house.' (lit. 'at the house's 'behind'')

Recall that *akah* and *ete* (but not *tis*) can also precede a noun (cf. also (295) and (296)):

(342)   *ku*   *y-ros*   *akah*   **meja**
         child   3M-stand   above   table
         'The child stands on the table.'

(343)   *wata*   *m-hu*   *ete*   *aya*
         fish.trap   3U-stay   below   water
         'The fish trap is under water.'

The syntactic behaviour of *akah* and *ete* in genitival constructions may be an indication that these forms were once spatial nouns, and are now being grammaticalised into prepositions. It is conceivable that during this grammaticalisation process, a putative person prefix *m-* was lost, since many grammaticalisation processes go together with a loss of morphology (Hopper 1991:22). Also, during a grammaticalisation process, the categorial status of a form may be unclear. This would explain why the prepositions *akah* and *ete* can occur both in front of a noun, which is typically prepositional behaviour, and following a noun, parallelling the behaviour of inalienably possessed nouns. Processes whereby nouns that semantically refer to space undergo a change in morphosyntactic status are well attested in other languages, cf. Heine et. al. (1991:3,136); Svorou (1993:100-101).

But *akah* and *ete* are not the only forms that show 'prepositional' behaviour. In the previous sections, I showed that '*to*', '*to*+directional' and '*to*+spatial noun' can all be followed by a noun. A summary of forms is given below:

(344)   *y-amo*   *to*   **Sorong**
         3M-go   LOC   **Sorong**
         'He goes to *Sorong*.'

(345)   *au*   *ø-hren*   *to-tis*   *amah*
         3U   ø-sit   LOC-behind   house
         'She sits behind the house.'

(346)   *t-se*   *to*   *m-ato*   **lemari**
         1s-place   LOC   3U-hole   cupboard
         'I place it inside the cupboard.'

---

[66] This is a nominal clause. See section 6.5 for a discussion on nominal clauses.

4.9 Coordinators

Coordinators are words that are used to link clauses. In *Maybrat*, the following coordinators can be identified:

(347) *mati*   'and then'
       na   'and then'

       ke   'because'
       mi   'so that'
       re   'in order to'

These coordinators all occur as free morphemes. Semantically, *mati* and *na* indicate sequentiality of actions; *ke*, *mi* and *re* mark purpose and reason relationships between clauses. Some examples of these coordinators in a sentence are:

(348) *t-amo Sorong*   *mati*   *ø-tim*   *am*
       1S-go *Sorong*   and.then   ø-send   letter
       'I go to *Sorong* and then I send a letter.'

(349) *m-aut*   *na*   *m-kai*   *apan*
       3U-climb   and.then   3U-meet   snake
       'They climb and then they find a snake.'

(350) *Potafit*   *ait*   *y-apo*   *fe*   *ke*   *ø-okair*
       Potafit   3M   3M-eat   NEG   because   ø-little
       'Potafit, he does not eat because there is little (food).' (lit. 'because it (the food) is a little.')

(351) *tuo*   *t-awe*   *ku*   *y-hai*   *awiah*   *mi*
       1S   1S-say   child   3M-die   taro   so.that

       y-awia
       3M-cry
       'I think the child is hungry so that he is crying.'

(352) *t-amo*   *amah*   *ø-kiyam*   *re*   **suster**   *m-he*   *t-ao*
       1S-go   house   ø-ill   in.order.to   sister   3U-see   1S-foot
       'I go to the hospital in order for the sister to look at my foot.'

The syntactic behaviour of coordinators is further discussed in section 9.1.

4.10 Subordinate clause markers

There are two types of subordinate clause markers, namely a relative clause (RC) marker and adverbial clause markers.

4.10.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses follow a noun head, and are marked by *ro*. An example:

(353) *aof   ro   ana   m-fat*
       sago   REL   3P   3U-fell
       'the sagotree that they fell'

The RC marker *ro* in these constructions is homophonous to the possessive marker *ro*, (see section 4.1.2).

(354) *amah   ro-Yan*
       house   POSS-Yan
       'Yan's house'

It is possible that the possessive marker *ro-* and the RC marker *ro* are related. Both may, in turn be related to the demonstrative prefixes *re-/ro-*. I will discuss the possible relationship between these *re*'s and *ro*'s in section 5.4, after a detailed description of possessive constructions and relative clause constructions.

4.10.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are clauses that modify a main clause. There are three types of adverbial clauses in *Maybrat*, namely temporal adverbial clauses, locative adverbial clauses and manner adverbial clauses. All these clauses are marked by an adverbial clause marker. There are two forms that have as their sole function to mark adverbial clauses, namely the locative adverbial clause marker *wo-re* and the manner adverbial clause marker *fi-re*. An example of each is presented below:

(355) *ana   m-suoh   wo-re*   *fra   m-hu*
       3P   3U-clean   LOC.GEN-PART   stone   3U-stay
       'They clean where the stone is.'

(356) *n-fot   fi-re   tuo   t-fot   fi-f-o*
       2-catch   similar.to-PART   1S   1S-catch   similar.to-very.near-U
       'Catch it like I catch it, like this.'

wo- in *wo-re* is obviously related to the demonstrative prefix *we-*, which also expresses location. Likewise, *fi-* in *fi-re* is related to the demonstrative prefix *fi-*, given that they are formally and semantically identical. It is possible that the element *-re* in *wo-re* and *fi-re* is related to the demonstrative prefix *re-*. The possible relationship between these elements is considered in section 9.2.1, after the discussion on temporal adverbial clauses.

Other forms that can function as adverbial clause markers are derived from other word classes. For instance, *to-yo* and *wo-yo*, formally interrogatives, can also function as locative adverbial clause markers. An example:

(357)   *men*   *tuo*   *t-not*   *yoyo*   *wo-yo*
        tomorrow   1s   1s-think   continuously   location.GEN-INT

        t-amo
        1s-go
        'Tomorrow I will continuously think (of you) wherever I go.'

Adverbial clauses, and their markers, are discussed in section 9.2.

4.11 Enumerator

The class of enumerators comprises only one element, namely *o* 'ENUM'. *o* is used in enumerations, i.e. when listing items or events. *o* intonationally occurs in constituent-final position, and a small pause separates *o* and the following NP. *o* need not necessarily occur in the last NP in an enumeration. This is illustrated in (358):[67]

(358)   *t-ao*   *o*   #   *t-ano*   *o*   #
        1s-sibling.SS   ENUM   1s-sibling.OS   ENUM

        ku   *ø-kiniah*   *m-ama*
        child   ø-small   3U-come
        'My siblings of the same sex, my siblings of the opposite sex, small children, they come.'

o can also function as a coordinating conjunction between two clauses:

(359)   *na*   *m-kuk*   *intape o*   *m-kuk*   *ara*   *o*
        and.then   3U-pull   rope   ENUM   3U-pull   tree   ENUM
        'Then he pulls a rope and he pulls a tree.'

4.12 Interjections and particles

There are a number of forms that are commonly used as interjections, i.e. forms that do not enter into a syntactic relation of any kind (Crystal 1991:180). Intonationally, interjections are followed by a pause. Some are given below, with their approximate meanings:

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[67] In some dialects, when eliciting words from a list (for instance during surveys), *o* is added by informants after each reply given. In this context, the pitch drops sharply on the *o*, indicating that *o* is in utterance-final position.

(360)   *ae*   'yes'
        e   'hey'
        ehe   'no'
        ka   'eh?'
        pa   'eh'
        a   'mmm'

Some examples:

(361)   *ae*   /   *t-ama*   *oh*
        yes   1s-come   already
        'Yes! I'm already coming!'

(362)   *pi*   *y-ko*   *y-no*   *p-awiya*   *e?*
        man   3M-roast   3M-do   NOM-who   hey
        'Hey, what does the man roast?' (lit. 'The man roasts, what does he do?')

(363)   *ehe*   /   *nuo*   *ø-sre*
        no   2s   ø-wrong
        'No! You're wrong.'

(364)   *n-ros*   *n-pet*   *rae*   *n-o*
        2-stand   2-woman.marry.man   person   2-take

        po   *ka*
        ceremonial.cloth   eh?
        'You mean get up and you marry a man, you receive ceremonial cloth or so?'

ae can also function as a kind of focus adverbial, cf. section 6.8.4.
pa is used when a speaker hesitates:

(365)   *rae*   *pa*   *po-n-o*   *pa*   *mati*   *s-au*
        person   eh?   area.ADV-far-U   eh?   and.then   one-3U

        m-e   *u*
        3u-return   again
        'The men, the thing uh (she is confused), and then once, she returned.'

The adverb *peroh* 'wrong' can also be analysed as an interjection, i.e. it does not have a clear relation to the rest of the sentence, and it is surrounded by intonational pauses. However, due to its semantic content, it is discussed in the section 4.7.5 on negators, and in section 6.9.5 under the heading 'other semantic negatives'.

One particle, glossed 'PART', has been defined, namely the element *-re* in *wo-re* and *fi-re*. *wo-re* is a locative adverbial clause marker, while *fi-re* is a manner adverbial clause marker. The function and meaning of *-re* are unclear. An example:

(366) *m-hu*   *wo-re*   *rae*   *ø-skie*   *spiah*
       3U-stay   location.GEN-PART   man   ø-build   hut
       'They stay where the people built a hut.'

For a discussion on locative and manner adverbial clauses, see section 9.2.2 and 9.2.3 respectively.

In this chapter I will discuss Noun Phrases (NP), i.e. structures that are headed by a noun (or a pronoun) and that may have one or more dependents (Matthews 1981:161-162). NPs typically function as arguments in a clause.

The basic structure of possible NPs in *Maybrat* is given in (1). The portions between braces can be subsumed under the heading 'modifier'. The order of constituents in the NP is rigid.

(1)   Types of Noun Phrase:

a.   'Regular' Noun phrase (NP):
        N + (Verbal Modifier + [(Classifier) + Numeral]/[Quantifying verb] + Determiner)

b.   Possessive NP:
        N + ($N_{inalienable}$ + [(Classifier) + Numeral] + Determiner) /

        $N_{alienable}$ + (*ro* + N + [(Classifier) + Numeral] + Determiner)

c.   Relative Clause (RC):
        N + (*ro* + Clausal Modifier + Determiner)

Thus, *Maybrat* is a 'postmodifying' language, since the modifiers follow the head noun. This postnominal modifying order is in accordance with one of Greenberg's universals, namely that languages which have VO word order (*Maybrat* word order is SVO, cf. chapter 6) usually have noun-modifier order in NPs (Givón 1984:189, 199, 220, refers to Greenberg 1966). The order of modifiers themselves in the NP conforms to another universal, namely that if a language is post-modifying, the order of the modifiers is as follows: descriptive adjective - numeral - demonstrative (Croft 1990:119, refers to Greenberg 1966:87).

Below, section 5.1 concentrates on the structure of the NP as given in (1a). As was pointed out in section 4.3.1-4.3.2, two types of possessive construction can be identified, given in (1b). Possessive NPs are discussed in section 5.2. In section 5.3, I will describe the form and function of relative clause constructions (RCs), where a head noun is modified by an RC. The basic structure of RCs is given in (1c). As is apparent from (1b) and (1c) above, there are two types of nominal construction which have the element *ro* in common (also pointed out in section 4.10.1). I will focus on the similarities between possessive constructions and RCs in section 5.4.

In section 5.5 I will illustrate how adverbials can modify a phrase. Finally, in section 5.6, I will discuss combinations of NPs.

5.1 The regular noun phrase

5.1.1 Head

The head in an NP is obligatory. It can be a noun, a pronoun, a quantifying verb (cf. section 5 1.5) or an attributive demonstrative (cf. section 5.1.6). If the head is a pronoun, then there are restrictions on the modifiers. Some examples of NPs headed by a noun are:

(2)   *ru   m-api*   *wo-n-o*
    bird   3U-big   location.GEN-far-U
    'the big bird approximately there'

(3)   *tfo   m-kek   m-aku   s-au*
    machete   3U-red   3U-small   one-3U
    'one small red machete'

(4)   *ora   ø-pria t-o*
    garden   ø-all   near-U
    'the entire garden'

In (5)–(6) the head of the NP is semantically a proper noun. NPs which are headed by a proper noun followed by an adjectival verb are typically nicknames.

(5)   *Simon y-apuf*   *re-t-ait*
    Simon 3M-short   location.SPEC-near-3M
    'that Short Simon'

(6)   *Maria m-anes*   *re-au*
    Maria 3U-old   location.SPEC-DIST.U
    'that Old Maria'

Examples of NPs headed by a free pronoun appear below:

(7)   *ait   y-api*   *re-t-ait*
    3M   3M-big   location.SPEC-near-3M
    'that big one (man)'

(8)   *ana   eok   ro-n-o*
    3P   two   location.SPEC-far-U
    'the two of them there' (lit. 'they two there')

(9)   *ana   ø-prut*
    3P   ø-all
    'all of them'

5.1.2 Verbal modifiers

In section 4.2.2.2 a class of adjectival verbs was presented including some illustrative examples of NPs where they function attributively. I stipulated that in an NP, adjectival verbs take a person prefix which is coreferent with the head of the NP. Some more examples:

(10)   *rae   y-anes*   *re-t-au*
    person   3M-old   location.SPEC-near-M
    'this old man'

(11)   *fnia*   *m-anes*   *re-t-o*
          woman   3U-old   location.SPEC-near-U
          'this old woman'

Noun phrases rarely occur with more than one verbal modifier. In (12) and (13) there are two modifiers. The maximum number of verbal modifiers attested in the data is two. In (13) the head noun is a compound noun. If more verbal modifiers are desired in an NP, RC constructions are used, as in (14) (see section 5.3):

(12)   *ku*   *ø-kiniah*   *m-of*   *t-o*
          child   ø-small   3U-nice   near-U
          'these nice small children'

(13)   *ara aut*   *m-api*   *ø-kapes*   *s-au*
          {albizzia sp}   3U-big   ø-huge   one-3U
          'one very big 'albizzia sp tree''[1]

(14)   *ku*   *ø-kiniah*   *m-of*   *ro*   *ø-hifuoh*
          child   ø-small   3U-good   REL   ø-diligent
          'the good small children that are diligent'

If there are two modifiers, there is a preferred order: the information that is more prominent or that expresses a more inherent property of the noun is found closer to the noun (cf. Givón 1990:470). Thus, in (15) (both of which are elicited utterances), the implication in (15a) is that the tree is yellow of itself (i.e. 'yellow' pertains to a salient characteristic of tree) and that an added property of the tree is that it is big. This is precisely the other way around for (15b), where 'big' refers to an intrinsic property of the tree, and an additional feature is that the tree is yellow.[2]

(15)   a.   *ara*   *ø-fiyaf*   *m-api*   *t-o*
                 tree   ø-yellow   3U-big   near-U
                 'the big yellow tree'

     b.   *ara*   *m-api*   *ø-fiyaf*   *t-o*
                 tree   3U-big   ø-yellow   near-U
                 'the yellow big tree.'

---

[1] The grated bark of *ara aut* is heated in fire, and applied to boils to improve healing (Avé 1998:2).

[2] *ara fiyaf* can syntactically also be a compound noun cf. section 4.3.5. *ara fiyaf* is claoxylon sp or melicope sp (Avé1998:B8).

5.1.3 Classifier

Classifiers may precede a numeral in an NP. Classifiers are used to emphasise the number of items expressed by the noun head of the NP. Both forms below are acceptable, and I have not been able to establish a semantic difference between the two:

(16)   *fnia*   *m-ana*   *ewok*   *re-t-o*
       women   3U-head   two   location.SPEC-near-U
       'these two women'

(17)   *fnia*   *ewok*   *re-t-o*
       women   two   location.SPEC-near-U
       'these two women'

In the discussion on inalienably possessed nouns (section 4.3.1) I noted that four inalienably possessed nouns can function as classifiers, namely *m-ana* 'its head'; *m-akan* 'its seed/stone'; *m-ake* 'its fruit'; and *m-ata* 'its leaf'.

   m-ana is a general classifier but it is mainly used for human and animate head nouns. Some examples (cf. also (16)):

(18)   *ku*   *ø-kiniah*   *m-ana*   *tiet*
       child   ø-small   3U-head   four
       'four small children'

(19)   *fane*   *m-ana*   *s-au*
       pig   3U-head   one-3U
       'one pig'

m-akan is used for seeds and for fruit; *m-ake* only for fruit and *m-ata* is used when counting money (banknotes). Whereas *m-ana* can be used instead of *m-akan* or *m-ake*, as illustrated in the b-examples below, this is not the case the other way around. As far as I know, there is no difference in meaning between the 'a' and the 'b' varieties below.

(20)   a.   *apit tawe*   *m-akan*   *s-au*
            {banana tawe}   3U-seed   one-3U
            'one *tawe* banana'

       b.   *apit tawe*   *m-ana*   *s-au*
            {banana tawe}   3U-head   one-3U
            'one *tawe* banana'

(21)   a.   *awiah   m-ake*   *eok*
            taro   3U-fruit   two
            'two taro's'

b. *awiah   m-ana   eok*
    taro   3U-fruit   two
    'two taro's'

For banknotes, only *m-ata* 'leaf' is used:[3]

(22) *pitis   m-ata   mat*
      money   3U-leaf   five
      'five banknotes' (lit. 'five leaves of money')

There is person agreement between the head of the NP and the classifier, as illustrated below. In (24) the NPs are enclosed in square brackets:

(23) *amu   p-na   tuf*
      1P   1P-head.P   three
      'the three of us'

(24) [*fane   m-ana   tuf*]ₙₚ *m-nan   na   m-ape*
      pig   3U-head   three   3U-enough   and.then   3U-give.birth

      [*rae   tu*]ₙₚ *to-tis   [y-ana   s-ait*]ₙₚ   [*ku   sme*]ₙₚ
      person   real   LOC.behind   3M-head   one-3M   child   male
      'Three pigs and then, lastly, she gave birth to a human, one (man), a boy.'

Classifiers are never used when counting time, such as years, months or weeks. Thus, (26b) is ungrammatical.

(25) *tein   eok*
      abandoned.garden[4]   two
      'two years'

(26) a. **hari   minggu**   *s-au*
          day   Sunday   one-3U
          'one week'

      b. ***hari   minggu**   *m-ana   s-au*
          day   Sunday   3U-head   one-3U

The noun *yu* 'bag' can function as a measure noun in the same way as the classifiers discussed above. Unlike the other classifiers, it cannot be omitted from an NP. It is used to measure specific amounts of 'uncountables', such as rice and salt.

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[3] For counting coins, the classifier *m-akan* is used.

[4] Formerly, long periods of time were counted in terms of abandoned gardens. Gardens were made, used, and, when empty, left for a new garden. This cycle took up approximately a year, referred to as *tein*. Since the Catholic mission and, subsequently, the Indonesian government came, *tein* has come to mean 'year'.

(27)   *pasa*   *yu*   *ewok*
           rice   bag   two
           'two bags of rice'

(28)   *po-kas*   *yu*   *tuf*
           NOM-lick   bag   three
           'three bags of salt'

Other measure nouns of this type are unattested.

m-ana tuf in (29) and *m-ata tiet re-t-o* in (30) are NPs with a nominal head which is formally an inalienably possessed noun.

(29)   [*m-ana*   *tuf*]   *m-ait*   *au*
           3U-head   three   3U-eat   DIST.U
           'The three eat there.'

(30)   *n-e*   [*m-ata*   *tiet*   *re-t-o*]
           2-give   leaf   four   location.SPEC-near-U
           'Give these four banknotes.' (lit. 'Give these four leaves.')

Given this, an NP in which a sequence [Classifier Numeral] modifies a head noun, as in (31), formally contains an NP within an NP. This illustrates the recursivity of NPs.[5] In a construction like (31), however, the sequence [Classifier Numeral] cannot be further modified by a demonstrative. In other words, the NP within the NP is restricted with respect to its expansive capacities.

(31)   [*rae*   *m-api*   [*m-ana*   *tiet*]$_{NP2}$ *re-t-o*]$_{NP1}$
           person   3U-big   3U-head   four   location.SPEC-near-U
           'these four big men'

5.1.4 Numerals

In section 4.6 the numerals from 'one' through to 'twenty' were presented. I illustrated that the terms for 'one' to 'four' (and in some dialects 'five') are unique number terms, and that the higher numbers are referred to by using terms for hands/fingers and feet/toes until 'one man gone' representing 'twenty' is reached. These higher numbers (with the exception of *s-t-atem* 'ten'[6]) structurally resemble NPs in themselves: they can be headed by the noun *tem* (derived from the stem *-atem*) 'hand'; *krem* 'finger/toe'; or *oo* 'foot', all of which are stripped of a person prefix, and modified by one of the unique number terms. I will refer to these structures as 'Number Phrases'. Some examples:

---

[5] Matthews (1981:77) indicates that NPs are often a recursive category.

[6] *s-t-atem* 'ten' consists of a prefix *s-* 'one' and an inalienably possessed noun *t-atem* 'my hand', cf. section 4 6.

(32)   *tem   s-au*
hand   one-3U
'five' (lit. 'one hand')

(33)   *krem   tuf*
finger/toe   three
'eight' (lit. 'three fingers')

For the higher numbers, two juxtaposed Number Phrases are used.

(34)   [*oo*]ₙₚ [*krem   s-au*]ₙₚ
foot   finger/toe   one-3U
'eleven' (lit. 'foot, one toe')

(35)   [*oo   s-au*]ₙₚ   [*krem   tiet*]ₙₚ
foot   one-3U   finger/toe   four
'nineteen' (lit. 'one foot, four toes')

This whole number phrase or sequence of number phrases can function as a modifier to a head noun in an NP. Like (31), (36) illustrates the recursive properties of NPs: *oo* and *krem s-au* function as one Number Phrase, constituting two juxtaposed Number Phrases. This Number Phrase functions as a numeral in the NP *m-ana oo krem s-au*. This NP, in turn, functions as a modifier to the head noun *ku* in the NP *ku m-ana oo krem s-au re-t-o*, which functions as a subject in the clause given in (36):

(36)   ₅[*ku   ₄[m-ana   ₃[₁[oo]*ₙₚ₁   ₂[*krem   s-au*]ₙₚ₂]ₙₚ₃]ₙₚ₄
child   3U-head   foot   finger/toe   one-3U

re-t-o]ₙₚ₅   *m-amo   **sekolah**
location.SPEC-near-U   3U-go   school
'These eleven children go to school'

5.1.5 Quantifying verbs

Quantifying verbs, introduced in section 4.2.2.3, follow a head noun and a verbal modifier, and precede the determiner in an NP. They are unattested in NPs which also contain a numeral or number phrase. The example below is elicited: quantifying verbs do not normally appear in large NPs like this.

(37)   *rae   m-anes   ø-wisau   re-t-o*
person   3U-old   ø-all   location.SPEC-near-U
'all these old people'

Unlike adjectival verbs, quantifying verbs can be used as substantives. In (38) and (39) a quantifier occupies the subject position in the clause, and in (40) and (41) the object position. Quantifying verbs that take the place of an NP cannot be further modified.

(38)   *m-siar*   *m-amo*   **Kumurkek**
       3U-many   3U-go   **Kumurkek**
       'They all went to **Kumurkek**.'

(39)   *ø-prut m-nan*   *po-ø-safom*
       ø-all   3U-like   NOM-ø-green
       'They were all like grass.'

(40)   *n-e   ø-waro*   *sai*
       2-give ø-little   just
       'Give just a little.'

(41)   *m-kah*   *ø-pria*
       3U-burn   ø-everything
       'They burned everything.'

Although quantifiers can take the place of an NP, they are not nominal in character. While NPs with a noun-head in subject or object position can be extracted through relativisation,[7] as illustrated in (42), this is not the case for quantifiers that occupy these positions, cf. (43) and (44).

(42)   a.   *rae*   *y-fat*   *ara*
             person   3M-fell   tree
             'The man fells a tree.'

       b.   *rae*   *ro*   *y-fat*   *ara*   *y-asah*
             person   REL   3M-fell   tree   3M-laugh
             'The man who fells a tree laughs.'

       c.   *ara*   *ro*   *rae*   *y-fat*   *m-ria*
             tree   REL   person   3M-fell   3U-tall
             'The tree that the man fells is tall.'

(43)   **ø-prut*   *ro*   *m-nan*   *po*   *safom*   *m-ros*
        ø-all   REL   3U-like   thing   ø-green   3U-stand

(44)   **m-siar*   *ro*   *y-ase*   *t-o*   *m-of*
        3U-many   REL   3M-plant   near-U   3U-nice

5.1.6 Determiner

The determiner in the NP must formally be a demonstrative that can only function attributively, i.e. carrying the prefix *re-* 'location.SPEC', *we-* 'location.GEN', *te-* 'area.N', or *ti-* 'side.N' These demonstrative forms were described in section 4.4. Demonstratives occur in NP-final position, as the preceding examples in this chapter illustrate.

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[7] See section 6.7 for a discussion on which positions in a clause can be relativised.

Demonstratives that can function as determiners in an NP can also be used as substantives. Note, however, that this is only the case for full demonstrative forms of this type. That is, *f-o*, *t-o* and *n-o* cannot be used as substantives. When demonstratives are used as substantives, they cannot be further modified. Some examples:

(45) *re-t-o*   *m-of,*   *ro-n-o*   *m-kair*
      location.SPEC-near-U 3U-nice   location.SPEC-far-U   3U-bad
      'This one is nice, that one is bad.'

(46) *m-ruk*   *re-t-o*
      3U-submerge   location.SPEC-near-U
      'They submerged that.'

The unmarked demonstrative base *au* 'DIST.U' can be used as a substantive:

(47) *Sely   m-hu*   *au*
      Sely   3u-stay   DIST.U
      'Sely will stay here.'

Like quantifying verbs, demonstratives in subject or object position cannot be extracted through relativisation, as illustrated in (48) and (49).

(48) a.   *re-t-o*   *m-nis*
            location.SPEC-near-U 3U-smell
            'This one smells.'

      b.   *re-t-o*   *ro*   *m-nis*   *m-kair*
            location.SPEC-near-U REL   3U-smell   3U-bad

(49) a.   *t-amo   re-f-o*
            1s-go   location.SPEC-very.near-U
            'I'll take this one (i.e. a path).'

      b.   **re-f-o*   *ro*   *t-amo*
            location.SPEC-very.near-U REL   1s-go

5.2 Possessive NPs

In section 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 I introduced two types of possessive construction, and I used them as a criterion to distinguish between alienably and inalienably possessed nouns : in possessive constructions where the inalienably possessed noun expresses the possessed the order of the nouns is 'possessor-possessed', while in constructions where the alienably possessed noun expresses the possessed, the order is reversed, i.e 'possessed-possessor'. In the latter, the possessive marker *ro* precedes the possessor. Examples with inalienably possessed nouns ((50) and (51)) and with alienably possessed nouns ((52) and (53)) are summarised below:

(50)   *Yan*   *y-atia*
     Yan   3M-father
     'Yan's father'

(51)   *aof*   *m-ake*
     sago   3U-fruit
     'the fruit of the sago'

(52)   *amah*   *ro-Sely*
     house   POSS-Sely
     'Sely's house'

(53)   *fane*   *r-ait*
     pig   POSS-3M
     'his pig'

In an NP, a possessive construction can be modified by a Number Phrase, as illustrated in (54)-(56):

(54)   *ru*   *m-aim*   *ewok*
     bird   3U-wing   two
     'two bird's wings'

(55)   *mikie*[8]   *r-ait*   *m-ana*   *krem*   *s-au*
     co.wife   POSS-3M   3U-head   finger/toe   one-3U
     'his six co-wives'

(56)   *tfo kawia*   *r-ait*   *s-au*
     {knife}   POSS-3M   one-U
     'his one small knife'

An inalienably possessed noun can itself be a possessor in a 'possessed-possessor' construction, cf. (57) and (58). In (59), a 'possessor-possessed' construction is itself the possessor in a 'possessed-possessor' construction. This illustrates that possessive constructions, like regular NPs, are a recursive category.

(57)   *fane*   *ro-t-atia*
     pig   POSS-1S-father
     'my father's pig'

(58)   *amah*   *ro-y-fain*
     house   POSS-3M-wife
     'his wife's house'

---

[8] Given the order of constituents in the possessive construction *o-mikie r-au* 'his co-wives', I assume that this is an alienably possessed noun, although semantically it could well be a kinship term.

(59)   *tfo*   *ro-Yan*   *y-atia*
       machete   POSS-Yan   3M-father
       'Yan's father's knife'

Theoretically, the number of times a possessive construction can be repeated within a possessive construction is infinite. However, constructions larger than (59) rapidly become unintelligible, and they are unattested in the data of spontaneous speech. The examples in (60) below were obtained through elicitation. Whereas (60a), in which two NPs are juxtaposed, is possible, (60b) is preferred. In the latter, the possessive construction *fane ro-t-ao ku r-au* is separated by the numeral *m-ana tuf* by means of the coordinator *mati* 'and then'.

(60)   a.   *fane*   *ro-t-ao*   *ku*   *r-au*   *m-ana*   *tuf*
            pig   POSS-1S-relative.SS   child   POSS-3U   3U-head   three
            'my sister's pig, its three piglets'

       b.   *fane*   *ro-t-ao*   *ku*   *r-au*   *mati*
            pig   POSS-1S-relative.SS   child   POSS-3U   and.then

            m-ana   *tuf*
            3U-head   three
            'My sister's child's pigs, there are three.'

5.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are characterised as consisting of a head and a restricting clause (Comrie 1989:143). Semantically, the function of a restricting clause is to narrow down the set of possible referents of the head noun to a subset, by providing specific information about a head (cf. Comrie 1989:143; Dik 1997:25). In *Maybrat*, RCs conform to this basic characterisation. The restrictive clause is marked by *ro* 'REL' (cf. (1c) above).

The ordering of the head noun and the restricting clause in *Maybrat* is regular from a typological point of view: if in a language the determiner follows the head noun in an NP, the restricting clause also follows the head noun (cf. Croft 1990:47-48; 84).

The discussion in this section is restricted to the structure of relative clauses: RC-formation, i.e. which positions in a clause can be relativised, is described in section 6.7.

Some examples of RCs appear below. Nouns ((61) and (62)); pronouns ((63)); and numerals ((64)) can function as the head of an RC. RCs headed by a determiner or a quantifier are unattested in the data. Recall that in the discussion on 'regular' NPs I illustrated that quantifiers and determiners can take the place of an NP, i.e. they can be used as substantives, but that in this function they cannot be modified. It is therefore natural that they cannot head an RC, since an RC includes a modifier, i.e. a restricting clause.

(61)   *Simon ro*   *y-men*   *Maria ø-kiyam*
       Simon REL   3M-marry   Maria ø-ill
       'Simon who married Maria is ill'

(62) *amah ro y-hu re-t-o m-api*
house REL 3M-stay location.SPEC-near-U 3U-big
'This house where he lives is big.'

(63) *ait ro y-eyam tapak[9] y-nit po-mna*
3M REL 3M-roll tobacco 3M-tell NOM-tell.tale
'He who rolls a cigarette tells a tale.'

(64) *eok ro m-hu amah m-aim po-iit*
two rel 3U-stay house 3U-cook NOM-eat.P
'The two who stay at home cook food.'

A restricting clause can also contain another restricting clause. This is illustrated in (65) (derived from (61)), in which *Maria*, the object in the restricting clause *y-men Maria*, is modified by the restricting clause *ro ø-kiyam*:

(65) *Simon ro y-men Maria ro ø-kiyam*
Simon REL 3M-marry Maria REL ø-ill

y-anes oh
3M-old already
'Simon who married the ill Maria (as opposed to the healthy Maria) is already old.'

In the examples above, the restricting clause is formally a clause. In the examples below, an adverb ((66) and (67)), a numeral ((68)) a demonstrative ((69)), or a location marker ((70), cf. section 4.8.1) occur in the place of a restricting clause, and function as modifiers to the head of the RC. If a numeral functions as a restricting clause, as in (68), the result is an ordinal construction (see section 4.6).

(66) *ita ro is nuo n-nit*
leaf REL yesterday 2S 2-tell
'The leaves which you told about yesterday.'

(67) *m-po m-ae amah r-ira*
3U-hold 3U-at house REL-just.now
'They took it to the house of just now.' (i.e. the house that has already been mentioned in the discourse.)

(68) *rae ro s-ait y-awe t-amo*
person REL one-3M 3M-say 1S-go
'The first man says, 'I go.''

(69) *y-amo ø-frok rae ro to-u Meah*
3M-go ø-emerge person REL LOC-down Meah
'He went and arrived at the people of the east, the Meah.'

---

[9] **tapak** is a loan from Dutch *tabak* 'tobacco'.

(70)   *n-men*   *fnia*   *ro*   *t-o*   *mai*
          2-marry   woman   REL   near-U   PROHIB
          'Don't marry a woman from there.'

The head of an RC may be omitted. Omission of a head may occur if a referent has already been introduced in the discourse. In (71) and (72), the head of the first RC is *rae* 'person'. This is also the understood head of every subsequent restricting clause. In the forms below, the RCs are juxtaposed (cf. section 5.4).

(71)   *rae*   *m-siar,*   *ro*   *m-anes,*   *ro*   *m-aku*
          person   3U-many   REL   3U-old   REL   3U-small
          'There are many people, old ones, young ones.'

(72)   *rae*   *ro*   *y-ase*   *m-siar,*   *ro*   *m-kah*   *po*
          person   REL   3M-plant   3U-many   REL   3U-burn   thing

          e,   *ro*   *m-fat*   *po-fat,*   *ro*   *m-ana*   *ana*
          hey   REL   3U-fell   NOM-fell   REL   3U-build   fence

          semua,   *ro*   *m-amo*   *m-atu*   *awiah*
          all   REL   3U-go   3U-yank.out   taro
          'There were many people who planted (lit. 'The man who plants, there were many'), who burned things, who felled trees (lit. 'fell-things', i.e. things that need to be felled), who built fences, who went and yanked out taro.'

In the example below, the head of the RC is given in the previous NP *fane re-t-o* 'this pig'.

(73)   *fane*   *re-t-o,*   *ro*   *m-api,*   *m-ait*   *ora*
          pig   location.SPEC-near-U   REL   3U-big   3U-eat   garden
          'This pig, the big one, it ate from the garden.'

5.4 The element *ro*

So far, the element *ro* has been described in two syntactic functions, namely as a possessive marker and as a marker of the restricting clause in RCs. An example of each appears below:

(74)   *amah*   *ro-tuo*
          house   POSS-1S
          'my house'

(75)   *aof*   *ro*   *ana*   *m-fat*
          sago   REL   3P   3U-fell
          'The sagotree that they felled.'

Possessive constructions and RC-constructions are syntactically and semantically very similar. Syntactically, they all have a nominal head followed by a modifier marked by *ro*. In both

types of construction, the entire constituent is an NP because it can function as a subject or object in a clause. Semantically, in each construction, [*ro* + constituent] functions as a modifier to the nominal head. The exact function of this modifier is to narrow down the potential referents expressed by the head. For example, in (74) the referent of the generic term 'house' is narrowed down to one item, namely 'the house that is mine'. Likewise, in (75), the referent of the generic term 'sagotree' is narrowed down to the item 'the sagotree that they felled'. In general terms, *ro* marks the following constituent as a 'specifier'. Thus, *ro* 'POSS' and ro 'REL' are arguably related.

The marker *ro* is, in turn, possibly related to the demonstrative prefix *re-* 'location.SPEC'. In section 4.4.1 I illustrated that *re-* occurs in demonstratives that function attributively, and that it is used if the head noun is specific, i.e. if the head noun can be pinpointed. An example:

(76)   *amah   re-f-o*
       house   location.SPEC-very.near-U
       'this house'

If (76) is compared to (74) and (75) above, it is not difficult to see a possible relation: Syntactically, *re-* 'location.SPEC' and *ro* 'POSS'/'REL' are restricted to the environment of NPs. All follow a nominal head in an NP. Pragmatically, all mark the following constituent, whether this is an NP, an RC or a demonstrative form, as a modifier of the head. In many languages, relative clause markers derive from demonstratives, interrogatives, or relative pronouns. This is in accordance with their function, namely to specify or determine the referent of the noun (Hopper & Traugott 1993:195-196). Himmelmann (1996) argues that demonstratives and RC-markers are often related. He argues that the common function of both is their recognitional use: they make referents more accessible in discourse (Himmelmann 1996:230). In *Maybrat*, not 'accessibility' but rather 'specificity' is the common functional denominator.

5.5 Other phrasal modifiers

In section 4.7.2 I introduced two manner adverbs, *ati* 'really' and *tu* 'indeed, really, truly' that can modify an NP. These seem to be the only adverbs that modify a constituent that functions as an NP. In the examples below, *sasu ati* and *rae tu* function as an object NP in a clause.

(77)   *ait   y-ait   sasu   ati*[10]
        3M   3M-eat   sweet.potato really
        'He is eating a sweet potato.'

---

[10] *sasu ati*, literally 'real sweet potato' is used in contrast with *ara sasu* 'cassava', which was introduced as a new crop in the Bird's Head. Like sweet potato, cassava is a tuber, but its skin looks like wood, hence the term *ara* 'tree' in its name.

(78) m-ape   rae   tu
      3U-give.birth   person   really
      'She gives birth to a real man.'

(79) and (80) contain examples of the idiomatic expression *po sai* 'It's nothing, really.'
Formally, *sai* is an aspect adverb, cf. section 4.7.3.

(79) n-sam   mai,   po   sai
      2-afraid   PROHIB   thing   just
      'Don't be afraid, it's nothing, really.'

(80) t-awe   po   sai
      1S-say   thing   just
      'I thought[11] nothing of it, really.'

5.6 Combinations of NPs

In *Maybrat*, there are three ways of combining NPs, which I will refer to as juxtaposition,
apposition and enumeration.[12] Of these, only enumeration is syntactically marked.

Enumeration involves the placement of the enumerator *o* (introduced in section 4.11)
between two NPs. As mentioned in section 4.11, *o* intonationally belongs to the NP that it
follows. Depending on the context, *o* is adequately translated as 'and' or 'or'. Some
examples appear below. In an enumeration, *o* on the last NP in the sequence is not
obligatory, as illustrated in (83).

(81) m-po   to-te   *Saweron*   o
      3U-hold   LOC-direction.where.sun.sets *Saweron*   ENUM

      Mosun   o
      Mosun   ENUM
      'They take them along to the east, to *Saweron* and to *Mosun*.'

(82) to-n-o   *Aypokiar*   o   *Esuyoh*   o   to-au[13]
      area.N-far-U   *Aypokiar*   ENUM   *Esuyoh*   ENUM   LOC-DIST.U
      'there at Aypokiar and Esuyoh, there'

---

[11] The verb *-awe* is used in pseudo-quotative constructions, referring, among others, to 'thought content'.
See section 8.3 and 8.3.1 for a detailed discussion of this verb.

[12] Another way of combining NPs is in comitative forms, where two NPs are conjoined with the verb *-sia*
'and' or 'with' (introduced in section 4.2.3.6). Because this NP conjoining is effected with a verbal form, I will
discuss these structures in the chapter on sequences of verbs (section 8.5).

[13] This is an example where the demonstrative form to-*au* is used as a substantive.

(83) *snie*   *eok*   *o*   *tuf*   *u*   *fi-t-o*   *m-ape*
      moon   two   ENUM   three   again   similar.to-near-U   3U-give.birth
      'Another two or three months, and she will give birth.'

o can be replaced by a pause without a significant change in meaning, as indicated in the
following minimal pair. In (84b) the relation between the NPs is juxtapositional.

(84) a.   *awiah o*   *po*   *we-t-o*
           taro   ENUM   thing   location.GEN-near-U
           'taro and these things'

      b.   *awiah #*   *po*   *we-t-o*
           taro   thing   location.GEN-near-U
           'taro and these things'

Some examples of juxtaposition were given in (71)-(73), where RCs without a head
occur one after the other. Juxtaposed NPs are not coreferential. They can be adequately
translated into English with 'NP1 and NP2 and NP3 etc.'. Phonologically, there is always
a (short) pause between two juxtaposed NPs, marked by '#':

(85) *fnia*   *#*   *rae*   *ø-kiyam*   *m-ama*   *amah*   *ø-kiyam*
      woman   person   ø-ill   3U-come   house   ø-ill
      'Ill woman and men came to the hospital.'

(86) *ana*   *srohni*[14]   *m-atia*   *#*   *m-ine*
      3P   ø-forget   3U-father   3U-mother
      'They forget their father and their mother'

(87) *m-tut*   *ø-kro,*   *ro*   *m-anes*   *#*   *ro*   *m-aku*
      3U-everyone   ø-follow   REL   3U-old   REL   3U-young
      'Everyone joins, the old ones and the young ones.

Examples of appositional NPs, i.e. coreferential NPs that occur next to each other, appear
below. In these NPs, a pause is not necessarily present between the NPs. The appositional
character is also reflected in the translations: the portion between comma's adds information
about the preceding NP:

(88) *fane*   *re-t-o,*   *m-ana*   *ewok,*   *m-som*
      pig   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-head   two   3U-play
      'These pigs, the two, play.'

---

[14] The form *sroh*, also 'forget' is attested in Ayawasi, while *ni* is not. *srohni* may be a complex form,
given that the main stress falls on the second syllable ([sərɔx'ni]).

(89) *m-me,*   *ana*   *ro*   *ø-huti*   *re-f-o,*   *m-hu*
      3U-mother   3P   REL   ø-original   location.SPEC-very.near-U   3U-stay

      kait   *tapam*   *r-ana*
      near   land   POSS-3U
      'Their mothers, the originals, live near their own grounds.'

(90) *au,*   *ro*   *m-anes,*   *m-amo*   *ø-kpat*   *au,*
      3U   child   3U-old   3U-go   ø-leave   3U

      ku   *m-aku*
      child   3U-small
      'She, the old one, goes and leaves her, the small child.'

Appositional NPs of which the second NP is formally a pronoun may be used to express a subject or object NP with an animate referent. Normally, there is no pause between two appositional NPs of this type. It is not clear why these appositional NPs are used: it may be assumed to express emphasis, but this cannot be established from the context in which they are used.

(91) *ku*   *ait*   *y-hu*   *au*
      child   3M   3M-stay   DIST.U
      'The child stays here.'

(92) *fane*   *au*   *ø-soh nat*[15]   *kau*
      pig   3U   ø-deceive   rat
      'The pig deceives the rat.'

(93) *y-men*   *fnia*   *au*   *s-au*
      3M-marry   woman   3U   one-3U
      'He marries one woman.'

---

[15] The form *soh* 'deceive' is also used. *nat* in isolation is unattested. Like *srohni*, it may be a complex form, given the stress pattern ([sɔxə nɑt]).

A clause is a unit consisting minimally of a predicate and its arguments. Its function is to introduce new propositions in the discourse (Givón: 1984:85). The description of the clause in *Maybrat* must be centered around two criteria, namely syntactic and intonational: Syntactically, the simplest type of clause consists of a verb and its arguments and, optionally, its (adverbial) modifiers. Given that the person prefix on a verb expresses its subject when the verb functions as a clause, it can be assumed that a person prefix functions as a subject argument in a clause. With the exception of the obligatory person prefix, the arguments of a verb need not be expressed as NPs, leaving a clause which formally consists of a single verb. This type of clause has a unique intonation pattern. This intonation pattern is needed to distinguish between the two forms below: formally both constitute a sequence of verbs, and could theoretically constitute a sequence of clauses. However, they are intonationally different, which indicates that (1a) syntactically consists of two clauses, while (1b) consists of one clause, in which *t-aut ara* functions as an object complement:

(1)   a.   *t-sam*   /   *t-aut*   *ara*
               1s-scared   1s-climb   tree
               'I'm scared, and I climb into the tree.'

        b.   *t-sam*   *t-aut*   *ara*
               1s-scared   1s-climb   tree
               'I'm scared to climb into the tree.'

Examples of this type are discussed in the chapter on sequences of verbs.

In this chapter I will restrict myself to a description of 'simple' clauses, i.e. those consisting of a single verb as predicate. The description of sequences of clauses is deferred until chapter 8. The present chapter is set up as follows: In section 6.1 I will give the basic syntactic structure of the clause, and its intonational characteristics. Section 6.2 discusses the head of the clause, section 6.3 the subject and section 6.4 the object. Subsequently, in section 6.5, nominal clauses are presented. Topicalisation is described in section 6.6. In section 6.7, I will discuss relativisation, i.e. the extraction of subject and object arguments from single-verb clauses. In section 6.8, the various types of adverbials that add extra information to a clause are treated. These adverbials are collectively referred to as the 'periphery' of the clause. The different types of periphery that can be distinguished are the time periphery; the manner periphery; the aspect periphery; and the focus periphery. In section 6.8.5 I will show that these peripheries can be combined. In the following section the location periphery is treated. In section 6.9 negation, formed with the adverb *fe*, is discussed. In section 6.10, the clausal determiner is described. In section 6.11, I will give some examples of anaphoric reference, although this is, strictly speaking, a discourse phenomenon, and not a clausal phenomenon.

6.1 Basic structure of the clause

The basic structure of the clause in *Maybrat* is given in (2). The order of constituents, SVO, is rigid.

(2)   {Time} + (Subject) s-V (+Object) + {Location/Manner/Aspect + Det}

A clause always consists of a head, the verb (V) taking an overt or covert person prefix. Subjects and objects may be expressed as full NPs, but may also be omitted if they have been mentioned earlier in the discourse. The omission of a subject or object does not violate the acceptability of a clause. An object normally follows the verb, but it may also be 'topicalised', i.e. fronted, to attract the attention of the listener. Temporal adverbials precede the verb, and may precede the subject NP, in a clause, while location/manner/aspect adverbials normally follow the verb and, if present, the object.

A salient characteristic of clauses is their intonation pattern: on the last word of the clause the pitch rises slightly, followed by a sharp drop. Following this sharp drop, there is a pause.[1]

(3)   *ait*   *y-amo*   ***Kumurkek***   *òh*   /   *men*
      3M   3M-go   ***Kumurkek***   already   tomorrow

      y-e   *ù*   /
      3M-return   again
      'He's already gone to *Kumurkek*, tomorrow he will return again.'

If another sentence follows, there may also be a rise in pitch, as illustrated below. The same example illustrates that a fall in pitch at the end of a clause is not obligatory:

(4)   *y-pat*   ***Tenau Kosetiáh***   /   *y-ama*   *y-hu*   /
      3M-from   ***Tenau Kosetiah***   3M-come   3M-stay

      Tenau Kohmaró   /
      Tenau Kohmaro
      'He was from *Tenau Kosetiah*, he came to live at *Tenau Kohmaro*....'

Intonation may be indicative of a differing constituent structure, as indicated in (5). (5a) contains two clauses, because there is a fall in pitch on the last syllable of *m-anes*, followed by a pause. In this example, *ku m-anes* functions as a clause. Conversely, (5b) contains just one clause: the only intonation-break and sharp drop in pitch are found utterance- (=clause) finally. Here, *ku m-anes* functions as a subject.

(5)   a.   *ku*   *m-anès*   /   *m-amo*   **sekolàh**   /
          child   3U-old   3U-go   school
          'The child is old (enough), she's going to school.'

      b.   *ku*   *m-anes*   *m-amo*   **sekolàh**   /
          child   3U-old   3U-go   school
          'The old child is going to school.'

---

[1] Other intonational patterns are presented in section 2.7 on intonation.

6.2 Head

The head of a clause can be an intransitive verb (see section 4.2.2) or a transitive verb (section 4.2.3). In (6)-(8) examples of the 'minimal' clauses are given, i.e. clauses consisting only of a verb and its obligatory person prefix. In these examples, arguments other than person prefixes are not expressed.

(6)   *t-api*
      1S-big
      'I am big.'

(7)   *y-fos*
      3m-wind
      'He is cold.'

(8)   *n-kom*
      2-write
      'Write!'

Some examples of clauses with intransitive verbs in which the subject is expressed as an NP appear below:

(9)   *pi*   *Hermanus*   *y-anes*   *oh*
      man   Hermanus   3M-old   already
      'The man Hermanus is already old.'

(10) *ara*   *m-ake*   *re-t-o*   *m-kek*
      tree   3U-fruit   location.SPEC-near-U 3U-red
      'The fruit (of the tree) is red.'

In (11)-(14) examples of clauses involving transitive verbs are given. As argued in section 4.2.3, six different types of transitive verb can be identified in *Maybrat*, namely 'regular transitive verbs', i.e. verbs which take a nominal object (section 4.2.3.1); 'motion verbs' and 'position verbs' (section 4.2.3.2); 'shared argument construction verbs' (section 4.2.3.3); 'complement-taking verbs' (section 4.2.3.4); prepositional verbs (section 4.2.3.5), and a comitative verb (section 4.2.3.6). With the exception of the prepositional verbs and the comitative verb, all the verbs in these classes can function as the head of a clause The discussion in this chapter will be centered around clauses that include these transitive verbs; prepositional verbs and the comitative verb are treated in chapter 8.

Below, examples of clauses involving transitive verbs are given.

(11) *rae*   *m-fat*   *ara*
      person   3U-fell   tree
      'The people fell a tree.'

(12)   *t-e*   *am*
        1S-give   mat
        'I give a mat.'

(13)   *ku*   *ø-kiniah*   *re-t-o*   *m-asah*   *pi*   *y-api*
        child   ø-small   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-laugh   man   3M-big
        'These small children laugh at the old man.'

(14)   *m-fau yu*   *m-api*   *re-t-o*
        3U-fill bag   3U-big   location.SPEC-near-U
        'She fills that big bag.'

6.3 The subject

In addition to a subject, expressed by an overt or covert person prefix, that is always present in a clause because it is included in the verbal form, a subject may be expressed in the form of an NP. The motivation for expressing such a subject is pragmatic: if the subject cannot be unambiguously identified from the preceding discourse, then it is expressed. The absence of an overt subject NP never renders a clause ungrammatical.

Examples where the subject NP is omitted are given in the (16) and (17). (15)-(17) form the beginning of a story ('Ø' marks the position where an overt subject NP is absent):

(15)   *pi*   *s-ait*   *y-asom*   *Srah*   *Watà*   /
        man   one-3M   3M-name   Srah   Wata
        'One man, his name is Srah Wata.'

(16)   *Ø*   *y-hu*   *m-ae*   *Mosun*   *Mapàt* /
               3M-live   3U-at   *Mosun*   *Mapat*
        'He lives at *Mosun Mapat*.'

(17)   *um*   *s-au*   *Ø*   *y-amo* *y-hoh*   *po*   *r-aìt*   /
        moment   one-3U   3M-go   3M-chase   thing   POSS-3M
        'One time, he went to chase (after) his ceremonial cloth.'[2]

In (15), which is an instance of a verbless clause (see section 6.5) the topic of the discourse, *pi s-ait* 'one man' is introduced. In the following sentence, *pi s-ait* is not explicitly mentioned, as it is clear from both the discourse and the third person masculine person prefix on the verb *-hu* that *pi s-ait* is still the subject. The same applies to (17). In both sentences the subject is 'notionally' present.

The relation between the overt subject NP and the clause itself, in which the subject NP specifies information which is already present in the person prefix on the verb, but has no syntactic function, is described as an appositional relation, following Dik (1987:134-135).

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[2] In the system of exchanging ceremonial cloth, people often lend their cloths to other parties, who may use them in trade again. At some point, such cloths, or cloths equivalent in value to the ones originally lent out, are claimed back by the owners. In the story, *Srah Wata* sets out to reclaim his ceremonial cloths.

The appositional character of subject NPs in *Maybrat* can be syntactically motivated: temporal adverbials (see section 6.8.1) can either precede or follow the subject NP without creating any difference in meaning:

(18)   a.   *is   ana   m-kai   mes*
            yesterday   3P   3U-meet   fern.vegetable
            'Yesterday they found fern vegetables.'

       b.   *ana   is   m-kai   mes*
            3P   yesterday   3U-find   fern.vegetable
            'Yesterday they found fern vegetables.'

(19)   a   *rere   tuo   t-amo   amah*
            shortly   1S   1S-go   house
            'Shortly I will go home.'

       b.   *tuo   rere   t-amo   amah*
            1S   shortly   1S-go   house
            'Shortly I will go home.'

The 'risk' in omitting subject NPs is that the clause becomes unintelligible because the referent of the subject is unknown. This is especially the case for clauses including a verb with a covert person prefix.

6.4 The object

Like subject NPs, object NPs can also be omitted without violating the grammaticality of an utterance. This is illustrated in the pairs in (20)-(22) below, where in the a-varieties the clause has a nominal object, and in the b-varieties this object is absent.

(20)   a   *m-kai   ru*
            3U-find   bird
            'She finds a bird.'

       b.   *m-kai*
            3U-find
            'She finds (something).'

(21)   a.   *m-ape   ku*
            3U-carry.on.back   child
            'She carries a child on her back.'

       b.   *m-ape*
            3U-carry.on.back
            'She carries (something) on her back.'

(22) a.   *t-e*   *am*
         3U-give   letter
         'I give a letter.'

    b.   *t-e*
         1S-give
         'I give.'

Like the omission of subject NPs, the motivation for omitting objects from clauses which contain a transitive verb is pragmatic: if the object is referred to earlier in the discourse, and is hence known to the listener, then it can be omitted. In (23), the object of *m-tah* 'They eat small meat' is *ru r-ana* 'their bird'. 'Ø' refers to an omitted object.

(23) *m-e*   *u*   *na*   *m-akuos*   *ru*   *r-ana*
     3U-return again and.then 3U-roast   bird POSS-3P

     m-nan   *m-tah*   Ø
     3U-enough 3U-eat.small.meat
     'They returned again and then they roasted their bird and after that they ate (it).'

Another example is given in the passage in (24)-(26). In (25) the implied object of *m-aut* 'They climb' is *ara wisam* "wisam' tree', given in (24). In (26) the implied object of *m-ehoh* is *apan*, occurring earlier in the same sentence.

(24) *ku*   *eok*   *m-amo*   *m-aut*   *ara wisam*[3]
     child two 3U-go   3U-climb   {tree wisam}
     'Two children went and climbed a 'wisam' tree.'

(25) *m-aut*   Ø   *na*   *m-kai*   *apan*
     3U-climb   and.then 3U-find   snake
     'They climbed and they found a snake.'

(26) *m-kai*   *apan* *m-arak*   *ana* *eok* *m-ehoh*   Ø
     3U-meet snake 3U-empty 3U   two 3U-stab
     'After they found the snake the two stabbed (=killed) (it).'

Omission of nominal arguments is also attested in other Papuan languages and, according to Foley, characteristic of the fact that in Papuan languages morphology is more important in the organisation of the grammar than syntax (Foley 1986:168-171). Although *Maybrat* has little morphology, and word order is relevant in the organisation of the grammar, the 'dropping' of nominal objects is allowed. As far as I know, any 'transitive' verb can also occur without its object, and still be acceptable.

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[3] The species referred to by *ara wisam* was not found by the botanists in Ayawasi (cf. Avé 1998).

6.5 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses are clauses with a nominal head. In nominal clauses, the 'subject' usually refers to a known entity, while the nominal predicate gives additional information about that entity. Semantically, nominal clauses can often be adequately translated as equative clauses, i.e. clauses of the form 'x is y'. Nominal clauses can be modified by adverbials in the same way as verbal clauses. The structure of a verbless clause is:

(27)   {Time} Subj [NP] {Location/Manner/Aspect + Det}

Some examples of nominal clauses appear below. In (29) the subject contains an RC, and in (30) the head of the clause is a possessive form.

(28)   *ait*   *guru*
        3M   teacher
        'He is a teacher.'

(29)   *iso*   *ro*   *rae*   **kertia tiaran raya**[4]
        road   REL   person   work   road   main
        'The road that people are working on is the main road.'

(30)   *fane*   *re-f-o*   *fane*   *ro*   *Daniel*   *Turot*
        pig   location.SPEC-very.near-U   pig   POSS   Daniel   Turot
        'This pig is Daniel Turot's pig.'

The following two examples illustrate nominal clauses modified by adverbials:

(31)   *Tayie   is*[5]   *ro*   *wia*
        Tayie   yesterday   REL   first
        'In the past, Tayie was the first one (to get hold of a valuable ceremonial cloth).'

(32)   *um*   *s-au*   *arin*   *mti*   *oh*
        moment   one-3u   situation   evening   already
        'Once upon a time, it was already dark.'

Nominal clauses have the same intonational structure as verbal clauses, i.e there is a rise in pitch on the last word of the clause followed by a sharp drop in pitch on the last syllable of that word, followed by a pause. This is illustrated in (33). In (33) *po s-au fo* constitutes a nominal clause, while *y-awe n-ama ø-srot* constitutes a verbal clause. Both clauses are followed by a pause, and the pitch drops on the final syllable of the utterance:

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[4] **kertia** and **tiaran** were pronounced by an elderly man who has not received an education in Indonesian. The pronunciation of these words is adapted (cf. section 2.8).

[5] In this context, *is* refers to the past in general, and is therefore adequately translated as 'in the past'.

(33)   *y-awe*   *n-ama*   *ø-sròt* /   *po*   *s-au*   *f-ò*   /
       3M-say   2-come   ø-fast   thing one-3U   very.near-U
       'He says: 'Come quickly. Something is the matter'.'

6.6 Topicalisation

Although the SVO word order in *Maybrat* is very rigid, there is a notable variation whereby the object is placed in clause-initial position. The function of this movement of object is to switch the attention of the listener away from one 'topic', usually the subject of the discourse, to another 'topic'. Following Keenan (1985:243), I will refer to the fronting of objects as 'topicalisation'.[6] The example below gives a contrast between a form where the object follows the verb (34a) and one where it is fronted (34b). In (34b) the object *am re-f-o* 'this book' is conceptually more prominent than *am re-f-o* in (34a). (34b) is more marked than (34a), where the word-order is regular.

(34)   a.   *t-kom*   *am*   *re-f-o*   *m-kah*
             1S-write   book location.SPEC-very.near-U   3U-for

             t-atia   *y-sia*   *t-me*
             1S-father   3M-with   1S-mother
             'I wrote this book for my father and mother.'

       b.   *am*   *re-f-o*   *t-kom*   *m-kah*
             book location.SPEC-very.near-U   1S-write   3U-for

             t-atia   *y-sia*   *t-me*
             1S-father   3M-with   1S-mother
             'This book, I wrote it for my father and mother.'

Topicalised objects are separated from the rest of the clause by a pause, and they are dominated by their own intonation contour. These intonational characteristics are typical of what Givón refers to as 'left-dislocation', a device used to switch the attention of the reader back to topics that were introduced earlier in the conversation (Givón 1990:757, 759).[7] An example:

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[6] Functionally, topicalisations are similar to passives, since both can be regarded as 'foregrounding constructions' (Keenan 1985:243). *Maybrat* has no syntactic manifestation of the passive as it is known in Germanic languages, or, for instance, in Indonesian with the derivational prefix di- on a verb.

[7] Givón makes a distinction between left-dislocation, whereby topics 'that have been out of the focus of attention for a while...are being brought back' (Givón 1990:757), and Y-movement or contrastive topicalisation. Y-movement is used to contrast a referent with another referent of approximately the same semantic class (Givón 1990:754). An example of left-dislocation is 'John, I never saw him there'; an example of Y-movement is 'I saw John there. Mary I never saw.' (the moved constituents are underlined). What I describe as 'topicalisation', in *Maybrat* corresponds pragmatically and syntactically to Givón's left-dislocation.

(35) *fnia*   *aná*   /   *t-rof*   Ø   *m-usiah*   *t-kai*
    woman   3P   1s-follow   3U-hunt   1s-find
    'The women, I followed (them), we went after them and I found them.'

(36) *aya*   *f-ó*   /   *t-ata*   *fe*
    water   very.near-U   /   1s-drink   NEG
    'This water, I won't drink it.'

Below are some more examples of topicalised objects. The preceding context is given to illustrate the pragmatic motivations to topicalise the object. In (37)-(38), topicalised objects are underlined:

(37) *au*   *m-sia*   *m-a*   *m-hu*   *akah*   *samu mos*
    3U   3U-with   3U-husband   3U-stay   above   {dancing house}

    m-iyo.   *mawah*   *Potafit*   *m-se*   Ø   *y-tien*   *ete*
    big   adopted.child Potafit   3U-place   3M-sleep   below

    amah   *s-au*   *kar*
    house   one-U   alone
    'She with her husband, they lived above in a big dancing-house. The adopted child Potafit, they put (him) away, he slept below the house, alone.'

(38) *au*   *ø-sokuos,*   *y-me*   *f-o*   *ø-sokuos*   *m-awe:*
    3U   ø-order   3M-mother   very.near-U   ø-order   3U-say

    n-amo *n-apot* *ara*   *ø-hri*   *aro.*   *N-ama*   *re*   *po*   *aof*
    2-go   2-cut   tree   ø-bark   other   2-come   in.order.to   thing   sago

    p-se   Ø   *re*   *p-tu*
    1P-place   in.order.to   1P-stir
    'She ordered, his mother, she ordered saying: "you go and cut treebark and other things. Then come back, so that the sago-thing, we place it so that we can stir it".'[8]

6.7 Relativisation

In section 5.3 the formal properties of RCs were presented. In this section I will discuss relativisation strategies in (single-verb) clauses, i.e. the formation of RCs by extracting the subject NP or the object NP from a clause. The function of relativisation is to attract the attention of the listener to an NP, and to give additional information about that NP. Functionally, then, relativisation is similar to topicalisation, in that both are 'foregrounding' devices.

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[8] That is, they are going to make sago porridge, which is made by pouring hot water onto sago flour and then stirring until the porridge 'sets', i.e. becomes a gluey substance.

There are two positions in the clause that can be relativised, namely the subject and the object. Examples of NPs where the subject is relativised appear below. The position from which the subject has been extracted is marked 'Ø'. In the examples below, the a-forms give the original clause, and the b-forms give the clause after relativisation.

(39) a.   *ku*   *m-ait* *po-iit*
            child   3U-eat thing-eat.P
            'The child eats food.'

      b.   *ku*   *ro*   *Ø*   *m-ait* *po-iit*   *ø-kiyam*   *fares*
            child   REL   3U-eat thing-eat.P   ø-ill   still
            'The child that eats food is still ill.'

(40) a.   *kokok*   *m-ape*   *kokok m-auf*
            chicken   3U-give.birth chicken   3U-content
            'The chicken is laying eggs[9].'

      b.   *kokok*   *ro*   *Ø*   *m-ape*   *kokok*   *m-auf*
            chicken   REL   3U-give.birth chicken   3U-content

            m-mai   *mimo*
            3U-sound very
            'The chicken that is laying eggs is making a lot of noise.'

In (41) and (42) the object has been relativised:

(41) a.   *t-he*   *rae*
            1S-see person
            'I see someone / a man.'

      b.   *rae*   *ro*   *t-he* *Ø*   *y-ehoh*   *kak*
            person   REL   1S-see   3M-stab   cuscus
            'The man that I see stabs a cuscus.'

(42) a.   *t-se*   *aya*   *akah* **meja**
            1S-place water above table
            'I place water on the table.'

      b.   *aya* *ro*   *t-se*   *Ø*   *akah* **meja** *ø-kanam*
            water REL 1S-place   above table   ø-cold
            'The water that I place on the table is cold.'

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[9] *kokok m-auf* is a possessive construction of the type possessor-possessed. *m-auf* 'its content' is an inalienably possessed noun. When it occurs in a construction where the possessor is a bird, *m-auf* refers to 'egg'.

6.8 Adverbials

The function of adverbials in the clause is to modify or specify an event expressed by the predicate (cf. section 4.7). Adverbials occur in the 'periphery' of the clause. In *Maybrat* peripheral constituents can be syntactically defined as 'any constituent which is not a head or a subject or object argument'. Peripheral constituents are constituents that specify the spatial or temporal setting of an event (cf. Foley & Olson 1985:36).

In the discussion of the periphery, I will make a distinction between different types of adverbials, based on syntactic and semantic criteria. The section will begin with the periphery that precedes the predicate in a clause, i.e. the temporal periphery (6.8.1). Subsequently, the peripheries that occur in clause-final position are described, namely the manner (6.8.2), aspect (6.8.3), and focus (6.8.4) periphery. Apart from the adverbs introduced in section 4.7, these peripheries can also include items that formally belong to other word classes, but can function as adverbials. In section 6.8.6 I will discuss the location periphery. Negation is described in section 6.9. Clausal determiners and anaphoric reference are treated in section 6.10 and 6.11 respectively.

6.8.1 Time

In the temporal periphery, the question of 'when' the action described in the clause took place or will take place is answered. The temporal periphery precedes s-V in a clause, as illustrated in (43). If the subject of a clause is also expressed by a full NP, then the temporal adverbial may either precede this subject, or follow it, as illustrated in (44). The difference in meaning between these two forms is, according to informants, negligible. The scope of the temporal adverbial is the entire clause that follows.

(43)   *is*   *y-pat*   *Konya y-ama*
         yesterday   3M-from   *Konya* 3M-come
         'Yesterday he came from *Konya*.'

(44)   a.   *pi*   *ait*   *ira*   *y-apum*   *au*
               man   3M   just.now   3M-hide   U.DIST
               'The man hid there just now.'

        b.   *ira*   *pi*   *ait*   *y-apum*   *au*
               just.now   man   3M   3M-hide   U.DIST
               'Just now the man hid there.'

Temporal adverbs can be combined, in order to make time reference more specific. The mutual ordering of the two time adverbs does not seem to be crucial, given the examples in (47) and (48): in (47) the temporal adverbial is *tian pose*, while in (48) it is *pose tian*.

(45)   *men*   *rapu*   *p-mo*   *ora*
         tomorrow   morning   1P-go.P   garden
         'Tomorrow morning we will go to the garden.'

(46)   *is*   *mti*   *y-tien*   *fe*
       yesterday   night   3M-sleep   NEG
       'Last night he did not sleep.'

(47)   *tian*   *pose*   *mpair* *s-au*   *rae*   *ø-wisau*
       formerly   long.time.ago   place   one-3U   person   ø-all

       m-hu   *osau*
       3U-stay   together
       'Formerly, a long time ago, all the people lived together in one place.'

(48)   *pose*   *tian*   *rae*   *ro*   **Belanda**   *m-hu*
       long.time.ago   formerly   person   REL   Dutch   3U-stay
       'A long time ago in the past, the Dutch people lived (there).'

Temporal adverbs, introduced in section 4.7.1, can only occur in the temporal periphery of a clause. In addition, there are a number of numerals and demonstratives which can function as temporal adverbials.

Many languages have temporal deictic forms which are derived from, or based on, spatial demonstratives (Anderson & Keenan 1985:297-300; Heine et. al. 1991:31). In *Maybrat* the demonstrative *me-f-o* can function as a temporal adverbial.[10] Some examples:

(49)   *me-f-o*   *t-ait*   *po-iit*
       PRESTT-very.near-U   1S-eat   NOM-eat.P
       'Now I'm eating food.'

(50)   *Mafif* *y-awe,*   *me-f-o*   *t-fat*
       Mafif   3M-say   PRESTT-very.near-U   1S-fell
       'Mafif says, 'Now I'm felling (a tree)'.'

(51)   *Agus*   *me-f-o*   *ø-farkor*   *m-ae*   *Jayapura*
       Agus   PRESTT-very.near-U   ø-study   3U-at   *Jayapura*
       'Agus is studying at *Jayapura* now.'

Likewise, the directional *tis* 'behind' and the complex directional *to-tis* 'LOC-behind' can occur in the temporal periphery of a clause. In this function, *tis* is adequately translated as 'finally', and *to-tis* as 'in the end'. Both notionally refer to time:

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[10] I noted one instance of the demonstrative *we-f-o* functioning as a temporal adverbial:

we-f-o   *anu*   *p-he*   *apan potafit*   *sawiah*   *m-apuf*
location.GEN-very.near-U   1P   1P-see   {snake potafit}   ø-tail   3U-short
'Now we see that the *potafit* snake has a short tail.'

(52)	*m-nan*	*tis*	*m-nies*	*ro*	*y-api*
	after.this	finally	3U-smell	REL	3M-big

t-a   *ø-sruer*
near-U   ø-scattered
'After this, finally, he smells the big one which lies scattered (on the ground).'

(53)	*to-tis*	*ait*	*y-no*	*po*	*m-of*
	LOC-behind	3m	3m-do	thing	3u-good

'In the end he does well.' (lit. 'In the end he does good things.')

Below, an example of a nominal clause modified by *to-tis* is given:

(54)	*to-tis*	*y-ana*	*s-ait*	*ku*	*sme*
	LOC-behind	3M-head	one-3M	child	male

'The last one is a boy.'

Some NPs that notionally refer to time, such as *snie* 'month' or *tein* 'year' can function as temporal adverbials. These NPs can be modified by a numeral ((55)-(57)), and, if the head is *snie* 'month', by the name of the month (58):

(55)	*snie*	*tuf*	*Fince*	*m-ape*	*ku*
	month	three	Fince	3U-give.birth	child

'In three months Fince will give birth.'

(56)	*tein*	*s-au*	*y-amo*	*y-hu*	*Sorong*
	year	one-3U	3M-go	3M-live	*Sorong*

'In a year he's going to live in *Sorong*.'

(57)	*snie*	*eok*	*om*	*m-ais*	*u*
	month	two	rain	3U-fall	again

'In two months it will rain again.'

(58)	*snie*	**Maret**	*ana*	*ø-skie*	*amah*	*m-arak*
	month	March	3P	ø-build	house	3U-empty

'In March they will finish building the house.'

The expression *um sau* (as in (59)) is an idiomatic expression, used to introduce a new story. It is adequately translated as 'once upon a time'.

(59)	*um*	*s-au*	*eok*	*m-ros*	*m-kah*	*ora*
	moment	one-3U	two	3U-stand	3U-burn	garden

'Once upon a time the two stand and burn a garden.'

(60)	*um*	*s-au*	*arin*	*mti*	*oh.....*
	moment	one-3U	situation	night	already

'Once upon a time, it is already night.....'

As already illustrated in section 4.7.1, numerals can also be used as time adverbials. In practice, only the numerals from 'three' to 'six' are used in this function. To refer to a time span larger than six days, the Indonesian term **Hari Minggu** 'Sunday' is used. 'Sundays' can be modified by a numeral to refer to the number of weeks. Some examples:

(61) **Hari Minggu**   *s-au*   *amu*   *p-mo*   *ø-twok*
      {Sunday}   one-3U   1P   1P-go.P   ø-enter

      sembahyang'
      pray
      'On one (a particular) Sunday, we go and enter and pray.'

(62) **Hari Minggu**   *tuf*   *t-amo*   *Negeri Belanda*   *u*
      {Sunday}   three   1s-go   {*The Netherlands*} again
      'After three Sundays I will go to *The Netherlands* again.'

In (63) the nominal clause *waro fi-f-o* 'a little while, like this', places the action described in the clause in time. In other words, *waro fi-f-o* functions like a temporal adverbial.

(63) *au*   *m-aut*   *na*   *waro*   *fi-f-o*
      3U   3U-climb   and.then   little   similar.to-very.near-U

      aya   *m-aut*
      water   3U-climb
      'She climbs, and in a little while like this, the water rises.'

6.8.2 Manner

In the manner periphery questions about 'the way in which' or 'how' an event takes place are answered. Manner adverbials occur in clause-final position, and their scope is the entire clause they modify. Some examples:

(64) *anu*   *n-no*   *iso*   *f-o*   *kaket*
      2P   2-make   road   very.near-U   well
      'You build this road well.'

(65) *ait*   *y-awia*   *toro*
      3M   3M-cry   many.times
      'He cries many times.'

(66) *rae*   *pris[11] pose*   *m-atak*   *mimo*
      person   police long.time.ago   3U-angry   very
      'A long time ago, the policemen were very angry.'

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[11] *pris* is a loan from Du *politie* 'police', cf. section 2.8.

(67) *n-amo rere*
      2-go carefully
      'Go carefully.'

In the examples above, the manner periphery is filled by manner adverbs, introduced in section 4.7.2. The occurrence of manner adverbs is restricted to the manner periphery of a clause.

The manner periphery can also be filled by forms that function as manner adverbials, but formally belong to other word classes. The reason for analysing these forms as manner adverbials is twofold: firstly, like the other manner adverbs, they occur in clause-final position, thus taking the same syntactic position as manner adverbs. Secondly, they stipulate how the action referred to in the clause is carried out, in other words, they have the same semantic content as manner adverbials. A distinction can be made between two types of 'functional manner adverbials', namely non-verbal forms and verbal forms. The non-verbal forms are listed in (68). With the exception of *rere*, all are morphologically complex.

(68) *rere* 'carefully'
      - demonstrative forms prefixed with *fi-* (see section 4.4.2)
      - emphatic pronouns, i.e. pronouns prefixed with *po-* (see section 4.1.3)

rere, when it occurs in clause-initial position, functions as a temporal adverbial meaning 'shortly', as illustrated in (69) (cf. sections 4.7.1). In clause-final position *rere* functions as a manner adverbial meaning 'carefully', as in (70) and (71):

(69) *rere*   *p-mo*   *p-te*   *aya*
      shortly   1P-go.P   1P-bathe.P   water
      'Shortly we will go and bathe.'

(70) *au*   *m-wian*   *aya*   *rere*
      3U   3U-scoop   water   carefully
      'She scoops water carefully.'

(71) *n-amo rere*
      2-go carefully
      'Walk carefully.'

Demonstrative forms with the prefix *fi-* 'similar to' i.e. *fi-f-o*, *fi-t-o* etc. (cf. section 4.4.2) can also function as manner adverbials:

(72) *ku*   *ø-kiniah*   *t-o*   *ø-hren fi-f-o*
      child   ø-small   near-U   ø-sit similar.to-very.near-U
      'That small child sat down like this.'

(73) *ru wamoh*   *m-ait ara*   *m-ake*   *fi-t-o*
      {bird *wamoh*}   3U-eat tree   3U-fruit   similar.to-near-U
      'The *wamoh* bird ate the (tree)fruit like this.'

(74)   *n-no*   *fi-n-o*   *mai*
        2-do   similar.to-far-U   PROHIB
        'Don't do it like that.'

(75)   *ana*   *m-ape*   *fi-au*
        they   3U-look.after   similar.to-U.DIST
        'They look after people/animals like that.'

Examples of emphatic pronouns functioning as manner adverbials are given below:

(76)   *p-tien*   *p-amu*
        1P-sleep   EMPH-1P
        'We sleep on our own.'

(77)   *y-hu*   *p-ait*   *m-ae* *ara*   *m-ato*   *re-f-o*
        3M-stay   EMPH-3M   3M-at tree 3U-hole   location.SPEC-near-U
        'He is alone in this treehole.'

(78)   *tuo*   *t-hu*   *po-tuo*   *we-f-o*
        1S   1S-stay   EMPH-1S   location.GEN-very.near-U
        'I stay at mine (i.e. my place) here.'

The verbal forms that can function as manner adverbs are listed in (79). Formally, these are all regular intransitive verbs (see section 4.2.1.1). Some examples:

(79)   *-hai*   'extremely' (lit. 'die')
        srot   'quickly'
        -ase   'seriously'
        sre   'wrong'

These four forms can all function as main verbs, as illustrated in (80)-(83):

(80)   *y-atia*   *y-hai*
        3M-father   3M-die
        'His father is dead.'

(81)   *ait*   *ø-srot*   *mimo*
        3M   ø-quick   very
        'He is very fast.'

(82)   *tuo*   *t-ase*
        1S   1S-huge
        'I'm fat.'

(83)   *nuo*   *ø-sre*
        2S   ø-wrong
        'You're wrong.'

In (84)-(87) these three verbs function as manner adverbs:

(84) *sinef   m-of   m-hai /*
      view   3U-nice   3U-die
      'The view is extremely beautiful.'

(85) *ait   y-amo ø-sròt /*
      3M   3M-go ø-quick
      'He walks fast.'

(86) *ø-skoh   t-me   m-asè /*
      ø-enjoy   1S-mother   3U-seriously
      'I really love my mother.'

(87) *ku   m-ana   eok   re-f-o   m-amo   ø-srè /*
      child   3U-head   two   location.spec-very.near-U   3U-go   ø-wrong
      'These two children go the wrong way.'

When used adverbially, there is subject agreement between the subject of the clause and *-hai* 'extremely', clearly showing the verbal character of this form. This is not the case for the verb *-ase* 'seriously':

(88) *ait   y-asah   y-hai /*
      3M   3M-laugh   3M-die
      'He laughs his head off.'

(89) *ait   ø-kiyam   m-asè   /*
      3M   ø-ill   3U-seriously
      'He is seriously ill.'

In all these examples, the verb which functions as an adverbial directly follows the main verb of the clause. This suggests the possibility that instead of one clause, the examples in (84)-(87) actually constitute two clauses. However, all the utterances in (84)-(87) are dominated by one single clausal intonation contour (cf. section 6.1), suggesting that they are mono-clausal. Inserting a pause, as illustrated in (90b), results in a different construction in which the second verb functions as a main verb. This is reflected in the semantic difference.

(90) a.   *eok   ø-tetet   m-hai /*
           two   ø-happy   3U-die
           'The two are extremely happy.'

      b.   *eok   ø-tetèt   /   m-hai*
           two   ø-happy   3U-die
           'The two are happy. They die.'

6.8.3 Aspect

The aspect periphery says something about the 'internal structure' of an event. The aspect periphery normally occurs in clause-final position. Below, the aspect periphery is filled by aspect adverbs (cf. section 4.7.3).

(91)   *swı*   *ø-phah*   *ewa*
        ko.cuscus   ø-angry   often
        'The 'swi' is often angry.'

(92)   *ait*   *y-atak*   *twat*
        3M   3M-angry   always
        'He is always angry.'

(93)   *m-he*   *ku*   *r-au,*   *m-ape*   *f-o,*
        3U-see   child   POSS-3U   3U-give.birth   very.near-U

        y-anes   *oh*
        3M-old   already
        'She looks at her child, that she gave birth to, he's already old.'

Unlike manner adverbs, aspect adverbs may precede the object in a clause, as in (94)-(95).

(94)   *p-ri*   *ewa*   *ru*
        1S-hear.P   often   bird
        'We often hear the aeroplane.' (i.e. the aeroplane often comes)

(95)   *y-o*   *u*   *sa*   *ira*
        3M-take   again   fish   just.now
        'He takes the fish of just now again.'

The position of the aspect adverbial in the clause can bring about a change in meaning. In (96a) the adverbial precedes the object, whereas in (96b) it occupies the clause-final position after the object. These two forms are semantically slightly different: in the a-form the emphasis of the adverbial is on the predicate, implying that the 'deceiving' is repeated, whereas in the b-form the emphasis is more on the object, implying that 'he' is repeatedly 'deceived'.

(96)   a.   *Siwa*   *ø-srokena*   *u*   *ait*
               Siwa   ø-deceive   again   3M
               'Siwa deceives him *again*.'

        b.   *Siwa*   *ø-srokena*   *ait*   *u*
               Siwa   ø-deceive   3M   again
               'Siwa deceives *him* again.'

A number of aspect adverbs semantically refer to the duration of an event. Some examples:

(97)   *ku*   *y-awia*   *fares*
       child   3M-cry   still
       'The child is still crying.'

(98)   *ku*   *ø-kiniah*   *y-awia*   *yoyo*
       child   ø-small   3M-cry   continuously
       'The small child cries continuously.'

(99)   *fnia*   *anu*   *p-no*   *po*   *re-t-o*
       woman   2P   1P-do   thing   location.SPEC-near-U

       fawen   *fe*
       long.time   NEG
       'We women (inc), we haven't done this thing for a long time.'

Some NPs which notionally refer to a time span can function as aspect adverbials, as illustrated below. Recall that *snie* and *tein* can also function as temporal adverbials, cf. section 6.8.1.

(100)   *m-tien snie*   *s-au*
       3U-sleep   month one-3U
       'They sleep for one month.'

(101)   *ø-fukum*   **Maru**[12]   *tein*   *s-au*
       ø-jail   *Maru*   year   one-3U
       '(I was) jailed in *Maru* for one year.'

Noun phrases headed by *um* 'moment' or *kai* 'time' can also function as aspect adverbials:

(102)   *ana*   *m-hu*   *um*   *tuf*
       3p   3p-stay   moment   three
       'They stayed for three moments (time-spans).'

(103)   **tukar**   *kiyit*[13] *kai*   *s-au*
       change   *kiyit*   time   one-3U
       '(We) changed *kiyits* once.'

The form *fo*, which is related to the demonstrative *f-o*, can function as an aspect adverbial. Semantically, the meaning of *-f-* 'very.near' is extended to mean very near in time, referring to inceptive aspect. In this function, *fo*, glossed 'INCEPT' (inceptive) is

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[12] *Maru* refers to *Ayamaru*.

[13] *kiyits* are cloths worn by women, cf. appendix II.

adequately translated as 'beginning.to'. Some contrasts involving *fo* and other aspect adverbials:

(104) au   m-amo   aya   fo
       3U   3U-go   water   INCEPT
       'She is beginning to go to the river now.'

(105) au   m-amo   aya   oh
       3U   3U-go   water   already
       'She's already left for the river.'

(106) au   m-amo   aya   fares
       3U   3U-go   water   still
       'She's still at the river.'

The aspect adverbial *fo* contrasts with the demonstrative *f-o*, as illustrated in (107): the a-form *fo* functions as an aspect adverbial, while in the b-form *f-o* is used as a substantive, and refers to 'it' (here a path).[14] The two examples in (107) are homophonous, the interpretation depending on the context in which they occur.

(107) a.   tuo   t-hoh fo   t-amo *Kumurkek*
          1S   1S-run INCEPT   1S-go *Kumurkek*
          'I begin to run now, and I go to *Kumurkek*.'

      b.   tuo   t-hoh f-o   t-amo *Kumurkek*
          1S   1S-run very.near-U 1S-go *Kumurkek*
          'I run over this one (i.e. this path) and I go to *Kumurkek*.'

The verb *m-arak* 'It is empty' can also function as an aspect adverbial meaning 'after':

(108) pae   m-atiah   ania   m-arak   pae
       twosome   3U-make-love   each.other   3U-empty   twosome

       m-e   m-amo   amah
       3U-return 3U-go   house
       'After the two have made love, they return to the house.'

6.8.3.1 *tipuo* and *fares*

The aspect adverbs *tipuo* 'immediately, straight away' and *fares* 'still' are discussed separately, because they are syntactically more mobile and semantically more diverse than the other aspect adverbs.

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[14] It is difficult to prove the difference between the use of *fo* as an aspect adverbial and *fo* as a clausal determiner (see section 6.10).

tipuo 'immediately, straight away' is similar to the other aspect adverbials in that it can occur in clause-final position, as in (109)-(110) or preceding the object. In both positions, the scope of *tipuo* is over the entire clause that it belongs to.

(109) *m-amo* **Kokas** *tipuo*
   3U-go   **Kokas** immediately
   'She immediately goes to **Kokas**.'

(110) *t-hai* *awiah,* *t-ait* *po-iit* *tipuo*
   1S-die taro   1S-eat thing-eat.P immediately
   'I am hungy, and I immediately eat food.'

(111) *ana* *m-no* *po* *ø-sre,* *ait* *y-atak* *tipuo*   *ana*
   3P 3U-do thing ø-wrong 3M 3M-angry immediately 3P
   'They did something wrong, and he gets angry with them straight away.'

(112) *t-amo* **Kumurkek,** *t-amo* *tipuo*   **Kokas**
   1S-go **Kumurkek** 1S-go straight.away **Kokas**
   'I go to **Kumurkek**, and to **Kokas** straight after that.' (i.e I won't come to **Ayawasi**
   before going to **Kokas**)

It is unclear whether there is a semantic difference between the following two forms:

(113) a *ø-skie* *amah* *s-au* *tipuo*
     ø-build house one-3U immediately

   b. *ø-skie* *tipuo*   *amah* *s-au*
     ø-build immediately house one-3U
     'They immediately built a house.'

Unlike other aspect adverbials, *tipuo* can also occur in clause-initial position. In this position, *tipuo* must precede the subject NP. The scope of *tipuo* is over the entire clause that it belongs to. Some examples:

(114) *tipuo*   *ait* *y-ros* *y-amo* *p-ait*
   immediately 3M 3M-stand 3M-go EMPH-3M
   'He immediately got up and went on his own.'

(115) *y-ata,* *tipuo*   *y-rof* *y-fat*
   3M-drink immediately 3M-follow 3M-fell
   'He drank, and he immediately followed (them) and felled (a tree).'

(116) *tipuo*   *rae* *ø-srohni,* *m-awe* *t-arak* *t-hai*
   Immediately person ø-forget 3U-say 1S-empty 1S-dead
   'The people immediately forgot me, they thought I was gone, dead.'

The aspect adverbial *fares* 'still' is invariably located in clause-final position. Some examples:

(117)   iwai   y-no   **honor**   fares
        earlier 3M-do honorary.tasks   still
        'Earlier, he was still doing his honorary tasks.'[15]

(118)   tuo   sia[16]   t-ao   iwai   ø-farkor   fares
        1s   with   1s-sibling.ss earlier ø-study   still
        'I with my brother, formerly we still studied.'

(119)   t-hu   mpair ro   rae   m-oa   fares
        1s-stay   place REL person   3U-not.know still
        'I stayed at a place that people still don't know.'

fares can combine with other forms in fixed expressions. First, *fares* is often preceded by a form of the verb *-etu* 'still be' to form the idiomatic expression *m-etu fares* 'it is still':

(120)   on   r-au   m-etu   fares
        time   POSS-3U   3U-still.be still
        'Its time is still continuing.'

(121)   Paulince   m-haf   m-etu   fares
        Paulince   3U-pregnant 3U-still.be still
        'Paulince is still pregnant.'

(122)   **Pak**   **guru**   y-hu   **Sorong**   y-etu   fares
        Mister   teacher   3M-stay   **Sorong**   3M-still.be still
        'The teacher is still in *Sorong*.'

A second common expression is *tna fares* 'only recently'. Some examples:

(123)   m-ros   tna   fares
        3U-stand   recently   still
        'She got up only recently.'

(124)   m-ape   m-aku[17]   tna   fares
        3U-give.birth 3U-small   recently   still
        'She gave birth to small ones only recently.'

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[15] Doing a **honor** implies working without a contract, and receiving an honorary payment rather than a salary.

[16] In this comitative form, a person prefix *t-* '1S' is omitted. See section 8.5 on comitative forms for more examples.

[17] *m-aku* may also refer to 'daughter', see appendix IV.

fares is frequently combined with the negator *fe* 'NEG' to form *fe fares* 'not yet'. An example:

(125) *m-e*   *pitis*   *fe*   *fares*
       3U-give   money   NEG   still
       'She has not given money yet.'

This expression is discussed in more detail in section 6.9.4.

6.8.4 Focus

In the focus periphery the intensity or the focus of an event is expressed. The only elements that can fill the focus periphery are the three focus adverbs that were introduced in section 4.7.6, namely *suek* 'immediately, straight away', *iye* 'too' and *si* 'also'. Of these, *suek* usually occurs in clause-final position:

(126) *y-ros*   *y-eyam*   **tapak**   *suek*
       3M-stand   3M-roll   tobacco   immediately
       'He stands and immediately rolls tobacco.'

(127) *y-ape*   *ku*   *sme*   *suek*   *sai*   *tipuo*
       3M-give.birth child   male   straight.away   just   immediately
       'He immediately gives birth to only boys.'

(128) *tfe*   *ø-yoh*   *u*   *suek*
       crocodile   ø-give.up   again   immediately
       'The crocodile immediately gives it up again.'

iye can occur in clause-final position, but it can also precede the object, as illustrated in (129). The difference between these two forms lies in the scope of *iye*, and is similar to the difference illustrated in (96) with the aspect adverb: in (129a) the emphasis is on the 'cutting', as opposed to (129b), where the emphasis is on the 'nutmeg tree'.

(129) a.   y-fat   iye   ara pawiah
            3M-fell   too   {nutmeg tree}
            'He fells the nutmeg tree as well.'

      b.   y-fat   ara pawiah   iye
            3m-fell   {nutmeg tree}   too
            'He fells the nutmeg tree as well.'

In (130), there are two instances of *iye*: in the first it precedes the object *amah ro ari*, and in the second it follows the verb in the nominalised clause *ro twok iye*.

(130) *ø-skie*   *iye*   *amah* *ro*   **ari**[18] *ro*   *ø-twok*   *iye*
ø-build   too   house   REL   pray   REL   ø-enter   too
'He also builds the church, that we also enter.'

In (131a), which is very marked, the aspect adverbial precedes the predicate. This example is taken from a narrative. When I checked it in isolation, it was unacceptable according to the informant. This may be attributed to the fact that I contrasted this form with (131b), which is unmarked. This may have confused the informant.

(131) a.   *pi*   *ait*   *iye,*   *y-hai*
man   3M   too   3M-die
'The man too, he dies.'

b.   *pi*   *ait*   *y-hai*   *iye*
man   3M   3M-die   too
'The man died too.'

The focus adverb *si* can function as an adverbial in clause-final position, as in (132) and (133), or preceding the object in a clause, as in (134) and (135):

(132) *ku*   *ait*   *y-he*   *aya*   *m-aut*   *si*
child   3M   3M-see   water   3U-climb   also
'The child sees the water rise too.'

(133) *rae*   *sme*   *y-men*   *si*
person   male   3M-marry   also
'The man also marries.'

(134) *pi*   *ait*   *y-po*   *si*   *au*   *m-atem*
man   3M   3M-hold   also   3U   3U-hand
'The man, he also holds her hand.'

(135) *ø-skie*   *si*   *akah*   *u*   *faut*
ø-build   also   above   up   hilltop
'They also build on top of the hill.'

(136) *t-awe* *m-ama*   **Pastor**   *y-awe*   *si*
1S-say 3U-come   Father   3M-say   also
'I think they are coming, the Father thinks it too.'

In (137) and (138) the function of *si* is to focus the attention of the listener on the utterance described in the clause, to indicate that something happens that is contrary to what is expected. For instance, in (137), it is expected that a group of people stay together. Instead, it appears that the group goes, but that two people stay behind.

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[18] **ari** is possibly a loan from Indonesian **hari** 'day'. It is not clear why the word-initial *h* is not rendered as [x], as it usually is.

(137) ana   m-ros   m-amo.   Ana   m-amo   si   ait
       3P   3U-stand   3U-go   3P   3U-go   also   3M

       y-hu   akus[19]   y-sia[20]   y-fain   o
       3M-stay   leave.temporarily   3M-with   3M-wife   ENUM
       'They stand and go. They go, whereas he stays behind with his wife.'

(138) y-fain   m-amo   m-ata   fo,[21]   na   ait
       3M-wife   3U-go   3U-drink   poison   and.then   3M

       ø-hawe   kubur.   Y-amo   si   y-amo   si
       ø-refuse   bury   3M-go   also   3M-go   also
       'His wife went and drank poison, and he did not want to bury her. Instead, he ran
       far away.'

In (139) *si* occurs twice: once in each clause. This makes explicit that the events described
in each clause take place simultaneously. This is a coordinating construction. More examples
are given in section 9.1.6.

(139) anu   n-mo   si,   amu   p-mo   si
       2P   2P-go.P   also   1P   1P-go.P   also
       'You go, and we go too.' (implication: everyone goes on the same trip)

The form *ae* (cf. section 4.12) can function as a focus adverbial. It invariably occurs in
clause-final position:

(140) anu   p-not   anu   ae   sai   fe   a
       1P   1P-think   1P   indeed   just   NEG   INT
       'We indeed only think of ourselves, right?'

6.8.5 Combinations of peripheries

The different types of adverbials discussed in section 6.8.2-6.8.4, i.e. the adverbials that
predominantly occur in clause-final position, can also be combined. If adverbials are
combined, then the scope of the adverbial that occupies the clause-final position is over the
entire clause, including the other adverbial. The scope of the pre-final adverbial does not
include the final adverbial. A contrast is given in (141):

(141) a.   ait   y-no   rere   u
             3M   3M-do   carefully   again
             'He carefully does it again.'

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[19] *akus* is an instance of a bare-stem verb. See section 8.2.

[20] *-sia* is an instance of the comitative. See section 8.5.

[21] *fo* is derris sp. It is used as fish poison, and to commit suicide (Avé 1998:18).

b.   *ait*   *y-no*   *u*   *rere*
   3M   3M-do again carefully
   'He does it again, carefully.'

Combinations of more than two adverbials are uncommon (although an example with three different types of adverbial is given in (127)), and aspect adverbials appear to combine more easily with manner adverbials and focus adverbials than manner and focus adverbials with each other. Some examples in which an aspect adverbial is followed by a another adverbial:

aspect-manner:
(142)   *y-no*   *u*   *fi-t-o*
   3M-do   again like-near-U
   'He does it again, like this.'

aspect-focus:
(143)   *au*   *m-ama*   *tna*   *fares*   *iye*
   3U   3U-come   new   still   too
   'She also came very recently.' (lit. 'She came, it is still recent too.')

Some examples where the aspect adverbial is preceded by another type of adverbial ((144) and (145)), or where an aspect adverbial does not feature ((146)):

manner-aspect:
(144)   *y-tien*   *fi-t-o*   *sai*
   3M-sleep   like-near-U   just
   'He just sleeps like this.'

focus-aspect:
(145)   *p-oa*   *iye*   *fares*
   1P-not.know   too   still
   'We still don't know either.'

manner-focus:
(146)   *amah*   *m-api*   *mimo*   *si*
   house   3U-big   very   also
   'The house is also very big.'

6.8.6 Location

In the location periphery, the question of 'where' or 'in what direction' an event takes place is answered. The location periphery occurs in clause-final position.

In chapter 4, I discussed forms that refer to location. These items can occupy the location periphery in the clause, in which case they function as location adverbials. Others, for instance nouns that refer to a location, function as nominal objects in the clause. An example is given in (147) and (148). While the verbs in these clauses are the same, the objects are different. In (147), the object is nominal. This can be illustrated by extracting the object, as in (147b): extraction of the object in a single-verb clause is always possible if the object is nominal (cf. section 6.7). (148) is modified by a locative adverb *kait* 'near'. *kait*

cannot be extracted, as illustrated in (148b), because it does not function as a nominal constituent, but as an adverbial one.

(147) a.   *ait*   *y-hu*   ***Ayawasi***
             3M   3M-stay   ***Ayawasi***
             'He lives in ***Ayawasi***.'

       b.   ***Ayawasi***   *ro*   *y-hu*   *m-of*
             Ayawasi   REL   3M-stay   3U-good
             '***Ayawasi*** where he lives is nice.'

(148) a.   *ait*   *y-hu*   *kait*
             3M   3M-stay   near
             'He lives nearby.'

       b.   **kait*   *ro*   *y-hu*   *m-of*
             near   REL   3M-stay   3U-good

There are a number of items that can refer to location. These items usually follow a motion or position verb (cf. also section 4.8). Formally, these items are nouns, prepositional verbs, locative adverbs, adverbial demonstratives, and the locational forms *to* 'LOC' and *wo* 'LOC.GEN' that were discussed in section 4.8.1. Nouns that refer to location function as objects in a clause, as illustrated in (147). The properties of objects were discussed in section 6.4. Prepositional verbs were introduced in section 4 2.3.5. Because prepositional verbs always follow another verb, resulting in a sequence of verbs, they are further discussed in the chapter on sequences of verbs.[22] The syntactic properties of the remaining forms that refer to location, namely locative adverbs, demonstratives that can function adverbially, and the locational forms discussed in section 4.8.1, are discussed below:

Locative adverbs were introduced in section 4.7.4. I illustrated there that locative adverbs can occur in the location periphery of a clause by themselves (cf. (149)), or, with the exception of *e* 'far', be followed by an NP (cf. (150)). In (150), the locative adverbial functions like a preposition (cf. section 4.8.4). In forms like these, the locative form and the following NP function as a locative adverbial, and its syntactic behaviour is analogous to that of *kait* in (148).

(149) *ait*   *y-apo*   *u*
       3M   3M-be.at   above
       'He is above.'

(150) *ora*   *m-hu*   *kait*   *Ayawasi*
       garden   3u-stay   near   *Ayawasi*
       'The garden is near *Ayawasi*.'

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[22] It could be argued that prepositional verbs should in fact be discussed in the location periphery, since their verbal character is questionable. However, their clear verbal origin warrants a discussion of these forms in the chapter on sequences of verbs.

Other forms that function as locative adverbials are the forms with *to* and *wo*. Examples were given in section 4.8. There, I also noted that *to* can function as a kind of preposition, optionally occurring between a verb and an NP. The two forms in (151) are equally acceptable:

(151) a.   *t-amo   to   ora*
           1S-go   LOC   garden
           'I go to the garden.'

      b.   *t-amo   ora*
           1S-go   garden
           'I go to the garden.'

However, the function of *ora* in each of the forms in (151) is different: in (151b) *ora* functions as the nominal object of the verb. A property of this type of object, as was illustrated in (147), is that it can be relativised. This does not apply to *to ora* in (151a), as illustrated in the two forms in (152), which are unacceptable. In other words, *to ora* is not a nominal constituent, but rather an adverbial constituent like *kait* 'near' in (148a) and *u* 'above' in (149).

(152) a.   **ora   ro   t-amo   to*
           garden   REL   1S-go   LOC

      b.   **to   ora   ro   t-amo*
           LOC   garden   REL   1S-go   LOC

A common combination of locative adverbials in the location periphery is that of *akah* 'above', followed by the directional *u* 'up', where *u* creates emphasis. A contrast appears in (153). Other combinations of locative adverbials are unattested.

(153) a.   *ana   m-amo   akah   u   faut*
           3P   3U-go   above   up   hilltop
           'They go to the very top of the hill.'

      b.   *ana   m-amo   akah   faut*
           3P   3U-go   above   hilltop
           'They go to the top of the hill.'

Locative adverbials may be combined with manner, aspect or focus adverbials. As with other combinations of adverbials, the scope of the clause-final adverbial is over the entire clause, and the scope of the pre-final adverbial does not include the final adverbial. A contrast is given in (154): Forms like (154b) do occur, but they are very marked.

(154) a.   *ait   y-amo   to-tis   amah   iye*
           3M   3M-go   LOC-behind   house   too
           'He goes behind the house too.' (implication: the other people also go behind the house)

b. *ait*   *y-amo*   *iye*   *to-tis*   *amah*
    3M   3M-go   too   LOC-behind   house
    'He goes too, behind the house.' (implication: other people don't go behind
    the house)

Some more examples:

(155)   *m-sas*   *ayo*   *sai*   *akah*   *u*
        3U-examine   sun   just   above   up
        'They just examine the sun above.'

(156)   *fnia*   *ana*   *ø-yuwo*   *m-hu*   *akah*   *u*   *oh*
        woman   3P   ø-flee   3U-stay   above   up   already

        me-au
        PRESTT-DIST.U
        'See, the women flee and they are all the way up there already.'

6.9 Negation

There are two ways to express negation, namely with the clausal negator *fe* and with its
predicative counterpart *m-fe*. These negators are discussed in section 6.9.1 and 6.9.2. In
section 6.9.3, I will illustrate that it is not always possible to make a clear distinction
between *fe* and *m-fe*. Section 6.9.4 discusses negation of clauses involving adverbial
modifiers. I will show how the scope of the negator can be influenced by varying the order
of the negator and the adverbial in a clause. Some examples of frequently used combinations
of negators and adverbials, such as *fe fares* 'not yet' and *m-fe fi-t-o* 'if this is not the case'
are also discussed. Finally, in section 6.9.5 I will present some other forms which
semantically express negation, namely *kayie* and *peroh*.

6.9.1 Clausal negator *fe*

The clausal negator *fe* occurs in clause-final position (but see (162)). Some examples:

(157)   *om*   *m-ais*   *fe*
        rain   3U-descend   NEG
        'It is not raining.'

(158)   *ana*   *m-asah*   *fe*
        3P   3U-laugh   NEG
        'They do not laugh.'

(159)   *ait*   *y-amo* **Kumurkek**   *fe*
        3M   3M-go **Kumurkek**   NEG
        1.'He does not go to **Kumurkek**.'
        2.'He goes, but not to **Kumurkek**.'

(160) *ait*   *y-e*   *pitis*   *fe*
      3M   3M-give   money   NEG
      1. 'He does not give money.'
      2. 'He gives something, but not money.'

In these examples, the unmarked interpretation is where the verb is negated, i.e. reading 1. This is in accordance with the typological pattern of SVO-languages, in which the negative marker is usually a verbal operator rather than a sentential one (cf. Givón 1985:336). However, an interpretation in which only the object is negated (reading 2) is also common. If a negated sentence allows more than one interpretation, there are two ways to resolve this ambiguity: one is to use emphasis, as in (161), and the other is to add an extra clause which indicates which constituent is to be negated, as in (162):

(161) *ait*   *y-e*   *pítis*   *fe*
      3M   3M-give   money   NEG
      'He does not give money (but something else).'

(162) *ana*   *m-e*   *fe²³*   *ait.*   *M-e*   *mtah*   *r-ait,*   *Uris*
      3P   3U-give   NEG   3M   3U-give   dog   POSS-3M   Uris
      'They do not give anything to him, they give it to his dog Uris.'

In principle, these sentences are open to a third interpretation, namely one where the subject is negated. This interpretation is extremely marked: if it is intended, the subject is emphasised, and there may be a small pause following the subject.

(163) *Potafit*   /   *ait*   *y-apo*   *fe*
      Potafit   3M   3M-eat.meat   NEG
      'It's Potafit (and not someone else) who does not eat.'

In discourse, these potential ambiguities given above normally do not arise. The reason for this is that the interpretation of negated sentences normally depends on the context in which they are used (cf. Payne 1985:198). In other words, as long as the context is known, the interpretation of the negated sentence (i.e. the scope of the negator in that particular case) is usually self-evident. For example, in (164) *fe* negates the clause *m-he* (*ait*), where *ait* is the object that has been omitted in the sentence because it is already known from the previous sentence. It is clear that the interpretation of *m-he fe* should be 'They don't see him', (i.e. the scope of the negation is the object of the clause, since the previous sentence indicates that a group of people is looking for 'him'). This interpretation is confirmed in the following sentence *m-awe y-e y-amo*.

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[23] This is the only attested instance of a negator preceding an object in a clause.

(164) m-awe   y-ama   ø-ste iso.   M-he   fe.   M-awe
       3U-say   3M-come   ø-wait road   3U-see   NEG   3U-say

y-e   y-amo
3M-return   3M-go
'They think he has come and is waiting on the road. They do not see him. They think
he has gone back.'

The negator *fe* can also be used to create a statement which is semantically strongly
positive. Phonologically, these instances are pronounced at a high pitch, and usually with a
loud voice. Semantically, (165), for example, negates the fact that there is a little, thus
emphasises that there is a lot.[24] An example:

(165) sa   m-siar   rere   fe
       fish   3U-many   scrupulously NEG
       'An awful lot of fish.' (lit. 'It's not a 'regular' amount of fish.')

6.9.2 Predicative use

fe can also function as a verb, in which case it takes a third person unmarked person prefix.
This form, *m-fe*, can be adequately translated as 'it is not'. Some examples:

(166) arko   m-fe,   y-o   ita   m-ata[25]
       firewood   3U-NEG   3M-take   leaf   leaf
       'There is no firewood, he takes leafs.'

(167) Isak   ait   m-fe,[26]   y-ama   y-ehoh   kambing   r-ait
       Isak   3M   3U-NEG   3M-come   3M-stab   goat   POSS-3M
       'Not Isak, he comes and stabs his goat (instead of stabbing bystanders, like the other
       people who are involved in the dispute which was being narrated).'

A contrast between *fe* and *m-fe* is given in (168) below. In (168a) *fe* functions as a clausal
negator, negating the clause *y-he*. In (168b) *m-fe* does not negate the verb, but constitutes a
separate proposition.

(168) a.   m-he   ait   fe
             3U-see   3M   NEG
             'She does not see him.'

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[24] Semantically similar constructions also appear in other languages, such as Du *niet te weinig*, lit. 'not
too sparingly', but actually meaning 'an awful lot'.

[25] The term *ita m-ata* possibly refers to 'foliage'.

[26] Recall that there is no agreement between the person prefix of *fe* and the subject of the clause (section
4 7.5).

b. *m-he*   *ait*   *m-fe*
    3U-see   3M   3U-NEG
    'She sees that he is not there.'

A form which is analogous to (168b) in syntactic structure is given in (169):

(169) *y-he*   *au*   *m-amo*
       3M-see   3U   3U-go
       'He sees that she goes.'

The forms in (168b) and (169) are similar in that they are both dominated by a single intonation contour. These examples constitute one clause: *m-fe* in (168b) and *au m-amo* in (169) function like clausal objects, or complements, to the verb -*he*.[27]

The predicative form *m-fe* is found in two syntactic environments. First, *m-fe* often occurs in sentence-initial position. Here, it makes explicit that the content of the previous sentence does not apply to the utterance following *m-fe*. An accurate translation of *m-fe* in this position is 'it/this is not the case'. In terms of intonation, *m-fe* is preceded by a pause, and sentence-final intonation, i.e. a fall in pitch.

(170) *ku*   *r-ana*   *m-he*   *m-arak....*   *M-fe*   *m-akus*
       child   POSS-3P   3U-see   3U-empty....   3U-NEG   3U-leave.behind

       m-ana   *eok*   *m-rof*   *ø-woum*
       3U-head   two   3U-follow   ø-search
       'Their children, they (the women) see that they (the children) are gone.... It is not the case that they (the women) leave them (the children), the two (women) follow and search.'

(171) *rae*   *sirus*   *m-se*   *rae*   *sme*   *p-ana.*
       person   take.off   3U-place   person   male   self-3P

       M-fe   *au*   *m-akus*
       3U-NEG   3U   3U-leave.behind
       'The men take it (i.e. decoration) off (the woman), and they place them on the men themselves. This is not the case (for her), she is left behind.'

(172) *rae*   *s-ait*   *y-per*   *m-ana*   *eok.*   *M-fe*
       person   one-3U   3M-educate   3U-head   two   3U-NEG

       na[28]   *y-per*   *m-ana*   *s-au*
       and.then   3M-educate   3U-head   one-3U
       'One man educates two (boys). If that is not the case, he educates one (boy).'

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[27] A full discussion of complements is given in section 8.3.

[28] *m-fe* is frequently followed by the coordinator *na* in this position, as in (172). For a discussion of *na*, see 9.1.1.2.

The negator *fe* is unattested in sentence-initial position in the same function.

A second context where *m-fe* frequently occurs is following the verb *-he*. (168b) is a case in point. Some more examples involving *-he m-fe* are:

(173) *pae*   *m-he*   *m-fe*   *m-amo*
       twosome   3U-see   3U-NEG   3U-go
       'The two see it does not work and they go.'

(174) *m-sas*   *te-au*   *te-au*   *m-he*   *m-fe*
       3U-inspect area.N-DIST.U   area.N-DIST.U   3U-see   3U-NEG

       m-e   *m-ama*   *u*   *m-sas*   *te-f-o*
       3U-return   3U-come   again   3U-examine   area.N-very.near-U
       'They examine the area there and there and they see it does not work and they return and come again and they examine the area here.'

(175) *pi*   *ait*   *y-ama*   *ø-saso*   *y-he*   *m-fe*
       man   3M   3M-come   ø-search   3M-see   3U-NEG

       y-e   *u*
       3M-return   again
       'The man comes and searches and sees it does not work, and he returns again.'

6.9.3 Some problems

In the previous two sections I created the impression that there is a clear distinction in both form and function between the clausal negator *fe* and the predicative *m-fe*. This distinction, however, cannot always be maintained, as I will show below.

To begin with, the clausal negator *fe* can also negate constituents other than clauses. In (176)-(178) below *fe* 'negates' an NP. The sequence 'NP *fe*' functions like a verbless clause. Some examples:

(176) trus   *y-hu.*   *Pam*   *fe.*   *Tfo*   *fe*
       and.then   3M-stay   axe   NEG   machete   NEG
       'And then he stays. There is no axe, there is no machete.'

(177) *y-nat*   *fane*   *re-f-o.*   *Sten*   *fe.*   *Sten*   *fe,*
       3M-examine   pig   location.SPEC-very.near-U   fat   NEG   fat   NEG

       m-kair
       3U-bad
       'He examines the pig. There is no fat. There is no fat, (so) it is bad.'

(178) *fai*   *Fasheriem*   *fe*
       woman   Fasheriem   NEG
       'It is not the woman Fasheriem.'

In (166)-(167) I illustrated that the predicative form *m-fe* can negate an NP. When elicited, some informants made the following distinction between the forms 'NP *fe*' and 'NP *m-fe*':

(179) a. *arko   fe*
          firewood NEG
          'not firewood' (Ind. **bukan kayu bakar**)

     b. *arko   m-fe*
          firewood   3U-NEG
          'There is no firewood.' (Ind. **kayu bakar tidak ada**)

However, according to many informants, forms analogous to the pair in (179) are identical in meaning.

There are also a few instances of *-he fe* which are translated by informants as 'see it does not work', instead of 'don't see'. That is, the meaning of *-he fe* is the same as that of *-he m-fe*. For example, in (180) a translation of *y-he fe* as 'he does not see' is inappropriate in the context of the sentence:

(180) *y-itah   u   y-he   fe.   Y-itah   u   rae*
       3M-force   again 3M-see   NEG   3M-force   again person

     *sasu   **jadi**   m-haf   m-kek*
       shore   become   3U-stomach 3U-red
       'He forced again and he saw that it didn't work. He forced again and the people of the shore became angry.'[29]

Negation of clauses with *m-fe* is rare, but an example appears below:

(181) *au   ro   m-aku   m-hu   m-fe*
       3U   rel   3U-small   3U-stay   3U-NEG
       'The small one didn't stay.'

In other words, the use of *fe* as a clausal negator and *m-fe* as its predicative counterpart is not fully consistent. A tally of each of these forms in the texts[30] showed that *fe* occurs more frequently as a clausal negator than as a nominal negator. Conversely, *m-fe* more commonly functions as a nominal negator than as a clausal negator. However, on the whole, the number of attestations of *fe* vastly outnumbers that of *m-fe*. In addition, in absolute terms *fe* is more common as a nominal negator than *m-fe*. Both the absolute frequency of *fe* and the fact that

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[29] The expression *-haf m-kek*, lit. 'red stomach' is used to refer to anger.

[30] A tally of the occurrence of *fe* and *m-fe* in the texts yielded the following numbers:

	negates clause	negates NP
fe	156	38
m-fe	5	14

it functions as a nominal negator in a considerable amount of instances suggest that *m-fe* as a negator is a marginal form.

6.9.4 Negation involving other adverbials

Both *fe* and *m-fe* are attested in combination with other adverbials. In this section I will illustrate differences in scope of the negator in clauses that are modified by an adverbial, beginning with *fe*.

In most cases where a clause is modified by an adverbial and negated, the adverbial precedes the negator, like *ati* in (182) *fi-t-o* in (183) and *fawen* in (183) and (184). In all these examples, the negator is interpreted as saying something about the adverbial, i.e. (182) implies 'I am a man, but not a 'real' (*ati*) man'. Likewise, (184) implies 'We do this thing, but not for a long time'.

(182) *tuo   rae   ati   fe*
       1S   person   real   NEG
       'I am not a real person.'

(183) *y-no   fi-t-o   fe*
       3M-do   like-near-U   NEG
       'He doesn't do it like this.'

(184) *fnia   anu   p-no   po   re-t-o   fawen   fe*
       woman   1P   1P-do   thing   location.SPEC-near-U   long.time   NEG
       '(We) women, we haven't done these things (= traditional education) for a long time.'

The focus adverb *iye* 'too' can precede and follow the negator in a clause. Varying the position of *fe* and *iye* results in a difference in scope of these adverbs. Consider, for instance, the two forms in (185) (both elicited forms). In (185a) the scope of the negator is the clause *y-amo Kumurkek*, and the scope of the adverbial *iye* is the entire (negative) clause *Simon y-amo Kumurkek fe*. Conversely, in (185b), the scope of the negator is *Kumurkek iye*. The implication of (185b) is that 'Simon' goes to many places, but not to *Kumurkek*, whereas in (185a) the implication is that in addition to others who do not go to *Kumurkek*, Simon doesn't go to *Kumurkek* either.

(185) a.   *Simon y-amo Kumurkek   fe   iye*
             Simon 3M-go *Kumurkek*   NEG   also
             'He does not go to *Kumurkek* either.'

       b.   *Simon y-amo Kumurkek   iye   fe*
             Simon 3M-go *Kumurkek*   also   NEG
             'He does not also go to *Kumurkek*.'

The order *iye fe*, as in (185b), is highly marked; the most frequent order for the negator *fe* and the adverbial *iye* is that in (185a). This is surprising, since usually the negator occurs clause-finally. This suggests that the combination *fe iye* is idiomatic. Some more examples:

(186) *m-amo*   *ninan*   *fe*   *iye*
      3U-go   randomly   NEG   also
      'They also do not go randomly.'

(187) *n-he*   *fe*   *iye*
      2-see   NEG   also
      'You also don't see.'

fe can also be followed by the aspect adverbial *fares* 'still' to form the idiomatic expression *fe fares* 'not yet'.[31] Some examples:

(188) *n-ao*   *Lys*   *m-ama*   *Ayawasi*   *fe*   *fares*
      2-sibling.SS   Lys   3U-come   *Ayawasi*   NEG   still
      'Your (relative/sister) has not come to *Ayawasi* yet.'

(189) *Nella* *m-amo*   *fe*   *fares*
      Nella   3U-go   NEG   still
      'Nella has not gone yet.'

(190) *m-e*   *pitis*   *fe*   *fares*
      3U-give   money   NEG   still
      'She has not given money yet.'

When there are other adverbials in the clause (i.e. *kaket* in (191)), *fe fares* normally follows those adverbs:

(191) *ø-kiyam*   *m-arak*   *kaket* *fe*   *fares*
      ø-ill   3U-empty   well   NEG   still
      'My illness is not yet finished well.' (lit. 'I am ill, it is not yet finished well.')

In sentence-initial position, the predicative *m-fe* can be followed by the manner adverb *fi-t-o* to form the expression *m-fe fi-t-o*. This expression stipulates that there is a choice: if

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[31] The sequence *fares fe* is unattested in the texts, but it is theoretically possible, as ilustrated below:

  a.   *ku*   *m-ait*   *po-iit*   *fe*   *fares*
               child   3U-eat   thing-eat.P   NEG   still
               'The child has not eaten yet.'

  b.   *ku*   *m-ait*   *po-iit*   *fares*   *fe*
               child   3U-eat   thing-eat.P   still   NEG
               'The child is not still eating.'

Although a form like b. above can be given an interpretation, it is a very 'tortured' sentence. A more natural way to express that a child is no longer eating is given below:

  c.   *ku*   *m-ait*   *po-iit*   *oh*
               child   3U-eat   thing-eat.P   already
               'The child has already eaten.'

the clause preceding *m-fe fi-t-o* does not apply, then the following clause applies. *m-fe fi-t-o* can be adequately translated as 'or alternatively'. Some examples:

(192)   y-fais   m-ae pron,   m-fe   fi-t-o   ara hri[32]

y-fais	m-ae	pron,	m-fe	fi-t-o	ara	hri[32]
3M-fill	3U-at	bamboo	3U-NEG	like-near-U	tree	bark

'He puts it into a bamboo, or alternatively, into a treebark.'

(193)

ø-frok	**ari**	s-au,	m-fe	fi-t-o	**ari**	eok
ø-emerge	day	one-3U	3U-NEG	like-near-U	day	two

'He arrives after one day, or alternatively, after two days.'

(194)

mtah	m-afit,	m-fe	fi-t-o	rae	y-ame
dog	3U-bite	3U-NEG	like-near-U	person	3M-stab

'A dog bites (the prey), or alternatively, a man stabs (it).'

fe and *m-fe* can also function as disjunctive coordinators. They are discussed in section 9.1.3. Disjunctive coordination is also used in alternative questions, which are discussed in section 7.1.

6.9.5 Other semantic negatives

peroh 'wrong' and *kayie* 'it is not', introduced in section 4.9.4, can semantically negate an assertion. In the following examples, *kayie* 'negates' an NP Intonationally, it belongs to the NP, and it is followed by a pause:

(195)

Koru	**kayiè**	/	m-tut	m-ama	m-hu	fte	tuoh	**Pamai**
Koru	not		3U-all	3U-come	3U-stay	area	place	**Pamai**

'It was not **Koru** (where they went), they all came and lived at an area of the place **Pamai**.'

(196)

Anton	*kayiè*	/	*Atafonit*	*m-anes*	*p-awiya*[33]	*m-hai*
Anton	not		Atafonit	3U-old	thing-who	3U-die

ete	*ataf*	*m-air*	*me-t-o*
below	irontree	3U-foot	PRESTT-near-U

'Not Anton, Atafonit, the old one, is the one who died at the foot of the ironwood tree.'

peroh is preceded by sentence-final intonation of the previous sentence and a pause, and followed by yet another pause. Syntactically then, it is an interjection.[34] The assertion that

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[32] *ara hri* is a possessive construction of the type possessor-possessed. *hri* 'bark', an attribute of *ara* 'tree' is an inalienably possessed noun. See also section 4.3.1.

[33] The use of *p-awiya* in this type of context is discussed in section 9.3 below.

[34] See section 4.12 on interjections.

precedes *peroh* is the one that is denied. Some examples appear below. As indicated, in
(197), the speakers of each sentence are different people, that is, the speaker of the second
sentence corrects the speaker of the first sentence.

(197) A: Yan   *à*[35]   /   B: *Peròh* /   *tuo*   *Petrus*
         Yan   INT   wrong   Is   Petrus
       A: 'Is it Yan?' B: 'Wrong, I'm Petrus.'

(198) *y-awe*   *aya*   *m-hai* *awiah mi*   *aya*   *m-sùn* /
       3M-say   water   3U-die   taro   so.that   river   3U-sound

       Peròh /   *ke*   *aya*   *au*   *m-siar*   *m-sun*   *sai*
       wrong   because   water   3U   3U-many   3U-sound   just
       'He thinks the water is hungry which is why the water sounds. Wrong, because there
       is a lot of water, it just sounds.'

(199) *y-awe*   *ku*   *ait*   *y-hu*   *ete*   *ayà*   /   *Peròh* /
       3M-say   child   3M   3M-stay   below   water   wrong

       ke   *ku*   *ait*   *y-hu*   *akah*   *ara*
       because   child   3M   3M-stay   above   tree
       'He thinks the child is below the water. It is wrong because the child stays up in the
       tree.'

6.10 Clausal determiner

fo (but not *to* and *no*) can function as a clausal determiner. In this function, it marks the
clause boundary. A clausal determiner makes the clause more 'definite': it becomes a 'given'
in the discourse and draws attention to the clause. The clausal determiner *fo* is glossed as
'DET'.

The identification of a clausal determiner is somewhat problematic. Clausal
determiners occur strictly in clause-final position, and they are usually left untranslated. They
can be defined negatively: they are not attributive demonstratives, aspect adverbials or
anaphoric referents.

An example involving a clausal determiner appears in (200). This sentence, taken
from a narrative 'sets the stage' for the rest of the narrative. It is important that the listener
picks up the information in the clause, and it is therefore marked with *fo*.

(200) *na*   *pi*   *ait*   *ø-tutu*   *fò*   /
       then   man   3M   ø-chase   DET
       'It is given that then the man chases.'

The distinction between *fo* as a clausal determiner and *fo* as a an aspect adverbial (see section
6.7.1.2) is fuzzy, as both occur in clause-final position. Theoretically, the two forms can co-

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[35] Interrogation is discussed in the next chapter.

occur, as indicated (201), but forms like these are unattested in natural speech. The clausal determiner invariably occurs clause-finally.

(201) ku   ø-kiniah   y-tien   fo   fò   /
      child   ø-small   3M-sleep INCEPT   DET
      'It is given that the child is falling asleep.'

More examples of *fo* as a clausal determiner appear below:

(202) ait   y-aut   fò   /   y-amo ara   m-apuo
      3M   3M-climb   DET   3M-go tree   3U-top

      akàh   /
      above
      'It is given that he climbs, he goes to the top of the tree.'

(203) n-ma   ø-sròt   /   ke   om   m-ais
      2-come.P   ø-quickly   because   rain 3U-descend

      rpi-rpa   m-ase   fò   /
      droplet-REDUP   seriously   DET
      'Come quickly because it is given that it will rain cats and dogs.'

6.11 Anaphoric reference

So far, I have discussed demonstratives in several different functions, namely as determiners in an NP (section 5.1.6) as temporal adverbials (section 6.8.1), as manner adverials (section 6.8.2) and as location adverbials (section 6.8.6). In this section I would like to illustrate the function of demonstratives as anaphoric referents.

The demonstrative forms *f-o* and *t-o* can function anaphorically to refer to items in the discourse that are already known. They are particular examples of what Himmelmann refers to as 'tracking use' i.e. reference to entities that have already been introduced in the discourse, and which help the listener to keep track of the story (Himmelmann 1996:240). The anaphoric use of deictic elements is common in Papuan languages, although many of these languages seem to use the far deictic (which in *Maybrat* would be *-n-* 'far') anaphorically (Reesink 1987:216).

The sentences in (204) and (205) are from a fairy tale. In (204) *f-o*, underlined, functions anaphorically, referring back to *ku m-ana eok re-f-o* 'these two children', which are introduced at the beginning of the example:

(204) ku   m-ana   eok   re-f-o   m-amo
       child   3U-head   two   location.SPEC-very.near-U   3U-go

       ø-sre   m-atu   ø-frok   m-ae   to-te
       ø-wrong   3U-emerge   ø-arrive   3U-at   LOC-below

       fra ø-kron   tapam   Mare.   M-ana   eok   f-o
       {stone ø-sound}   land   Mare   3U-head   two   very.near-U

       m-per   fra ø-kron
       3U-step   {stone ø-sound}

'These two children go wrong, and they emerge below at the 'sounding stone', the land Mare. These two step on the 'sounding stone'.'

In (205) ana f-o refers to the two women mentioned earlier in the example as m-ana s-au$_x$ 'the one' and m-ana s-au$_y$ 'the other' (both enclosed in square brackets):

(205) mah   rapu   fai   au   m-roh   ø-sokuos,
       dawn   morning   woman   3U   3U-descends   ø-order

       [m-ana   s-au]$_x$ m-aso   naf,   [m-ana
       3U-head   one-3U   3U-plant   taroshoot   3U-head

       s-au]$_y$ m-kah   po-kah..........
       one-3U   3U-burn   thing-burn

'At dawn the following morning the woman descends (from her house) and orders, one (woman) plants taroshoots, the other (woman) burns a garden.....'

       Ana   f-o   m-aso   po,   m-kah   po
       3P   very.near-U   3U-plant   thing   3U-burn   thing

       mti   m-tien
       night   3U-sleep

'They plant something, they burn something and at night they sleep.'

In this chapter I will be concerned with mood, i.e. the way in which the attitude of the speaker is expressed. Traditionally, a distinction is made between three basic types of mood, namely interrogative, imperative and declarative. In the interrogative mood, the speaker expresses a wish for information. In the imperative mood, the speaker expresses a command or gives an instruction. The declarative mood can be defined negatively, i.e. speech acts that are not interrogative or imperative are declarative (cf. Lyons 1968:307-308).

So far, the description of *Maybrat* has centered around simple declarative statements or, in other words, statements in the indicative mood. In this short chapter, I will discuss two moods that are grammatically marked, namely the interrogative mood and the imperative mood. Interrogatives either contain an interrogative marker (polar questions and alternative questions) or a question word (content questions). Imperatives are characterised by the presence of an imperative marker *re* 'please' or by a distinct intonation pattern. *mai* 'PROHIB' (prohibitive) marks the prohibitive. Syntactically, statements in the indicative mood are unmarked.[1]

7.1 Interrogative

A distinction can be made between three types of question, namely polar questions, alternative questions and content questions. Intonationally, all types of question behave in the same way as other clauses, i.e. there is a fall in pitch towards the end of the clause.[2]

7.1.1 Polar questions

Polar questions, or Yes/No questions, are characterised by the presence of the interrogative marker *a* in clause-final position. No variations in word order are required. Some examples are given in (1)-(4). (3)-(4) illustrate that the clausal periphery precedes the interrogative marker. In each case the scope of the interrogator is the entire clause.

(1)   *y-amo a*
        3M-go INT
        'Is he going?'

(2)   *ku*   *ø-soh*   *a*
        child   ø-deceive   INT
        'Is the child joking?'

---

[1] Given that I assume that 'mood' is concerned with the attitude of the speaker, the category of 'pseudo-quotatives', i.e constructions which include the verb *-awe* 'say' and which express the thought content of the speaker, could also be described here. However, pseudo-quotative constructions cannot be formally distinguished from indirect speech forms, which also include *-awe* 'say'. Because a formal distinction cannot be made, pseudo-quotatives are described together with forms involving *-awe* in chapter 8.

[2] This is unusual, as according to the universalist view, questions are typically associated with a higher pitch, cf Ladd 1996:113-115.

(3)   *Petrus y-ama*   *oh*   *a*
      Petrus 3M-come   already   INT
      'Has Petrus already come?'

(4)   *m-nan*   *me-t-o*   *a*
      3U-enough   PRESTT-near-U   INT
      'Is this enough?'

(5)-(7) include an object. In these, the question is interpreted as being about the object of the clause. For instance, in (5) the question is about whether or not 'they' go to *Kumurkek*, and not about whether or not people are 'going'. To interrogate the 'going', a construction like (1) is used. Likewise, in (7) the question is about whether the aeroplane will descend on 'this football-field', and not about the 'descent' of the aeroplane.

(5)   *ana*   *m-amo*   ***Kumurkek***   *a*
      3P   3U-go   ***Kumurkek***   INT
      'Are they going to *Kumurkek*?'

(6)   *n-kias* *es*   *m-apuo*   *a*
      2-tell   beginning   3U-top   INT
      'Will you tell (about) the very beginning?'

(7)   *ru*   *s-au*   *m-roh*   **lapangan**   **bola**
      bird   one-3U   3U-descend   field   ball

      re-f-o   *a*
      location.SPEC-very.near-U   INT
      'Does an aeroplane descend on this football-field?'

In the following examples, the interrogatives include an aspect adverbial. The scope of the interrogative is, again, the object of the clause. Hence, (8) could be asked in a situation where people have first cut grass somewhere else.

(8)   *p-ru*   **lapangan**   *iye*   *a*
      1P-cut.P   field   also   INT
      'Do we also cut the grass on the field?'

(9)   *ru*   *m-roh*   *tapam* *sai*   *re-f-o*   *a*
      bird   3U-descend   land   just   location.SPEC-very.near-U   INT
      'Does the aeroplane just descend on the ground, here?'

Polar questions can be answered affirmatively in two ways: by *ae* 'yes', uttered with a rising pitch; or by a gestural answer whereby both eyebrows are raised. Polar questions can be answered negatively by using the negator *fe* 'NEG', or the interjection *ehe* 'no'.

Negative polar questions are formed by placing the interrogative in clause-final position following the negated clause. An example:

(10)   *ait*   *y-awe*   *n-fon* *kaket* *fe*   *a*
       3M   3M-say   2-tie well NEG INT
       'He says: didn't you tie it well?'

The scope of polar questions over more complex constructions is discussed in chapter 8. In that chapter, the scope of the interrogator is used to test the constituency of constructions that involve sequences of verbs.

7.1.2 Alternative questions

Alternative questions are characterised by the presence of an interrogative marker *a* following the second conjunct in a complex construction in which two conjuncts are connected by *fe*. *fe* here functions as a disjunctive coordinator, and is adequately translated as 'or'. In this type of construction, there is a pause directly following the first clause, and the intonation rises, as indicated in (11). For a more detailed discussion of disjunctive coordination, see section 9.1.3.

(11)   *p-mo*   ***Mosún***   /   *fe*   *p-mo*   *ora*   *à*
       1P-go.P   ***Mosun***   NEG 1P-go.P   garden   INT
       'Shall we go to *Mosun*, or shall we go to the garden?'

(12)   *n-ait* *wia*   *fe*   *n-ata*   *wia*   *a*
       2-eat first NEG 2-drink   first   INT
       'Will you eat first or will you drink first?'

(13)   *p-te*   *aya*   *wia* *fe*   *p-iim*   *po-iit*   *wia*   *a*
       1P-go.under.P   water first NEG 1P-cook.P NOM-eat.P first INT
       'Shall we bathe first or shall we cook food first?'

Below are two instances of alternative questions where the second conjunct is the predicative negator *m-fe*.[3]

(14)   *n-amo* **sekolah**   *fe*   *m-fe*   *a*
       2-go   school   NEG 3U-NEG   INT
       'Will you go to school or not?'

(15)   *ana*   *m-fot*   *fane*   *ro*   *m-aku*   *iye*   *fe*   *m-fe*   *a*
       3P   3U-catch   pig   REL 3U-small   also   NEG 3U-NEG   INT
       'Do they catch the small pig as well or not?'

7.1.3 Content questions

The function of content questions is to request specific information about something. Content questions are formed with the question words discussed in section 4.5. In the clause, these question words replace the constituent about which information is requested. Question words

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[3] The adverbial *fe* in the second conjunct is unattested.

can replace a whole NP or a nominal constituent in the NP, or one of the peripheral constituents like time adverbials, location adverbials and manner adverbials. In this section I will discuss the syntactic behaviour of the different types of question words.

7.1.3.1 Nominal question words

awiya 'who' normally replaces an entire NP. This NP corresponds to the human subject or object of a clause. Some examples:

(16) *awiya y-per   fra ø-kron*
       who   3M-step.on   {stone ø-sound}
       'Who stepped on the sounding stone?'

(17) *awiya kerja po,   awiya y-kah   ora,   awiya ø-saruk*
       who   work thing   who   3M-burn   garden   who   ø-cook

      po   au
      thing   DIST.U
      'Who works, who makes a garden, and who cooks here?'

(18) *Yul Yumte   m-pet   awiya*
       Yul Yumte   3U-marry   who
       'Who did Yul Yumte marry?'

Likewise, *p-awiya* 'what' (lit. 'thing-who') can replace an NP. Some examples:

(19) *p-awiya   ø-ptek*
       thing-who   ø-fall
       'What (is it that) fell?'

(20) *n-asah   p-awiya*
       2-laugh   thing-who
       'What are you laughing at?'

(21) *n-no   p-awiya   u*
       2-do   thing-who   again
       'What else do you want to do?'

When the question is about the nature of a head noun in an NP, the question word immediately follows that noun. For instance, the answer to (22) might be *fane rapuoh ro m-api* 'the wild pig that is big'; *fane rapuoh ro m-aku* 'the wild pig that is small' etc.:

(22) *fane rapuoh   p-awiya   m-hoh   fi-t-o*
       {pig forest}   thing-who   3U-run   like-near-U
       'What wild pig is running like this?'

po p-awiya 'what thing', rather than *p-awiya* 'what', is used when specific information about a thing is requested. Some examples:

(23) orie   n-no   po   p-awiya   tĩ⁴
      now   2-do   thing thing-who   also
      'What else do you want to do now?' (lit. 'what thing do you want to do now?')

po p-awiya can also function as a nominal clause:

(24) rae   m-he   m-awe   po   p-awiya   re-au
      person   3U-see   3U-say   thing thing-who   location.SPEC-DIST.U
      'The people saw it and said: What is this thing?'

(25) po   ktuo⁵   t-per   re   aya   m-roh
      thing 1s   1s-step.on   in.order.to   water 3U-descend

      re-au   po   p-awiya
      location.SPEC-DIST.U   thing thing-who
      'This thing that I stepped on which caused the water to descend, what is it?'

r-awiya 'whose' (POSS-who) replaces the possessor and follows the 'possessed' in the NP, according to the regular order in constructions where the possessor is an alienably possessed noun, i.e possessed-possessor, (see section 5.2). Some examples:

(26) fane   r-awiya   m-ait   ora
      pig   POSS-who   3M-eat   garden
      'Whose pig ate the garden?'

(27) ait   y-ata   tuo   r-awiya
      3M   3M-drink   palm-wine   POSS-who
      'Whose palm wine did he drink?'

(28) po   r-awiya   me-t-o
      thing POSS-who   PRESTT-near-U
      'Whose thing is this?'

If the possessor is an inalienably possessed noun referring to a human, the form *awiya* 'who' replaces the possessor:

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⁴ *tĩ* seems to function as a kind of focus adverbial here (c.f. section 4.7.6). This form is found in dialects spoken to the north of *Ayawasi*.

⁵ *ktuo* is a dialectal form used in the area to the north of *Ayawasi*: this instance was recorded by someone from the *Bame* family.

(29)   *awiya   y-atia*
       who   3M-father
       'whose father?'

(30)   *awiya   m-atem*
       who   3U-hand/arm
       'whose hand/arm?'

(31)   *awiya   m-aim*
       who   3U-wing
       'whose wing?'

Interrogative forms involving inalienably possessed nouns referring to attributes of plants, i.e. leaves, roots etc. are unattested in the data.[6]

tiya[7] 'how much/many' follows the classifier in the NP, according to the regular position of the numeral in the NP (see section 5.1.4):

(32)   *rae*   *m-ana*   *tiya*   *m-aut*   *ru*
       person   3U-head   how.many   3U-climb   bird
       'How many people boarded the aeroplane?'

(33)   *t-e*   *pitis*   *m-ata*   *tiya*
       1S-give   money   3U-leaf   how.many
       'How many banknotes should I give?'

The interrogative *ro-yo* 'which one' (REL-INT) follows the head noun about which more information is requested. This follows the regular pattern of RCs, in which the head noun is followed by the RC marker *ro* and the relativised clause (see section 5.3). Some examples:

(34)   *ara*   *ro-yo,*   *ro*   *m-api*   *fe*   *ro*   *ø-kiniah*
       tree   REL-INT   REL   3U-big   NEG   REL   ø-small
       'Which tree, the big one or the small one?

(35)   *apan*   *m-afit*   *ku*   *ro-yo*
       snake   3U-bite   child   REL-INT
       'Which child did the snake bite?'

7.1.3.2 Time

The temporal question word *titiya* 'when' invariably occurs in clause-initial position, which is where the temporal periphery is normally located (see section 6.7.1). Examples involving *titiya* are given below. In (36) the comma indicates the beginning of a new clause. In (37), the object *po-kuo r-anu re-f-o* has been fronted (see section 6.4 on objects).

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[6] Hypothetical examples would be *p-awiya m-ata* 'what kind of leaf'; *p-awiya m-tis* 'what kind of root'.

[7] *tiya* is often realised phonetically with an optional phoneme schwa, i.e. [əˈtija] (cf. section 2.1.1.1).

(36)   *n-amo tapam ro-nuo,*   *titiya n-e*   *u*
       2-go   land   POSS-2S   when 2-return   again
       'You go to your country, when will you return again?'

(37)   *po-kuo*   *r-anu*   *re-f-o,*   *titiya*
       NOM-feast.P POSS-2P location.SPEC-very.near-U when

       n-kuo
       2-feast.P
       'This feast of yours, when will you have it?'

Unlike the temporal adverbials, *titiya* is unattested between a subject NP and a predicate.

7.1.3.3 Location

The location question words *to-yo* 'where' (area.N-INT), *wo-yo* 'where' (area.GEN-INT) and *mi-yo* 'where' (PRESTT-INT) occur in clause-final position, like the location periphery. Some examples involving *to-yo* are given in (38)-(40). Recall that the location marker *to-* is used to refer to a specific area, i.e. one that can be pinpointed, as opposed to *wo-*, which refers to a more general area. *mi-* is used for presentative forms. The reader is referred to section 4.6 for a more detailed discussion of the differences in meaning between these three interrogative forms.

(38)   *n-amo to-yo*
       2-go   LOC-INT
       'Where are you going?'

(39)   *fnia*   *f-o*   *m-amo*   *to-yo*
       woman   very.near-U 3U-go   LOC-INT
       'Where is this woman going?'

(40)   *anu*   *n-pat*   *to-yo*   *n-ma*   *re-f-o*
       2P   2-from   LOC.SPEC-INT 2-come.P   location.SPEC-very.near-U
       'Where are you coming from?' (lit. 'You from where and come this?')

Examples with *wo-yo* appear in (41) and (42):

(41)   *fane*   *m-ait ora*   *wo-yo*
       pig   3U-eat garden   LOC.GEN-INT
       'The pig eats the garden (approximately) where?'

(42)   *tapam f-o*   *si*   *ø-perek.*   *Nuo*   *n-hu*   *wo-yo*
       land   very.near-U also ø-turn.over 2S   2S-stay   LOC.GEN-INT
       'This land will also turn over. Where will you live?'[8]

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   [8] This sentence is taken out of a text which gives a description of what will happen to the land if the secret of *Wuon*, i.e. the initiation ritual for men, is discovered by outsiders.

Some examples with *mi-yo*:

(43) | ana | m-awe | kak | m-apo | mi-yo |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3P | 3U-say | meat | 3U-be | PRESTT-INT |

'They ask: Where is the meat?'

(44) | y-awe | mpair | ro | y-tien | mi-yo |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3M-say | place | REL | 3M-sleep | PRESTT-INT |

'He says: Where is the place where he will sleep?'

(45) | rae | ro | m-hoh | m-amo | mi-yo |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| person | REL | 3U-run | 3U-go | PRESTT-INT |

'Where did the person who ran go?'

to-yo and *mi-yo* can also question an NP. *wo-yo* is unattested in this function:

(46) | pose | p-oa hani[9] | belanga | po | to-yo |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| formerly | {1P-not.know at.all} | cooking.pot | thing | LOC-INT |

'Formerly we did not know cooking pots at all, from where are these things?'

(47) | ait | y-awe | ku | mi-yo |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3M | 3M-say | child | PRESTT-INT |

'He says: Where is the child?'

7.1.3.4 Manner

Like manner adverbials, the manner interrogative *fi-ye* occupies the clause-final position:[10]

(48) | t-no | fi-ye |
|---|---|
| 1S-do | similar.to-INT |

'How shall I do it?'

(49) | rae | ø-saso | iso | p-no | fi-ye |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| person | ø-search | road | 1P-do | similar.to-INT |

'People want a road, how shall we do it?' (lit. 'The people search for a road.')

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[9] This is possibly a compound form, including *-oa* 'not know'. Compare *srohni* 'forget', in which *sroh* is 'forget'. Both forms include *ni* as a final element. The element *ha* in *-oa hani* is unattested in the data.

[10] The example below is taken from a letter written to me when I was in *Ayawasi*. The sentence may be a direct translation from Indonesian, which would account for the fact that *fi-ye* occurs in clause-initial position: the corresponding Indonesian **bagaimana** 'how' would also occupy the clause-initial position.

fi-ye	arin	ro-nuo Ayawasi
similar.to-INT	situation	REL-2S Ayawasi

'How is your situation in *Ayawasi*?'

(50) **lalu**   *to-tis*   *fi-ye,*   *to-tis*   *fi-ye*
      and.then   LOC-behind similar.to-INT LOC-behind similar.to-INT
      'And in the end how will it be, in the end how will it be?'

wo-yo, which usually functions as a location question word, can also function as a manner question word, in which case it is translated as 'how':[11]

(51) *m-orie*[12]   *t-no*   *wo-yo*
      3U-now   1S-do   LOC.GEN-INT
      'How shall I do it?'

7.2 Imperative

The function of the imperative is to give commands or instructions. There are two ways of forming the imperative. The first type of imperative is marked phonologically· the speaker used a loud voice in order to give emphasis to the utterance. There are no syntactic markers. Some examples:

(52) *n-au*
      2-eat
      'Eat!'

(53) *n-iit*
      2-eat.P
      'Eat (plural)!'

(54) *n-ama*   *amah*
      2-come   house
      'Come to the house!'

(55) *n-ama*   *ø-srot*
      2-come   ø-quickly
      'Come quickly!'

The second type of imperative is characterised by the presence of the focus adverb *re* in clause-final position. Imperatives formed with *re* are milder than the intonationally marked imperatives discussed above. The difference between the two types of imperative is illustrated in (56) and (52):

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[11] This was the only example *wo-yo* 'how': it may be an exception to the rule, although the example was checked with different people, and invariably translated as indicated

[12] The form *m-orie* is attested in the data a few times I assume that it is a predicative form of the temporal adverb *orie* 'later'. Thus, *m-orie* constitutes a clause, in which *m-* functions as an a person prefix.

(56) *n-ait* *re*
    2-eat   please
    'Please eat.'

(57) *n-ama*   *re*
    2-come   please
    'Come, please.'

mai 'PROHIB' marks the prohibitive, or, in other words, the negative of the imperative. Like *re*, *mai* is placed in clause-final position. Some examples:

(58) *n-aut*   *ara*   *mai*
    2-climb   tree   PROHIB
    'Don't climb into the tree.'

(59) *n-kias fai*   *m-api*   *t-o*   *mai*
    2-tell   woman   3U-big   near-U   PROHIB
    'Don't tell this old woman.'

Sequences of verbal forms (plus their arguments, if any) which together constitute one sentence occur commonly in *Maybrat*, as they do indeed in many Papuan languages (see, for instance Foley 1986:175-176). Superficially many of these sequences look alike. For instance, morphologically (1) and (2) look similar because each verb carries a person prefix. However, they are quite different in constituency. (1) represents a coordinating construction, in which each verb constitutes a separate clause. This is indicated in the translation. In order to coordinate clauses, an overt coordinator, like English 'and' is not needed in *Maybrat*. (1) is formally similar to (2), so there is nothing that prevents us from interpreting (2) as 'He speaks and he stabs a cuscus.' However, syntactically these constructions are quite different: in (2), *y-ame kak* 'he kills a cuscus' is an object complement of *y-awe*. Likewise, by analogy to (1), (3) could be translated as 'He goes and he towards the sagotree' although this translation sounds odd. In (3), *y-kit aof* functions as the locative object of the verb *y-amo*.

(1)   *y-apo*   *y-ata*
        3M-eat   3M-drink
        'He eats and he drinks.'

(2)   *y-awe*   *y-ame*   *kak*
        3M-say   3M-stab   cuscus
        'He wants to stab a cuscus.'

(3)   *rae*   *y-amo y-kit*   *aof*
        person   3M-go 3M-towards   sagotree
        'The man goes towards the sagotree.'

The question, of course, is in what ways one type of verb sequence differs from another, and what criteria can be used to describe these distinctions. In the present chapter I will illustrate how with a number of different criteria the syntactic differences between the sequences like those in (1)-(3) can be described. The different types of verb sequences that can be identified in *Maybrat* are listed below (including the section where they are discussed):

8.1   coordinating constructions (as in (1))
8.2   adverbial verbs
8.3   constructions involving an object complement (as in (2))
8.4   prepositional verbs (as in (3))
8.5   comitatives
8.6   a problematic category

The chapter is set up as follows: In section 8.1 I will present a discussion of coordinating sequences of verbs. They are characterised according to three different types of criteria, namely intonational (section 8.1.1); morphological (section 8.1.2); and syntactic (section 8.1.3). In the section on syntax, I will perform three tests that bring out the constituency of these coordinating verb sequences: insertion of an overt coordinator; examination of the scope of the interrogative marker *a*; and relativisation on the object of a clause. Having established the properties of coordinating sequences of verbs, I will contrast other types of juxtaposed verbal forms with these coordinating sequences. In section 8.2 I

discuss what will be referred to as adverbial verbs, i.e. sequences that include a verb which functions as a modifier to a main verb. Section 8.3 concentrates on sequences in which the second verb (and its arguments or modifiers) functions as an object complement of the first verb. In these sequences, the first verb may be a perception verb; a mental activity verb; the causative verb *-no* 'do'; or the verb *-awe* 'say'. Section 8.4 discusses prepositional verbs. I will show that some prepositional verbs have more 'verbal' properties than others. The latter behave more like prepositions. In section 8.5 I will describe some syntactic properties of comitative constructions.

Having used relativisation as a syntactic test for the constituency of sequences of verbs in this chapter, in section 8.6 I will summarise some properties of the relativisability of arguments in different syntactic types of constructions. I will relate these facts to Keenan & Comrie's 'Accessibility Hierarchy'. Finally, in section 8.7, I will present some types of verb sequences that share properties with both the coordinating constructions discussed in section 8.1, and the constructions involving an object complement. These constructions resemble constructions that are labelled 'serial verb constructions' (SVCs) in the literature.

In the remainder of this chapter, if I refer to 'verb', it is implied that this includes a verbal form *plus* its arguments, unless otherwise stated. I realise that strictly speaking, 'verb' refers to a morphological entity, whereas in this section the functional characteristics, or the constituency of the verbal forms, are discussed. However, using the term 'clause' for these entities is misleading, since it will appear that some verbal forms are not clausal. Therefore, 'verb' is chosen as a neutral umbrella term.

8.1 Coordination

A coordinating construction can be defined as a construction involving a sequence of syntactic units, all of the same syntactic category and rank (Zwicky 1990:4). The elements in these sequences can be either juxtaposed or overtly coordinated (Dik 1997:196). The problem in *Maybrat*, as illustrated in the examples in (1)-(3), is the absence of overt coordinators in sequences which formally (i.e. categorially) contain verbs, but functionally (i.e. with respect to syntactic rank) may or may not constitute clauses. The question thus is, which criteria can be used to illustrate that each verb in a sequence syntactically functions as a clause.

In chapter 6 a description of 'the clause' was given. Two relevant criteria for clausehood that emerged from this description are given in (4) (cf. also section 6.1):

(4) a. A clause is a unit that is dominated by a single intonation contour;
     b. A clause is a unit consisting minimally of an inflected verb.

In section 8.1.1, I will discuss the intonational properties of coordinating sequences of verbs (criterion (4a)), followed by some illustrations of morphological properties in section 8.1.2 (criterion (4b)). In section 8.1.3 I will show that these coordinating sequences share a number of syntactic properties. Together, these properties can be used as a yardstick in distinguishing coordinating constructions from other types of constructions.

8.1.1 Intonation

A salient characteristic of clauses in *Maybrat* is their intonation pattern. A description of the typical intonation pattern of a simple sentence was given in section 6.1. The examples below illustrate that in a coordinating sequence of verbs, each verb (plus its arguments, if any) is dominated by a single intonation contour. In (5) and (6) examples with two clauses are given, and (7) gives a construction with three clauses, and (8) one with four clauses.

(5) *ø-satoh*   *nàf*   /   *ø-kmuk*   *awiàh* /
     ø-collect.belongings   taroshoot   ø-cut.short   taro
     'They collected the taroshoots, they cut the taro.'

(6) *ku*   *y-awià*   /   *rae*   *m-e*   *biskuì* /
     child   3M-cry   person   3U-give   biscuit
     'The boy cries and someone gives a biscuit.'

(7) *m-ko*   *tafòh* /   *ø-saruk*   *po-ìit*   /   *m-wian*
     3U-burn   fire   ø-cook   NOM-eat.P   3U-scoop

     ayà   /
     water
     'She burns a fire, cooks food and scoops water.'

(8) *m-of*   **ratà**   /   *ø-siasòm*   /   *aya*   *m-òf* /
     3U-good   flat   ø-beautiful   water   3U-good

     tapam m-òf /
     land   3U-good
     'It is nice and flat, it is beautiful, the river is good, the land is good.'

In continuous speech, the pitch at the end of a clause may also rise. This occurs, for instance, in tail-head linkage, where the last clause is repeated as an introduction to the following discourse, but with a rising rather than a falling pitch (cf. section 9.4.1). An example is given below, where *m-akuo po-kuo* is the repeated clause:

(9) **Orang**   **birang**[1]   **bikin**   **pestà**   *rae*   *m-akuo*
     people   say   make   feast   person   3U-feast

     po-kuò   /   *m-akuo*   *po-kuó*   /   **terus**   *m-hu*
     NOM-feast.P   3U-feast   NOM-feast.P   and.then   3U-stay

     we-t-ó   *we-t-ó*......
     location.GEN-near-U   location.GEN-near-U
     'People say they make a feast, people feast a feast. They had a feast, and they lived
     there....'

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[1] This form is phonologically adapted from Ind. **bilang** ['bɪlaŋ].

Note that the examples above were found in speech utterances at a normal speed. In allegro speech, a coordinating construction may be dominated by just one intonation contour, as in (10) and (11). In (10), **buka** *mtah m-asoh re-f-o* constitutes one clause, as does *m-mat*. There is no intonation-break between these two clauses, nor is there a fall in pitch. (11) was taken from a story told by an elderly man who was present at an incident between a villager (i) and an enemy (j). The storyteller became very excited when he was telling this, as a result of which he spoke very quickly. Consequently, there were no pauses between the verbs, and the entire utterance was dominated by just one intonation contour.

(10) **buka** *mtah* *m-asoh* *re-f-o* *m-màt* /
     open dog 3U-face location.SPEC-very.near-U 3U-observe
     'They opened this dog's mouth and they observed it.'

(11) *y_i-tain* *ro* *f-i* *ø_j-yuwo* *ø_j-yeyum* *arà* /
     3M-provoke REL very.near-M ø-flee ø-collide tree
     'He_i provoked this one_j very near and he_j fled and collided with the tree.'

It must be borne in mind that in coordinating sequences such as the ones in (10) and (11), it is never ungrammatical to create a single intonation contour over the whole construction, although a separate contour over each verb is equally grammatical. This is illustrated in (12), which was elicited, based on (11). There is no marked difference in meaning between these two utterances, apart from the fact that in (12) each event is perceived as having more emphasis than in (11), indicated by the commas in the translation. However, this does not change the syntactic structure of the utterance.

(12) *y_i-tain* *ro* *f-i_j* / *ø_j-yuò* / *ø_j-yeyum* *arà*
     3M-provoke REL very.near-M ø-flee ø-collide tree
     'He_i provoked this one_j very near, and he_j fled, and collided with the tree.'

When enumerating a series of events rather than merely describing them, the pitch preceding the pause can rise.[2] This rise in pitch is indicated by an acute accent in the example below (derived from (7)). Sentence-finally, there still is a fall in pitch. The 'enumerating' character in (13) is indicated by commas in the translation. Even though here the pitch rises rather than falls, (13) does constitute a coordinating sequence of verbs, as will be demonstrated with the help of other criteria below. Thus, intonation, and more specifically pitch, is not the only criterion by which one verb sequence can be distinguished from another.

(13) *m-ko* *tafóh* / *ø-saruk* *po-iít* / *m-wian*
     3U-burn fire ø-cook NOM-eat.P 3U-scoop

     ayà
     water
     'She burns a fire, cooks food, and scoops water.'

---

[2] A rise in pitch in this position is, however, uncommon. Only a few instances occur in, for example, Appendix I, in which intonational characteristics are given.

8.1.2 Morphology

In coordinating sequences of verbs, all the verbs take an overt or covert person prefix, as illustrated in (14)-(16) below. This criterion is somewhat limited because of the morphophonological constraint on overt person prefixes, as illustrated in (16).

(14) *ku*   *y-awia*   *rae*   *m-e*   **biskui**
      child   3M-cry   person   3U-give   biscuit
      'The boy cries and someone gives a biscuit.'

(15) *m-wian*   *aya*   *m-ko*   *tafoh*   *ø-saruk*   *po-iit*
      3U-scoop   water   3U-burn   fire   ø-cook   NOM-eat.P
      'She scoops water, burns a fire and cooks food.'

(16) *ø-satoh*   *naf*   *ø-kmuk*   *awiah*
      ø-collect.belongings   taroshoot   ø-cut.short   taro
      'They collect their taroshoots and they cut the taro.'

8.1.3 Syntax

Manipulating utterances syntactically is a way to make their constituency more transparent. Among others, Sebba (1987), Foley & van Valin (1984) and Foley & Olson (1985) demonstrate which tests can be applied to this purpose. In this section, a number of tests will be applied, namely insertion of an overt coordinator; modification with an interrogator or an aspectual modifier; and relativisation.[3] Of necessity, I employ a large number of elicited sentences in the section(s) on syntax, because many of the manipulated versions of utterances rarely occur in natural speech.

8.1.3.1 Insertion of an overt coordinator

Foley & Olson (1985) propose that the question of whether or not constructions involving sequences of verbs are multi-clausal can be answered by contrasting constructions with and without an overt coordinator between the two verbs. Often there will be a contrast in meaning between the two. It is assumed that in a multi-clausal construction, a coordinator can be inserted between two conjuncts, without effecting a change in grammaticality or a substantial change in meaning.

In *Maybrat*, it is possible to insert the coordinator *mati* 'and then' between verbs in coordinating structures, as demonstrated below:

(17) *n-atim mati*   *t-rof*
      2-lead and.then   1S-follow
      'You lead and then I follow.'

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[3] This section draws heavily on conclusions reached in Dol (1996).

(18) | *ku* | *y-awia* | *mati* | *rae* | *m-e* | **biskui** |
| child | 3M-cry | and.then | person | 3U-give | biscuit |

'The boy cries and then someone gives a biscuit.'

The syntactic function of *mati* here is parallel to that of the pause between two clauses, as discussed under 'intonation' (section 8.1.3) above. In the examples in (5) - (8) above the pause can be replaced by *mati* without rendering the utterances ungrammatical. Semantically, the sequentiality of the actions, which is already implicit in coordinating constructions, is made explicit by inserting *mati*. Note, however, that all other things being equal, the possibility to insert *mati* into the sequence of verbs does not entail that the sequence is coordinating: for instance, a sequence of verbs which was not coordinating to begin with could be *made* into a coordinating construction by inserting *mati*. What makes this test relevant for coordinating sequences is the semantic similarity of coordinating sequences with and without *mati*: in other types of sequences, for instance 'cognition verb + V' sequences, it will appear that *mati* can effectuate a chance in meaning.

8.1.3.2 Scope of interrogative

Foley & van Valin (1984) use, among other criteria, the scope of what they term 'operators' (categories of verb inflection, tense, mood etc. (1984:208)) over junctures in order to determine the particular type of juncture. Negation as a test is often used in the literature (e.g. Foley & Olson (1985:27)), but I have omitted it here.[4] The reason for this is that despite the fact that the types of verb sequences are different, they all behave similarly when negated.

In coordinating sequences of verbs, i.e. those where each verb constitutes a separate clause, it is expected that each conjunct can independently take peripheral operators. That is, the scope of these operators can be over just one conjunct (Foley & van Valin 1984:244). This is confirmed in (19)-(21) below. Each example is ambiguous: the scope of the interrogative can be either over the entire construction (reading 1) or over the final verb (reading 2). In each case, reading 1. is the preferred interpretation. Note that the scope of the interrogator can never exclude the final conjunct in the series. So, in (21), the interrogation can never have as its scope *m-ko tafoh; saruk po-iit*, or *m-ko tafoh saruk po-iit* alone.[5]

(19) | *ø-satoh* | *naf* | *ø-kmuk* | *awiah* | *a* |
| ø-collect.belongings | taroshoot | ø-cut.short | taro | INT |

1. 'Do they collect their taroshoots and cut taro?'
2. 'They collect their taroshoots, but do they cut taro?'

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[4] With the exception of (57).

[5] Another possible scope is over the object NP, i.e. (20) is interpreted as 'The boy cries, and does someone give him a biscuit or a candy?'. I will disregard this option in all the examples in this chapter, because it is irrelevant for the description of the syntax of sequences of verbs.

(20) | ku | y-awia | mati | rae | m-e | **biskui** | a |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| child | 3M-cry | and.then | person | 3U-give | biscuit | INT |

1. 'Does the boy cry and does someone give him a biscuit?'
2. 'The boy cries, but does someone give him a biscuit?'

(21) | m-ko | tafoh | ø-saruk | po-iit | m-wian |
|----|----|----|----|----|
| 3U-burn | fire | ø-cook | NOM-eat.P | 3U-scoop |

aya	a
water	INT

1.'Does she burn a fire, cook food and scoop water?'
2.'She burns a fire and cooks food but does she scoop water?'

Unlike in the indicative mood, intonation can be distinctive in coordinating sequences in the interrogative mood. Compare (22) below with (19). In (22), a pause separates the between the two conjuncts, and there is a drop in pitch are the end of each conjunct. Unlike (19), (22) cannot be ambiguous, as the scope of the interrogator can only be over the last conjunct.

(22) | ø-satoh | nàf | / | ø-kmuk | awiah | à |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| ø-collect.belongings | taroshoot | | ø-cut.short | taro | INT |

'They collect their taroshoots, (but) do they cut taro?'

8.1.3.3 Relativisation

Movement processes such as relativisation can be used to establish the syntactic behaviour of different types of constructions. In section 5.3 I illustrated that in sentences consisting of a single-verb clause, there are two syntactic positions that can be relativised on, namely the subject and the object. In the present section I will discuss the behaviour of coordinating sequences of verbs under relativisation.

When the objects of (16) and (14) are extracted, the results are anomalous.

(23) | *naf | ro | ø-satoh | Ø | kmuk | awiah | m-siar |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| taroshoot | REL | ø-collect.belongings | | ø-cut.short | taro | 3U-many |

*'The taroshoots that he collects and he cuts a lot of taro are many.'

(24) | *biskui | ro | ku | y-awia | rae | m-e | m-aku |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| biscuit | REL | child | 3M-cry | person | 3U-give | 3U-small |

*'The biscuit that the boy cries and someone gives is small.'

Semantically, in (23), the head noun of the RC, naf, is understood to be the 'topic' of kmuk awiah. The same is true for biskui in (24). This gives rise to a 'logical conflict' in the sentence. A 'logical conflict' is a situation where the speaker's empathy, or identification, with the events described in the sentence is disturbed (cf. Kuno & Kaburaki 1977:628, 645).

This semantic explanation can also be formulated as a syntactic one, namely that it is not possible to extract objects out of a coordinating structure. This generalisation was coined by Ross (1967), and is called the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). Given that these constructions are coordinating, I assume on the basis of the examples above, that Ross'

CSC is valid for *Maybrat*, and can be used as a criterion for distinguishing coordinating constructions from non-coordinating ones.

8.2 Adverbial verbs

Apart from coordinating constructions of verbs, another type of verb sequence can be identified, which I will refer to as adverbial verbs, following their semantic characteristics, namely to modify or specify an event expressed by a verb (cf. section 4.7). There are two types of adverbial verbs: the first type occurs as a bare-stem verb when it follows a verb that it modifies. Constructions involving this type of verb are very rare indeed in *Maybrat*: their occurrence in the data is limited to the examples presented in this section.[6] The second type is the verb *-o* 'take', which expresses modality when it occurs as the first verb in a sequence.

The three adverbial verbs that can occur as bare-stem second verbs in a sequence are *-akus* 'left.behind', *-rof* 'follow', *-roh* 'descend'. Examples where *-akus* functions as a main verb ((25) is repeated from section 4.2):

(25)   rae   m-e   biskui /   tuo   t-akùs   /
        person   3U-give   biscuit   1S   1S-left.behind
        'The people give biscuits, I'm left out.' (i.e. I don't get any)

(26)   t-se   sasu   m-akùs   /
        1S-place   sweet.potato   3U-leave.behind
        'I place the sweet potato and it is left behind.'

Morphologically, the difference between (26) and the forms in (27) (below) is evident: in (27), *-akus* does not take a person prefix. The forms also differ clearly in meaning: (26) is used when an object (here *sasu* 'sweet potato') is left behind for good, i.e. it will not be collected later. (27) implies that the object which is left behind is only left temporarily. It will be picked up later. Intonationally, (27) is only acceptable if it is dominated by a single intonation contour. The two forms in (27) do not contrast in meaning.

(27)   a.   t-se   sasu   akus
              1S-place   sweet.potato   left.behind
              'I place the sweet potato and leave it temporarily.'

        b.   t-se   akus   sasu
              1S-place   left.behind   sweet.potato
              'I place the sweet potato and leave it temporarily.'

There are a number of ways to indicate that constructions with bare-stem second verbs have all the characteristics of single verb clauses: first, changing the sequences in (26) and (27) into questions yields the utterances in (28) and (29) below: (28) behaves like a coordinating

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[6] Of course the criterion of omission of a prefix on a second verb is not valid for hypothetical cases where a covert person prefix occurs. In other words, adverbial verbs that have a bisyllabic stem may exist. However, no semantic, phonological or syntactic evidence has been found to prove the existence of these forms.

construction, because the scope of the interrogator can be either the entire expression (reading 1) or the last verb *m-akus* (reading 2). Conversely, in (29) the entire utterance is included in the scope of the interrogator: the scope of the interrogative marker cannot be over just the bare-stem second verb plus its object as in reading 2 in (29a).

(28) *t-se*   *sasu*   *m-akus*   *a*
      1S-place   sweet.potato   3U-leave.behind   INT
      1. 'Do I place the sweet potato and is it left behind?'
      2. 'I place the sweet potato, and is it (to be) left behind?'

(29) a.   *t-se*   *akus*   *sasu*   *a*
           1S-place   left.behind   sweet.potato   INT
           1. 'Do I place the sweet potato and is it left behind temporarily?'
           2. *'I place the sweet potato, but is it left behind temporarily?'

      b.   *t-se*   *sasu*   *akus*   *a*
           1S-place   sweet.potato   left.behind   INT
           'Do I place the sweet potato and is it left behind temporarily?'

Constructions with bare-stem second verbs always take just one intonation-contour, and the coordinator *mati* cannot occur between the main verb and the bare-stem verb without rendering the utterance ungrammatical. This confirms the mono-clausal chararacter of these constructions. In addition, the object in these constructions can be extracted,[7] as it can out of (almost)[8] any monoclausal construction. I have included the determiner *re-t-o* 'that' in the examples to demarcate the NP:

(30) *sasu*   *ro*   *t-se*   *akus*   Ø   *re-t-o*
      sweet.potato   REL   1S-place   left.behind   location.spec-near-U

      m-kair
      3U-bad
      'This sweet potato that I left behind temporarily is bad.'

(31) *sasu*   *ro*   *t-se*   Ø   *akus*   *re-t-o*
      sweet.potato   REL   1S-place   left.behind   location.spec-near-U

      m-kair
      3U-bad
      'This sweet potato that I left behind temporarily is bad.'

---

[7] In fact, the object in *t-se sasu m-akus* can also be extracted, e.g. *sasu ro t-se m-akus m-nis* 'The sweet potato that I leave behind and it is left, is rotten'. This construction is similar to some of the problematic constructions to be discussed in section 8.7.

[8] Recall that idiomatic expressions do not allow extraction of the object, such as *-hai awiah* 'be hungry' (section 6 7).

This suggests that *t-se akus sasu* and *t-se sasu akus* constitute one single clause.

Some more examples of constructions with bare-stem second verbs are given in (32)-(33). In each case, the a-varieties show that these verbs can also appear as full verbs, and the other varieties show the same verb without a person prefix. The behaviour of these constructions with bare stem second verbs is completely analogous to the behaviour of the sequence *-se akus*.

(32) a. *n-atîm /*   *t-ròf*
          2-lead   1S-follow
          'You lead (the way), I will follow (you).'

      b. *t-atem*   *krem*   *ø-kro*   *ròf /*
          1S-hand   finger   ø-chase   follow
          'My next finger.'

      c. *y-no*   *rof*   *po*   *r-ira*   *ku*
          3M-do   follow thing   REL-just.now   child

          ait   *y-kiàs /*
          3M   3M-tell
          'He does what the child just now told him.'

(33) a. *m-amò /*   *m-roh*   *to-te*   *to*   *Marè /*
          3U-go   3U-descend   LOC-below   LOC   *Mare*
          'They go away and they descend, down to *Mare*.'

      b. *m-amo*   *roh*   *to-te*   *to*   *Marè /*
          3U-go   descend   LOC-below   LOC   *Mare*
          'They go to the lower part, down to *Mare*.'

Of all the constructions involving bare-stem second verbs, the one in (27a) is the only form in which a bare-stem verb follows the object. In the other verb sequences of this type, the object cannot precede the bare stem verb, i.e (34) is unacceptable:

(34) **y-no po*   *r-ira*   *rof*
       3M-do thing   REL-just.now   follow

I conclude that the example in (27b) is an exception to the rule that an object cannot come between a prefixed verb and a following bare-stem verb. The position of these bare-stem verbs emphasises their adverbial character: many adverbs occur in clause-final position, as was shown in section 4.7 and 6.8.

The second type of adverbial, the verbal form *-o*, expresses modality when occurring as a first verb in a series. It is often translated into Indonesian as **betul-betul** 'right, very, truly'. In this function *-o* has lost its semantic content of 'take', but is still related to it, as indicated in the glosses. The corresponding b-varieties, given for the sake of contrast, do not contain the verb *-o*.

(35) a.   *pi*   *ait*   *y-o*   *ø-tetèt*   /
           man   3M   3M-take   ø-happy
           'The man, he is really happy.'

      b.   *pi*   *ait*   *ø-tetèt*   /
           man   3M   ø-happy
           'The man, he is happy.'

(36) a.   *au*   *m-amà*   /   *m-o*   *ø-frok*   ***Ayawasì***
           3U   3U-come   3U-take   ø-emerge   *Ayawasi*
           'She actually arrives at *Ayawasi*.'

      b.   *au*   *m-amà*   /   *ø-frok*   ***Ayawasì***
           3U   3U-come   ø-emerge   *Ayawasi*
           'She arrives at *Ayawasi*.'

Sequences with '-*o*+V' are similar to the 'V+bare stem' forms discussed above: -*o* never functions as a single verb with a modal interpretation, these sequences are unattested with an intonation break or *mati* between the '-*o*' and the 'V', and when changing the '-*o*+V' constructions into polar questions, the scope of the interrogative marker is over both '-*o*+V', as ilustrated in (37).[9]

(37) *pi*   *ait*   *y-o*   *ø-tetet*   *à*   /
      man   3M   3M-take   ø-happy   INT
      'Is the man really happy?'

The only formal difference is that both forms in '-*o*+V' and 'V+bare stem' is that in the former the -*o* takes a person prefix, whereas 'bare stem' verb does not.

Semantically, -*o* behaves like an adverbial, although syntactically it is different from many other adverbials in that it precedes rather than follows the main verb. Like constructions involving bare-stem verbs, sequences with a 'modal' -*o* constitute one single clause according to the criteria set at the beginning of this chapter.

8.3 Complements

Some constructions are formally identical to coordinating constructions on the surface, but syntactically they are constructions of the type 'verb+complement'. In these constructions, the 'verb' must be one of the verbs defined in section 4.2.3.4, to recapitulate, a 'perception verb' or a 'mental activity verb', the causative verb -*no* 'do' or the verb -*awe* 'say'. The

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[9] I have not verified the relativised variety, but I suspect the form below is acceptable, although the translation is very tortured.

Ayawasi	*ro*	*m-ama*	*m-o*	*ø-frok*	*m-of*
Ayawasi	REL	3U-come	3U-take	ø-emerge	3U-good

'*Ayawasi* where he goes and really arrives at is nice.'

clause following the verb is a complement, i.e. it functions as the syntactic object of the verb. Some examples appear below: in the a-varieties, the object is formally a clause which functions as an object complement, while in the b-varieties the object of that verb is formally a noun. The square brackets mark the object:

(38)   a.   *t-ari*   [[*rae*   *m-mai*]]
            1S-hear   person   3U-sound
            'I hear a man making a sound.'

       b.   *t-ari*   [[*mai*]]
            1S-hear   sound
            'I hear a sound.'

(39)   a.   *t-he*   [[*fnia*   *m-ama*]]
            1S-see   woman   3U-come
            'I see a woman coming.'

       b.   *t-he*   [[*fnia*]]
            1S-see   woman
            'I see a woman'

(40)   a.   *t-no*   [[*y-aut*   *ara*]]
            1S-do   3M-climb   tree
            'I make him climb into the tree.'

       b.   *t-no*   [[*po*]]
            1S-do   thing
            'I do something.'

(41)   a.   *y-awe*   [[*y-amo*   *ora*]]
            3M-say   3M-go   garden
            'He says that he goes to the garden.'

(42)   *y-awe*   [[*po*   *ro*   *m-of*]]
       3M-say   thing   REL   3U-good
       'He says good things.'

In the discussion on coordinating sequences I showed that differing intonation contours or the insertion of *mati* do not effect a significant semantic change. In verb sequences involving complement-taking verbs, a clause-final intonation or the presence of *mati* after the first verb can be distinctive: the second verb can only be interpreted as a main verb. In the a-varieties of (43)-(46) below, each 'perception' or 'mental activity' verb is dominated by a clausal intonation contour. In the corresponding b-varieties, the whole utterance is dominated by one clausal intonation contour. The result is a significant difference in meaning.

(43)   a.   *t-sàm*   /   *t-aut*   *arà*   /
            1S-scared   1S-climb   tree
            'I'm afraid, and (so) I climb into a tree.'

       b.   *t-sam*   *t-aut*   *arà*   /
            1S-scared   1S-climb   tree
            'I'm afraid to climb into the tree (=I don't dare).'

(44)   a.   *ku*   *ait*   *ø-skòh* /   *y-ait*   *aòf*   /
            child   3M   ø-enjoy   3M-eat   sago
            'The child is happy, and (so) he eats sago.'

       b.   *ku*   *ait*   *ø-skoh*   *y-ait*   *aòf*   /
            child   3M   ø-enjoy   3M-eat   sago
            'The child enjoys eating sago.'

(45)   a.   *rae*   *m-arì*   /   *pi*   *y-api*   *y-nit*
            person   3U-hear   man   3M-old   3M-tell

            po-mnà   /
            tale
            'The people listen, and (so) the old man tells a tale.'

       b.   *rae*   *m-ari*   *pi*   *y-api*   *y-nit*
            person   3U-hear   man   3M-old   3M-tell

            po-mnà   /
            tale
            'The people listen to the old man telling a tale.'

(46)   a.   *t-hàr*   /   *t-kom*   *àm*   /
            1S-know   1S-write   letter
            'I know, I write a letter.' (Implication: I need to know something before I can
            write a letter.)

       b.   *t-har*   *t-kom*   *àm*   /
            1S-know   1S-write   letter
            'I can write a letter (as in 'I know how to write a letter').'

The same difference applies when an overt coordinator is inserted between the verbs.
(47a) and (48a) below are both perfectly acceptable, but there is a marked semantic
difference between the utterances with and without *mati*.

(47)   a.   *t-sam*   *mati*   *t-aut*   *ara*
            1S-scared   and.then   1S-climb   tree
            'I'm scared and then I climb into the tree.'

b.   *t-sam*   *t-aut*   *ara*
1s-scared   1s-climb   tree
'I'm afraid to climb into the tree (=I don't dare).'

(48)   **a.**   *ku*   *ait*   *ø-skoh*   *mati*   *y-ait*   *aof*
child   3M   ø-enjoy   and.then   3M-eat   sago
'The child enjoys himself and then he eats sago.'

   b.   *ku*   *ait*   *ø-skoh*   *y-ait*   *aof*
child   3M   ø-enjoy   3M-eat   sago
'The child enjoys eating sago.'

(49)   **a.**   *ø-hawe*   *mati*   *y-aut*   *ara*
ø-refuse   and.then   3M-climb   tree
'I refuse and then he climbs into the tree.'

   b.   *ø-hawe*   *y-aut*   *ara*
ø-refuse   3M-climb   tree
'I don't like him climbing into the tree.'

Constructions involving a causative verb *-no* (e.g. (40a)) do not allow a clausal break or the insertion of *mati* between the verbs.

If the verb *-awe* 'say' in a sequence is followed by a pause, then the utterance is interpreted as direct speech. Note that the pitch over the last syllable of *-awe* normally rises. If one intonation contour dominates the entire expression, it is interpreted as indirect speech or as a pseudo-quotative construction. An example:

(50)   **a.**   *y-awé /*   *t-amo*   *orà*
3M-say   1s-go   garden
'He$_i$ says, 'I$_i$ will go to the garden'.'

   b.   *y-awe*   *t-amo*   *orà*
3M-say   1s-go   garden
'He$_i$ said that I$_j$ went to the garden.'

Some more contrasts are given in (51) and (52):

(51)   **a.**   *t-awé /*   *t-amo*   *ora*   *re*   *t-o*   *tuò*
1s-say   1s-go   garden   so.that   1s-take   palm.wine
'I said, 'I will go to the garden to take palm-wine'.'

   b.   *t-awe*   *t-amo*   *ora*   *re*   *t-o*   *tuò*
1s-say   1s-go   garden   so.that   1s-take   palm.wine
'I said that I went to the garden to take palm-wine.'

(52)   a.   *y-awé*   /   *n-ame*   *fanè*
      3M-say   3M-stab   pig
      'He says, 'You stab a pig'.'

      b.   *y-awe*   *n-ame*   *fanè*
      3M-say   3M-stab   pig
      'He said that you stabbed a pig.'

When complement-taking constructions are placed in the interrogative mood, they can never be interpreted as ambiguous constructions, unlike coordinating constructions. (53)-(56) are all dominated by a single intonation contour, so in terms of intonation they are formally similar to the b-varieties of (43)-(46).

(53)   *n-ari   rae*   *m-mai*   *mimo   à*   /
      2-hear person   3U-sound   very   INT
      'Do you hear the people making a lot of noise?'

(54)   *ø-hawe*   *n-aut*   **pesawat**   **terbang**   *à*   /
      ø-refuse   2-climb   machine   fly   INT
      'Do you refuse to climb into an aeroplane?'

(55)   *ø-skoh*   *n-ait   aof*   *à*   /
      ø-enjoy   2-eat   sago   INT
      'Do you enjoy eating sago?'

(56)   *n-no   y-ait*   *à*   /
      2-do   3M-eat   INT
      'Do you make him eat?'

In these examples, the scope of the interrogator is the whole utterance. For instance, (53) can never mean *'You hear people, but do they make a lot of noise?'. Similarly, the scope of the interrogator in (54) can only be the entire utterance: it cannot mean *'You refuse, but do you climb into the aeroplane?' The same applies to (55), which is never interpreted as *'You enjoy yourself, but do you eat sago?'. Likewise, (56) cannot mean *'You do, but does he eat?' Thus, unlike in coordinating constructions where the scope of the interrogator can be either over the entire utterance or over the final conjunct (hence the ambiguity), this is not the case in constructions involving cognitive verbs.

This difference in meaning is confirmed when the forms are negated, as illustrated below. In (57a) the scope of the negator is over the last clause, i.e. *y-ait aof*. An interpretation which also includes the first conjunct is impossible. Conversely, in (57b) a possible scope of the negator is over the entire sentence, as indicated in the translation.

(57)   a.   *ku*   *ait*   *ø-skoh*   *mati*   *y-ait*   *aof*   *fe*
      child   3M   ø-enjoy   and.then   3M-eat   sago   NEG
      'The child enjoys himself and then he does not eat sago.'

b. *ku   ait   ø-skoh   y-ait   aof   fe*
   child 3M   ø-enjoy   3M-eat   sago   NEG
   'The child does not enjoy eating sago.'

The difference between direct and indirect speech can also be illustrated in the interrogative mood. In direct speech, the scope of the interrogative *a* is always the direct quotation. For instance, (59a) is normally interpreted as though the scope of the interrogator is the direct quotation itself, i.e. *'Does the child say, ' You go to the garden'?'. If the first verb in a direct-speech construction is to be interrogated, forms like (59b) are available.

(58) **suster** *m-awe*   **Pastor** *y-e*   *am*
    sister 3U-say   Father   3M-give   letter

    oh   *à*   /
    already   INT
    'The sister says, 'Has the Father already given the letter?''

(59) a. *ku   m-awe   n-amo ora   à   /*
     child 3U-say   2-go garden   INT
     'The child says, 'Do you go to the garden?''

    b. *ku   m-awe   po   à   /*
     child 3U-say   thing INT
     'Does the child ask anything?'

When an instance of indirect speech is placed in the interrogative mood, the scope of the interrogative is always over the entire utterance, as shown in (60) and (61). For instance, (60) is never interpreted as *'He speaks, but does he climb into the coconut tree?'. In other words, the scope of the interrogative marker is the entire construction, and not just the last verb. The fact that in these constructions the last verb alone can never be affected by an interrogator makes them different not only from their direct speech counterparts, but also from coordinating sequences. This behaviour under interrogation is similar to that of constructions involving cognitive verbs.

(60) *y-awe   y-aut   son   à   /*
    3M-say   3M-climb   coconut INT
    'Did he say that he will climb into a coconut tree?'

(61) *n-awe ø-skoh   Yosef à   /*
    2-say ø-enjoy   Yosef INT
    'Did you say that you like Yosef?'

In section 8.1 I showed that it is not possible to extract an object out of a coordinating construction. Complement-like constructions do allow extraction of the object, as illustrated below. In semantic terms, *ara* in (62b) can be understood as the 'topic' of the RC *t-sam t-aut*, resulting in an acceptable utterance. In syntactic terms, this seems to confirm that Ross' CSC is valid for *Maybrat*, since the constructions presented in this section are non-

coordinating on intonational and syntactic grounds. In the examples below, the b-varieties include an extracted object:

(62) a. *t-sam*   *t-aut*   *ara*
         1s-scared   1s-climb   tree
         'I'm afraid to climb into the tree (=I don't dare).'

      b. *ara*   *ro*   *t-sam*   *t-aut*   Ø   *m-ria*   *mimo*
         tree   REL   1s-scared   1s-climb   3U-tall   very
         'The tree that I'm scared to climb into is very tall.'

(63) a. *ku*   *ait*   *ø-skoh*   *y-ait*   *aof*
         child   3M   ø-enjoy   3M-eat   sago
         'The child enjoys eating sago.'

      b. *aof*   *ro*   *ku*   *ait*   *ø-skoh*   *y-ait*   Ø   *m-kek*
         sago   REL   child   3M   ø-enjoy   3M-eat   3U-red
         'The sago that the child enjoys eating is red.'

(64) a. *rae*   *m-ari*   *pi*   *y-api*
         person   3U-hear   man   3M-big

         y-nit   *po-mna*
         3M-tell   NOM-tell.tale
         'The people listen to the old man telling a tale.'

      b. *po-mna*   *ro*   *rae*   *m-ari*   *pi*   *y-api*
         NOM-tell.tale   REL   person   3U-hear   man   3M-big

         y-nit   Ø   *m-of*
         3M-tell   3U-good
         'The tale that people hear the old man tell is nice.'

(65) a. *t-no*   *y-aut*   *ara*
         1s-do   3M-climb   tree
         'I make him climb into the tree.'

      b. *ara*   *ro*   *t-no*   *y-aut*   *m-ria*
         tree   REL   1s-do   3M-climb   3U-tall
         'The tree that I make him climb into is tall.'

Likewise, the object in constructions involving indirect speech can be extracted:

(66) a. *t-awe y-amo amah*
         1s-say 3M-go house
         'I said that he went home.'

b.   *amah   ro   t-awe   y-amo   Ø   m-ae   **Pori**
      house   REL   1S-say   3M-go   3M-at   **Pori**
      'The house that I said he went to is at **Pori**.'

(67)   a.   **Pak   guru**   *y-awe*   *y-o*   *pron*
              mister   teacher   3M-say   3M-take   bamboo
              'The teacher wanted to take hold of the bamboo.'

        b.   *pron*   *ro*   **Pak   guru**   *y-awe*
              bamboo   REL   mister   teacher   3M-say

              y-o   Ø   *m-tie*
              3M-take   3U-break
              'The bamboo that the teacher wanted to take hold of broke.'

In this section I have demonstrated that constructions involving complements differ from coordinating sequences of verbs in four ways. First, their intonation patterns are different: in complement-constructions the entire utterance must be dominated by a single intonation contour. Secondly, insertion of the overt coordinator *mati* either significantly changes the meaning of the sequence, or renders it ungrammatical. This is not the case for coordinating sequences of verbs. Thirdly, in the interrogative mood, the scope of the interrogative marker *a* is always over the entire utterance. Lastly, these constructions do allow extraction of an object through relativisation, while coordinating constructions don't.

In the following two sub-sections, I will discuss some variations on constructions involving *-awe* 'say'.

8.3.1 Verb of speaking + V

Direct speech and indirect speech often occur in constructions where the verb *-awe* is directly preceded by a verb which semantically refers to 'speaking', such as *-tu* 'call'; *-kias* 'tell'; *tumuk* 'ask'. Verbs of speaking can occur as main verbs, as illustrated below:

(68)   *y-tu*   *y-ao*   *Mafif*
        3M-call   3M-sibling.SS   Mafif
        'He called his brother Mafif.'

(69)   *n-kias   fai*   *m-api*   *Frakron*   *t-o*   *mai*
        2-tell   woman   3M-old   Frakron   near-U   PROHIB
        'Don't tell the old woman Frakron there.'

(70)   *pi*   *ø-tumuk*   *u*   *ku*   *mi-yo*
        man   ø-ask   again   child   PRESTT-INT
        'The man asks again, 'Where is the child?'.'

Semantically, the verb preceding *-awe* modifies *-awe*, since it specifies the way in which something is said. A contrast is given in the examples below: (71a) and (71b) are neutral statements, in which the verb of speaking is generic, referring plainly to the way in which

the speaker spoke. In (71c) the function of *y-kias* is to specify the way in which the speaker spoke, i.e. he spoke in a narrative manner. This portion could constitute the beginning of a narrative.

(71)   a.   *y-awe*   *y-amo rapuoh*
             3M-say   3M-go forest
             'He says (that) he went to the forest.'

       b.   *y-kias*   *y-amo rapuoh*
             3M-tell   3M-go forest
             'He tells (that) he went to the forest.'

       c.   *y-kias*   *y-awe*   *y-amo rapuoh*
             3M-tell   3M-say   3M-go forest
             'He tells, saying that he went to the forest.'

Some more examples:

(72)   *y-tu*   *y-awé*   /   *esaa   esaa*   /
        3M-call   3M-say   esaa   esaa
        'He calls, saying 'esaa esaa!''

(73)   *ku   ait   y-ros   y-kias   y-awé   /   pi*
        child 3M   3M-stand   3M-tell   3M-say   man

        k-nuo   n-aut   ara   m-arak   fi-f-o...
        EMPH-2S   2-climb   tree   3U-skin   similar.to-very.near-U
        'The child tells (the man) saying, 'Sir, if you climb the treebark like this...''

(74)   *m-tu*   *m-awe*   *ø-hawe*   *m-pet*   *ait*   /
        3U-call   3U-say   ø-refuse   3U-marry   3M
        'She calls, saying (that) she refuses to marry him.'

(75)   *ait   ø-winaut   y-awe*   *orie   y-kat*   *fiàm*   /
        3M   ø-hope   3M-say   later 3M-catch   catfish
        'He hopes (saying) that later he will catch catfish.'

There are a number of characteristics relevant to this type of sequence. First, both verbs must have coreferent person prefixes, as in (72)-(74). Secondly, the verb of speaking and the following *-awe* are obligatorily dominated by the same intonation contour, as indicated in (72)-(75). Thirdly, the coordinator *mati* never occurs between these verbs. Finally, there is no way in which either the verb of speaking or *-awe* can be interrogated independently. For instance (76) cannot mean *'The sister asks, but does she say that the bishop will come?'

(76)   **suster** *ø-tumuk*   *m-awe*   **Uskup**   *y-ama*   *a*
        sister   ø-ask   3U-say   Bishop   3M-come   INT
        'The sister asks, 'Will the Bishop come?''

This behaviour suggests that sequences of the type 'verb of saying + -*awe*' are not coordinating, since they are intonationally and syntactically inseparable. I showed that semantically, the verb of saying in these constructions modifies -*awe*. The syntactic and semantic behaviour of "verb of saying' + -*awe*' is, in fact, highly similar to the constructions involving the adverbial verbs discussed in section 8.2. Also, both constructions are endocentric, since at least one of the elements can be substituted for the whole (Matthews 1981:147). However, there is also a difference. While adverbial constructions are attributive endocentric constructions, since only the verb taking the person prefix can function as a main verb, 'verb of saying + -*awe*' is completely endocentric: either 'verb of saying' or -*awe* can also function as a main verb in a clause, as was illustrated in (71).

8.3.2 Pseudo-quotatives

Quotative constructions include direct and indirect speech forms. Such forms reflect what was or is actually said by someone. This category contrasts semantically with 'pseudo-quotatives', which reflect the thought content of the speaker.

Like quotatives, pseudo-quotatives include the verb -*awe* 'say'. Phonologically, morphologically and syntactically these constructions are identical to indirect speech forms, and they can therefore not be formally contrasted with quotatives. The use of a verb equivalent to 'say' in this capacity is common in Papuan languages, and has been discussed by, among others, Reesink (1987); (1993) and de Vries (1990); (1993). In this section, I will give some examples of pseudo-quotative constructions and their different functions.

When -*awe* is preceded by a 'mental activity verb' such as -*oa* 'not know' or *winaut* 'hope', the verb sequence emphasises the mental activity expressed by this mental activity verb. Some examples:

(77)   *tuo*   *t-oa*   *t-awe* *snie*   *re-f-o*
       1S   1S-not.know   1S-say   month   location.SPEC-very.near-U

       snie   **September**   *oh*
       month   September   already
       'I didn't realise this month is already September.'

(78)   *ait*   *ø-winaut*   *y-awe*   *ait*   *orie*   *y-kat*
       3M   ø-hope   3M-say   3M   later   3M-catch

       fiam
       catfish
       'He hopes that later he will catch a catfish.'

-*awe* also allows a number of different interpretations, such as desire ((79) and (80)); belief/assumption ((81)); and intention ((82)):

(79)   *akut*[10]   *y-awe*   *y-kias*   *fi-t-o*   *t-o*
      son.of.female 3M-say   3M-tell   like-near-U   near-U
      'The child wants to tell it like this.'

(80)   **Pak**   **guru**   *y-awe*   *y-o*   *pron*
      mister teacher   3M-say   3M-take   bamboo
      'The teacher wants to take the bamboo.'

(81)   *y-awe*   *aya*   *m-hai* *awiah*
      3M-say   water   3U-die taro
      'He thinks the river is hungry.'[11]

(82)   *m-awe*   *m-no*   *p-ana*   *po-kuo*   *r-ana*
      3U-say   3U-do   EMPH-3P   NOM-feast.P   POSS-3P
      'They intend to make their feast themselves.'

As mentioned before, these constructions are formally the same as indirect speech constructions: both *-awe* and the following verb receive a person prefix, which is apparent from all the examples so far in this section, and the entire utterance is dominated by one intonation contour ((83)):

(83)   *t-awe* *y-amo* *y-aut*   *tuò*   /
      1S-say 3M-go 3M-climb   palmwine.tree
      'I think he goes and climbs into the palmwine tree.'

Moreover, in the interrogative mood, the scope of the interrogator is always the entire utterance ((84) and (85)):

(84)   *n-awe* *y-kom*   *am*   *m-kah* *y-atia*   *y-sia*
      2-say 3M-write   letter 3U-for 3M-father   3M-with

      y-me   *a*
      3M-mother   INT
      'Do you think he writes a letter to his father and mother?'

(85)   *n-awe* *y-no* *po*   *ø-sre*   *p-awiya*   *rae*
      2-say 3M-do thing   ø-wrong   thing-who   person

      m-atak   *ait*   *a*
      3U-angry   3M   INT
      'Do you think he's done something wrong which is why people are angry with him?'

---

[10] This form is a kinship term. It normally takes a person prefix, e.g. *t-akut* 'my (of a woman) son'; *n-akut* 'your (of a woman) son' etc. In is unclear why the person prefix was omitted in this form.

[11] This example is taken from a fairy tale.

Thus, indirect speech and pseudo-quotative constructions are formally the same, but differ in semantic content.

8.4 Prepositional notions

In section 4.2.3.5 I introduced four prepositional verbs, listed again below:

(86)   *-ae*   'at'
      -kit   'towards'
      -pat   'from'
      -kah   'with'/'to'/'for'

I illustrated that only *-ae* 'at' can function as a main verb and that it may have a defective paradigm; and that *-kah* invariably has a defective paradigm, and that these verbs invariably occur with an object. I concluded that these verbs are less 'verby' than verbs that can function as main verbs.

    In sequences of verbs, prepositional verbs are never the first verb in the sequence. Verb sequences that involve these verbs are different from any of the other sequences discussed so far. To begin with, all sequences allow a pause preceding the prepositional verb, but rather than changing the meaning of the utterance, this merely shifts the emphasis of the utterance to the prepositional verb and its object. For example, in (87b), the fact that people go towards the sagotree (and not somewhere else) is emphasised. There is a rise in pitch directly preceding the pause, but when the second verb is *-ae*, a fall in pitch is allowed, as in (90c). This is because the verb *-ae* can function as a single-verb clause.

(87)   a.   *rae*   *m-siar*   *m-amo*   *m-kit*   *aòf*   /
               person   3U-many   3U-go   3U-towards   sago
               'Many people go towards the sagotree.'

      b.   *rae*   *m-siar*   *m-amó*   /   *m-kit*   *aòf*   /
               person   3U-many   3U-go   3U-towards   sago
               'Many people go away, towards the sagotree.'

(88)   a.   *t-ama*   *t-pat*   ***Soròng***   /
               1S-come   1S-from   ***Sorong***
               'I came from *Sorong*.'

      b.   *t-amá*   /   *t-pat*   ***Soròng***   /
               1S-come   1S-from   ***Sorong***
               'I came, from *Sorong*.'

(89)   a.   *au*   *m-kom*   *am*   *m-kah* *m-mè*   /
               3U   3U-write   letter   3U-for   3U-mother
               'She writes a letter to/for her mother.'

b. *au   m-kom   ám   /   m-kah m-mè   /*
   3U   3U-write   letter   3U-for 3U-mother
   'She writes a letter, to/for her mother.'

(90) a.   *t-amo t-ae   amàh   /*
          1S-go 1S-at house
          'I went to stay in the house.'

      b.   *t-amó   /   t-ae   amàh   /*
          1S-go   1S-at   house
          'I went, and (now) I'm at the house.'

      c.   *t-amò   /   t-ae   amàh   /*
          1S-go   1S-at   house
          'I went, and (now) I'm at the house.'

With the exception of sequences involving *-ae*, none of the sequences with prepositional verbs allow insertion of the coordinator *mati*. If *mati* is inserted between *-ae* and a preceding verb, this incurs a considerable change in meaning, as illustrated in (91b). In this example, *y-ae* functions as a main verb. This shows that *-ae* still has many verbal properties.

(91) a.   *ait   ø-frok   y-ae   aof   m-air*
          3M   ø-emerge   3M-at sago   3U-foot.of.tree
          'He arrived at the foot of the sagotree.'

      b.   *ait   ø-frok   mati   y-ae   aof   m-air*
          3M   ø-emerge   and.then   3M-at sago   3U-foot.of.tree
          'He arrived and then he was at the foot of the sagotree.'

The examples above illustrate clearly that the sequences involving *-ae* behave like coordinating constructions, while sequences with other prepositional verbs don't.

While taking the objects out of coordinating constructions, adverbial constructions and constructions involving an object complement yielded unequivocal results, extraction processes in sequences involving a prepositional verb give conflicting results. The objects of *-kit* ((92b)) and *-pat* ((93b)) can be extracted without any problem:

(92) a.   *rae   m-siar   m-amo   m-kit   aof*
          person   3U-many   3U-go   3U-towards   sagotree
          'Many people go towards the sagotree.'

      b.   *aof   ro   rae   m-siar   m-amo   m-kit   Ø*
          sago   REL   person   3U-many   3U-go   3U-towards

          m-hu   rapuoh
          3U-stay   forest
          'The sagotree that many people go towards is in the forest.'

(93) a.   *t-ama*   *t-pat*   ***Sorong***
            1S-come   1S-from   ***Sorong***
            'I come from *Sorong*.'

      b.   ***Sorong***   *ro*   *t-ama*   *t-pat*   Ø   *m-hu*
            Sorong   REL   1S-come   1S-from   3U-stay

            m-ae   sasu
            3U-at   coast
            '*Sorong* where I come from is on the coast.'

A slightly different construction, where the verb *-pat* precedes the motion verb is given in (94a). A similar type of construction with *-kit* is not possible.

(94) *ait*   *y-pat*   *rapuoh*   *y-ama*
      3M   3M-from   forest   3M-come
      'He comes from the forest.'

The behaviour (94) differs from constructions where the prepositional verb is preceded by the motion verb. The differences are as follows: first, the entire utterance must be dominated by one intonation contour. The presence of two intonation contours renders the utterance ungrammatical, as shown in (95).

(95) *ait*   *y-pat*   *rapuóh*   /   *y-àma*
      3M   3M-from   forest   3M-come

The second, most notable, difference with constructions where *-pat* precedes the motion verb is in its behaviour under relativisation. Whereas relativisation on the object of *-kit*, as in (92b) results in a grammatical construction, relativisation on the object of *-pat* results in an anomalous construction, e.g. (96). I construed it myself, and some speakers accepted it, but others quite resolutely rejected this sentence as unacceptable. In spontaneous speech, this kind of construction is unattested.

(96) *?rapuoh*   *ro*   *y-pat*   *y-ama*   *m-hu*   *e*
      forest   REL   3M-from   3M-come   3U-stay   far
      'The forest from where he comes is far (away).'

Unlike the objects of the verbs *-pat* and *-kit*, extracting the object of the verb *m-kah* in the same manner is not allowed, as illustrated below:

(97) *pam*   *ro*   *t-fat*   *ara*   *m-kah*   *m-api*
      axe   REL   1S-fell   tree   3U-with   3U-big

However, there is a way to relativise on the object of *-kah*. If in the relativised sentence the order of the verbs is reversed so that the first verb is *m-kah*, and what was originally the first verb follows *m-kah*, the resulting utterance is grammatical. This is illustrated in (98)-(99),

where *-kah* semantically expresses an instrumental, and in (100), where it expresses a recipient/benefactive:

(98) a.   *t-fat*   *ara*   *m-kah*   *pam*
        1S-fell tree   3U-with   axe
        'I fell a tree with an axe.'

      b.   *pam*   *ro*   *m-kah*   *t-fat*   *ara*   *ø-samuoh*
          axe   REL   3U-with   1S-fell tree   ø-heavy
          'The axe with which I fell the tree us heavy.'

(99) a.   *t-amus*   *onfuk*   *m-kah*   **sabun**
        1S-wash   clothes   3U-with   soap
        'I wash the clothes with soap.'

      b.   **sabun** *ro*   *m-kah*   *t-amus*   *onfuk*   *m-poh*
          soap   REL   3U-with   1S-wash   clothes   3U-white
          'The soap with which I wash clothes is white.'

(100) a.   *ø-tim*   *am*   *m-kah*   *ait*
         ø-send   letter 3U-to/for   3M
         'I'm sending a letter to/for him.'

      b.   *ait*   *ro*   *m-kah* Ø   *ø-tim*   *am*   *y-hu*   *Sorong*
          3M   REL   3U-to   ø-send   letter 3M-stay   *Sorong*
          'He to/for whom I'm sending a letter lives in *Sorong*.'

In other words, the fact that the object of *-kah* 'with'/'to'/'for' can be relativised on illustrates that it is a different type of verb than *-kit* 'towards' and *-pat* 'from'.

The object of the verb *-ae* can be extracted without violating the grammaticality of of the utterances, as in (101b):

(101) a.   *t-ama*   *t-ae*   *amah*
        1S-come   1S-at   house
        'I come to stay in the house.'

      b.   *amah* *ro*   *t-ama*   *t-ae*   Ø   *m-hu*   *kait*
          house   REL   1S-come   1S-at   3U-stay   close

          amah *ro-Petrus*
          house   POSS-Petrus
          'The house where I come to stay is close to Petrus' house.'

This type of extraction is very similar in form and behaviour to the constructions with -kit 'towards' and -pat 'from', and to those with a complement, as discussed in section 8.3.[12]

However, there is a hitch, because sequences involving -ae do not always behave as described above. -ae also occurs with a third person unmarked prefix m-, preceded by a verb with a different prefix. In this case, -ae has a defective paradigm. A contrastive example in which -ae occurs with an unmarked prefix is given below:

(102)   a.   *t-amo*   *t-ae*   *amah*
                 1S-go   1S-at   house
                 'I go to stay in the house.'

       b.   *t-amo*   *m-ae*   *amah*
                 1S-go   3U-at   house
                 'I go to the house.'

Semantically, the two differ slightly: in (102a) the verb -ae is adequately translated as 'to be at', as indicated in the English translation. In (102b) m-ae has little semantic content: its function is that of a marker which marks the following NP as a location. The difference between these two kinds of -ae has consequences for its intonational and syntactic behaviour: a sequence of a verb followed by m-ae cannot be dominated by two intonation contours without rendering the utterance ungrammatical,[13] as illustrated in (103). The same applies to insertion of the overt coordinator *mati*, as in (104).

(103)   **y-àmo*   *l*   *m-ae*   **hanggàr**
               3M-go   3U-at   hanger

(104)   **ait*   *y-amo*   *ø-frok*   *mati*   *m-ae*   *aof*   *m-air*
             3M   3M-go   ø-emerge   and.then   3U-go   sago   3U-foot

Likewise, 'objects' of defective-paradigm -ae cannot be relativised on, as illustrated in (105b) and (106b).[14]

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[12] On the whole, constructions of the type 'V + -ae', where the verb -ae is declined are similar to the problematic constructions discussed in section 8.7.

[13] Unless there is a rise in pitch on the first verb followed by a pause, in which case m-ae **hanggar** would be emphasised, cf. (87)-(90).

[14] It may seem odd that the b-form below is acceptable, as opposed to (105b) and (106b) which are not. A possible explanation is that in the example below m-ae *Ayawasi* is interpreted as a separate clause, where m-ae functions as a main verb:

a.   *ana*   *m-amo*   *m-ae*   *Ayawasi*
         3P   3U-go   3U-at   *Ayawasi*
         'They go to *Ayawasi*.'

b.   [[*Ayawasi*   *ro*   *m-amo*   *Ø*]]   *m-ae*   *kait*   *Ayata*
         Ayawasi   REL   3U-go   3U-at   near   *Ayata*
         '*Ayawasi*, that they go to, is near *Ayata*.'

(105) a.   *t-amo   m-ae   amah*
           1s-go 3U-at house
           'I go to the house.'

      b.

*amah	ro	t-amo	m-ae Ø	m-hu	Ayawasi
house	REL	1s-go	3U-at	3U-stay	Ayawasi

(106) a.

ana	m-hu	m-ae	Ayawasi
3P	3U-stay	3U-at	Ayawasi

           'They live in *Ayawasi*.'

      b.

*Ayawasi	ro	ana	m-hu	m-ae Ø	m-of
Ayawasi	REL	3P	3U-stay	3U-at	3U-good

It is clear from the above that *-ae* has two distinct syntactic functions. Whereas the 'declining' forms are similar to coordinating constructions, the defective paradigm instances are different. I will return to the notion that a lexical item, like this defective-paradigm verb *-ae*, is formally like a verb, but is functionally more like preposition in the following section.

8.4.1 Another note on 'prepositions'

In section 4.2.3.5 I showed that with the exception of *-ae*, the prepositional verbs cannot function as main verbs in a clause although two of them, *-kit* and *-pat*, do take person prefixes like regular verbs. In section 8.4 I illustrated that, when placed in a sequence with other verbs, the resulting sequences behave differently from coordinating sequences of verbs. Prepositional verbs seem to be less 'verby' than other verbs, with *m-kah* as the most remarkable form, since its verbal character is debatable to begin with (cf. section 4.2.3.5 for the arguments to classsify it as a verb).

Prepositional notions that are expressed by forms which are verbal in character to a greater or lesser extent are found in many (serialising) languages. Lord (1973) finds that in a number of Kwa languages, spoken in West Africa, some prepositions evolved from locative verbs in a serial construction. Hamel (1993), in her description of Loniu, an Oceanic language, finds that oblique roles such as locatives, causatives and instrument/manner constructions are expressed by prepositions that are derived from verbs, but have lost some of their verbal properties. Schachter (1974:265) states that verbs that occur in serial verb constructions often lose their verbal characteristics resulting in a 'reinterpretation as prepositions'. Disregarding for the moment the question of whether the verb sequences described in the present section qualify as 'serial verb constructions' (I will return to this in section 8.7 and 8.8), the behaviour of *Maybrat* prepositional verbs is, from a typological point of view, not unusual.

The question is whether these verbs should be analysed as prepositions or as verbs. Lord (1993) gives a number of criteria that have to be met for a verbal form to qualify as a preposition (Lord 1993:14). These criteria refer to the extent to which such verbal forms are verbal in behaviour. In *Maybrat*, *-ae* can function as a main verb, whereas *-kit*, *-pat* and *-kah* cannot. However, Lord states that objects of verbs can be extracted, whereas those of prepositions cannot. According to this criterion then, *-kit* and *-pat* are more 'verbal' than *-ae* and *-kah*, as the former two verbs allow relativisation of their objects more easily than the

latter two verbs. Likewise, -*kit* and -*pat* are more verbal that -*ae* and -*kah* because of their ability to select nouns as subjects: as was illustrated above, -*ae* is sometimes, and -*kah* is always a 'defective paradigm' verb. The ability to select a noun as a subject, which with the exception of -*kah* all verbs clearly can do, is another property associated with verbs, according to Lord.

It is clear that the 'prepositional' verbs in *Maybrat* are not exclusively prepositions, but at the same time, they are not exclusively verbs, as they do not fully exhibit some of the properties that are so typical of 'real' *Maybrat* verbs, such as the ability to function as a main verb and the ability to take person prefixes.

8.5 Comitatives

The comitative verb -*sia* was introduced in section 4.2.3. There, I stated that -*sia* takes both a subject and an object, and that it cannot function as a main verb. In this section, I will discuss the syntactic behaviour of comitative constructions.

Formally, -*sia* is a verb which takes two arguments. The person prefix of -*sia* must be coreferent with the subject of the verb. The forms below are NPs: they cannot function as predicates.

(107) *tuo*   *t-sia*   *fnia*
       1S   1S-with   woman
       'I with the woman'

(108) *ait*   *y-sia*   *y-ano*
       3M   3M-with   3M-sibling.OS
       'he with his sister'

In (109a) *tuo t-sia ait* functions as the subject of a clause. The main verb -*amo* 'go' takes a first person singular person prefix *t-*. Conversely, in (109b), the main verb takes a plural person prefix *p-* (in (110)), there is also subject agreement). In this example, the comitative is considered part of the subject, hence the plural case marking. This type of comitative is more common in Papuan languages (cf. Reesink 1987:85).

(109) a.   *tuo*   *t-sia*   *ait*   *t-amo* *Kumurkek*
            1S   1S-with   3M   1S-go   *Kumurkek*
            'I accompanied by him, I go to *Kumurkek*'

       b.   *tuo*   *t-sia*   *ait*   *p-mo*   *Kumurkek*
            1S   1S-with   3M   1P-go.P   *Kumurkek*
            'I accompanied by him, we go to *Kumurkek*.'

(110) *t-atia*   *y-sia*   *t-me*   *m-ama*   *Ayawasi*
       1S-father   3M-with   1S-mother   3U-come   *Ayawasi*
       'My father and my mother come to *Ayawasi*.'

The semantic difference between (109a) and (109b) is as follows: in (109a) the singular person prefix on the main verb emphasised the fact that *tuo* 'I' is going is more important than the fact that someone is accompanying '*tuo*'. Conversely, in (109b), the emphasis is on the fact that two people are going, marked by the plural person prefix.

In (111a), the scope of *r-ait* 'his' is the entire comitative construction *amah m-sia onfuk*, i.e. this comitative construction functions as the head of the NP *amah m-sia onfuk r-ait*. In (111b), the scope of *r-ait* is *onfuk*. Here, a pause marks the constituent boundary between the object NP *amah*, and the following comitative form *m-sia onfuk r-ait*.

(111) a. *ø-hpi*   *amah* *m-sia*   *onfuk*   *r-ait*   /
          ø-destroy   house   3U-with   clothes   POSS-3M
          'He destroyed his house and his clothes.'

b. *ø-hpi*   *amah*   /   *m-sia*   *onfuk*   *r-ait*   /
          ø-destroy   house   3U-with   clothes   POSS-3M
          'He destroyed his house and his clothes.'

Apart from the fact that comitative constructions function as an NP in a clause, and cannot function as a predicate, there are a number of other differences between comitative constructions and verbal predications. First, as is the case for prepositional verbs, comitative constructions are unattested without an object. Secondly, the object in a comitative construction cannot be extracted.

In addition to these functional differences, comitatives are also formally different because they may lack a person prefix. Illustrations are given in (112) and (113). There seems to be no semantic difference between forms with and without person prefix in this type of constituent. Apart from a few adverbial verbs (described in section 8.2), instances of verbal forms lacking an overt or a covert person prefix are unattested in the data.

(112) a. *t-hu*   *sia*   *anu*
          1S-stay   with   2P
          'I'll stay with you.'

b. *t-hu*   *t-sia*   *anu*
          1S-stay   1S-with   2P
          'I'll stay with you.'

(113) *ayu*   *sia*   *snie*   *ø-frok*
      sun   with   moon   ø-emerge
      'The sun and the moon emerge.'

The omission of a subject-prefix results in a 'decategorialised' form, i.e. a form in which aspects typical of that category, such as the presence of a person prefix for verbs, are absent (cf. Hopper (1991:22)). This feature, or rather the lack of this feature, may be indicative of a grammaticalisation process in which the comitative verb is changing into a preposition. Other motivations for a change in categorial status are the differing syntactic properties of *-sia* compared to those of 'true' verbs. Shifts in the grammatical status of a lexical item to assume a more grammatical function (here that of a coordinator) are often

accompanied by restricted morphological and syntactic properties (Heine et al. (1991:2), they refer to Hopper and Thompson (1984)).

The verb -sia also occurs in clause-final position. Its meaning here is not fully understood. In (114) and (115) below, the verb -sia refers to the fact that a dog accompanies the subject. Syntactically, the objects of the verbs, i.e. mtah sumaya r-ana s-au in (114) and mtah in (115) are topicalised (see section 6.6 on topicalisation). In these examples, -sia semantically implies 'be accompanied for hunting'. In (115b) mtah occurs in clause-final position, but here the meaning of 'accompany for hunting' is absent.

(114) mtah su-m-aya[15] r-ana   s-au   eok   m-sia
       dog   eye-3U-water POSS-3P   one-3U   two   3U-with
       'One of their 'street dogs' accompanies the two for hunting.'

(115) a. mtah y-ao   Frans y-sia
          dog   3M-sibling.same.sex Frans 3M-with
          'A dog accompanies his sibling (same sex) Frans for hunting.'

      b. y-ao   Frans y-sia   mtah
          3M-sibling.ss Frans 3M-with   dog
          'His sibling (same sex) Frans with his dog.'

In (116) the verb -sia occurs three times, each time in clause-final position, but the object au 'she' is not expressed. This is unlike (114) and (115), where the object is always expressed, albeit as a topicalised form. The example in (116) is taken from a text recorded 25 years ago.[16] Possibly the verb -sia had more verbal properties then than it has now, which would account for its 'verbal' behaviour in (116).

(116) ø-tupat   fane poh   r-au   m-sia   Ø   tipuo,
       ø-lift   {pig white} POSS-3U   3U-with   immediately

       ø-tupat   mtah r-au   m-sia   Ø   tipuo
       ø-lift   dog   POSS-3U   3U-with   immediately

       ø-tupat   ru kos   r-au   m-sia   Ø   tipuo
       ø-lift   {k.o. bird} POSS-3U 3U-with   immediately
       'She immediately lifts up the white pig and (takes) it with her, she lifts her dog and takes it with her, and she lifts her yearbird and takes it with her.'

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[15] sumaya derives from m-asu m-aya <3U-eye 3U-water> 'Its eyes are watery.'

[16] The text from which this example was taken was recorded somewhere during the period 1972-1974 in Ayawasi by the anthropologist J.M Schoorl.

8.6 Relativisation revisited

In this chapter, relativisation was used as a test for constituency. A number of forms, notably objects of prepositional verbs, were difficult or impossible to relativise. These facts about relativisation in *Maybrat* correspond to the generalisation introduced by Keenan & Comrie (1977:66), stated in the Accessability Hierarchy, given below:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Object of Preposition > Possessor

from Keenan (1985:147)

One of the generalisations that applies to this hierarchy is that if a language can relativise a position which is low on the hierarchy, then all the positions higher on this hierarchy can also be relativised (Keenan & Comrie 1977:68). Thus, if a language can relativise direct objects, then it can also relativise subjects. A language may have a strategy to make relativisation possible, such as lexical reorganisation, in order to attain this goal (Keenan & Comrie 1977:71).

To begin on the left-hand side of the Accessibility Hierarchy, in single verb clauses in *Maybrat*, relativisation of subjects and objects is always possible, as illustrated in section 6.6. The objects of prepositional notions expressed with verbs *-pat* 'from' and *-kit* 'towards', i.e. the prepositional verbs that morphologically behave most like verbs, can be relativised on, as long as the prepositional verb is preceded by another verb, cf. (119). In other words, these objects behave like 'normal' objects.

(117) | aof | ro | rae | m-siar | m-amo | m-kit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sago | REL | person | 3U-many | 3U-go | 3U-towards |

m-hu	rapuoh
3U-stay	forest

'The sago(tree) that many people go towards is in the forest.'

(118) | **Sorong** | ro | t-ama | t-pat | m-hu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Sorong** | REL | 1S-come | 1S-from | 3U-stay |

m-ae	sasu
3U-at	coast

'*Sorong* where I come from is on the coast.'

(119) | ?rapuoh | ro | y-pat | y-ama | m-hu | e |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| forest | REL | 3M-from | 3M-come | 3U-stay | far |

'The forest from where he comes is far (away).'

The object of the prepositional 'verb' *m-kah* can be relativised on, but the order of the verbs has to be reversed in the RC. In other words, *Maybrat* has a strategy to make relativisation on the object of this verb possible.

(120) *ku   ro   m-kah   t-kom   am   ø-kiyam   m-ase*
     child   REL   3U-to   1S-write   letter ø-ill   3U-very
     'The child for whom I write a letter is very ill.'

Objects of the 'defective paradigm' prepositional verb *-ae* 'at' cannot be relativised, cf. (121). In terms of the hierarchy, *Maybrat* treats the objects of these verbs as prepositional objects.

(121) *ʿamah ro   t-amo   m-ae   Ø   m-hu   Ayawasi*
     house REL   1S-go   3U-at   3U-stay   *Ayawasi*

The hierarchy predicts that possessors cannot be extracted at all. This is indeed the case, as illustrated in (122b), derived from the single-verb clause in (122a), where 'Petrus' is the possessor:

(122) a.   *ku   ø-kiniah   m-ai   mtah   ro-Petrus*
         child   ø-small   3U-hit dog   POSS-Petrus
         'The small child hits Petrus' dog.'

     b.   **Petrus   ro   ku   ø-kiniah   m-ai   mtah   y-atak*
         Petrus REL   child   ø-small   3U-hit dog   3M-angry

8.7 Some problems

The constructions described so far could all be described consistently with the help of intonational, morphological and syntactic criteria. Those that seemed exceptions, like the prepositional verbs and comitative constructions, were accounted for by placing them in the framework of well-attested grammaticalisation processes.

However, constructions involving the motion verbs and position verbs introduced in section 4.2.3.2, as well as the 'shared argument construction' verbs introduced in section 4.2.2.3 have not been discussed yet. These verbs are repeated below:

(123)   motion verbs:
     -amo   'go'
     -ama   'come'

     position verbs:
     -ros   'stand'
     -hu   'stay'
     hren   'sit'

     shared argument construction verbs:
     -o   'take'
     -po   'hold'
     -ehoh 'stab'

Sequences involving these verbs are highly similar to the coordinating constructions described in section 8.1 To begin with, they may be dominated by either a single intonation contour (a-forms below), or by an intonation countour over each verb plus its arguments, with a pause between the verbs (b-forms), without effecting a marked semantic difference:

(124) a.   *m-amo*   *m-ate*   *ayà*   /
             3U-go   3U-go.under   water
             'She goes and bathes.'

       b.   *m-amò*   /   *m-ate*   *ayà*   /
             3U-go   3U-go.under   water
             'She goes, and bathes.'

(125) a.   *y-ros*   **lapangan**   *ø-kream*   *po-safòm*   /
             3M-stand   field   ø-cut   NOM-green
             'He stands in the field and he cut grass.'

       b.   *y-ros*   **lapangàn**   /   *ø-kream*   *po-safòm*   /
             3M-stand   field   ø-cut   NOM-green
             'He stands in the field, and he cuts grass.'

(126) a.   *y-po*   *pam*   *y-fat*   *arà*   /
             3M-hold   axe   3M-fell   tree
             'He holds the axe and fells the tree.'

       b.   *y-po*   *pàm*   /   *y-fat*   *arà*   /
             3M-hold   axe   3M-fell   tree
             'He holds the axe and fells the tree.'

(127) a.   *t-ai*   **bola**   *m-amò*   /
             1S-hit   ball   3U-go
             'I throw the ball away.' (lit. 'I throw the ball and it goes.')

       b.   *t-ai*   **bolà**   /   *m-amò*   /
             1S-hit   ball   3U-go
             'I throw the ball away.'

Secondly, all the verbs in sequences involving the verbs in (123) take an obligatory person prefix (whether overt or covert), as is evident from the examples given in (124)-(127) above.

Thirdly, it is always possible to insert the coordinator *matı* between the verbs without significantly changing the meaning of the utterance:

(128) a.   *y-hu*   **sekolah**   *ø-farkor*
             3M-stay   school   ø-study
             'He stays at school and studies.'

b. *y-hu*   **sekolah**   *mati*   *ø-farkor*
    3M-stay   school   and.then   ø-study
    'He is in school and then he studies.'

(129) a. *m-amo*   *m-ate*   *aya*
          3U-go   3U-go.under   water
          'She goes and bathes.'

b. *m-amo*   *mati*   *m-ate*   *aya*
    3U-go   and.then   3U-go.under   water
    'She goes and then she bathes.'

(130) a. *y-ehoh*   *fane*   *m-hai*
          3U-stab   pig   3U-dead
          'He stab the pig and it dies.'

b. *y-ehoh*   *fane*   *mati*   *m-hai*
    3U-stab   pig   and.then   3U-dead
    'He stab the pig and then it dies.'

Fourthly, if utterances containing any of the verbs in (123) are changed into polar questions, the utterance becomes ambiguous, because the scope can be over either the entire proposition, or over just the last 'conjunct':

(131) *ø-hren t-kom*   *am*   *a*
      ø-sit 1S-write   letter   INT
      1. 'Should I sit (down) and write a letter?'
      2. 'I sit down, but should I write a letter?'

(132) *y-ros*   *y-o*   *y-ati*   *ara*   *a*
      3M-stand   3M-take   3M-put.in.ground   tree   INT
      1. 'Does he stand and take and put the sticks into the ground?'
      2. 'He stands and takes (the sticks), but should he put them into the ground (or should he do something else with them)?'

(133) *n-o*   **tapak**   *n-e*   *ait*   *a*
      2-take   tobacco   2-give   3M   INT
      1. 'Will you take the tobacco and give it to him?'
      2. 'You take the tobacco, but will you give it to him, or will you do something else with it?'

Like the coordinating sequences, these constructions can be disambiguated by inserting a pause between the two verbs: (134) only allows one interpretation.

(134) a. *y-ehoh*   *fanè*   /   *m-hai*   *à*   /
          3U-stab   pig   3U-dead   INT
          'He stabs the pig, but does it die?'

A problem is presented by the examples containing a motion verb as the second verb in the sequence: here the scope of the interrogator is necessarily over both verbs. So, (135) cannot be interpreted as *'I pour the water, but does it 'go' (rather than 'come', or 'fall') into the thermos flask?'. Likewise, (136) cannot mean *'He sends a letter, but does it 'come' (rather than 'arrive at', or 'go to') to *Ayawasi*?' In other words, these sequences behave similarly to the sequences involving an object-complement as discussed in section 8.3: placing these in the interrogative mood also resulted in an unambiguous reading.

(135) a. *t-tu*   *aya*   *m-amo*   **cerek**   *a*
           1s-pour   water   3U-go   thermos.flask   INT
           'Should I pour water into the thermos flask?'

(136) a. *ait*   *ø-tim*   *am*   *m-ama*   *Ayawasi*   *a*
           3M   ø-send   letter   3U-go   *Ayawasi*   INT
           'Should he send a letter to *Ayawasi*?'

The fact that the result of the manipulation in the constructions in (135) and (136) is at odds with the results in the other constructions, which are all like coordinating constructions, is not a big problem: it is conceivable that *m-amo cerek* in (135) and *m-ama Ayawasi* in (136) cannot be interpreted as main clauses, because they give the direction of the action expressed in the first verb in the sequence, and are therefore semantically inseparable from the first verb.

However, (135) and (136) are not the only forms that are exceptional in behaviour. All the constructions discussed so far in this section deviate from the coordinating sequences in one important respect: to a certain extent, they allow extraction of objects, or, in other words, they violate Ross' CSC.

Consider the following examples, all of which have an object on the first verb. In each case, this object can be extracted, as illustrated in the b-forms:

(137) a. *y-hu*   **sekolah**   *ø-farkor*
           3M-stay   school   ø-study
           'He stays at school and studies.'

       b. **sekolah**   *ro*   *y-hu*   Ø   *ø-farkor*   *m-api*
           school   REL   3M-stay   ø-study   3U-big
           'The school where he stays and studies is big.'

(138) a. *y-po*   *pam*   *y-fat*   *ara*
           3M-hold   axe   3M-fell   tree
           'He holds the axe and fells the tree.'

       b. *pam*   *ro*   *y-po*   Ø   *y-fat*   *ara*   *ø-samuoh*
           axe   REL   3M-hold   3M-fell   tree   ø-heavy
           'The axe that he holds and fells the tree is heavy.'

(139) a.   *y-ros*   **lapangan**   *ø-kream*   *po-safom*
           3M-stand   field   ø-collect   NOM-green
           'He stands in the field and he collects grass.'

b.   **lapangan**   *ro*   *y-ros*   *ø-kream*   *po-safom*
     field   REL   3M-stand   ø-collect   NOM-green

m-of
3U-good
'The field where he stands and collects grass is nice.'

However, the object of the second verb, *po-safom*, cannot be extracted:

c.   **po-safom*   *ro*   *y-ros*   **lapangan**   *ø-kream*   Ø
     NOM-green   REL   3M-stand   field   ø-collect

m-ria
3U-tall

In all the b-examples in (137)-(139) the head (=the object of the first verb) of the RC can be understood the 'topic' of that RC without resulting in a 'logical conflict.' In all non-relativised instances in (137)-(139), the object of the first verb is also the semantic 'subject' of the second verb, which may explain why this object is allowed to become the understood 'topic' of the sentence. This is not the case for *po-safom* in (139c), as it cannot be the topic of the first clause in the RC *y-ros* **lapangan**, hence there is a logical conflict, and the sentence is ungrammatical.

If the first verb does not have an object, then the object on the second verb can be extracted. In (140)-(143), the first verb can, but need not take an object. In all these examples, the head of the RC can be understood as the topic of the entire RC, hence the sentences are grammatical.

(140) a.   *m-amo*   *m-ate*   *aya*
           3U-go   3U-go.underwater
           'She goes and bathes (water).'

b.   *aya*   *ro*   *m-amo*   *m-ate*   Ø   *m-hu*   *e*
     water   REL   3U-go   3U-go.under   3U-stay   far
     'The river that she goes and bathes in is far.'

(141) a.   *m-ama*   *m-he*   *fane*
           3U-come   3U-see   pig
           'They come and see the pig.'

b.   *fane*   *ro*   *m-ama*   *m-he*   Ø   *fane rapuoh*
     pig   REL   3U-come   3U-see   {pig forest}
     'The pig that they come and see is a wild wild pig.'

(142) a.
y-ros	*y-o*	*y-ati*	*ara*
3M-stand	3M-take	3M-put.in.ground	tree

'He stands and takes and puts the wood in the ground.'

b.
ara	*ro*	*y-ros*	*y-o*	*y-ati*	Ø	*m-of*
tree	REL	3M-stand	3M-take	3M-plant		3M-good

'The stick which he stands and takes and plants is good.'

(143) a.
ø-hren	*t-kom*	*am*
ø-sit	1S-write	letter

'I sit and write a letter.'

b.
am	*ro*	*ø-hren*	*t-kom*	Ø	*m-amo*	***Sorong***
letter	REL	ø-sit	1S-write		3U-go	***Sorong***

'The letter that I sit and write goes to ***Sorong***.'

Shared argument constructions are constructions where in a sequence of verbs the object of the first verb is at the same time the subject of the second one. The second verb may or may not take an object. In these sequences, the object of Verb1 (= subject of Verb2) can be extracted, as shown in the b-varieties of (144)-(147) below. Like the constructions above, the object on the second verb cannot be extracted, as illustrated in the c-forms. Again, in each b-form the head of the resulting RC can be interpreted as the understood topic of the utterance, which is not the case in the c-forms.

(144) a.
t-ai	**bola**	*m-amo*
1S-throw	ball	3U-go

'I throw the ball away.' (lit. 'I throw the ball and it goes.')

b.
bola	*ro*	*t-ai*	*m-amo*	*m-kek*
ball	REL	1S-throw	3U-go	3U-red

'The ball that I throw and it goes is red.'

(145) a.
y-ehoh	*fane*	*m-hai*
3U-stab	pig	3U-dead

'He stab the pig and it dies.'

b.
fane	*ro*	*y-ehoh*	*m-hai*	*m-hu*	*to*
pig	REL	3M-stab	3U-die	3U-stay	LOC

tauf
forest

'The pig that he stabs and it dies stays in the forest.'

(146) a.
t-tu	*aya*	*m-amo*	**cerek**
1S-pour	water	3U-go	thermos.flask

'I pour water into the thermos flask.'

b.

aya	*ro*	*t-tu*	Ø	*m-amo*	**cerek**	*m-pe*
water	REL	1S-pour		3U-go	thermos.flask	3U-hot

'The water that I pour and it goes into the thermos flask is hot.'

c.

*cerek	*ro*	*t-tu*	*aya*	*m-amo*	*m-kek*
thermos.flask	REL	1S-pour	water	3U-go	3U-red

(147) a.

Mafif	*y-o*	*tfo*	*m-amo*	*fon*
Mafif	3M-take	machete	3U-go	rope

'Mafif takes a machete and it goes to the rope.' (implication: he cuts the rope)

b.

tfo	*ro*	*Mafif*	*y-o*	Ø	*m-amo*
machete	REL	Mafif	3M-take		3U-go

fon	*m-api*
rope	3U-big

'The machete that Mafif takes and it goes at the rope is big.'

c.

*fon	*ro*	*Mafif*	*y-o*	*tfo*	*m-amo*
rope	REL	Mafif	3M-take	machete	3U-go

Ø	*ø-ktus*
	ø-snap

There is another type of construction which violates the CSC, namely, so-called 'valency-increasing' constructions. These are constructions in which an extra argument can be expressed by means of the addition of an extra verb. In *Maybrat*, the verb *-e*, translated as 'give' can take at most two arguments, namely the 'actor' and the 'patient'; there is no room to express a third argument, for instance a 'recipient'. The act of 'giving something to someone' is expressed by two verbs in a construction which is semantically equivalent to 'X takes Y gives Z', where Y is the object and Z the recipient of the object. That the object, 'Y', can be extracted is demonstrated in (148b). Note that in (148c) the RC involves only one verb (*-e* 'give') and three arguments. In a main clause this is impossible, e.g. **t-e ait* **tapak**.

(148) a.

n-o	**tapak**	*n-e*	*ait*
2-take	tobacco	2-give	3M

'Take the tobacco and give it to him.'

b.

tapak	*ro*	*n-o*	Ø	*n-e*	*ait*	*okair*	*sai*
tobacco	REL	2-take		2-give	3M	little	only

'The tobacco that you take and give to him is only a little.'

c.

tapak	*ro*	*n-e*	Ø	*ait*	*okair*	*sai*
tobacco	REL	2-give		3M	little	only

'The tobacco that you give him is only a little.'

However, there also seem to be some exceptions to this pattern, especially in constructions which feature three verbs. For example, whereas extraction of the object *pam* 'axe' out of (149a) below is allowed, extraction of the object out of (150a) is unacceptable. Apparently the head of the RC in (150b), *pam* 'axe', cannot be understood as the 'topic' of the RC.

(149) a. *y-ros*   *y-o*   *pam*
       3M-stand   3M-take   axe
       'He stands and takes the axe.'

     b. *pam* *ro* *y-ros*   *y-o*   Ø   *ø-samuoh*
       axe   REL 3M-stand   3M-take   ø-heavy
       'The axe that he stands and takes is heavy.'

(150) a. *y-ros*   *y-o*   *pam* *y-fat*   *ara*
       3M-stand   3M-take   axe   3M-fell   tree
       'He stands and takes the axe and fells the tree.'

     b. **pam* *ro* *y-ros*   *y-o*   *y-fat*
       axe   REL 3M-stand   3M-take   3M-fell

       ara *ø-samuoh*
       tree   ø-heavy

It would be expected that in the following example, the object cannot be extracted. However, (151c), where the object of the second verb is extracted, was acceptable to some informants. This can be explained in connection with the examples in (135) and (136) above: semantically, the second verb *-ama* is closely connected to the first, as it gives the direction of the action of the first verb. It is therefore conceivable that the head of the RC in both (151b) and (151c) is understood as the topic of the following RC.

(151) a. *ait* *ø-tim*   *am*   *m-ama*   *Ayawasi*
       3M   ø-send   letter 3U-go   *Ayawasi*
       'He sends a letter and it goes to *Ayawasi*.'

     b. *am* *ro* *ait* *ø-tim* Ø *m-ama*
       letter REL 3M ø-sent   3U-come

       Ayawasi   *m-ria*
       Ayawasi   3U-long
       'The letter that he sent to *Ayawasi* is long.'

c.   ?*Ayawasi*   *ro*   *ait*   *ø-tim*   *am*   *m-ama*   Ø
      Ayawasi   REL   3M   ø-send   letter   3U-come

m-of
3U-good
'*Ayawasi* that he sends a letter to is nice.'

However, in (152), extraction of the object of the third verb, *tapam* 'land' was always considered acceptable (e.g. (152c)). Apparently *tapam* 'land' can be understood as the topic of the RC. It is difficult to find a semantic motivation for the unacceptability of (150b), and for the acceptability of (152c). It seems that in sequences with three verbs, it cannot be completely predicted whether the object of a verb can or cannot be extracted.

(152) a.   *y-fat*   *aof*   *m-tie*   *m-ai*   *tapam*
             3M-fell   sagotree   3U-break   3U-hit   land
             'He fells the sagotree and it breaks and hits the ground.'

       b.   *aof*   *ro*   *y-fat*   Ø   *m-tie*   *m-ai*
             sagotree   REL   3M-fell   3U-break   3U-hit

             tapam m-anes   *oh*
             land 3U-old   already
             'The sagotree that he fells and it breaks and hits the ground is already old.'

       c.   *tapam ro*   *y-fat*   *aof*   *m-tie*
             land REL   3M-fell   sagotree   3U-break

             m-ai Ø   *hatat* *m-siar*
             3U-hit   mud   3U-many
             'The ground on which he fells the sagotree and it breaks and crashes is very muddy.'

In sequences of two verbs, of which one is a motion verb, a position verb, or a shared argument construction verb, the first object can be extracted. Likewise, in 'valency-increasing' constructions, the argument that functions as the object of the first verb and the subject of the second verb can be extracted. Apparently, all these verbs, when combined with other verbs, yield constructions from which objects can be extracted without giving rise to 'logical conflicts' and hence unacceptability.

In other words, these constructions seem similar to two types of construction discussed before: they are similar to *coordinating constructions* from the point of view of intonation, and morphology, and they behave largely the same when placed in the interrogative mood. However, these forms violate the CSC. This makes them similar to the *constructions involving an object complement*, which also 'violate' the CSC. Indeed, in many of the problematic constructions the second clause can be analysed as an object complement of the first clause, as illustrated below (cf. also the examples n section 8.3):

(153) a.   *ø-hren* [[*t-kom*   *am*]]
             ø-sit   1s-write   letter
             'I sit and write a letter.'

      b.   *ø-hren* [[*tapam*]]
             ø-sit   land
             'I sit on the ground.'

(154) a.   *m-amo*   [[*m-ate*   *aya*]]
             3u-go   3u-go.under water
             'She goes and bathes.'

      b.   *m-amo*   [[*aya*]]
             3u-go   water
             'She goes to the river.'

However, in section 8.3 I illustrated that in constructions involving an object complement, a pause between the two verbs can bring about a significant change in meaning. This is not the case for these 'problematic' verb sequences. Thus, according to the criteria set in this chapter, they keep a middle way between coordinating constructions and constructions involving an object complement.

A case could be made for the presence of Serial Verb Constructions in *Maybrat*. In what are claimed to be serialising languages, the motion verbs 'come' and 'go' and the position verbs 'stand' and 'stay' are commonly found in serial verb constructions (Foley & Olson 1985:41-42). The same is true for a verb like *-o*, which expresses a semantic function similar to 'instrumental' (Sebba 1987:162). Likewise, 'shared argument' constructions, such as 'X kills Y dies' ((145) above) are common in serialising languages (Sebba 1987:197). Hamel (1993) refers to this type of construction as 'causative/result' where the main verb is the cause, and the serial verb is the result. And lastly, serialising languages often use 'valency-increasing' constructions to make it possible to add an extra argument to an expression (Foley and Olson 1985:48; Sebba 1987:216; Zwicky 1990:3).

The question is if the constructions discussed in this section really qualify as 'serial'. The term 'serial verb construction' itself has been the subject of much debate in recent linguistic literature. Zwicky (1990:2) states that the term 'serial' is often used to refer to juxtaposed verbs in general, without stating explicitly the relationship between these verbs. Thus, if taken loosely, all the sequences of verbs in this chapter qualify as serial. However, in the literature the term 'serial' is usually applied to a specific type of verb series. Some formal criteria that apply to 'serial verb constructions' are as follows:

(155) a.   They have only one overtly expressed (syntactic) subject (Sebba 1987:86);
      b.   There must be no ascertainable clause boundary between the two verbs (Sebba 1987:39);
      c.   There cannot be any overt conjunctions between the verbs (Zwicky 1990:4; Foley and Olson 1985:18; Sebba 1987:39);
      d.   All the verbs have the same aspect, tense and mood (Zwicky 1990:4; Foley and Olson 1985:28; Sebba 1987:39);

    e.   Verbs in a serial verb construction must also be able to occur as single predicates;

    f.   The serial verbs refer to one single event (Comrie 1995:26).

The problematic constructions discussed in this section clearly qualify for some of these criteria, while violating others: all the verbs can occur a single predicates, thus qualifying for criterion (155e). However, they have more than one overtly expressed subject (in the form of an obligatory person prefix); there may be an ascertainable clause boundary between the verbs in the form of a pause; there may be an overt conjunction between the verbs; and the verbs need not always have the same aspect, tense and mood, thus failing criterion (a), (b), (c) and (d) respectively. The problem is the use of the word 'may' in the above: for instance, a pause 'may' be inserted between two verbs in a putative serial verb construction, *rendering* it into a coordinating construction. In sequences in which the second clause clearly functions as a complement without a pause, insertion of a pause changes the construction into a coordinating one, albeit with a significant change in meaning. In a putative serial verb construction, does the insertion of a pause also change the constituency of the construction? Semantically, there is no significant difference in meaning in constructions with and without a pause, both are coordinating. However, given the small syntactic deviation from the coordinating 'norm', i.e. violation of the CSC, suggest that these constructions are at least remotely serial in character, despite the fact that they fail most of the criteria in (155).

8.8 Conclusions

The most striking syntactic feature of the *Maybrat* language is that it makes extensive use of strings of juxtaposed verbs without overt coordinators between them. In this chapter I have demonstrated that these strings are in fact held together in different ways. At one end of the continuum, the strings are stitched together quite loosely: these are the coordinating constructions. At the other end of the continuum there are the 'tightly stitched' constructions, i.e. those where the verbal form is an adverbial modifier of the main clause. In between these two poles, there are types of verb sequences that are, to extend the metaphor, held together by stitches of increasing 'tightness', namely 'problematic' constructions that stand midway between coordinating constructions and those where the second clause functions as an object complement; sequences where the second clause is unambiguously an object complement; and sequences which involve a prepositional verb. In particular constructions involving prepositional verbs and comitative verbs, and to a lesser extent the 'problematic' constructions, are strikingly similar to typical 'serial' constructions in serialising languages.

Chapter 9   Complex Constructions

Complex constructions are constructions that involve more than one clause with a marker to mark the relationship between these clauses. Because of the presence of a marker, complex constructions are formally different from the constructions involving sequences of verbs. A distinction can be made between two types of complex construction, namely coordinating constructions and adverbial clauses. Coordinating constructions contain two functionally equivalent members bound by means of a linking device (Dik 1997:189). Adverbial clauses are constructions which function as modifiers of clauses (Thompson & Longacre 1985:172). Adverbial clauses are syntactically parallel to RCs in that they are introduced by a marker, and that the resticting clause modifies the (clausal) head.

I will begin with a discussion of coordinating complex constructions in section 9.1, followed by a discussion of adverbial clauses in section 9.2. In section 9.3 I will describe some functional properties of *p-awiya*, which is formally an interrogative. It will appear that *p-awiya* can function as a coordinator, and as a kind of copula-linker between an NP or a locative adverbial and a clause. Finally, in section 9.4, I will discuss some style figures that are commonly used in *Maybrat*.

9.1 Coordination

In coordinated sentences, two clauses are linked by an interclausal coordinator. The coordinator that links the two clauses is invariably found between the clauses that are linked. Coordinated clauses are always separated by an intonation break. Within sentences, such a break always directly precedes the coordinator. This break is manifested as a rise in pitch on the final syllable of the preceding clause followed by a pause. An example (*mati* is the coordinator):

(1) *t-amo* **Soróng**   /   *mati*   *ø-tim*   *àm*   /
     1s-go **Sorong**   and.then   ø-send   letter
     'I am going to *Sorong* and then I will send a letter '

Linking usually occurs within one sentence, but may also occur across sentence boundaries. When this is the case, the coordinator can be placed either in sentence-initial or in sentence-final position. In sentence-initial position, the coordinator is preceded by sentence-final intonation of the previous sentence, i.e. a fall in pitch followed by a pause. This is illustrated in (2), where *m-nan* is the coordinator. In other words, the difference between linking within sentences and linking across sentence boundaries is that in the former there is a rise in pitch, while in the latter there is a fall. If the coordinator occurs in sentence-final position, the fall in pitch is on the coordinator, followed by a pause, as in (3) (the coordinator here is *na*).

(2) *ana*   *m-amo*   **Soròng**   /   *m-nan*   *ana*   *m-e*
     3P   3U-go   **Sorong**   3U-enough   3P   3U-return

     m-ama   *pe-f-o*   *ù*   /
     3U-come   area.ADV-very.near-U   again
     'They are going to *Sorong*. After that they will return and come here again.'

(3)   *um*   *s-au*   *rae*   *s-au*[1] *y-amo* *y-he*   *fi-t-a*
       moment   one-3U   person   one-U   3M-go   3M-see   like-near-U

       nà   /   *y-rof*   *kre*   *fane*   *m-sia*   *ku*   *r-au*
       and.then   3M-follow nest   pig   3U-with child   POSS-3U

m-oò   /
3U-foot.P

'Once upon a time a man went and saw (it) like this. Then he followed the nest, the pig with her children, their footsteps.' (lit. 'their feet', but referring to 'footsteps' in this context.)

In section 4.9 I presented a class of coordinators. In addition to these coordinators there are a number of elements that formally belong to other word classes, but that can function as coordinators. These are: *m-nan* 'it is enough', 'it is finished', (or 'it is similar to') (verb); *o* 'ENUM' (enumerator); and *fe* 'NEG' (adverb).

Because there are no syntactic criteria to subdivide different kinds of coordination, I have decided to describe the coordinators in terms of meaning. Roughly, five semantic groups can be distinguished, namely sequentiality (section 9.1.1); enumeration (section 9.1.2); disjunction (section 9.1.3); purpose (section 9.1.4); and cause/reason (section 9.1.5). In section 9.1.6 I will treat the form *p-awiya*, which is formally a question word (cf. section 4.5), but can also function as a coordinator and as an adverbial clause marker.

9.1.1 Sequentiality

The three coordinators that can express sequentiality are *mati*, *na* and *m-nan*. When they occur between two clauses the ordering of the events is always iconic, i.e. the event that occurs first in time is also the event that is first mentioned.

9.1.1.1 *mati*

In (4a) and (5a) constructions with the coordinator *mati* are given. In (4a) *mati* expounds the sequentiality which is implicitly present in the corresponding b-varieties. (5a) is semantically an emphatic conditional construction: *mati* marks the following clause as valid only if the action expressed in the first clause is fulfilled. This emphasis is absent in the first clause.

(4)   a.   *p-mo*   *aof*   *mati*   *p-fat*   *aof*
             1S-go.P   sagotree   and.then   1S-fell sagotree
             'We are going to the sagotree and then we will fell the sagotree.'

       b.   *p-mo*   *aof*   *p-fat*   *aof*
             1S-go.P   sagotree   1S-fell   sagotree
             'We are going to the sagotree and we will fell the sagotree.'

---

[1] Because the head of the NP is *rae*, referring to a male, as appears from the person prefix *y-* further on in the sentence, the form expected here is *s-ait*, as there should be agreement for gender between the head noun and the numeral modifier 'one' (see section 4.6). It is not clear why *s-au*, the unmarked form, is used here.

(5) a.   *n-he   ø-wosok   kaket   mati   n-aut*
          2-see   ø-slippery well   and.then 2-climb
          'When you see it is very slippery, then you climb (connotation: Only when it
          is slippery enough...).'

     b.   *n-he   ø-wosok   kaket   n-aut*
          2-see   ø-slippery well   2-climb
          'When you see it is very slippery, you climb.'

Some more examples are given below: In (6) and (7) *mati* occurs within a sentence (i.e.
preceded by a rising intonation), and in (8) and (9) it occurs between sentences (i.e. preceded
by a falling (clause-final) intonation):

(6) *tein*   *s-au*   *marák*   /   *mati*   *p-he*
     deserted.garden   one-3U   3U-empty   and.then   1P-see

     Pastòr   /
     Father
     'After one year the father appeared again.' (lit.'One year was finished and then we
     saw the Father.')

(7) *to-f-o*   **Pastor**   *ait*   *y-po*   *si*   *anu²*   *y-awe*
     LOC-very.near-U   Father   3M   3M-hold   also   2P   3M-say

     ru   *ro*   **pemerintáh**   /   *mati*   *m-fè*   /
     bird   REL   government   and.then   3U-NEG
     'Here the Father, he took (developed) us also, and he said, 'The aeroplane of the
     government, it is not (good)'.'

(8) *pam*   *tfo*   *fè*   /   *kan*   *m-ko*   *ara*
     axe   machete   NEG   ember   3U-burn   tree

     t-a   *ø-samer³*   *ø-samer*   *ø-samèr*   /   *mati*
     near-U   ø-cooked   ø-cooked   ø-cooked   and.then

     m-aso   *awiah*   *m-aìt*   /
     3U-insert   taro   3U-eat
     'There was no axe or machete, embers burned the wood until it was hot. And then
     they inserted the taro and they ate it.'

---

[2] Here *anu* '2P' is used to exclude the interviewers (W. Avé and myself) from the description given. A
second person plural form is often used in this context, see for instance ll. 64, 77 and 82 in text *fnia mkiar*
(appendix II).

[3] The verb *ø-samer* refers to items that are hot enough for using, be it consumption (food can be '*ø-samer*')
or, as is the case in this example, hot enough to roast things.

(9) | *p-won* | *tipuo* | *me-t-o,* | *p-hu* | *p-ri* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1P-enjoy | immediately | PRESTT-near-U | 1P-stay | 1P-hear.P |

ewa	*rù* /	*mati*	*p-har*	*fos-fos,*	*mae*
always	bird	and.then	1P-know	wind-REDUP	formerly

p-hu	*nini-nina*	*sai* /	*p-hu*	*nina*
1P-stay	pitchdark-REDUP	only	1P-stay	dark

ru   m-amà
bird 3U-come

'We immediately enjoyed this,[4] we always stayed and heard the aeroplane. And then we became aquainted with the radio, formerly we just lived in the dark.[5] We lived in the dark and the aeroplane came.'

A second use of *mati* is to link an NP or an adverbial and a clause. In this position, the NP or adverbial then functions as a verbless clause, i.e. it has the same intonational characteristics as clauses that occur in this position. Consider, for instance, (10), where the NP *ana m-ana tuf* 'the three of them' functions as a verbless clause:

(10) | *ana* | *m-ana* | *túf* / | *mati* | *m-po* | *tapam* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3P | 3U-head | three | and.then | 3U-hold | land |

tuoh   we-f-ò
place location.GEN-very.near-U

'The three of them, they took (developed) the land in this place.'

In this context, the function of *mati* is to emphasise the previous NP. For example, (11b) is an informative statement. In contrast with (11b), (11a) was found in a context where *Wuon* (the initiation of men) was compared to *fnia m-kiar* (the 'education' of women).[6] The question was whether *pofit* ('ginger') played a role in *fnia m-kiar*. The answer was negative, after which a comparison with *Wuon* was given in the form of (11a). The comma in the translation is given to indicate the emphasis on the word *Wuon* (as opposed to *fnia m-kiar*).

(11) a. | *Wuon* / | *rae* | *mati* | *m-ait* | *pofit* | *m-siar* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wuon | person | and.then | 3U-eat | ginger | 3U-many |

'As for the men of Wuon, they eat lots of ginger.'

---

[4] 'this' refers to the new situation, i.e. the newly-built airstrip.

[5] 'the dark' is a figure of speech to refer to the isolated circumstances that people lived in before the radio was introduced.

[6] *fnia* 'woman' and *m-kiar* 'she decorates'. *m-kiar* refers to the decorations that women receive when they are introduced into womanhood. See appendix II for the complete text.

b. *Wuon / rae m-ait pofit m-siar*
    Wuon   person   3U-eat ginger 3U-many
    'In Wuon the people eat lots of ginger.'

Below, temporal adverbials are linked to a clause by *mati*. Again, the function of *mati* is to emphasise the adverbial. A contrast between forms with and without *mati* is given in (12): in (12a) *mati* specifies that it has to be evening first, and only then will a man go out to kill (everyone). In (12b) this emphasis is absent.

(12) a.   *mti mati y-ehoh m-arak*
          night and.then 3M-stab   3U-empty
          'At night, only then did he slay them all (lit. 'He stabbed (and killed) and they were gone.')

     b.   *mti y-ehoh m-arak*
          night 3M-stab 3U-empty
          'At night he slayed them all.'

Some more examples involving the temporal adverbials *snie* September (in (13)) and **Hari Minggu** *s-au fe eok* (in (14)):

(13) *snie* **September** *mati ru m-roh*
     month September and.then bird 3U-descend
     'The aeroplane will land (here) in the month September.' (lit. 'The month September, and then the aeroplane will descend.')

(14) **Hari Minggu** *s-au fe eok mati t-ama*
     {Sunday}   one-U NEG two and.then 1S-come
     'I will come in one or two weeks.' (lit. 'One or two Sundays, and then I come.')

In (15), the locative adverbial *to-tis* functions like a verbless clause:

(15) *to-tis mati Sosonwawa ø-frok*
     LOC-behind and.then Sosonwawa ø-emerge

     ø-skie amah r-ait
     ø-build house POSS-3M
     'Lastly, Sosonwawa emerged and built his house.'

9.1.1.2 *na*

Like *mati*, the coordinator *na* indicates sequentiality of actions, but it is not as explicit as *mati*. Some speakers use it very frequently, others don't use it at all. Its status is like that of a gap-filler. In (16) and (17) *na* occurs between clauses, i.e it is preceded by rising intonation and a (small) pause. In this position, the function of *na* is parallel to that of *mati* indicating sequentiality between clauses, cf. (4)-(6) above. In (18) and (19) *na* links two

sentences, i.e. it is preceded by a falling intonation. Here, it functions like *mati* in sentence-initial position, cf. (8) and (9).

(16) *m-aút*   /   *na*   *m-kai*   *apàn* /
      3U-climb   and.then   3U-meet   snake
      'They climbed and then they found a snake.'

(17) *t-nit*   *po mná*   /   *na*   *au*   *ø-tumuk*   *po*
      1S-tell.story {story}   and.then   3U   ø-ask   thing

      ro   *au*   *m-owá*   /   *na*   *k-tuo*   *t-kias*   *t-kiàs* /
      REL   3U   3U-not.know   and.then   EMPH-1S   1S-tell   1S-tell
      'I tell stories and she asks the things she does not know and I tell and tell.'

(18) H: **Terus**   *na*[7]   *ini*   *m-roh*   *m-awe*
            and.then   *na*   this   3U-descend   3U-fall

      m-pat   *akah*   *u*   *m-roh*   *m-ai*   *tief*   *ira*
      3U-from   above   up   3U-fall   3U-hit   ground.kangaroo   just.now

      m-asi   *na*   *etè*   /   W: *m-atiet*   *m-siàr* /
      3U-pick   *na*   below   3U-die   3U-many.

      H: *na*   *m-ros*   **angkat**   *mii*   *m-amò*   /
            And.then   3U-stand   lift   night   3U-go
      Henky: 'And then this *na* fell from above, it went down and hit the ground kangaroos who were just then picking up the *na* below.' Waisafo: 'Many ground kangaroos perished.' Henky: 'Then they (i.e. the people) got up and lifted them (the ground kangaroos), and at night they (the people) carried them (home).'

(19) *pi*   *ait*   *y-po*   *si*   *au*   *m-atèm*   /   *na*
      man   3M   3M-hold   also   3U   3U-hand   and.then

      m-ros   *m-ama*   *tipuo*   *nà*[8]
      3U-stand   3U-come   immediately   and.then
      'The man, he held her hand too. Then they stood and they went.'

Like *mati*, *na* can also be preceded by an adverbial functioning like a verbless clause. Some examples:

---

[7] *na* is 'pangium edule sp' *na* 'pangium edule sp' and *na* 'and then' are homophones.

[8] See below for *na* in sentence-final position.

(20)	*t-hu*	*sai*	*t-amo*	*sai*	*t-no*	*po*	*sai.*	*Mti*	*na*
	1S-stay	just	1S-go	just	1S-do	thing	just	night	and.then

t-ama   *t-tien*
1S-come   1S-sleep
'I just lived (there) and I just went and did things. At night, I came and slept.'

(21)	*mah*	*rapu*	*na*	*rae*	*tkia*	*iso*
	sunrise	morning	and.then	person	place	road

s-au   *m-ama*   *ø-srar*   *u*
one-3U   3U-come   ø-dance   again
'The following morning, people from one area came and danced again.'

Lastly, as already indicated in (19), *na* can also occur in sentence-final position. In this position, *na* is typically a gap-filler. It is included in the sentence-final intonation contour of the sentence, and is directly followed by a pause. *na* in sentence-final position occurs in cases where consecutive events are recounted. An example:

(22)	*m-amo*	*ø-frok*	*amah*	*nà*	/	*ait*	*y-ros*	*y-pies*
	3U-go	ø-emerge	house	and.then		3M	3M-stand	3M-order

au   *m-amo*   *m-atu*   *awiàh* /
3U   3U-go   3U-yank.out taro
'They went and emerged from the house. He stood and ordered her to go and yank out some taro.'

9.1.1.3 *m-nan*

When *m-nan* functions as a main verb it means 'it is enough', 'it is finished', 'it is similar to'. An example:

(23)	*y-o*	*po*	*ewók*	/	*y-o*	*tfo*
	3M-take	ceremonial.cloth	two		3M-take	machete

ewók / *y-se*   *te-t-o*   *m-nàn*
two   3M-place below-near-U   3U-enough
'He took two ceremonial cloths and he took two machetes and he placed them there and that was it.'

Here, *m-nan* is dominated by clause-final intonation.

When *m-nan* functions as a coordinator, it occurs in clause-initial position, i.e. it is preceded by a pause, and the clause-final intonation of the preceding clause. Here, *m-nan* indicates explicitly that the previous action has been completed before the following action begins. The most accurate English rendering of *m-nan* in this function is 'after that'. An example:

(24)   ana   m-amo   *Soróng*   /   m-nan   ana   m-e
        3P   3U-go   **Sorong**   3U-enough 3P   3U-return

        m-ama   pe-f-o   ù
        3U-come   area.ADV-very.near-U   again
        'They are going to *Sorong*. After that they will return and come here again.'

The verb *m-nan* 'it is finished, it is enough' and the coordinator *m-nan* 'after that' are homophonous. Given the semantic similarity, it is possible that the coordinator *m-nan* and the verbal form *m-nan* are morphologically the same.

In (25) an example contrasting the presence vs. the absence of *m-nan* is given. *m-nan* makes explicit that the event described in the first clause (i.e. *m-aku fo m-anes* 'these small ones are old') should be completed before that in the second clause (i.e. *m-ataf* 'they are ripe') occurs. In (25b) this sequentiality is not explicit: in fact, the events described in the juxtaposed clauses may co-occur.

(25)   a.   m-aku   f-o   m-anes   m-nan   m-ataf
              3U-small   very.near-U   3U-old   3U-enough   3U-ripe
              'These small ones (i.e. fruit) should be old enough before they are ripe.'

        b.   m-aku   f-o   m-anes   m-ataf
              3U-small   very.near-U   3U-old   3U-ripe
              'The small ones are old and ripe.'

When linking two clauses, *m-nan* is often followed by the coordinator *na*, as in (26) and (27):

(26)   ø-skie   amah, ø-skie   amah m-nan   na   **kumpul**
        ø-build   house ø-build   house 3U-enough   and.then   collect

        rae   m-ama   m-akuo   po-kuo   m-o   tuo
        person   3U-come   3U-feast   NOM-feast.P   3U-take   palm.wine

        o,   kak   o,   m-ama   m-akuo   po-kuo
        ENUM   meat   ENUM   3U-come   3U-feast   NOM-feast.P

        tuoh   re-t-o
        place   location.SPEC-near-U
        'They built a house, they built a house and after that they called the people together and they (i.e. the people) came and made a feast and they took palm-wine, meat, and they came and made a feast at that place.'

(27) y-*men*   *m-nan*   *na*   *m-o*   *wan*[9]
      3M-marry   3U-enough   and.then   3U-take   ceremonial.cloth

      re-t-o   *a,*[10]   *Faserim,*   *m-amo*   *ø-tka*
      location.SPEC-near-U INTERJ   Faserim   3U-go   ø-exchange

      wan   *Yu Rhat*
      ceremonial.cloth   Yu Rhat
      'He married and after that they took the '*wan Faserim*', and they went and exchanged
      (it with) the '*wan Yu Rhat*'.

(28) y-*he*   y-*mat*   *m-nan*   *na*   *peok*   *p-roh*
      3M-see   3M-observe   3U-enough   and.then   twosome   1P-descend
      'He looked and he observed and after that two of us descended.'

As was the case for *mati* and *na*, *m-nan* as a coordinator can also occur in sentence-
initial position, as illustrated in (29)-(31) below:

(29) *m-nan*   *to-tis*   *mati*   *m-ros*   *m-ape*
      3U-enough   LOC-behind   and.then   3U-stand   3U-give.birth

      Anton me-f-o kerja *m-ae* kantor BPD **di**   **Manokwari**
      Anton now   work 3U-at office BPD at   *Manokwari*
      'And at the back (lastly), she stood and gave birth to Anton, who now works at the
      'BPD' office in *Manokwari*.'

---

[9] *wan* is the name of a type of ceremonial cloth. The two *wan* mentioned in this example, *wan Faserim*
and *wan Yu Rhat* are used as items for exchange in marriage.

[10] It is not clear what the function of this element is. I suspect it is just a gap-filler, like 'uh'.

(30)   *y-ama*   *ø-frok*   *Waref* /   *m-nan*   *y-no*
        3M-come   ø-emerge   Waref   3U-enough   3M-do

        fi-t-o   *u* /   *m-nan*   *y-ama*   *ø-frok*
        similar.to-near-U   again.   3U-enough   3M-come   ø-arrive

        aya   *m-ato*   *ro*   *tian*   *rae*   *m-ame*   *fai*
        water   3U-hole   REL   formerly   person   3U-stab   woman

        Ais   *m-ruk*   *re-t-o*   *m-nan*   *y-ros*
        Ais   3U-submerge   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-enough   3M-stand

        y-no   *fi-t-o*   *u*
        3M-do   similar.to-near-U   again
        'He arrives at Waref. After that he does (it) likewise again. After that he comes and
        emerges at the water-hole in which formerly people stabbed the woman Ais and
        submerged her. And then he stands and does (it) likewise again.'

(31)   *tapam*   *re-t-o*   *m-akuo*   /   *m-nan*
        land   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-feast   3U-enough

        m-afan   *tapam*   *re-t-o*   *m-asom*   **Tuoh**
        3U-give.name   land   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-name   **Tuoh**

        Pokuo[11]
        Pokuo
        'They made a feast at this place. And then they gave a name to this place, its name
        was *Tuoh Pokuo*.'

9.1.2   Enumeration

In section 4.11 I introduced the enumerator *o*, which can link NPs (cf. section 5.6) and
clauses. *o* signals that a clause is part of an enumeration. Every clause in an enumeration
takes *o*, although the last clause sometimes does not.[12]

Intonationally, *o* occurs in clause-final position, since it is followed by a pause.
However, unlike a falling pitch which typically marks the end of a clause, the pitch on *o*
remains level (marked by a bar over the vowel), and the vowel is phonetically long. Some
examples ((32) is repeated from Chapter 5):

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[11] Literally *tuoh pokuo* is <place NOM-feast.P> 'the place of the feast'.

[12] When *o* links NPs, *o* on the last NP is also not obligatory, cf. section 5.6.

(32) na   m-kuk   intape ō   /   m-kuk   ara
      and.then   3U-pull   rope   ENUM   3U-pull   tree

ō
ENUM
'Then he pulled a rope and he pulled at a tree.'

(33) ø-krek   po   y-o,   ø-krek   hapan
      ø-carry.under.arm   thing 3M-take   ø-carry.under.arm   bead

      ō   /   ø-krek   po   p-awiya   ō   /   m-kah
      ENUM   ø-carry.under.arm   thing   thing-INT   ENUM   3U-for

      harta   ro-aù[13]
      brideprice   POSS-3U
      'Under his arm he carried things and he took them, he carried beads and he carried
      whatever for her brideprice under his arm.'

9.1.3 Disjunction

The negator *fe* may function as a coordinator marking disjunction. It can only occur within
a sentence. The use of a negator to mark disjunction is attested in other languages as well
(e.g. in Kresh, a Central-Sudanic Nilo-Saharan language (Brown 1994)).

When *fe* functions as a disjunctive coordinator (glossed 'DISJ'), it patterns with the
other coordinators in terms of intonation (with the exception of the enumerator *o*, see above),
i.e. it occurs in clause-initial position. The pitch of the preceding clause rises on the final
syllable, to signal that there is more to come. An example is given in (34a) below.
Conversely, when *fe* functions as a negator, it is included in the (falling) intonation contour
of the first clause, and it is followed by a pause, viz. (34b):

(34) a.   p-mo Aisa   wiá   /   fe   p-mo Aynesra   wià
            1P-go Aisa   first   DISJ   1P-go Aynesra   first
            'Shall we go to *Aisa* first or Shall we go to *Aynesra* first?'

      b.   p-mo Aisa   wia   fe   /   p-mo Aynesra   wià
            1P-go Aisa   first   NEG   1P-go Aynesra   first
            'We will not go to *Aisa* first. We will go to *Aynesra* first.'

Some examples of disjunctive coordination are given in (35) and (36). In (36) *fe* functions
as a disjunctive coordinator, whereas *m-fe* functions as a predicative negator.

(35) anu   n-he   n-we   fi-ye?   m-kair   fe   m-of
      2P   2P-see   2P-say.P   like-INT   3U-bad   DISJ   3U-good
      'You look at it and what do you think? Is it bad or good?'

---

[13] Usually in possessive forms, the vowel on *ro* is reduced if the following morpheme is vowel-initial, cf.
section 3.4.

(36) **tapi** *ana* *m-fot*   *fane* *ro*   *m-aku*   *iye* *fe*
      but   3P   3U-catch   pig   REL   3U-small   also   DISJ

      m-fe   *a*
      3U-NEG   INT
      'But did they catch the piglet too, or not?'

fe can also mark inclusive disjunction in enumerations, as illustrated below:

(37) *m-roh*   *tipuo*   *me-au*   *na*   *n-amo* *n-mat*   *ana*
      3U-descend   immediately   PRESTT-U.DIS   and.then   2-go   2-observe   3P

      te-au   *l*   *wehati*   *fe*   *matiaf*   *fe*
      area.N-U.DIST   ?[14]   DISJ   bird.of.paradise   DISJ

      tfo ø-ftah[15]   *fe*   *wan*   *l*   *rae*   *m-ti*
      {ceremonial machete}   DISJ   ceremonial.cloth   person   3U-carry
      'They immediately descended there, and you went and observed them there, people
      carried *wehati* or a bird of paradise or a ceremonial machete or ceremonial cloth.'[16]

9.1.4 Purpose

The coordinator *re* 'in order to' introduces a purpose clause. Intonationally, *re* belongs to the
clause expressing purpose, and it occurs in clause-initial position. A purpose clause follows
the clause which describes the action which is undertaken to effectuate the intention
expressed in the purpose clause. Some examples:

(38) *t-amo* *amah*   *ø-kiyám*   *l*   *re*   *suster* *m-he*   *t-aò*
      1S-go   house   ø-ill   in.order.to   sister   3U-see   1S-foot
      'I am going go to the hospital in order for the sister to look at my foot.'

(39) *m-awe*   *n-amo* *n-apot*   *ara*   *ø-hri*   *aro*   *n-amá*   *l*
      3U-say   2-go   2-collect   tree   ø-bark   other   2-come

      re   *p-tu*   *aòf*
      in.order.to   1P-pour   sago
      'She said, 'you go and collect treebark and other things in order for us to pour
      sago'.'

---

[14] *wehati* is a ceremonial item, but it is not clear what it refers to. The informant I translated this text with
said it was no longer used.

[15] *tfo ftah* is a big machete with a decorated blade. It is used in traditional ceremonies and was formerly
used as a bride-price.

[16] In this sentence the object, i.e. the enumerated NPs, are topicalised, cf. section 6.6.

(40)   *t-amo ará*   /   *re*   *orie*   *mti*   *p-iit*   *ara sasù*
      1S-go garden   in.order.to later night 1P-eat.P   {cassava}
      'I will go to the garden so that tonight we eat cassava.'

In the following sentence the temporal adverb *m-orie* functions as a verbless clause:

(41)   *ait*   *y-awe:*   *m-orié* /   *re*   *aya*   *m-yuòh*
      3M   3M-say   3U-later   in.order.to   water 3U-boil
      'He said, 'In a little while, in order for the water to boil'.'

It is possible that the coordinator *re* is related to the demonstrative prefix *re-* 'location.SPEC'. The pragmatic function of the coordinator *re* may be interpreted as marking a 'topic', or a 'given' according to which an action is carried out. Coordinators that mark semantic categories such as purpose, cause, reason or conditionals often derive from demonstrative elements, as attested in many languages. Some examples from Germanic languages are the Old English coordonator *for þaem* 'for that, because' (Traugott 1985:297), English coordinator *so that*; the Dutch coordinator *omdat* 'because, as' containing *dat* 'that'; and *daarom* and *daardoor* 'therefore, so' both containing the demonstrative *daar* 'there'. In a broad pragmatic sense each of these coordinators mark the preceding clause as a 'given' in the discourse.

9.1.5 Cause/Reason

There are two coordinators indicating cause or reason, namely *mi* 'so that' and *ke* 'because'. Intonationally, *mi* occurs in clause-initial position. Some examples:

(42)   *tuo*   *t-awe* *ku*   *y-hai*   *awiáh* /   *mi*   *y-awià*
      1S   1S-say child 3M-die   taro   so.that   3M-cry
      'I think the child is hungry so that he is crying.'

(43)   *n-no*   *fi-yé*   /   *mi*   *n-ao*   *ø-yàf*
      2-do   similar.to-INT   so.that   2-foot ø-wound
      'What did you do, so that your foot is wounded?'

(44)   *t-haf*   *m-nok-nók*   /   *mi*   *t-awe*   *ø-hawe*
      1S-stomach 3U-queasy-REDUP   so.that   1S-say ø-refuse

      t-ait   *po-iit*
      1S-eat NOM-eat.P
      'I feel queasy, so that I think I don't want to eat food.'

Sentences with *mi* can also be interpreted as conditionals, depending on the context in which the utterance occurs. This similarity in form between causals and conditionals reflects their semantic similarity. In conditionals in natural languages, it must be possible to interpret the content of the protasis as a cause of the content of the apodosis. So, there is a causal link between the protasis and the apodosis (Comrie 1986:80). In a conditional interpretation, *mi* marks the following clause as the apodosis. There are no syntactic or

intonational criteria to make a formal distinction between *mi* as a coordinator meaning 'so that' and *mi* marking the apodosis of a conditional structure. Some (elicited) examples:

(45) *om*   *m-aís /*   *mi*   *ku*   *ø-kiniah*   *m-pat*   *rapuoh*
      rain   3U-descend   so.that   child   ø-small   3U-from   forest

      m-amà
      3U-come
      'It rains, so the small children come from the forest.' or 'If it rains, the small children will come from the forest.'

(46) *t-hai*   *awiáh /*   *mi*   *t-aìt*
      1S-die   taro   so.that   1S-eat
      'I am hungry, so I eat.' or 'If I'm hungry, I will eat.'

(47) *ru*   *m-amá*   */*   *mi*   *t-hu*   *au*   *ø-saka*
      bird   3U-come   so.that   1S-stay   DIST.U   ø-pick.up

      rae ø-srièm
      {person ø-visit}
      'The aeroplane will come, so I will wait there and pick up the visitor.' or 'If the aeroplane comes, I will wait there and pick up the visitor.'

Like the coordinator *re*, *mi* may be related to a demonstrative prefix, namely *me-* 'PRESTT'. However, this is rather unlikely, since the coordinator *mi* and the demonstrative prefix *me-* are not homophonous (the coordinator *re* and the demonstrative prefix *re-* are).

(48) is in minimal opposition with (40) (repeated below as (49)). These examples illustrate how both *re* and *mi* can be used to express a causal relationship.

(48) *t-amo*   *orá*   */*   *mi*   *orie*   *mti*   *p-iit*
      1S-go   garden   so.that   later   night   1P-eat.P

      ara sasù
      {cassava}
      'I will go to the garden, so that tonight we will eat cassava.'

(49) *t-amo orá*   */*   *re*   *orie*   *mti*   *p-iit*   *ara sasù*
      1S-go garden   in.order.to   later   night   1P-eat.P   {cassava}
      'I will go to the garden, so that tonight we eat cassava.'

The coordinator *ke* 'because of' and *mi* 'so that' are each other's mirror-image: 'Clause1 *ke* Clause2' means 'Clause1 because of Clause2', while 'Clause1 *mi* Clause2' means 'because of Clause1, Clause2'.

Like *re* and *mi*, *ke* 'because of' occurs in clause-initial position. Some examples:

(50) | Potafit | ait | y-apo | fé | / | ke | okair |
| Potafit | 3M | 3M-eat | NEG | | because | little |

'Potafit, he didn't eat because it (the food) is a little.'

(51) | **Pastor** | y-hu | y-mat | y-awe | n-má | / | ke |
| Father | 3M-stay | 3M-observe | 3M-say | 2-come.P | | because |

| men | rapu | ru | m-amà |
| day | morning | bird | 3U-come |

'The Father stayed and observed and said, 'Come, because tomorrow the aeroplane will come'.'

In the following example, the first *ke* occurs in sentence-initial position, i.e. *ke* is preceded by a long pause and a sharp drop in pitch on the last stressed syllable preceding *ke*.

(52) | y-amo | y-men | fnia | wrot | s-au | re-t-ò | / |
| 3M-go | 3M-marry | woman | place | one-3U | location.SPEC-near-U | |

| *Ke* | **adat** | r-amu | n-mo | n-men | fnia |
| because | customs | POSS-1P | 2-go.P | 2-marry | woman |

| ro | to | maí | / | ke | ø-sruor | snièm |
| REL | LOC | PROHIB | | because | ø-let.go | in.law |

| fnia | sniem | r-anu | m-mah | anià |
| woman | in.law | POSS-2P | 3U-greet | each.other |

'He went and married women from one place. Because according to our customs, you don't go and marry women from there (i.e. a different place) because then you let go of your in-laws, our women and our in-laws are on friendly terms (lit. 'greet each other').'

The clause marked by *ke* can refer to an actual event or to a hypothetical event. The contrast between actual and hypothetical depends on the context in which the utterance occurs. There are no morphological or syntactic criteria for making this distinction. In (50)-(51) above the clause following *ke* refers to an actual event. In the two examples below, the reason is hypothetical:

(53) | n-awe | Petrus | y-mat | Hosti | m-sia | Eka | ø-kaket | ke |
| 2-say | Petrus | 3U-observe | Hosti | 3U-with | Eka | ø-well | because |

| m-roh | m-awe |
| 3U-descend | 3U-fall |

'You tell Petrus to watch Hosti and Eka well because they might fall '

(54) | n-amo | ø-kaket | ke | n-awe |
| 2-go | ø-well | because | 2-fall |

'Go carefully because you might fall.'

9.1.6 Simultaneity

When *si* 'also' (see section 4.7.6) occurs in clause-final position in each clause in a sequence of two clauses, it expresses simultaneity:

(55)   *tuo*   **tutup kios**   *si,*   *ana*   **tutup** *amah*   *ø-kiyam*   *si*
       1S   close store   also   3P   close house ø-ill   also
       'While I close the store, they close the hospital.'

(56)   *nuo*   *n-kom*   *am*   *n-e*   *si,*   *m-nan*   *tuo*   *t-kom*
       2S   2-write   letter   2-give also   3U-enough   1S   1S-write

       t-e   *nuo*   *si*
       1S-give   2S   also
       'You write a letter and give it to me, and at the same time I will write a letter and give it to you.' (implication: we write to each other)

9.2   Adverbial clauses

As mentioned in section 4.10.2, a distinction can be made between three types of adverbial clauses in *Maybrat*, namely temporal adverbial clauses, locative adverbial clauses and manner adverbial clauses. The function of adverbial clauses is to modify the main clause. All adverbial clauses are introduced by a marker.

In many ways, adverbial clauses and RCs are similar. In section 5.4, I showed that the RC marker *ro* is possibly related to the demonstrative prefix *re-*. As will be illustrated in this section, adverbial clause markers might also be related to, or contain forms that are related to, demonstratives and question words. This homogeneity in markers can be explained in functional terms: both RCs and adverbial clauses are modifiers which function as specifiers or determiners: RCs restrict the potential referent of a noun, and adverbial clauses specify the circumstances of an event (Dik 1997:84). In both cases, the marker that introduces them functions as a kind of 'traffic sign' to interpret the following clausal construction. Given this functional similarity, it is not odd that the markers that introduce these clausal constructions derive from forms which functionally determine or specify a referent, namely demonstratives and interrogatives. This tendency is also common in other languages, cf. Hopper & Traugott (1993:195-196); Dik (1997:80).

Formally, temporal adverbial clauses are structurally completely parallel to RCs in that they have a (nominal) head followed by a marker and a restricting clause. Locative and manner adverbial clauses do not have a nominal 'head', but do have a marker followed by a restricting clause, which modifes the main clause. In all cases the marker seems to contain at least one element that is associated with a clearly nominal function, i.e. the prefix *re-* or *we-*, or the interrogative form *p-awiya* 'what'. This reflects the nominal character of all these clauses, which is also common in functionally similar constructions in other languages (cf. for instance, Dik 1997:87).

9.2.1 Temporal adverbials

There are two types of temporal adverbial clauses, namely those introduced by *um ro* 'the moment (SPEC)' and those marked by *kine wo* 'the time (GEN)'. Temporal adverbial clauses are only attested in sentence-initial position. Some examples:

(57) *um*   *ro*   *y-roh*   *re-t-o*   **Hari Selasa**
      moment   REL   3M-descend   location.SPEC-near-U   {Tuesday}
      'The moment he descended it was Tuesday.'

(58) *um*   *ro*   *m-fit-fit*   *t-a*   *ø-sikat*
      moment   REL   3U-yank.grass-REDUP near-U   ø-thirsty

      m-roh   *m-amo*   *m-atuah*   *asam kek*
      3U-descend   3U-go   3U-cut   {red sugarcane}
      'The moment she was weeding, she got thirsty, she went down and cut some red sugarcane.'

(59) *kine*   *wo*   *t-amo* *Sorong*   *ø-tim*   *am*
      time   REL   1S-go   *Sorong*   ø-send   letter
      'When I go down to *Sorong*, I will send a letter.'

(60) *kine*   *wo*   *ø-spis* *am*   *m-suoh*   *yu*   *ø-siwia*
      time   REL   ø-sew   raincape   3U-weave   bag   ø-tie
      'The time when they sewed raincapes, they (also) wove bags and they tied them.'

The difference between forms including *um ro* and *kine wo* is one of specificity: in (58), for example, the moment at which the woman gets thirsty can be pinpointed. Conversely, in (59) the moment of going to *Sorong* is non-specific: the use of *kine wo* implies that no concrete plan has been made yet. The difference between forms including *ro* and *wo* referring to specific and non-specific respectively is the same as demonstrative forms including the prefixes *re-* and *we-*, which also contrast for specificity. Given the similarity in consonants between these forms, it is well possible that these *ro/re-* and *wo/we-* are related to each other.

In the examples above, I have glossed *ro* and *wo* as 'REL' (relativiser). The reason for this is that temporal adverbial clauses are formally parallel to RCs, as demonstrated below: (61) gives an RC, whereas (62) gives a temporal adverbial clause. Structural similarity between RCs and adverbial clauses is a common feature in languages (Foley 1986:202; Thompson & Longacre 1985:178). In some Papuan languages, RCs and adverbial clauses are formally identical, and can only be distinguished depending on the context in which they appear, i.e. in Korowai (de Vries 1997:115).

(61) *rae*   *ro*   *y-amo* *Sorong*   *ø-kiyam*   *m-ase*
      person   REL   3M-go   *Sorong*   ø-ill   3U-very
      'The person who is going to *Sorong* is very ill.'

(62) um   ro   ana   m-roh   rae   m-suoh
      moment   REL   3P   3U-descend   person   3U-dance
      'When they come down, the people dance.'

That RCs and temporal adverbial clauses are similar also appears from their nominal properties: like RCs, temporal adverbials are able to take a nominal demonstrative as a modifier. This is illustrated in (57) above, where (the demonstrative *re-t-o* marks the end of the NP), and **Hari Selasa** 'Tuesday' functions as a verbless clause. In (58) above, the demonstrative *t-a* (a dialectal variant of *t-o*), occupies the final position in the NP.

Intonationally, sentences involving temporal adverbial clauses and RCs are also similar: in both there is a slight rise in pitch on the last syllable of the clause. There is no explicit pause preceding the main clause, but there is a small 'hold-up' (indicated '||') to mark the beginning of the main information clause ((61) and (62) are repeated as (63) and (64) respectively):

(63) rae   ro   y-amo **Soróng** || ø-kiyam   m-asè   /
      person   REL   3M-go *Sorong*   ø-ill   3U-very
      'The person who goes to *Sorong* is very ill.'

(64) um   ro   ana   m-róh || rae   m-suòh   /
      moment   REL   3P   3U-descend   person   3U-dance
      'When they come down, the people dance.'

9.2.2 Locative adverbials

Locative adverbial clauses can be introduced by the following markers:

(65) wo   location.GEN
      wo-yo   location.GEN-INT
      wo-re   location.GEN-PART

All the locative adverbial clause markers incorporate the element *wo-*.[17] In the section 4.5 I illustrated that the demonstrative prefix *we-/wo-* and the interrogative prefix *wo-* are related: they are both generic location markers. The element *wo-* in the adverbial clause markers is not only formally similar to the generic location marker *wo*, and to the demonstrative prefix *we-/wo-*, but all these markers are semantically similar: they conceptually refer to 'location' in a generic sense. Therefore, I conclude that *wo-* in the location markers is related to the generic location marker *wo*, and to the demonstrative prefix *we-/wo-*.[18]

Examples of locative adverbial clause markers introduced by *wo* appear below:

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[17] But see *p-awiya*, section 9.3.

[18] I have not been able to establish a functional or semantic difference between the locative adverbial markers in (65).

(66) *m-amo*   *ø-sko*   *wo*   *m-atia*   *m-me*
      3U-go   ø-clean.out   location.GEN   3U-father   3U-mother

      m-ape   *ana*
      3U-give.birth   3P
      'They go and clean them (the intestines) where their father and mother gave birth to them.'

Locative adverbial clauses introduced by *wo-yo* 'where' are given in (67) and (68). Recall that *wo-yo* is formally a question word.

(67) *men*   *tuo*   *t-not*   *yoyo*   *wo-yo*
      tomorrow   1s   1s-think   continuous   location.GEN-INT

      t-amo
      1s-go
      'Tomorrow I will continuously think (of you) wherever I go.'

In the following example, the interrogative nature of the adverbial is made even more explicit by the presence of the interrogative marker *a* following the adverbial.

(68) *ø-kro*   *m-amo*   *wo-yo*   *ø-twok*   *a*
      ø-follow   3U-go   location.GEN-INT   ø-enter   INT

      ara   *m-ate*   *we-t-o......*
      tree   3U-go.under   location.GEN-near-U
      'She follows and goes wherever (the dog) enters, (for instance), she goes under tree(trunks) there.....'

(69) *na*   *wo-yo*   *m-amo*   *a*   *ø-twok*
      and.then   location.GEN-int   3U-go   INT   ø-enter

      asis   *we-t-o*   *t-o*   *au*   *ø-kro*
      smooth.treeroot   location.GEN-near-U   near-U   3U   ø-follow
      'Wherever the dog goes underneath a smooth treeroot she follows.'

Lastly, locative adverbial clauses can be introduced by *wo-re*:

(70) *ana*   *m-suoh*   *wo-re*   *fra*   *m-hu*
      3P   3U-clean   location.GEN-PART   stone   3U-stay
      'They clean where the stone is.'

(71) *m-asim*   *m-werek*[19]   *wo-re*   *un*   *m-api*
      3U-climb   3U-pass   location.GEN-PART depth   3U-big
      'She climbs and passes where the water is deep.' (lit. 'where the depth is big')

(72) *fra*   *ro*   *ø-kron*   *re-t-o*   *m-hu*   *iye*   *m-ae*
      stone   REL   ø-sound   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-stay   also   3U-at

      to-te   *Mare, wo-re*   *fai*   *au*   *m-hu*
      LOC-below   *Mare* location.GEN-PART   woman   3U   3U-stay
      'This sounding stone is also situated (lit. 'stays') at *Mare*, below, where the woman
      lives.'

(73) *m-hu*   *ø-fro*   *wo-re*   *wo-f-o*
      3U-stay   ø-stick   location.GEN-PART   location.GEN-very.near-U
      'They stay and are stuck where this place is.' (The speaker pointed with his hands
      where it (grass) got stuck).

Often *wo-re* and *wo* occur in sequence. It is unclear what the function of *wo* is in this type
of construction. So far, no semantic difference between sentences containing *wo-re wo*, and
those containing only *wo-re* has been found.

(74) *n-he*   *wo-re*   *wo*   *ara wera*   *m-aum*
      2-look   location.gen-PART   location.GEN   {tree *wera*}   3U-boundary

      t-o   *ke*   *pi*   *Sikos*   *y-hu*   *au*
      near-U   because   man   Sikos   3M-stay   U.DIST
      'Look at where the boundary of the 'wera' tree is because Sikos lives there.'

The reason I have glossed *-re* in *wo-re* as 'PART' (particle) is that the function and
meaning of *-re* in this context are not clear. In so doing, however, I may be missing a
syntactic generalisation that can be made about *-re* 'PART'. Syntactically, locative adverbial
clauses function as the object of a verb. They can be replaced by a noun, as illustrated
below:[20]

(75) a.   *m-hu*   (*wo-re*   *rae*   *ø-skie*   *spiah*)_obj
           3U-stay   location.GEN-PART   man   ø-build   hut
           'They stay where the people built a hut.'

      b.   *m-hu*   (amah)_obj
           3U-stay   house
           'They stay in the house.'

---

[19] According to the morphophonological pattern, *werek* should receive a covert person prefix, as it already
consists of two syllables. It is unclear why in this example it receives an overt person prefix.

[20] Replacement of the adverbial clause by a noun is also possible when the adverbial clause marker is
wo, for instance, in (74).

In the same way as demonstratives including the prefix *re-* are clearly associated with nominal constituents, the morpheme *-re* in the adverbial clause marker *wo-re* may be associated with nominal constituents. It is therefore possible that the morpheme *-re* in *wo-re* is related to the demonstrative prefix *re-* 'location.SPEC'.

9.2.3 Manner adverbials

Manner adverbial clauses are introduced by the bimorphemic marker *fi-re* 'like'. The morpheme *fi-* is clearly isomorphous to the demonstrative prefix *fi-* 'similar to' given their formal and semantic identity. Again, the morpheme *-re* in *fi-re* is glossed as 'PART', but like *-re* in *wo-re*, it may be related to the demonstrative prefix *re-*. Some examples with *fi-re*:

(76) *n-fot*   *fi-re*   *tuo*   *t-fot*   *fi-f-o*
      2-catch   similar.to-PART   1S   1S-catch   like-very.near-U
      'Catch it like I catch it, like this.'

(77) *(au)*   *ø-sorot*   *ø-sorot*   *fi-re*   *Maria Ohot*
      (3U)   ø-turbulent ø-turbulent similar.to-PART Maria Ohot
      'She is turbulent like Maria Ohot.'

(78) *Hans* *y-atat*   *ø-fnak y-are*   *ae,*
      Hans   3M-grandparent   ø-stab 3M-child.of.male indeed

      fi-re   *tuo*   *t-ros*   *ø-fnak Yan Piter* *atau*
      similar.to-PART   1S   1S-stand   ø-stab Yan Piter   or

      Hans *fi-t-o*
      Hans   like-near-U
      'Hans' grandparent stabbed his own child, like I stand and stab Yan Piter or Hans, like that.'

Manner adverbials take the same position in a clause as manner adverbs, i.e. they occur in clause-final position. An example:

(79) *ana*   *m-suoh*   *fi-f-ò*
      3P   3U-dance   similar.to-very.near-U
      'They danced like this.'

(80) *n-fot*   *fi-re*   *tuo*   *t-fot*   *fi-f-o*
      2-catch   similar.to-PART   1S   1S-catch   similar.to-very.near-U
      'Catch it like I catch it, like this.'

(81) | *m-aut* | *rere* | *ara* | *parit* | *fi-re* | | *paen* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3U-climb | carefully | tree | step | similar.to-PART | | twosome |

p-uut	*p-ma*	*fi-au*
1P-climb.P	1P-come.P	similar.to-U.DIST

'They climbed the stairs carefully like we two climbed and came here.'

9.3 *p-awiya*

The question word *p-awiya* 'what', introduced in section 4.5, can function as an interrogative. An example (cf. also section 7.1.3):

(82) | *ait* | *y-awe* | *p-awiya* |
|---|---|---|
| 3M | 3M-say | thing-INT |

'What does he say?'

p-awiya also has three other functions. Firstly, *p-awiya* can function as an adverbial clause marker. In this function, *p-awiya* always introduces an locative adverbial clause. The syntactic position of *p-awiya* is the same as that of the locative adverbial clause markers *wo*, *wo-re* and *wo-yo*, i.e. it occurs in clause-initial position. Although it is typologically consistent that an interrogative form functions as an adverbial clause marker (cf. section 9.2) it seems odd that a form that questions a noun can refer to a location. However, given that adverbial clauses have a high nominal profile, the use of *p-awiya* 'what' in this context is actually quite regular. Some examples including *p-awiya*:

(83) | *ora* | *tein* | *fene* | *m-kah* | *p-awiya* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| garden | deserted.garden | mother | 3U-burn | thing-INT |

amah	*ro*	*t-a*	*m-ros*
house	REL	near-U	3U-stand

'The garden, the deserted garden that my mother burnt is where that house stands.'

(84) | *ana* | *ro* | *tuoh* | *u* | *m-sia* | *rae* | *ro* | *tuoh* | *mate*[21] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3P | REL | place | up | 3U-with | person | REL | place | below? |

m-ros	*p-awiya*	*tuoh*	*ro*	**hanggar**	*to*
3U-stand	thing-INT	place	REL	hanger	LOC

'They of the place above with the people of the place below(?) stood where the place of the hanger is.'

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[21] It is unclear whether this refers to the name of a place, i.e. *Tuoh Mate*, or whether *mate* means 'below', and is possibly related to the *ete* 'below'. If it is related to *ete*, then this may say something about the former verbal character of *ete*.

(85)   p-mo   ø-skie   p-awiya   iwai   amah   ø-kiyam
       1P-go.P   ø-build   thing-INT   formerly   house ø-ill
       'We went and built where formerly the hospital was.'

Secondly, *p-awiya* can function as a locative adverbial, as illustrated in (86). Normally, only forms discussed in section 6.8.6 can occur in this position. Note that this is the only instance of *p-awiya* functioning as a locative adverbial in the data.

(86)   m-tut   m-ama   m-kah   p-awiya
       3U-everyone   3U-come   3U-burn   thing-INT.
       'Everyone came and burnt (a garden) there.'

Thirdly, *p-awiya* can function as a coordinator. In this function, it marks the following clause as the result of the main information clause. Here, its syntactic position (i.e. between two clauses) is the same as that of the coordinators *re*, *mi* and *ke* discussed in section 9.1.3 and 9.1.4 above. Intonationally, *p-awiya* occurs in clause-initial position.

(87)   arin   ø-wosók   /   p-awiya   t-se   Sely
       situation   ø-slippery   thing-INT   1S-place   Sely

       m-ae   amàh   /
       3U-at   house
       'It is slippery, which is why I leave Sely at home.'

(88)   m-he   m-awe   a   tapam ete   we-au   m-óf   /
       3U-see   3U-say   eh   earth below location.GEN-DIST.U 3U-good

       p-awiya   mtah   m-amo ....
       thing-INT   dog   3U-go
       'They saw it and they said: 'Wow, the land down there is good which is why the dog went .....'.'

In this function, it is found in constructions that are structurally similar to RCs, i.e. a nominal head followed by a clausal modifier, linked by a marker. In RCs this marker is *ro*: in the instances below, this marker is *p-awiya*:

(89)   Marotsawia   p-awiya   y-ape   Tenau kepala desa   Tenau
       Marotsawia   thing-INT   3M-give.birth Tenau head   village   Tenau
       'Marotsawia is the one who gave birth to Tenau, the head of the village Tenau.'

(90)   Kamras   p-awiya   y-men   Orentawuo
       Kamras   thing-INT   3M-marry   Orentawuo
       'Kamras is the one who married Orentawuo.'

(91) ait   ro   ø-skie   amah   re-t-o   y-asom   r-ait
      3M   REL   ø-build   house   location.SPEC-near-U 3M-name   POSS-3M

      Petrus Sawor, rae   Biak, p-awiya   m-ira²²   ø-skie
      Petrus Sawor person   Biak   thing-INT 3U-formerly ø-build

      amah ro   Pastor
      house REL   Father
      'He who built this house, his name is Petrus Sawor, a man of *Biak*, is the one who
      formerly built the house of the Missionaries.'

The construction 'N+*p-awiya*+clause' is syntactically different from 'N+*ro*+clause'. While
the latter constitutes an NP, the former functions as a clause: it introduces a new proposition
in the discourse, and it has a clausal intonation pattern. Constructions like
'N+*p-awiya*+clause' are accurately translated as 'N is who/what/where Clause'.

9.4 Style figures

In this section I will discuss two style figures that are commonly used in *Maybrat*, namely
tail-head linkage and repetition of words.

9.4.1 Tail-head linkage

In tail-head linkage, the last predicate, sometimes including its nominal constituents, is
repeated as an introduction to the next sentence. It is a common feature in narratives in
Papuan (and Austronesian) languages, see, for instance Reesink (1990:301).

In *Maybrat*, there are two types of tail-head linkage. In the first, a verb and its
constituents are repeated in the next sentence. Intonationally, in the repeated portion the pitch
at the end rises sharply, and a pause follows. In the following examples, instances of tail-
head linkage appear underlined:

(92) rae   m-fot   m-po   m-amò   /   m-po
      person 3U-catch 3U-hold   3U-go   3U-take

      m-amò   /   ø-skie   amah   m-se   ait   y-hù /
      3U-go   ø-build   house   3U-place   3M   3M-stay
      'The people caught (him) and they took him away. They took him away, they built
      a house and they place him (in it) and he lived (there).'

---

²² Maybe here *ira* functions predicatively. It is the only attestation in the data of *ira* with (possibly) a
subject marker.

(93) | *m-po* | *m-ama* | *m-tie* | *ita* | *m-anes* | <u>*m-wau*</u> | / |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3U-hold | 3U-come | 3U-break | leaf | 3U-old | 3U-roast | |

<u>*m-wau*</u>	/	*eok*	*m-as, m-i-ø-sasie*	*m-se*	/
3U-roast		two	3U-lift 3U-TRANS-ø-wrap	3U-place	

'They hold it (a snake) and they come and break an old leaf and they roast it (i.e. the snake). They roast it and the two lift it (out of the fire), they wrap it and place it.'

In the example below, the repeated portion is modified by *m-arak* 'it is finished', which has an adverbial function in this position (cf. section 6.8.3).

(94) | *m-aut* | *na* | <u>*m-kai*</u> | <u>*apàn*</u> | / | <u>*m-kai*</u> | <u>*apan*</u> |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3U-climb | and.then | 3U-find | snake | | 3U-find | snake |

m-arák	*ana*	*eok*	*m-ehòh*	/
3U-finished	3P	two	3U-hit	

'They climb (into a tree) and they find a snake. After they've found the snake, the two hit it.'

In (95) a portion of a narrative where tail-head linkage is used to link every sentence is given:

(95) | *ø-frok* | <u>*m-hu*</u> | <u>*sai*</u> | <u>*amah*</u> | <u>*m-api*</u> | / | <u>*m-hu*</u> | <u>*amah*</u> |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ø-emerge | 3U-stay | just | house | 3U-big | | 3U-stay | house |

<u>*m-api*</u>	*m-hu*	*m-hu*	*m-hu*	*ku*
3U-big	3U-stay	3U-stay	3U-stay	child

re-f-i		<u>*ø-hropit*</u>		<u>*ø-ktus*</u>	/	<u>*ø-hropit*</u>
location.SPEC-very.near-M		ø-umbilical.cord		ø-break		ø-umbilical.cord

<u>*ø-ktus*</u>	*na*	*m-hu*	*u*	*m-hu*	*m-hu*
ø-break	and.then	3U-stay	again	3U-stay	3U-stay

ku	*re-f-i*		<u>*y-anes*</u>	/	<u>*y-anes*</u>	*y-apum*
child	location.SPEC-very.near-M		3M-old		3M-old	3M-crawl

o	*y-ros*	*o*	*y-amo*	*ø-pua-puo*	*o*	*yamo*
ENUM	3M-stand	ENUM	3M-go	ø-toddle-REDUP	ENUM	3M-go

ø-trit	*o*	*tipuo*	*y-anes*
ø-fluent	ENUM	immediately	3M-old

'She arrives and just lives at the big house. She lives at the big house and she lives there for a long time and the child's umbilical cord comes off and she still lives there and she lives there for a long time and the child gets older. He gets older and he crawls, he stands, he toddles, he walks well, and then he is grown up.'

The second type of tail-head linkage is where a nominal constituent is repeated. The function of this type of linking is to emphasise this constituent, in order for the listener to keep track of the story. Tail-head linkage of this type is frequently used in histories about a sequence of moves people made, as in (96), and in genealogies, as in (97):

(96)
m-ama	terus	*ø-frok*	*Tenau Kohmaro*	/	*Kohmaro*
3U-come	and.then	ø-emerge	*Tenau Kohmaro*		*Kohmaro*

m-ama	*ø-frok*	*Tenau Rarir*	/	*Tenau Rarir*	*mama*
3U-come	ø-emerge	*Tenau Rarir*		*Tenau Rarir*	3U-come

ø-frok	*Tenau Unepu*	/	*Unepu*	*m-ama*	*ø-frok*
ø-emerge	Tenau Unepu		*Unepu*	3U-come	ø-emerge

Tuoh Pokuo	/	*Tuoh Pokuo*	*m-ama*	*ø-frok*	*tuoh*	*Pamer*
Tuoh Pokuo		*Tuoh Pokuo*	3U-come	ø-emerge	place	*Pamer*

fte	*Riyet*	*m-ama*	*ø-frok*	*Tenau Koru*	/	*Tenau Koru*
area	*Riyet*	3U-come	ø-emerge	*Tenau Koru*		*Tenau Koru*

m-pat	*Tenau Koru*	*ø-site*	*Tu Rapoh*	*hoho*	*m-ama*	*tipuo*
3U-from	*Tenau Koru*	ø-pass	*Tu Rapoh*	plain	3U-come	immediately

ø-frok	*Tenau Mukete*	*te*	*ro-n-o*
ø-emerge	*Tenau Mukete*	below	location.SPEC-far-U

'…they arrived at *Tenau Kohmaro*, from *Kohmaro* they came and arrived at *Tenau Rarir*. From *Tenau Rarir* they came and arrived at *Tenau Unepu*. From *Unepu*, they came and arrived at *Tuoh Pokuo*. From *Tuoh Pokuo* they came and arrived at the place *Pamer*, in the area *Riyet*, they came and arrived at *Tenau Koru*. From *Tenau Koru*, from *Tenau Koru* they passed the plain of *Tu Rapoh*, they passed it in one go, and arrived at *Tenau Mukete* below there.'

(97)   *y-ape*   *Mhait* *y-api*   *y-ros*   *y-as*   *y-ao*
      3M-give.birth Mhait 3M-big   3M-stand 3M-follow.by 3M-sibling.SS

      Srahwof   /   *Srahwof* *y-ros*   *y-as*   *Hsipaef*   /
      Srahwof   Srahwof   3M-stand 3M-follow.by Hsipaef

      Hsipaef   *Tenau* *y-as*   *Wan* /   *Wan* *Tenau* *ait* *ro*
      Hsipaef   Tenau 3M-follow.by Wan   Wan   Tenau 3M   REL

      tis   *y-ros*   *y-as*   *y-ano*   *Swisari* *Tenau au*
      back 3M-stand   3M-follow.by 3M-sibling.OS Swisari Tenau 3U

      fnia   *ro-ano*   *po-s-ait*
      woman   POSS-female thing-one-3M
      'He gives birth to Mhait the big one, he stands and is followed by his brother
      Srahwof. Srahwof stands and is followed by Hsipaef. Hsipaef Tenau is followed by
      Wan. Wan Tenau, he is the last one, he stands and is followed by Swisari Tenau, she
      is the only woman.'

9.4.2 Repetition of words

When telling stories, a speaker may emphasise an action that he describes by repeating a
word a number of times. Intonationally, these sentences have regular sentence-final
intonation. The repeated words are pronounced in a rhythmic manner, at a level tone
intonation, i.e. there is no fall or rise.[23] An example:

(98)   *ana*   *m-amó*   *m-amó*   *m-amó*   *m-amó*
      3P   3U-go   3U-go   3U-go   3U-go
      'They go for a very long time.'

Some more examples:

(99)   *mah*   *rapu*   *y-ros*   *y-amo* *tipuo*   *y-amo*
      tomorrow morning 3M-stand 3M-go immediately 3M-go

      y-amo   *y-amo*   *y-pat*   *we-f-o*   *y-amo*
      3M-go   3M-go   3M-from   location.GEN-very.near-U   3M-go

      y-amo *y-tien*   *na*   /   *y-amo* *sasu*   *y-amo*
      3M-go 3M-sleep   and.then   3M-go seashore   3M-go
      'The following morning he gets up and immediately leaves, he walks for a long time
      from here, he goes for a long time and he sleeps and then he goes to the shore, he
      goes.'

---

[23] Sometimes, when expressing a lot of emphasis, the pitch rises, followed by a small cough after the final
word. This is often followed by a single utterance *m-nan* 'it is enough'.

(100) *m-kah*   *m-kah*   *m-kah*....... *m-amo*   *ø-frok*   ***Tuka***
       3U-burn   3U-burn   3U-burn   3U-go   ø-emerge   ***Tuka***

       m-amo   *ø-frok*   ***Fait Kawa***   *ø-frok*   ***Fokon Fumes.***
       3U-go   ø-emerge   ***Fait Kawa***   ø-emerge   ***Fokon.Fumes***

(H):   *m-amo*   *m-amo*   *m-amo*......
       3U-go   3U-go   3U-go

'They make many gardens and they go and arrive at ***Tuka***, they go and arrive at ***Fait Kawa***, they arrive at ***Fokon Fumes***.' Henky: 'They go for a long time....'

(101) *eok*   *ø-safa,*   *ait*   *ø-safa*   *ti-s-au,*   *ti-s-au*   *ti-s-au*
       two   ø-slice   3M   ø-slice   side-one-3U   side-one-3U   side-one-3U

       ti-s-au
       side-one-3U

'The two slice, he slices a lot on one side.'

(102) *m-roh*   *ø-yuwo*   *tipuo*   *ø-yuwo*   *tipuo*   *ø-yuwo*
       3U-descend   ø-flee   immediately   ø-flee   immediately   ø-flee

       tipuo   *ø-sipak*   *re-t-o*   *ø-frok*   ***Amos Ffa***
       immediately   ø-pass   location.SPEC-near-U   ø-emerge   ***Amos Ffa***

'She descends and immediately runs for a long time and she passes this and emerges at ***Amos Ffa.***'

Appendix I

Asal usul fam Tenau 'The origins of the Lineage[1] Tenau'

This is the history of the lineage Tenau, the lineage that originally inhabited the area where now *Ayawasi* is situated. It was told by Waisafo Tenau (wt) and Henky Tenau (h), two village elders. Both are approximately 60 years of age. Waisafo Tenau's mother originally came from *Aytinyo*, where the dialect of *Mayte* is spoken (see section 1.7), and Wasafo lived there for a long time. Some forms in the text that he uses are dialectal, I have indicated these.

In this history, the syntactic structure of *Maybrat* is amply illustrated: there are many sequences of verbs. In the translations, I have attempted to retain some of this structure by translating the sequences as literally as possible. Where this yielded very odd English translations, I have made stylistic changes. As a result, many of these sequences are translated as compound verbs, or constructions involving auxiliary verbs in English. These translations, however, say nothing about the internal structure of the *Maybrat* verb sequences. For a full discussion on *Maybrat* verb sequences, see chapter 8.

In this text some phonemic features have been marked, i.e. pauses and rises and falls in pitch. A description of these features is given in section 2.7. The symbols used are as follows (see also the 'conventions'):

: long pause, typically marking the end of a sentence
/ : short pause, typically marking a small break in mid-sentence
grave accent (`) over a vowel: falling pitch
acute accent (´) over a vowel: rising pitch
bar (‾) over vowels in a sequence: allegro speech

1. (wt):	*pose*	#	*amu*	*n-tat*[2]		*r-amú*	#	*y-pat*	*Tenau* /
	formerly		1P	2-forefather		POSS-1P		3M-from	*Tenau*

Kosetiàh	#	*y-aut*	*y-ama*	*y-hu*[3]	*Tenau Kohmaro*	#[4]
Kosetiah		3M-climb	3M-come	3M-stay	*Tenau Kohmaro*	

'Along time ago our forefather came from *Tenau Kosetiah*, and went up and came to live at *Tenau Kohmaro*.'

---

[1] See Avé (forthcoming), chapter 2.

[2] It is not clear why here a second person subject prefix *n-* is used. Since this form was consistently translated as a first person plural form, one would expect the form *p-tat* 'our forefathers'.

[3] This is an example of a typical sequence of verbs, involving three verbs.

[4] There are some long pauses in this sentence. Because it was the beginning of the story, Waisafo Tenau was a little hesitant. These long pauses in the middle of the sentence are preceded by a rising intonation, marking that more is to follow, i.e. that the sentence is not yet finished. Other examples in this text are in 1. 6, 9, etc.

2.   *y-pat*   ***Tenau Kosetiah***   *y-ama y-hu*   ***Tenau Kohmaro*** #
     3M-from   ***Tenau Kosetiah***   3M-go 3M-stay   ***Tenau Kohmaro***
     'From ***Tenau Kosetiah*** he came to live at ***Tenau Kohmaro***.'

3.   *y-pat*   ***Tenau Kohmaro***   *y-hu*   ***Tenau Kohmaro***   **terus**[5]
     3M-from   ***Tenau Kohmaro***   3M-stay   ***Tenau Kohmaro***   and.then

     pindah   *re-t-i*[6]   #   [7]*y-ros*   *y-pat*   ***Kohmaro***   *y-ama*
     move   location.SPEC-near-M   3M-stand   3M-from   ***Kohmaro***   3M-come

     y-hu   ***Tenau Rarir*** /
     3M-stay   ***Tenau Rarir***
     'From ***Tenau Kohmaro***, he lived at ***Tenau Kohmaro*** and then he moved from there,
     he got up and came to live at ***Tenau Rarir***.'

4.   *ø-satoh*   /   **terus**   *y-amo*   *y-hu*   ***Tenau Rarir***
     ø-gather.belongings   and.then   3M-go   3M-stay   ***Tenau Rarir***
     'He gathered his belongings and then he left and lived at ***Tenau Rarir***.'

5.   *y-amo*   *y-hu*   ***Tenau Rarir***[8] /   *y-hu*   ***Tenau Rarir***   ***Rarir***
     3M-go   3M-stay   ***Tenau Rarir***   3M-stay   ***Tenau Rarir***   ***Rarir***

     Rarir[9]   *y-ros*   *ø-satoh*   *re-t-i*
     Rarir   3M-stand   ø-gather.belongings   location.SPEC-near-M

     y-amò / *y-hu*   ***Tenau Unepù*** #
     3M-go   3M-stay   ***Tenau Unepu***
     'He went and lived at ***Tenau Rarir***, he lived at ***Tenau Rarir*** for a long time, he got
     up and gathered his belongings at that (place) and he left to live at ***Tenau Unepu***.'

---

[5] The Indonesian form **terus** is used regularly in *Maybrat* as a coordinator, cf. also ll. 4, 6, 9, 12, 16, 21, 50, 73. A corresponding *Maybrat* alternative is *m-nan* 'afterwards', for instance used in l. 7.

[6] It is not clear why here a masculine form is used. This may be because the referents of *re-t-i* 'this' are the possessions of a masculine human. Other instances of *re-t-i* occur in l. 5 and in l. 30.

[7] From here to the end of sentence 5. Waisafo Tenau speaks fast, with only small pauses between sentences. Often when the *Maybrat* speak from memory they speak fast,and in a steady rhythm.

[8] This is an instance of tail-head linkage, where the last portion of l. 4., *y-amo y-hu Tenau Rarir*, is repeated at the beginning of the next sentence, cf. section 9.4.1.

[9] The function of the repetition of *Rarir* is to emphasise that the 'forefather' lived at *Tenau Rarir* for a long time, see section 9.4.2. A repetition with a similar meaning, involving the verb *m-hu* 'they live' occurs in l. 48.

6. | *y-hu* | *Tenau Unepú* | # [10] *Tenau Unepú* | / | **terus**[11] | *f-o* | *rae* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3M-stay | *Tenau Unepu* | *Tenau Unepu* | | and.then | near-U | person |

kertia	*iso*	*m-ama*	*re-aù*	#
work	road	3U-come	location.SPEC-DIST.U	

'He lived at *Tenau Unepu*, that's where people are now building the road in this direction.'

7. | *iso* | *ro* | *rae* | **kertia tiaran**[12] | **rayà** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| path | REL | person | work road | main |

'The road that people work on, the main road.'

8. (h): | *m-nan* | *m-aut* | *ø-skie* | *amàh* | # |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| afterwards | 3U-climb | ø-build | house | |

'Then they went up and they built houses.'

9. (wt): | *tna* | *y-hu* | *Tenau Unepu,* | *m-aut* | *m-amo* | *m-hu* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| recently | 3M-stay | *Tenau Unepu* | 3U-climb | 3U-go | 3U-stay |

Tuoh *Pokuò* #
Tuoh *Pokuo*

'He only just lived at *Tenau Unepu*, when they went up to live at *Tuoh Pokuo*.'

10 | *ø-skie* | *amàh* | *s-au* | # | *ø-skie* | *amah* | *we-t-o*[13] | | **terus** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ø-build | house | one-3U | | ø-build | house | location.GEN-near-U | | and.then |

kumpur[14]	*ràe*	*kû*	*m-ākuo*	*pō-kuo*[15]	*tûoh*	*re-t-ò*		#
collect	person	child	3U-feast	NOM-feast.P	place	location.SPEC-near-U		

'They built one house, they built a house there and then they invited people and children and they had a feast at that place.'

---

[10] Here Waisafo makes a large pause. This pause marks that something new follows, namely an explanation of where *Tenau Unepu* is located.

[11] As opposed to l. 3 and 4, where **terus** 'and then' expresses a sequentiality in time, here **terus** marks an ordering in the explanation.

[12] **tiaran** is a phonologically adapted form of **jalan** ['djalan], cf. section 2.6. See also this section for other phonologically adapted forms indicated in this text.

[13] The generic demonstrative form *we-t-o* is used to modify *amah* 'house' because the house no longer existed at the time the story was told, and could therefore not be specified. Conversely, in the following line, the specific form *re-t-o* is used to modify *tuoh* 'place', since the place still exists, and can be specified.

[14] This form is phonologically adapted from Ind. **kumpul** ['kumpul].

[15] In this form, the plural stem of the verb *-akuo* 'feast' is prefixed with the nominaliser *po* to derive a noun, cf. section 4.3.4.

11.   *tapam   re-t-o*   *m-akuò*   #
    land   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-feast
    'At this place they feasted.'

12.   *m-nān*   *m-āfan*   *tāpam*   *rĕ-t-o*   *m-āsom*[16]
    and.then   3U-name   ground   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-name

    m-āfan   *tāpam*   *rĕ-t-o*   *m-āsom*   **Tũoh   Pokuò** #
    3U-name   ground   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-name   **Tuoh   Pokuo**
    'And then they named this place, the name was, they named this ground, the name was
    ***Tuoh Pokuo*.**'

13.   *m-asom*   **Tuoh   Pokuo** *m-hu*   /   terus   *rae*
    3U-name   **Tuoh   Pokuo** 3U-stay   and.then   person

    ro   *t-atat*   *y-ama*   *re-t-o*   *y-asom*
    REL   1S-forefather   3M-come   location.SPEC-near-U   3M-name

    Waisaharà   **itu**   #
    Waisahara   that
    'The name is ***Tuoh Pokuo*** and they live there, so one of my forefathers came there,
    his name was Waisahara.'[17]

14.   **nama**   *Waisahara*   *Tenaù* #
    name   Waisahara   Tenau
    'His name was Waisahara Tenau.'

15.   [18]*y-pat*   ***Tenau Kosetiáh***   /   *y-ama*   *y-hu*   /   ***Tenau Kohmaró*** /
    3M-from   ***Tenau Kosetiah***   3M-come   3M-stay   ***Tenau Kohmaro***
    'He was from ***Tenau Kosetiah***, he came to live at ***Tenau Kohmaro*.**'

16.   ***Tenau   Kohmaro***   *y-ama*   *y-hu*   ***Tenau Rarír*** /
    Tenau   Kohmaro   3M-come   3M-stay   ***Tenau Rarir***
    'At ***Tenau Kohmaro***, then he came to live at ***Tenau Rarir*.**'[19]

---

[16] At this point one would expect the name of the place i.e ***Tuoh Pokuo***. The speaker is speaking very quickly here; possibly he can't think of the name of the place quick enough, and has to repeat the sentence before he remembers the name.

[17] This is the first mention of the name of the forefather.

[18] From here to the end of l. 16 the speech is allegro, therefore the pauses are also relatively short.

[19] In this sentence and in the following sentence, the speaker makes use of tail-head linkage, whereby only the object of the previous sentence is repeated, cf. section 9.4.1.

17. *Tenau*   *Rarír*   terus   *y-ama*   *y-hu*   *Tenau Unepu*[20]   /
    Tenau   *Rarir*   and.then   3M-come   3M-stay   *Tenau Unepu*

    y-ama   *y-hu*   ***Tuoh Pokuò*** #
    3M-come   3M-stay   ***Tuoh Pokuo***
    'At Tenau Rarir, and then he came to live at *Tenau Unepu*, he came to live at *Tuoh Pokuo*.'

18. *ø-skie*   *amàh*   /   *ø-skie*   *amàh*   *m-nan*[21]   /   *na*   **kumpul**   *rae*
    ø-build   house   ø-build   house   3u-enough   afterwards   collect   person

    m-ama   *m-akuo*   *po-kuo*   *m-o*   *tuò*   /
    3U-come   3U-feast   NOM-feast.P   3U-take   palm.wine

    kàk   *o*   /   *m-ama*   *m-akuo*   *po-kuo*   *tuoh*   *re-t-ò*   #
    meat   ENUM   3U-come   3U-feast   NOM-feast.P   place   location.SPEC-near-U
    'He built a house, he finished building a house and then he came and invited people
    and they came and had a feast, they took palm-wine, meat and they came and made
    a feast at this place.'

19. *tapam*   *re-t-o*   *m-asom*   *rae*   *m-afan*   ***Tuoh***
    land   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-name   person   3U-name   ***Tuoh***

    Pokuo   *rae*   *m-akuo*   *pò*   /   *po-kuò*   #
    Pokuo   person   3U-feast   thing   NOM-feast.P
    'The name of this place, people call it *Tuoh Pokuo*, people 'feast' something, a feast.'

20. **Orang   birang**[22]   **bikin   pestà**   *rae*   *m-akuo*   *po-kuò*   #
    people   say   make   feast   person   3U-feast   NOM-feast.P
    'People say they make a feast, people feast a feast.'

_____

[20] At this point up to 1. 20 Waisafo was a little hesitant, marked by the insertion of pauses and
dropping pitch at the end of clauses. The hesitation is possibly due to the fact that he has to remember the next
bit of the story.

[21] Here *m-nan* functions as a verb meaning 'it is enough', cf. section 9.1.1.3.

[22] This form is phonologically adapted from Ind. **bilang** ['bilaŋ].

21. (h): *n-kias n-mai*[23]   *sai*[24] *#*
         2-tell 2-sound   only
         'Say it in your own language only.'

22. (wt):   *m-akuo po-kuó*   */*   **terus**   *m-hu*   *we-t-ó*
             3U-feast NOM-feast.P   and.then 3U-stay location.GEN-near-U

      we-t-ó   *m-roh*   *m-amò*   *ø-frok*[25] *ete* *Korù*[26]
      location.GEN-near-U 3U-descend 3U-go   ø-emerge below *Koru*

      m-sia mtàh */* *m-amo*   *m-sia   mtàh* */* *m-sia   mtah*
      3U-with dog   3U-go   3U-with dog   3U-with dog

      m-usiàh */*   *m-sia   mtah mtah mtah m-amo*   *#*
      3U-hunt   3U-with dog   dog   dog   3U-go

      m-hu   amàh #
      3U-stay house
      'They had a feast, and they lived there, they used to go down and walk until they
      arrived below *Koru* with their dogs, they went with their dogs, they hunted with their
      dogs, with many dogs, they went and lived at the house.'

23.   *ana   m-e*   *m-amo*   *m-hu*   *amàh* *#*
      they   3U-return 3U-go   3U-stay house
      'They returned and lived at the house.'

24.   *mtah m-roh*   *m-amo*   *we-t-o*
      dog   3U-descend 3U-go   location.GEN-near-U

      m-afit[27] *kàk* *#*
      3U-bite cuscus
      'The dogs went down there and hunted (they bit cuscus).'

---

[23] The verbal form *-mai* is adequately translated as 'speak a language', i.e. *t-mai Maybrat* 'I speak the *Maybrat* language'; 'My language is *Maybrat*'.

[24] At the beginning of the interview, I had asked Waisafo and Henky Tenau to speak *Maybrat*, and not Indonesian. Here, Waisafo Tenau switches to Indonesian, and he is immediately corrected by Henky Tenau. The same occurs in ll. 64-67 below. The insertion of the occasional Indonesian word was not commented on.

[25] The verb *ø-frok* liteally means 'to emerge'.

[26] Here the speaker speaks rapidly, resulting in the omission of a pause in clause-final position. Later in the same line, some pauses are inserted.

[27] The verb *-afit* in this context refers to hunting. It is used for animals, as they hunt by biting their prey. For hunting by humans the term *-usiah* is used, e.g. in l. 56.

25   *Tuoh   Pokuo* m-tut[28]   m-ama[29]   #
      Tuoh   Pokuo 3U-everyone   3U-come
      'Everyone came to *Tuoh Pokuo* '

26   *ana   ro   m-hu   Tuoh Pokuo* m-tut   ø-prut[30]   m-amo
      3P   REL   3U-stay   *Tuoh Pokuo* 3U-everyone   ø-all   3U-go

      m-usiah   Korù   #
      3U-hunt   *Koru*
      'Everyone who lived at *Tuoh Pokuo* went to hunt at *Koru* '

27 (h)   *Koru   kayie*[31] /   m-tut   m-ama   m-hu   fie
          Koru   wrong   3U-everyone   3U-come   3U-stay   area

      Riyet   Tuoh Pamaì #
      Riyet   Tuoh Pamai
      'Not *Koru*, everyone came and lived at the area *Riyet*, at *Tuoh Pamai* '

28 (wt)   m-orie[32]   re[33]   #
              3U-now   please
              'That comes later '

---

[28] In this sentence *m-tut* is used as a substantive, and functions as the subject of a clause (see also *m tut* in l 27) This contrasts with *m-tut* in the following sentence, where it functions as a modifier

[29] Here the object of the clause, *Tuoh Pokuo*, has been topicalised, cf section 6 6

[30] The quantifying verbs *m tut* and *prut* both modify the RC, cf section 4 2 2 3 on quantifying verbs It is uncommon that two modifiers of the same word class modify an NP, cf section 5 1 2

[31] This is an instance of *kayie* functioning as a semantic negative', cf section 4 7 5 and 6 8 5

[32] There are a number of occurrences of the temporal adverb *orie* with a subject prefix *m-* in the data It is unclear what the semantic difference is between this form and for instance *orie re*

[33] Here Waisafo is irritated that Henky interrupts him This is marked in the utterance by a sharply rising and falling pitch Waisafo reacts by speaking very fast in the next sentence, thus preventing Henky from interrupting again

29. *māti*   *mī*[34]   *mtāh*   *m-roh*   *m-āmo*   *m-ūsiah*   *mtāh*
     afterwards   ??   dog   3U-descend   3U-go   3U-hunt   dog

     āu **sendīri**[35]   *m-āmo*   *m-āfit*   *etièf*   #
     3U alone   3U-go   3U-bite   cuscus
     'And then a dog went down to hunt, the dog went alone and bit cuscus.'

30. *m-hu*   *Tuoh*   *Pokuo*   *m-nan*   *m-pat*   *Tuoh*   *Pokuo*   *t-o*
     3U-stay *Tuoh*   *Pokuo*   and.then 3U-from   *Tuoh*   *Pokuo*   near-U

     ø-satoh   *re-t-ī*[36]   *m-ama*   *m-hu*
     ø-gather.belongings   location.SPEC-near-M   3U-come   3U-stay

     fte   *Riyèt*   #
     area   *Riyet*
     'They lived at *Tuoh Pokuo* and then from *Tuoh Pokuo* they gathered their belongings
     again and they came and lived at the area *Riyet.*'

31. *Tuoh*   *Pamè*   #
     Tuoh   *Pame*
     'At *Tuoh Pame.*'

32. *fte*   *Riyet*   *Tuoh*   *Pame*   *re-t-o*   *mere*[37]
     area   *Riyet*   *Tuoh*   *Pame*   location.SPEC-near-U   and.then

     mtah   *m-roh*   *m-amo*   *m-afit*   *kàk*   #
     dog   3U-descend   3U-go   3U-bite   cuscus
     'The area *Riyet* at *Tuoh Pame*, and then a dog went down and hunted cuscus.'

33. *Koru*   /   *m-afit*   *Tenau*   *Korù*   #
     Koru   3U-bite   *Tenau*   *Koru*
     'At *Koru*, it hunted at[38] *Tenau Koru.*'

---

[34] The meaning and function of *mi* are unclear here.

[35] This form was pronounced by Waisafo Tenau as [sǝn'diri], i.e. with a voiced stop [d]. Many older people in *Ayawasi* cannot pronounce voiced stops, and would render this form as [sɛn'tiri]. As mentioned above, Waisafo Tenau's speech was influenced by his mother's, who used a southern dialect. In southern dialects (*Maymaru* and *Mayte*, see section 1.7), voiced stops are used.

[36] Again a masculine form is used, cf. 1. 5.

[37] The form *mere* 'and then' is unattested in *Ayawasi*. It is possibly a dialectal form from *Mayte.*

[38] In this form, a location marker like *m-ae* 'at' or to 'LOC' would be expected.

34. *m-afit   u   m-kah   sipuk   o   po-ø-safom*
     3U-bite   again 3U-with sipuk²⁹ ENUM   NOM-ø-green

    we-t-o   *m-hú*   *mtah*   *m-pat*
    location.GEN-near-U   3U-stay   dog   3U-tooth
    'It bit, (and along with the meat) *sipuk* and other green things got stuck between the
    dog's teeth.'

35. (h): *m-hu*   *ø-frò*   *wo-re*   *wó-f-ò*
        3U-stay   ø-cling   LOC.GEN-PART   location.GEN-very.near-U
        'It stuck and clung here.'⁴⁰

36. (wt): *m-hu*   *ø-fro*   *m-pat*   **masuk**   *wo-f-o*
        3U-stay   ø-cling   3U-tooth   enter   location.GEN-very.near-U

    wo-f-o   *m-hú*   *m-aut*   *m-ama*   *rae*   *m-apí*   *amu*
    LOC.GEN-very.near-U   3U-stay   3U-climb   3U-come   person   3U-big   1P

    p-tat   *ana*   *m-hu*   *au*   *m-fot*   *mtah*   *m-pat*
    1P-forefather   3P   3U-stay   DIST.U   3U-catch   dog   3U-tooth

    m-po   *pe-t-o*   *m-sàs*   #
    3U-hold   area.ADV-near-U   3U-examine
    'It stuck and clung in its teeth, it got in here and here, it got stuck, and the dog went
    up and went over to the old people, our forefathers, who stayed behind (at the house),
    and these people caught the dog and they held it here (Waisafo Tenau illustrated how
    the dog was held) and they examined the dog's teeth.'

37. **buka**   *mtah*   *m-asoh*   *re-f-o*   *m-mát*   /
    open   dog   3U-face   location-SPEC-very.near-U   3U-observe
    'They opened this dog's mouth and they observed it.'

38. (h): *f-o*⁴¹   **tempat** *te*   *re-f-o*   *m-òf*   #
        DET   place down   location.SPEC-very.near-U   3U-good
        "Now, this place below this is good.'⁴²

---

³⁹ *sipuk* is <u>selaginella sp</u>, a grass-like plant.

⁴⁰ Henky Tenau illustrated how the grass got stuck between the dog's teeth. In l. 36 Waisafo Tenau
does the same.

⁴¹ *f-o* here functions as a kind of determiner, to mark the new situation.

⁴² Henky 'cites' the old people here.

39. (wt): | *m-he* | *m-awe* | *á* / | *tapam* | *ete* | *we-au* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3U-see | 3U-say | ah! | land | below | location.GEN-DIST.U |

m-óf	*p-awiya*	*mtah*	*m-amo*	*m-afit*	*pò*	*re*
3U-good	which.is.why	dog	3U-go	3U-bite	thing	so.that

m-apat	*sipuk*	*o*	*m-ama*	*m-hú*	*p-awiya*
3U-eat.vegetables	*sipuk*	ENUM	3U-come	3U-stay	which.is.why

sīpuk	*m-hū*	*mtāh*	*m-pāt*	*mē-f-ò* #
sipuk	3U-stay	dog 3U-tooth	PRESTT-very.near-U

'They saw it and they said: 'Wow, the ground down there is good which is why the dog went and bit (i.e. hunted) in such a way that it also ate (sipuk),[43] and the dog came and the *sipuk* stuck, which is why *sipuk* there is stuck in the dog's teeth'.'

40. | *m-hu* | *m-pat* | ***Korù*** # |
|---|---|---|
| 3U-stay | 3U-from | ***Koru*** |

'It stuck (between its teeth) from ***Koru*.'

41. | *men* | *rapú* | *m-roh* | *u* | *m-pat* | *fie* | ***Riyét*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tomorrow | morning | 3U-descend | again | 3U-from | area | ***Riyet*** |

ø-satóh	*m-roh*	*m-amó*	*m-hu*	***Tenau Korù*** #
ø-gather.belongings	3U-descend	3U-go	3U-stay	***Tenau Koru***

'The following day they went down again from the area ***Riyet***, they gathered their belongings, and they went down and went to live at ***Tenau Koru*.'

42. (h): | *s-ait* | *y-ròh* | *y-ròh* | *y-amò* | *y-roh* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| one-3M | 3M-descend | 3M-descend | 3M-go | 3M-descend |

y-amo	***Suswamòh***	*y-rōh*	*y-hū*	*y-māt*	*yūk*
3M-go	***Suswamoh***	3M-descend	3M-stay	3M-observe	place

t-a	*m-òf*	#
near-U	3U-good

'One man went down a long way and went to ***Suswamoh***, he went down and stayed there and observed that place, it was nice.'

---

[43] i.e. the dog hunted on the ground, and the selaginalla sp was so long that it automatically got stuck between the dog's teeth whenever it bit a cuscus.

43. (wt): *y-roh*   /   *y-amo Suswamoh*   *y-roh*   *y-amo*   *ø-frok*
           3M-descend   3U-go *Suswamoh*   3M-descend   3M-go   ø-emerge

Tenau Koru[44] #
Tenau Koru
'He went down, he went to *Suswamoh*, he went down and went and arrived at *Tenau Koru*.'

44. *y-he*   *tapam*   *re-t-o*   *m-of*   /
    3M-see   land   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-good
    'He saw that this land was good.'

45. *y-e*   *y-aut*   *y-amo* *y-amo* *y-men*   *ana*
    3M-return   3M-climb   3M-go   3M-go   3M-pick.up   3P

    y-awe   *ø-satoh*   *p-mo*   *p-hu*   *tapam*   *r-anu*
    3M-say   ø-collect   1P-go   1P-stay   land   POSS-2P

    ete   *re-au*   *m-of*   /
    below   location.SPEC-DIST.U 3U-good
    'He returned and went up to pick them up (i.e. the ones who stayed behind) and said,
    'we will gather our belongings and we will go to live at our land below there, it is
    good.'

46. *m-of*   *kaket*
    3U-good   well
    'It is very good'.'

47. *m-roh*   *m-amo*   *m-hu*   *Koru*   #
    3U-descend   3U-go   3U-stay   *Koru*
    'They went down and they went to live at *Koru*.'

48. *Koru*   *re-t-o*   *m-hu*   *m-hu*   *m-hu*   *m-nan*   *iye*
    Koru   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-stay   3U-stay   3U-stay   and.then   also

    m-tut   *m-ama*   *m-usiah*   *re-f-ó*   #
    3U-everyone   3U-come   3U-hunt   location.SPEC-very.near-U
    'They lived at *Koru* for a long time and then everyone came to hunt here.'

---

[44] Between *y-roh* and *y-amo* one would expect a pause, as this is a clause-boundary. However, the speech here is allegro, and the pause is omitted. The same holds for l. 45, which also contains no pauses.

49.   *m-ama*   *m-usiah*   *u*   *re-f-ò*   #   **Tenau**
       3U-come   3U-hunt   again   location.SPEC-very.near-U   **Tenau**

       Mukete[45] *re-f-ò*   #
       Mukete location.SPEC-very.near-U
       'They came here again to hunt, at **Tenau Mukete** here.'

50.   *m-pat*   **Tenau Korù**   *m-amà*   *m-usiàh*   **Tenau Muketè**   #
       3U-from   **Tenau Koru**   3U-come   3U-hunt   **Tenau Mukete**
       'From **Tenau Koru** they came to hunt at **Tenau Mukete**.'

51.   *iwain*   *m-pat*   **Tenau Kosetiàh**   *m-air*[46]   *to*   *au*
       just.now   3U-from   **Tenau Kosetiah**   3U-foot.of.tree   LOC   DIST.U

       m-amà   *terus*   #   *ø-frok*   /   **Tenau** /[47]   **Kohmarò**
       3U-come   and.then   ø-emerge   **Tenau**   **Kohmaro**

       Kohmarò   *m-ama*   *ø-frok*   **Tenau Rarír**   #
       Kohmaro   3U-come   ø-emerge   **Tenau Rarir**
       'Just now from the beginning at **Tenau Kosetiah** they came and then they arrived at
       Tenau Kohmaro, from **Kohmaro** they came and arrived at **Tenau Rarir**.'

52.   [48]**Tenau**   **Rarir**   *m-ama*   *ø-frok*   **Tenau Unepù**
       Tenau   **Rarir**   3U-come   ø-emerge   **Tenau Unepu**
       'From **Tenau Rarir** they came and arrived at **Tenau Unepu**.'

53.   **Unepù**   *m-āma*   *ø-frök*   **Tūoh**   **Pokuò**
       Unepu   3U-come   ø-emerge   **Tuoh**   **Pokuo**
       'From **Unepu**, they came and arrived at **Tuoh Pokuo**.'

54.   **Tuoh**   **Pokuò**   *m-āma*   *ø-frök*   **Tūoh**   **Pamer**   *fte*   **Riyét**   /
       Tuoh   **Pokuo**   3U-come   ø-emerge   **Tuoh**   **Pamer**   area   **Riyet**

       m-ama   *ø-frok*   **Tenau Korù**
       3U-come   ø-emerge   **Tenau Koru**
       'From **Tuoh Pokuo** they came and arrived at **Tuoh Pamer**, in the area **Riyet**, they
       came and arrived at **Tenau Koru**.'

---

[45] *Mukete* is [ˌmukəˈte] phonetically. Possibly this is a compound noun, consisting of *Muk*, the name
of a place, and *ete* 'below'.

[46] The spatial noun *m-air* 'foot of tree' refers conceptually to 'the beginning' in terms of time.

[47] Here Waisafo Tenau hesitated because he couldn't think of the name *Kohmaro* quickly enough. Once
he did, however, he said it twice, without a pause in between.

[48] From here up to l. 55 there are hardly any pauses.

55. *Tenau* *Korú* #[49]   *m-pat*   *Tenau Koru* *na*   *ø-sitè*
     Tenau *Koru*   3U-from *Tenau Koru* and.then ø-pass

     atu   *Rapoh hoho* / *m-ama*   *tipuo*   / *ø-frok*   / *Tenau*
     mountain *Rapoh* plain   3U-come immediately ø-emerge   *Tenau*

     na[50]   *Muketè* *ete*   *ro-n-o*   #
     and.then *Mukete* below location.SPEC-far-U
     'From *Tenau Koru*, from *Tenau Koru* they passed the plain of the mountain *Rapoh*,
     they passed it in one go, and arrived at *Tenau* and then at *Mukete* there.'

56. (h): *m-usiah*   *me-n-ó*   *me-n-ó*   *me-n-ó*[51]
          3U-hunt   PRESTT-far-U PRESTT-far-U PRESTT-far-U

     m-ama   *ø-siá*   *ø-siá*   *ø-siá*   #
     3U-come   ø-with   ø-with   ø-with
     'They hunted everywhere, accompanied by many dogs.'[52]

57. (wt): *m-ama*   *m-usiah*   *re-f-ó*
           3U-come 3U-hunt   location.SPEC-very.near-U

     re-f-ó   *m-amo*   *ø-frok*   *Fra* *Mukete*
     location.SPEC-very.near-U   3U-go   ø-emerge   *Fra* *Mukete*

     re-aù   *ĩso*   *mē-t-a*[53]   *ātaf*   *āmah*   *Pētrus* *y-hū*
     location.DIST.U   road   PRESTT-near-U   ironwood house   Petrus   3M-stay

     aya   *tĩ-n-o*   *ātaf*   *m-tāu*   *tĩ-n-ó*   #
     water   side-far-U   ironwood 3U-trunk side-far-U
     'They came to hunt everywhere here and they arrived at *Fra Mukete* there, at the road
     there, at the ironwood tree, at the house where Petrus lives on the bank of the river,
     the trunk of the ironwood tree at the other side of the river.'[54]

---

[49] The long pause here marks the introduction of a new topic, namely the move to *Tenau Mukete*.

[50] Here *na* functions as a gap-filler, cf. section 9.1.1.2.

[51] The presentative prefix *me-* is used because Henky Tenau pointed out to Avé and me where the people hunted. See section 4.4.2 for presentative forms.

[52] The verb *-sia* expresses a comitative. Following a subject, here the third person unmarked subject prefix on the verb *m-amo* 'They go', this verb is adequately translated as 'take along for hunting'. See also section 8.4

[53] The form *me-t-a* is the only attested form. I assume it is a dialectal form.

[54] One of the villagers, Petrus Turot, lives in a house near the river. The area across the river is called *Fra Mukete*.

58.   *m-amo* *ø-frók*   *m-hu*   *m-he* *tapam*   *re-f-o*
    3U-go   ø-emerge   3U-stay 3U-see land   location.SPEC-very.near-U

    m-óf   *m-óf*   *m-óf* #
    3U-good 3U-good 3U-good
    'They went and arrived there and they stayed there and saw that this land was very good.'

59. (h): *sa*[55] #
      fish
      '(interrupts) fish.'

60. (wt):   *pose*   *rae*   *m-hu*   *fè*   #
      Formerly   person 3U-stay NEG
      'Formerly no one lived there.'

61. *tapam* *re-f-o*   *rae*   *m-aràk* #
    land   location.SPEC-very.near-U   person 3U-empty
    'There were no people on this land.'

62. (h): *tuòh* *re-f-o*   *rae*   *m-aràk*   #
      place location.SPEC-very.near-U person 3U-empty
      'This place was empty.'

63. (wt):   *rae*   *fè*[56] #
      person   NEG
      'No people.'

64. *amu*   *n-tat*   *rae*   *ro*   *Tenaú* *ana*   *m-amá*   *m-hu*   *m-he*
    1P   2-forefather person REL Tenau 3P   3P-come 3P-stay   3U-see

    tapám *re-f-o*   *rae*   *m-arák*   /   **tidak** **ada**
    ground location.SPEC-very.near-U   person 3U-empty   NEG   are

    manusia *èh* #
    people   eh!
    'Our forefathers, the people of Tenau, came and stayed there and they saw that there were no people on this ground, there were no people, eh!'

---

[55] Here Henky interrupts Waisafo, because he wants Waisafo to get on with the story.

[56] This is an instance where a predicative form *m-fe* 'it is not' is be expected, since *m-fe* is used primarily to negate an NP (cf. section 6.9.2). In section 6.9.3 I indicate that a distinction between the clausal negator *fe* and the predicative negator *m-fe* cannot always be maintained, since there seem to be a substantial number of exceptions. This is one of these exceptions.

65. (h): *rai*   /   *n-kias*   *iye*   *mai*   **Tuan**[57]   *fè*[58]   #
          enough   2-tell   also   sound 'mister'   NEG
          'Enough, don't speak Indonesian.'

66. (wt):   *rae*   *m-aràk*   #
            person   3U-empty
            'There were no people.'

67. *tapam*   *ro*   **kosòng**   *éh*   /
     land   REL   empty   eh!
     'The land was empty, eh!'

68. *rae*   *m-arak*   *m-hu*   *fè*   #
     person   3U-empty   3U-stay   NEG
     'There were no people, they did not live there.'

69. (h): *rae*   *fè*   /
          person   NEG
          'No people.'

70. *tapam*   *rae*   *m-aràk*   /
     land   person   3U-empty
     'The land was empty.'

71. *tapam*   *m-hu*   *ø-riamò*   *sai*   /
     land   3U-stay   ø-quiet   just
     'The land was just quiet.'

72. *fane*   *sia*   *kák,*   *sá*   *ete*   *ayá*   #
     pig   with   cuscus   fish   below water
     'There were pigs and cuscus, and fish in the water.'

73. (wt):   *fiám*   *m-hu*   *ayà*   #   *rae*   *fè*   #
            catfish   3U-stay   water   person   NEG
            'There were catfish in the water, there were no people.'

74. *m-hé*   *m-hé*   /
     3U-see   3U-see
     'They looked for a long time.'

---

[57] The Indonesian language is referred to by older people as *mai* **Tuan**, lit. the language of the 'mister' (<**Tuan** 'mister', a term of address for a man of higher social rank). These 'misters' include the (Dutch) Missionaries, who lived in *Ayawasi* for a long time, and the Indonesian civil servants and Missionaries.

[58] Given the imperative mood of this utterance, it is unclear why here *fe* 'NEG' instead of *mai* 'PROHIB' is used.

75. (h):   terus   nà   ini   #   m-roh   m-awe   m-pat
           and.then   na[59] this   3U-descend   3U-fall   3U-from

    akah   ú   m-roh   m-ai   tiéf   ira   m-asi
    above   up   3U-descend   3U-hit cuscus   just.now   3U-pick

    na   etè   #
    na   below
    'And then this na fell from above, it went down and hit the cuscus who were just then
    picking up the na below.'

76. (wt):   m-atiét   m-siàr #
              3U-perish   3U-many
              'Many cuscus perished.'

77. (h):   na   m-ros   angkat   mti   m-amò   #
           then   3U-stand   lift   night   3U-go
           'Then they (i.e. the people) got up and lifted them (the cuscus), and at night they
           (the people) carried them (home).'

78.   m-o   són   tiéf   nà   m-ai   /
      3U-take coconut   cuscus   na   3U-hit
      'They took the coconuts and cuscus that were hit by the na.'

79.   son   tief   iye   son   na   iye   ira
      coconut cuscus   also   coconut   na   also   just.now

      na   m-ai   mti   m-amo
      breadfruit 3U-hit night   3U-go
      'Coconuts and the cuscus too, coconuts and the na, just now the na hit the cuscus, and
      at night they (the people) went (home).'[60]

80. (wt):   ara na   re-t-o   nama   Bahasa
              {na tree} location.SPEC-near-U   name   language

      Indonesia orang birang   buah rajà   #
      Indonesia people say   'Buah Raja'
      'This na, in Indonesian people call it buah raja.'

---

[59] na is pangium edule sp, an edible fruit, common in Ayawasi. In Indonesian it is referred to as **Buah
Raja**, see l. 80

[60] This description is reminiscent of those of 'the land of milk and honey'.

81. (h): | orie | rere | nuo | n-amo | n-kias | re-t-o | | wià[61] | / |
| later | shortly | 2S | 2-go | 2-tell | location.SPEC-near-U | | earlier | |

'Later, are you going to tell this first?'

82. (wt): | m-roh | m-ai | tief | m-atiet | m-siar | mti | m-amo |
| 3U-descend | 3U-hit | cuscus | 3U-perish | 3U-many | night | 3U-go |

| m-amo | m-amo | memmem[62] # |
| 3U-go | 3U-go | on.and.on |

'The *na* fell and hit the cuscus and many perished, and at night the people walked for a long time, they went on and on.'[63]

83. | sòn[64] | tipuo | mti | m-amó | mti | m-amó | / | ø-frok | **Korù** # |
| coconut | immediately | night | 3U-go | night | 3U-go | | ø-emerge | **Koru** |

'Coconuts,[65] at night the people immediately walked, at night they walked, and they arrive at **Koru**.'

84. | m-é | m-awe | ania | ana | ro | m-hu | m-ti |
| 3U-return | 3U-say | each.other | 3P | REL | 3U-stay | 3U-carry.on.back |

| fiam | ayà | # |
| catfish | water | |

'They returned (to **Tenau Koru**), and they discussed with those who stayed behind, that they should carry the catfish on their backs from the river.'

---

[61] Henky got annoyed with the fact that Waisafo spilled the beans. Apparently Henky had planned to tell this later on in the story.

[62] This is possibly an onomatopoeic form, reflecting the continuous walking in the forest. It is the only attestation in the data.

[63] This sentence is illustrative of the fact that in *Maybrat* subjects and objects need not be expressed, and ommitting these does not render an utterance ungrammatical. All the subjects and objects (the *na*, the cuscus and the people) were introduced in the preceding discourse, and it is assumed that the listener can keep track of the story without expressing these forms again, cf. section 6.3 and 6.4.

[64] In this sentence Waisafo remembers that there were *son* 'coconuts' as well, and he mentions them before he starts the actual sentence.

[65] Here the speaker remembers that he forgot to mention coconuts in the preceding sentence.

85.   *fiam*   *aya*   *ete*   *hwuom*   *m-he*   *m-siar*   *m-rôh*
      catfish   water   below   draught   3U-see   3U-many   3U-descend

      ø-tākoh   *m-têh*   *m-fōt*   *m-fōt*   *ro*   *m-ti*   *fiàm*
      ø-pierce   3U-feel   3U-catch   3U-catch   REL   3U-carry.on.back   catfish

      ro   *m-ti*   *tièf*   *m-pat*   *re-f-o*   *m-aút*
      REL   3U-carry   cuscus   3U-from   location.SPEC-very.near-U   3U-climb

      re-aù   *m-amo*   *ø-frok*   *re-au*   *m-amó*
      location.SPEC-DIST.U   3U-go   ø-emerge   location.SPEC-DIST.U   3U-go

      ø-frok   ***Tenau Korù***[66] #
      ø-emerge   ***Tenau Koru***
      'They saw many catfish in the river because it was the dry season,[67] the people went
      down and they pierced (them), they caught the fish with their hands and they caught
      many, there were people who carried catfishon their backs, who carried cuscus on their
      backs, from here (i.e. *Fra Mukete*) they went up to there (i.e. *Tenau Koru*), they
      arrived there, they arrived at *Tenau Koru*.'

86.   *mtí*   *m-amo*   *ø-frok*   ***Tenau Korú***   *m-e*   *m-awe*   *ana*
      night   3U-go   ø-emerge   ***Tenau Koru***   3U-return   3U-say   3P

      ro   *m-hu*   *au*   *m-awe*   *t-aò*[68]   #   *mèn*   *rapu*
      REL   3U-stay   DIST.U   3U-say   1S-sibling.SS   tomorrow   morning

      anu   *p-tut*   *p-mo*   /
      2P   1P-everyone   1P-go.P
      'At night they arrived at *Tenau Koru*, they returned and they said to those who stayed
      behind, they said, 'my brothers, tomorrow morning we will all go (to *Fra Mukete*).'

87.   *tapam*   *r-anu*   *re-au*   *m-óf*   *m-hai*   #
      land   POSS-2P   location.SPEC-DIST.U   3U-good   3U-die
      'Your land there is very good.'

---

[66] Here another clause is added to make explicit that people travelled back to *Tenau Koru*, since *re-au*, in the previous clause, is not clear enough.

[67] In the dry season there is less water in the rivers, and it is easy to catch catfish. People catch them either by stabbing them with spears, or by catching them with their hands.

[68] What follows is a quote, hence the pause, cf. section 8.3.4.1. Another direct quote occurs in l. 116. In pseudo-quotatives, such a pause is not present, cf. l. 111-112.

88. *pò*   *m-siar* /   *sà*   *m-siar* /   *tièf*   *m-siar* /   *nà*
    thing   3U-many fish 3U-many   cuscus 3U-many   *na*

    m-siar[69] /
    3U-many
    'There are many things, many fish, many cuscus, a lot of *na*.'

89. *tuoh*   *m-òf* /   *yuk*   *m-óf*   *m-hai* #
    place   3U-good place   3U-good   3U-die
    'The place is good, the place is very good.'

90. *raé*   *fè*   #
    person   NEG
    'There are no people.'

91. *tapam*   *r-anu*   *m-óf*   *sai*   #
    land   POSS-2P   3U-good   just
    'Your land is just good.'[70]

92. *m-of*   **ratà** /   *ø-siasòm* /   *aya*   *m-òf* /   *tapam*   *m-òf*   #
    3U-good   flat   ø-beautiful   water   3U-good   land   3U-good
    'It is nice and flat, it is beautiful, the river is good, the land is good'.'

93. (h).   *m-rós*   *m-amó*   *ø-satoh*   *nàf*   /
          3U-stand   3U-go   ø-gather.belongings   taroshoots

          ø-kmuk   *awiàh*   /
          ø-cut   taro
          'They got up and they went to collect taroshoots, they cut the taro.'

---

[69] Here an enumeration is made where each NP is separated by a pause. Alternatively, the enumerator *o* could have been used, cf section 4.11. the same is true for l. 92

[70] The use of the adverb *sai* 'just' indicates that no objections can possibly be made to the new ground.

94. (wt):   m-rós   m-awe   m-aó   ana   m-atu   awiah
            3U-stand   3U-say   3U-sibling.SS 3P   3U-yank.out   taro

r-ana   ø-kmŭk   ø-kmŭk   ø-ktán   m-ata[71]   ewar   #   m-o
POSS-3P   ø-cut   ø-cut   ø-cut.small.things   3U-leaf   reject   3U-take

pám   r-ana
axe   POSS-3P
'They (i.e. the people who had been to *Fra Mukete*) got up and they told their siblings,
to yank out their taro, to cut everything and to cut the small leaves[72] and throw them
away, they took their axes along.'

95.   ø-sreh   apít   m-asŭf   #
      ø-take.out.seeds   banana   3U-middle
      'They took the seeds out of the banana's middle.'[73]

96.   (h):   m-tŭt   m-amá   m-káh   p-awià   #
             3U-everyone   3U-come   3U-burn   thing-INT
             'They all came to make their gardens there.'

97. (wt):   m-tŭt   tipuo   kerompok[74]   re-t-o   /
            3U-everyone   immediately   group   location.SPEC-near-U

m-átin   r-ána   tō-s-au   ø-sátoh   tipuo   m-áma
3U-group   POSS-3P   LOC-one-3U   ø-gather.belongings   immediately   3U-come

m-hŭ   me-aù   #
3U-stay   PRESTT-DIST.U
'Everyone at once, this group, their whole group, they gathered their belongings and
they immediately came to live there.'

---

[71] I am unable to reconstruct *ktan mata*. From the context it can be concluded that *mata* is a part of
the taro-plant that they did not need to take along with them. Syntactically, *ktan* is a verb, cf. *t-se war* (< *-se*
'place') 'I reject it'.

[72] i.e. the people cut the small shoots that grow around the big taro plant off and throw these away
(Avé, p.c.).

[73] *apit m-asuf* 'the banana's middle' is an example of a possessive construction where the order of the
constituents is possessor-possessed, and the possessed (*m-asuf*, the middle) is a spatial noun. Spatial nouns are
classified as inalienably possessed nouns, cf. section 4.3.1.

[74] **kerompok** is a phonologically adapted form of **kelompok** [kə'lɔmpɔk].

98. *m-kah*   *atáf*   *m-apuò*   *ti-n-ò*   *n-ò*   #
3U-burn   ironwood   3U-tip   side-far-U   far-U
'They made their gardens at the tip of the ironwood tree, that side there.'[75]

99. *p-tà*   *p-mo*   **Mosùn**   #
1P-cross.P   1P-go.P   **Mosun**
'We cross the river there when we go to **Mosun**.'

100. *p-iwrék*[76] *t-ò*   /   *m-kah*   **Fra**   **Mukete**   #
1P-go.past near-U   3U-burn   **Fra**   **Mukete**
'We go past the area there, they made their gardens at **Fra Mukete**.'

101. *tapam*   *m-asom*   **Fra Muketè**   #
land   3U-name   **Fra Mukete**
'The name of the land is **Fra Mukete**.'

102. (h): *m-káh*   *ete*   **kacàng**[77] *f-o*   #
3U-burn   below   peanuts   very.near-U
'They burned below the peanut-garden there.'[78]

103. (wt): *atàf*   *m-apuó*   *ti-n-ó*   *rè-t-o*   #
ironwood   3U-tip   side-far-U   location.SPEC-near-U
'At the tip of the ironwood tree, that side.'[79]

104. **Fra**   **Muketè**   #
Fra   **Mukete**
'That is **Fra Mukete**.'

105. *m-ama*   *m-hu*   **Tenaù Muketè**   *rè-f-o*   #
3U-come   3U-stay   **Tenau Mukete**   location.SPEC-very.near-U
'They came to live at **Tenau Mukete**.'

---

[75] He again refers to the ironwood tree near Petrus' house, see l. 57.

[76] Possibly, this is a form including the derivative morpheme *-i-* 'TRANS', which changes the valency of the verb. cf. section 4.2.4. In this form *'ø-wrek* may mean 'cross over', so that *-i-ø-wrek* means 'cross over something'.

[77] This form is not phonologically adapted by Henky, who has no problem pronouncing {tʃ} in ['katʃɑŋ]. Some older people pronounce it as ['kasɑŋ].

[78] At the time the story was told, someone had just made a peanut garden at *Fra Mukete*, which Henky refers to in order to point out the exact location.

[79] At the river there is an ironwood tree that has fallen over. The tip of it points in the direction of where the people went to live at *Fra Mukete*.

106. m-pat   **Tenau Korú** m-ama   **Tenau Muketè** #
     3U-from   **Tenau Koru** 3U-come **Tenau Mukete**
     'From **Tenau Koru** they came to **Tenau Mukete**.'

107. m-hu   we-f-ó   s-ait   ø-srohni
     3U-stay location.GEN-very.near-U one-3M ø-forget

     fuò   r-ait   ro   y-tan pàm   #
     axe.handle POSS-3M REL   3M-fit axe
     'They lived here, and one (man) forgot his axe-handle to fit on his axe.'

108. y-e   u   y-amò **Tenau Korù** #
     3M-return again 3M-go **Tenau Koru**
     'He returned to **Tenau Koru** again.'

109. y-é   y-amó y-hù   y-hé   **Korù** tapam   tuoh
     3M-return 3M-go 3M-stay 3M-see **Koru** land   place

     r-ait   iwai   y-hé   m-óf #
     POSS-3M just.now 3M-see 3U-good
     'He returned and lived there and looked at **Koru**, the land at his place of just now, and he saw that it was good.'

110. po-s-aít   y-e   y-amó y-hú   kar   po   aìt #
     EMPH-one-3M 3M-return 3M-go 3M-stay alone thing 3M
     'He returned all by himself, he went to live on his own.'

111. y-amo po-s-aít   y-hu   kar   po   aìt y-awe[80] anù
     3M-go EMPH-one-3M 3M-stay alone thing 3M 3M-say 2P

     n-mo   n-hu   re-t-ó   / tuo t-e   po-s-aít   t-amo
     2-go.P 2-stay location.SPEC-near-U   1S 1S-return EMPH-one-3M 1S-go

     t-hu   ro-tuo   re-f-o   si[81]   #
     1S-stay POSS-1S location.SPEC-very.near-U also
     'He went alone, he lived on his own, and he thought, 'you go and stay there, I return alone and I live on my own here'.'

---

[80] Here there is no pause following -awe 'say', indicating that the following portion is an indirect quote or a pseudo-quotative construction. This is in opposition to direct quotes, where a pause does occur following -awe, for instance in l. 86. See section 8.3.4.2-8.3.4.3 for a description of indirect speech and pseudo-quotative constructions.

[81] This is an instance where the focus adverb si 'also' occurs once in clause-final position. It may also occur twice, expressing simultaneity, cf. section 9.1.6.

112. y-awe   tuo   ø-srohni   fuò   ro-tuo   m-etù   *Pamaì* #
      3M-say   1S   ø-forget   axe.handle POSS-1S   3U-still.be *Pamai*
      'He says, 'I forgot my axe-handle, it is still at Pamai'.'

113. *y-awe*   tuo   ø-srohni   *Pamaì* m-etu   t-e   t-amo *Korù* #
      3M-say   1S   ø-forget   *Pamai* 3U-still.be 1S-return 1S-go *Koru*
      'He says, 'I forgot it at *Pamai*, I'll return to *Koru*'.'

114. *y-e*   *y-amo* #
      3M-return 3M-go
      'He returned.'

115. *y-awe*   ø-srohní   fuo   r-ait   m-etu   y-tan
      3M-say   ø-forget   axe.handle POSS-3M   3U-still.be 3M-fit

      pam   *m-hu*   *Korù* / *Tenau Korù*
      axe   3U-stay   *Koru*   *Tenau Koru*
      'He remembered his axe-handle, it was still there, so that he could fit an axe, it was
      at *Koru*, at *Tenau Koru*.'

116   *y-e*   *y-awe*   ana   wisaú / t-aò   / anu   n-hu   / tuo
      3M-return   3M-say   3P   all   1S-sibling.SS   2P   2-stay   1S

      t-e   t-amo *Korù* t-not   fuò   ro-tuo   ø-srohni #
      1S-return   1S-go *Koru* 1S-think axe.handle   POSS-1S   ø-forget
      'He returned and said to all the others, 'my brothers, you live here, I will return to
      Koru, I remembered my axe-handle, I forgot (it).'

117. *y-e*   *y-amó* *y-e*   *y-he*   tuoh   r-ait
      3M-return   3M-go   3M-return 3M-see   place   POSS-3M

      amàh pohrà   *amàh* ø-skié   y-he   m-òf #
      {house premises}   house   ø-build   3M-see   3U-good
      'He returned and looked at his place, the premises of the house, the house that he
      built, and he saw that it was good.'

118. *y-hu*   *y-he*   **sunyì** *y-hu*   kar   po   ait   ø-riamò
      3M-stay   3M-see   quiet   3M-stay   alone   thing   3M   ø-quiet

      ø-riamò   raé   fè # *po-s-ait*   *y-hu*   akùs   #
      ø-quiet   person   NEG   EMPH-one-3M   3M-stay   left.behind
      'He lived there and saw that it was quiet, he lived on his own and he saw that it was
      very quiet, there were no people, he was left behind alone.'

119. *ø-srau   m-ham*[82] *ana ro*   *m-ama*   *m-hu*   **Tenau**
      ø-throat 3U-hurt   3P REL   3U-come 3U-stay   **Tenau**

      Muketè *re-f-o* #
      Mukete location.SPEC-very.near-U
      'He missed the people who came to live at **Tenau Mukete** here.'

120. *ait*   *y-hu*   **Tenau Korù** #
      3M   3M-stay   **Tenau Koru**
      'He lived at **Tenau Koru**.'

121. (h):   *t-ao*   *ana*   *m-tut*   *m-amò*   *m-nan*   *tuó*
      1S-sibling.SS   3P   3U-everyone   3U-go   and.then   1S

      po-s-aìt   *t-hu*   *kàr* /
      EMPH-one-3M   1S-stay   alone
      ''My siblings, they all went and now I live alone'.'

122. (wt):   *y-awe*   *tuo po-s-aít*   *t-hu*   *kar*   *to-tìs*
      3M-say   1S   EMPH-one-3M   1S-stay   alone   LOC-behind
      'He thinks, 'I alone, I live back here alone'.'

123. *tuoh*   *m-aràk*   #
      place   3U-empty
      'The place was empty.'

---

[82] This expression *ø-srau m-ham*, lit. 'the throat hurts' expresses sadness.

Appendix II

Fnia m-kiar 'Women who are decorated'

This interview was recorded in collaboration with Wanda Avé, ethnobotanist, in *Ayawasi* in Oktober 1995. The woman who was interviewed is Ais Mawe, approximately 45 years of age, who spoke very little Indonesian. The purpose of the interview was for Avé to find out if there are any particular plants used by women, particularly during their initiation. We asked Elisabeth Korain, 35 years old, and bilingual in *Maybrat* and Indonesian, to attend the interview in order to translate and explain if necessary. While Avé used the interview primarily for the botanical information that Ais Mawe gave, I used the text as linguistic data. The botanical names of plants that are known are given in the text. They are taken from the list compiled by Wanda Avé (1998), 'Preliminary list of the use of the plants of Ayawasi'.

Ais Mawe belongs to the lineage Turot, which originates from the area to the north of *Ayawasi*. There are some instances in the following text which contain forms that are unattested elsewhere. I have indicated these as possibly dialectal forms.

Below, I have indicated pauses ('/') to make the syntactic structure more transparent.

1. *fnia   m-ai   kiyit[1]   /*
   woman   3U-hit   *kiyit*
   'Women hit *kiyit*.'

2. *m-ai kiyit m-kah   hpat   /*
   3U-hit *kiyit* 3U-with.inst hammer
   'They hit the *kiyit* with a hammer.'

3. *hpat[2]   m-ai   kiyit   /*
   hammer 3U-hit *kiyit*
   'With the hammer they hit the *kiyit*.'

---

[1] *kiyit* is possibly a dialectal variant of *kiet*, the bark of a plant of the <u>Ficus</u> family. The bark *kiet* bark is hit with a hammer (a *hpat*, see next line), in order to make it softer so that they can use it as a garment. *kiyit* also refers generically to garments, cf. 1. 12.

[2] The object *hpat* 'hammer' is topicalised, cf. section 6.6. Other instances of topicalisation occur, for instance, in l. 4 (*po-kiar* 'decoration'); 14 (*prat m-api s-au* 'one big waistband'); 23 (*am* 'mat'); 31 and 32 (*aya* 'water').

4. *po-kiar* *m-i* *m-kiar* *p-kiar* / *m-roh*
  NOM-decorate 3U-tie 3U-decorate 1P-decorate 3U-descend

  m-roh *m-ae* *p-oo* *re-f-o*   *po-kiar*
  3U-descend 3U-at 1p-foot.P location.SPEC-very.near-U NOM-decorate

  ø-hasa *p-ka* *si* *kait* *wa³* *re-f-o*
  ø-circle 1P-mix also near screen location.SPEC-very.near-U
  'They dressed us up by tying the decoration and we were dressed up, it (the decoration) went down to our feet here, they circled the decoration around us, we tied it closely for protection here.'[4]

5. *p-kiar* *m-hu* *amah* / *rae* *m-aim* *ratau⁵* /
  1P-decorate 3U-stay house man 3U-cook *ratau*

  po-p-iit *p-iit* *u* / *p-iit*
  NOM-1P-eat.P 1P-eat.P again 1P-eat.P

  esu *fe* / *m-pau* /
  together NEG 3U-sacred
  'We were dressed up and they stayed in the house,[6] people cooked *ratau*, we ate things to eat again, we did not eat together, it was forbidden[7] (to eat with the others).'

6. *p-iit* *u* *aya* *p-ta* *fe* *rae* *m-aim* *ratau* /
  1P-eat.P alone water 1P-drink.P NEG man 3U-cook *ratau*
  'We ate alone, we did not drink anything, and the people cooked *ratau*.'

7. *rae* *ro* *y-aim* *ratau* *ø-hren sai* / *y-ata*
  man REL 3M-cook *ratau* ø-sit only 3M-drink

  y-ait *po* *fe*
  3M-eat thing NEG
  'The man who cooked *ratau* just sat, he didn't drink or eat anything.'

---

[3] I have not been able to trace the exact meaning or function of *wa*. It was translated into Malay (i.e. not Standard Indonesian) as pele, which can be translated as 'screen off', or 'protect'. Other occurrences of the form *wa* occur in appendix III, l. 53.

[4] The woman indicates with her hands how the *kiyit* is tied around their bodies.

[5] *ratau* refers to scrapings of plants, wood etc. *ratau* is used to acquire strength (Avé, p.c.).

[6] As is also indicated later on in the interview, the women who undergo the ceremony stay in a separate section of the house.

[7] *m-pau* is adequately translated as 'sacred' or 'forbidden'.

8. | *y-ait* | *po* | *fe* | *y-ata* | *aya* | *fe* | *y-hu* | *um* | *ro* |
    |---------|------|------|---------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
    | 3M-eat | thing | NEG | 3M-drink | water | NEG | 3M-stay | time | REL |

p-mo[8]	/	*rae*	*pa*	*po-n-o*		*pa*	*mati*
1P-go.P		man	eh?	area.ADV-far-U		eh?	and.then

s-au	*m-e*	*u*	/	*ait*	*y-ait*
one-3U	3U-return	again		3M	3M-eat

    'He didn't eat anything, he didn't drink anything, he stayed, at the time when, the men, the thing uh (she is confused), and then once, they[9] returned, and he ate (once).'

9. | *ait* | *y-aim* | *ratau* | *y-hu* | *sai* |
    |-------|---------|---------|--------|-------|
    | 3M | 3M-cook | *ratau* | 3M-stay | only |

    'He cooked *ratau*, he was just there.'

---

[8] *p-mo* is a false start, Ais Mawe picks up again at *s-au*.

[9] It is unclear whom 'they' refers to. Possibly it refers to the group of people who accompany the women undergoing the ceremony.

10. | *amu* | *p-huuuuu*[10] | / | *ekiyit*[11] | *ro* | *ø-fiyan* | *re-f-o* | | / |
     |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
     | 1P | 1P-stay | | *kiyit* | REL | ø-wear | loction.SPEC-very.near-U | | |

p-mo	/	*p-hu*	*kiyit*	*ro*	*ø-fiyan*	*re-f-o*[12]	/
1P-go		1P-stay	*kiyit*	REL	ø-wear	location.SPEC-very.near-U	

p-mo	*fnia*	*ø-tanam*	/	*ø-tanam*	*u*	*tum*	*u*	/	*mati*
1P-go.P	woman	ø-soak		ø-soak	again	mud	again		and.then

p-mo	*p-o*	*po-kiar*[13]	/	*ø-hasa*	*u*
1P-go.P	1P-take	NOM-decorate		ø-circle	again

fi-t-o	/	*p-e*	**tukar**	*kiyit*	*m-ria*	*ro*
similar.to-near-U		1P-return	exchange	*kiyit*	3U-tall	REL

m-tiah	p-oo	m-apan[14]	re-f-o	/
3U-protect	1P-feet.P	3U-turn.over	location.SPEC-very.near-U	

'We stayed, and the *kiyit* we now wore, we went and the women soaked it, they soaked it again entirely, in mud, and then we went and took the waist-decoration, we put it around us again like that and we returned and changed (into) a long *kiyit* which protected us (down to) our footsoles here.'[15]

11. | *p-se* | *war*[16] | / |
     |---|---|---|
     | 1P-place | reject | |

'We left it (i.e. the old *kiyit*).'

---

[10] The use of a long vowel [u] indicates that they stay for a long time. See, for instance, also ll. 14, 15, 25, 32 etc.

[11] In this form, a schwa occurs as an optional phoneme, cf. section 2.1.1.1. See l. 16 for an example involving *etier* 'four'.

[12] The woman emphasises *kiyit ro fiyan re-f-o* by repeating it. *kiyit ro fiyan re-f-o* is the notional subject of this sentence.

[13] i.e. the waist decoration.

[14] *p-oo m-apan* literally means 'the undersides of our feet'. It is a possessive construction of the type 'possessor-possessed', cf. section 4.3.1.

[15] Again, she indicates where they wore the decorations.

[16] i.e. they put away the short *kiyits*.

12. | *p-awah* | *ro* | *m-eria* | *m-nan* | *kiyit* | *ø-safe* |
     |----------|------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
     | 1P-take | REL | 3U-long | 3U-enough | *kiyit* | ø-dark |

re-f-o   /
location-spec-very.near-U
'We took a long one and it was like this dark 'kiyit'.'[17]

13. | *po* | *r-ira* | *ø-safe* **pakai** | *re-f-o* | / |
     |------|---------|---------------------|----------|---|
     | thing | POSS-just | ø-blue wear | location.SPEC-very.near-U | |

'The long *kiyit* was dark, like this one here.'

14. | *prat* | *m-api* | *s-au* | *p-uut*[18] | *p-haf* | *re-f-o* | / |
     |--------|---------|--------|------------|---------|----------|---|
     | band | 3U-big | one-3U | 1P-climb.P | 1P-belly | location.SPEC-very.near-U | |

'We wore one big band around our bellies here.'

15. | *ø-krek* | *ro*[19] | *ø-krek* | *re-f-ooooo* |
     |----------|---------|----------|--------------|
     | ø-carry.under.arm | REL | ø-carry.under.arm | location.SPEC-very.near-U |

prat	*ø-krek*	*re-f-oooo*
band	ø-carry.under.arm	location.SPEC-very.near-U

'We wore a band high on our chests here.'

16. | *etiet* | *ø-krek* | *re-f-o* | *tiet* |
     |---------|----------|----------|--------|
     | four | ø-carry.under.arm | location.SPEC-very.near-U | four |

ø-krek	*re-f-o*[20]
ø-carry.under.arm	location.SPEC-very.near-U

'We wore four here, we wore four here.'[21]

---

[17] Here she indicated the dark-blue skirt, which she was wearing at the time of the interview.

[18] The verb *-au* 'climb' is also used to refer to the putting on of garments or decorations.

[19] This seems to be a false start: this portion does not fit into the syntax of the rest of the sentence.

[20] i.e. they wore four *prats* on the upper part of each arm.

[21] She is referring to four *safah* 'bracelets' mentioned in the following line.

17. | po | r-ira | p-uut | re-f-o | safah |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| thing | POSS-just | 1P-climb.P | location.SPEC-very.near-U | upper.bracelet |

ka /	m-hu	p-tem	re-f-o	m-hu
eh?	3U-stay	1P-arm.P	location.SPEC-very.near-U	3U-stay

p-tem	re-f-o
1P-arm.P	location.SPEC-very.near-U

'The bands we just talked about we now wore here, there was a bracelet on our upper arms here, it was here on our arms.'[22]

18. | tin | ro | ø-hayo | fi-f-o | m-hu | sre | / |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| earrings | REL | ø-hang | similar.to-very.near-U | 3U-stay | past | |

'We wore earrings that hung like this all the time.'

19. | p-kiar | m-huuuuuuu | m-nan | / |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1P-decorate | 3U-stay | 3U-enough | |

'We were dressed up and they stayed for a long time, until it was enough.'

20. | yu[23] | rae | ira | m-ti | f-o | au |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| bag | man | just | 3U-carry.on.back | very.near-U | 3U |

m-taus	m-ame	fo	/	yu	fnia
3U-decorate.with.yarn	3U-stab	now		bag	woman

m-ti	fi-f-o	/	m-ama	ø-hren	amah	/
3U-carry.on.head	similar.to-very.near-U		3U-come	ø-sit	house	

'The bag that the people just mentioned carried, they (the women) decorated it with yarn, they embroidered it, they carried the bag like this, they came and sat in the house.'

21. | yu | ana[24] | m-hu | ø-kpor ewa | / |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bag | 3P | 3U-stay | ø-back always | |

'Their bag was on their backs all the time.'

22. | m-hu | ewa | ø-kpor ke | m-pau |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3U-stay | always | ø-back because | 3U-sacred |

'It was always on their backs because it is sacred.'

---

[22] Ais Mawe indicates with her hands that the bands (prat) mentioned in ll. 15 and 16 are worn on the upper part of the body, and bracelets (safah) on the upper arm.

[23] yu refers to a bag that is woven from pandanus leaves. It has a long belt which enables someone to wear the bag in the typical Papuan way: the bag is carried on the back with the strap over the head.

[24] One would expect a possessive marker on the personal pronoun, i.e. yu r-ana 'their bag'.

23.   *am*[25]   *rae*   *ø-tuwiak*   *ewa*   *soka*   *ke*   /   *rae*   *m-ami*
     mat   man   ø-screen   always   door   because   man   3U-stab
     'People screened the door with a mat lest other people could enter and attack (with spears).'

24.   *m-hu*   *m-pau*   /   *m-hu*   *r-au*   /
     3U-stay   3U-sacred   3U-stay   POSS-3U
     'They (i.e. the whole group of women) were sacred, they stayed separately.'

25.   *p-hu*   *fi-t-oooo*   /   *m-nan*   /   *mti*   *p-mo*   *p-tien*
     1P-stay   similar.to-near-U   3U-enough   night   1P-go.P   1P-sleep

     tuoh   *r-iwai*
     place   POSS-earlier
     'We stayed like this and then at night went and slept in the place just mentiond (i.e. the secluded sacred place).'

26.   *rae*   *ø-peuf*   *re-au*   *p-tien*   *p-amu*   *ø-hayah*
     man   ø-circle   location.SPEC-U.dist   1P-sleep   EMPH-1P   ø-different
     'The people made an enclosure there and we slept separately.'

27.   *ana*   *m-tien*   *siar*[26]   *fi-f-o*   *m-hu*   *sai*   /
     3P   3U-sleep   common.place   similar.to-very.near-U   3U-stay   only
     'They slept in the common place, like this they just stayed.'

28.   *p-hu*   *p-mo*   *m-ae*   *akah*   *atu*   **tukar**   *epo*   *amu*   *fo*
     1P-stay   1P-go.P   3U-at   above   mountain   change   thing   1P   DET
     'We stayed there, and we went up a mountain and we changed our things.'

29.   *p-mo*   **siari**[27] *po*   *akah*   *atu*   *po*   *fi-t-o*   /
     1P-go.P   search   thing   above   mountain   thing   similar.to-near-U
     'We went and looked for things on the top of the mountain, like this.'

30.   *p-awah*   *pron*   *pron*   *re-f-o*   /
     1P-take   bamboo   bamboo   location.SPEC-very.near-U
     'We took a bamboo, this bamboo.'

---

[25] *am* are mats made out of pandanus leaves. They are multifunctional, being used to sleep and sit on, as raincapes, and to carry things around.

[26] *siar* 'common.place' may be related to *m-siar* 'there are many', as both refer to the same semantic notion.

[27] *siari* is a phonologically adapted form of *cari* 'to search, to look for'.

31. *aya   n-rak*[28]
     water 2-fill
     'You filled it with water.'

32. *aya   p-raaaak   p-mo   **tukar**   **kain**   *kiyit*   *u*
     water 1P-fill   1P-go.P   change   cloth   *kiyit*   again

     fi-f-o
     similar.to-very.near-U
     'We filled it with water and we went, we changed our *kiyit* cloth again like this.'

33. *ø-fiyan   u*
     ø-wear   again
     'We wore it again.'

34. *mati   p-tu   aya   re-t-o*
     and.then   1P-pour   water   location.SPEC-near-U
     'Then we poured that water.'[29]

35. *p-tu   amu   **gosok**   **gosok**   *amu   fi-f-o*
     1P-pour   1P   rub   rub   1P   similar.to-very.near-U

     fi-f-o   *t-kah*[30]   **bersih**   *fi-re*
     similar.to-very.near-U   1s-body   clean   similar.to-PART

     sabun   *fi-t-o*[31] /
     soap   similar.to-near-U
     'We poured (the water) and we rubbed ourselves like this, until our bodies were clean, we rubbed as though with soap, like this.'

36. *mati   ø-frok   u   amah   p-ma   u   amah*
     and.then   ø-arrive   again   house 1P-come.P   again   house
     'Then we entered the house again, we came back to the house.'

37. *p-hu   fi-t-o*   /   **tukar**   *u   fi-t-o*   /
     1P-stay   similar.to-near-U   change   again   similar.to-near-U
     'We stayed like that, we changed again like that.'

_____

[28] She uses the second person singular to create some distance.

[29] An extract was made in the bamboo, which women used to wash themselves, see i. 110.

[30] The form *t-kah* 'my body' is often used to refer explicitly to someone's body. It is unclear why here the third person plural *m-kah* 'their bodies' is not used.

[31] She motions with her hands to imitate how they rubbed their bodies.

38. *ekiyit* *fnia*   *m-ai*   *m-kah*   *yu*   *ø-pria* *m-se*
     kiyit   woman   3U-hit 3U-with.inst noken ø-all   3U-place

     m-kah   **tukar**[32]   /
     3U-with.inst   change
     'Women hit the *kiyit* and for in the bags they put them (the *kiyit*) in the bags for
     changing.'[33]

39. *m-kah*   **tukar**   *fi-t-o*
     3U-with.inst   change   similar.to-near-U
     'For changing, like that.'

40. *kiyit*[34] *fnia*   *m-ai*   **terus**   *ø-hamit*
     kiyit   woman   3U-hit and.then ø-bundle
     'Women hit the *kiyit* and then they put them in a bundle.'

41. *m-se*   **tukar**   *fi-t-o*   *ø-fiyan* *fi-t-o*   *p-uut*
     3U-place change   similar.to-near-U ø-wear   similar.to-near-U 1P-climb.P

     fi-t-o   *po-kiar*   *p-kiar*   *fi-t-o*
     similar.to-near-U NOM-decorate 1P-decorate similar.to-near-U

     has   *fi-t-o*   *prat*   *p-na*
     waistband similar.to-near-U band   1P-head.P

     fi-t-o   **tukar**   *fi-t-o*   **teruuuuuus**[35] /
     similar.to-near-U change   similar.to-near-U continuously
     'We put it (in bundles) and changed it like this, we wore it like this, we climbed (the
     mountain) like this, we put the decorations around us like this, the waistband like
     this, a (waist)band[36] on our heads like this, we changed like this all the time.'

___

[32] This sentence was difficult to transcribe, since on the recording a creaky door was openened, so that
part of the text is inaudible.

[33] i.e. they put the *kiyit* 'cloths' in the bags, then they go to a place in the forest where they wash
themselves with the extract they made in a bamboo with the *ratau* (cf. 1. 5) and water (ll. 34-35), after which
they change into a new *kiyit* 'cloth'.

[34] *kiyit* is the object of the clause *fnia m-ai kiyit*. In this sentence it has been topicalised, cf. section
6.4.

[35] The lengthening of a vowel (cf. footnote 10) also occurs in Indonesian loans.

[36] *prat* is a waistband, not a headband. In the following sentence she corrects herself, and says that
a band around the head is called a *waitau*.

42. *p-na*   *r-iwai*   *waitau*   *fnia*   *ø-tau*
     1P-head.P POSS-earlier trad.headcovering woman   ø-wear

     ewa   *re-f-ooooo*
     always   location.SPEC-very.near-U
     'On our heads, as was just mentioned, we always wore a traditional headcovering.'[37]

43. *m-huuuu* / *fnia*   **tukar**   *ewa*   *po*   *re-t-o*
     3U-stay   woman   change   always   thing   location.SPEC-near-U

     ø-sirus   *war*   *waitau*   *re-f-o*
     ø-take.off reject   trad.headcovering   location.SPEC-very.near-U
     'They stayed, the women always changed these things,[38] they took off the traditional
     headcovering.'[39]

44. *t-se*   *war*   /
     1s-place   reject
     'I rejected it.'

45. *eyu*   *re-t-o*   *m-iis*   *war*   *yu*
     bag   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-take.off.P   reject bag

     r-iwai   *ø-krek*   *am*   *war*   *po*   *fi-t-o*
     POSS-earlier   ø-carry.under.arm   mat   reject thing   similar.to-near-U
     'They took off the bag, the bag that they carried that was mentioned earlier, they
     placed the mat aside,[40] that's the way it was.'

46. *m-awe m-pau*   / *m-hu*   *p-ana*   /
     3U-say   3U-forbidden   3U-stay   EMPH-3P
     'They said these (things) were forbidden, they (the women) stayed by themselves.'

47. *po*   *rae*   *re-t-o*   *m-hu*   *p-ana*   /
     thing   man   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-stay   EMPH-3P
     'These are the men's habits, they had to stay by themselves.'

---

[37] The headcovering was worn by women for protection.

[38] i.e. the *kiyit* 'cloth'.

[39] i.e. after the rituals, they took off the headcovering (no longer needing its protection), and just went
back into their daily routines.

[40] An *am* 'mat' was placed inside the bag that the women wore on their heads during the rituals.

48. *r-iwai*   *ana*   *m-ame*   *ø-sus*[41]   *we-t-o*
     POSS-earlier 3P   3U-strengthen ø-divine   location.GEN-near-U

     m-hu   *au*   / *m-awah*   *po*   *n-o*   ...[42] *m-atiet*   *ø-hmun*
     3U-stay   U.DIST   3U-take   thing   far-U   ...   3U-pierce   ø-chest

     re-f-o   *wa*   /
     location.SPEC-very.near-U   protect
     'Just now they (the men) were strengthened by divination, they waited and took that
     thing... they pierce their chest with it for protection.'

49. *rae*   *sme*   *m-taktak*[43] *rere*   *wo*[44]   *n-kiar*   *o*
     man   male   3U-late   slow   location.GEN   2-decorate   ENUM

     n-ama   /
     2-come
     'The men came later, after you were dressed up, you came.'

50. *ana*   *m-o*   *m-awah*   *a*   *ø-sus*   *re-t-o*
     3P   3U-take   3U-take   mmm   ø-divine   location.SPEC-near-U

     m-o   *m-atiet*   *wa*   *ø-hmun*   *fi-f-o*
     3U-take   3U-pierce   protect   ø-chest   similar.to-very.near-U
     'They took it and divined it, they took it and pierced their chests for protection.'[45]

51. *rai*   *me-t-o*
     enough   PRESTT-near-U
     'This is it.'

---

[41] A traditional shaman sometimes rubs, blows on or simply looks at plants or parts of plants, in order
to receive answers to questions concerning healing. This is called **baca obat**, lit. 'read medicine' in Indonesian.
I have translated this as 'to divine' in this text. *ø-sus* 'divine', especially for women to attract luck or fortune
(W. Avé, p.c.) seems to imply divination by looking at something, while *ø-tamah* 'divine' (l. 56) implies
divination by blowing into something. *tkief* (l. 58) also refers to 'divine', but it is unclear to me what type of
divination is meant.

[42] At this point, Ais Mawe is confused. She is looking for the word *forera* 'k.o. grass', which Lys
gives to her in l. 56.

[43] Formally, this looks like a reduplicated form, in which the verb stem is *-tak*. This form, however,
was not found in the data.

[44] Here, *wo* is used as a locative adverbial clause marker, see section 9.2.2.

[45] Due to noise on the recording, this sentence was difficult to transcribe.

52.   Lys: *m-o*   *p-awiya*
              3U-take   thing-who
              'What did they take?'

53.   Ais: *po-n-o*   *r-iwai*   *faya*[46]   *r-ira*
              thing-far-U   POSS-earlier   *faya*   POSS-just.now

       re-t-o   /
       location.SPEC-near-U
       'The thing of just now, *faya* of just now.'

54.   *m-hu*   *iso*   *p-ma*   *r-ira*   *re-t-o*   /
       3U-stay   path   1P-come.P   POSS-just.now   location.SPEC-near-U
       'It is on the road we came by just now.'[47]

55.   Lys: *forera*[48]   /
              forera
              'Forera.'

56.   Ais: *forera*   *forera*   *forera*   *re-t-o*   *m-o*
              k.o.grass   k.o.grass   k.o.grass   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-take

       ø-tamah   *po*   *m-o*   *m-atiet*   *tamah po*   *m-o*   *m-atiet*
       ø-divine   thing   3U-take   3U-pierce   divine thing   3U-take   3U-pierce

       t-ahmun[49]   *re-f-o*
       1s-chest   location.SPEC-very.near-U
       'Forera, forera, this *forera*, they took and divined it by blowing on it, and they took
       it and they pierced, they divined it by blowing on it and took it and pierced their
       chests here.'

57.   *rai*   *m-pau*   *me-t-o*   /
       enough   3U-forbidden   PRESTT-near-U
       'This is it, these are the sacred things.'

---

[46] Ais Mawe is looking for the word *forera*, given by Lys in l 55.

[47] Ais Mawe tries to explain to Lys what plant name she is looking for.

[48] *forera* is possibly *frera*, plectranthus sp.

[49] This form also occurs as *hmun*, cf. l. 50. There are more forms which occur with or without a
vowel /a/, eg. *-aku* vs. *ku* 'child'; *-asu* vs. *su* 'eye'

58. | amu | rae[50] | n-ano | o | n-atia | o | m-hu | au | / |
|-----|-------|--------|---|--------|---|------|-----|---|
| 1p | man | 2-sibling | ENUM | 2-father | ENUM | 3U-stay | U.DIST | |

ø-tkief	ø-sus	ro-nuo	n-o	po	y-o
ø-divine	ø-divine	POSS-2s	2-take	thing	3M-take

po	rai	me-t-o	/
thing	enough	PRESTT-near-U	

'Our men, your brother and your father, they were there, and they divined your medicine and you took a part and he took a part,[51] this is enough.'

59. | n-ros | n-pet | rae | n-o |
|-------|-------|-----|-----|
| 2-stand | 2-woman.marry.man | man | 2-take |

po	ka?	/
ceremonial.cloth	INTERJ	

'You mean when you get up and marry a man, you receive ceremonial cloth, right?'[52]

60. | n-aru | fane | p-awiya | m-awah | po |
|-------|------|---------|--------|-----|
| 2-pay | pig | thing-who | 3U-take | ceremonial.cloth |

me-t-o[53]	m-ame	rae	me-t-o
PRESTT-near-U	3U-strengthen	man	PRESTT-near-U

'You paid for a pig, which is why they got ceremonial cloth (to pay for the pig) and this (the pig) gives people strength.'[54]

61. | m-ame | ø-sus | rai | me-t-o | / |
|-------|-------|-----|--------|---|
| 3U-strengthen | ø-divine | enough | PRESTT-near-U | |

'They strengthen through divination, this is it.'

---

[50] *amu rae* is semantically a possessive construction. For this form, involving two alienably possessed nouns, one would expect the form *rae r-amu*, i.e. the order 'possessed-possessor'. However, here the order is 'possessor-possessed', the regular order if the possessed is an inalienably possessed noun, cf. section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.

[51] It is not clear what exactly is taken by the initiees and their fathers and brothers.

[52] The *Maybrat* exchange ceremonial cloth in marriage: the family of the male has to 'pay' the family of the female an agreed number of ceremonial cloths (see Schoorl (1979), chapter V).

[53] A number of presentative forms are used here. They are used to stress the explanation of why the pigs and the ceremonial cloth, which we (i.e. Avé and myself) knew played an important role in Maybrat society, were relevant in the women ceremonies as well.

[54] It is not clear whether she means that eating a pig or the possession of a pig gives people strength.

62. *to-tis*   *p-hu*   *sai*   / *fe*   *a*   /
     LOC-behind   1P-stay   only   NEG   INT
     'Nowadays we just live on, or not?'

63. *m-kiar*   *oh*   *po*   *we-t-o*   *we-t-o*
     3U-decorate   already   thing   location.GEN-near-U location.GEN-near-U

     we-t-o   *we-t-o*   / *m-hu*   *sai*   /
     loction.GEN-near-U   location.GEN-near-U   3U-stay   only
     'They had completed the dressing up, all these things, and they just lived.'

64. *to-tis*   *m-hu*   *sai*   *a*   *t-kah*   **biasa**   *fi-ra*
     LOC-behind   3U-stay   only   mmm   1s-body   normal   similar.to-PART

     anu   *fi-f-o*   /
     2P   similar.to-very.near-U
     'Nowadays they just live on, our bodies are normal like you.'[55]

65. Lys: *ro*   *ø-frok*[56]   *n-mo*   *re*   *n-o*   *poh*
           REL   ø-emerge   2-go   in.order.to   2-take   ash

           n-se   /
           2-place
           'When you came out, did you go and take ash and throw it?'[57]

66. Ais: *ro*   *poh*   *re-t-o*   *iye*   *fe*   *a*
           REL   ashes   location.SPEC-near-U   also   NEG   INT
           'The ash also, or not?'[58]

67. *ro*   *poh*   *rae*   *n-per*   / *ø-frok*   *rai*
     REL   ashes   man   2-step.on   ø-arrive   enough

     me-t-ait   /
     PRESTT-near-3M
     'The ash, the people, you stepped on it when you came out, that was it.'

---

[55] As opposed to initiated men, who receive tattoos during *Wuon*. *anu* 'you' in this sentence refers to Lys, Wanda and myself, none of us are initiated. *Wuon* is the name of the ceremony for men, in which they are initiated into adult-hood, see also l. 80 ff.

[56] This is a temporal adverbial clause without a head *um* 'moment'. See section 9.2.1.

[57] Lit. '...so that you took ash and threw it?'

[58] Ais Mawe asks if she also has to talk about the ash. At this point, Ais Mawe has the feeling that she's told enough, she is getting tired of the interview.

68.   *orie*   *m-amo*   *ti*   *m-apo*   *mi-yo*
       now   3U-go   also   3U-be.at   PRESTT-INT
       'Now where has it (i.e. these rituals) gone?'

69.   *m-hu*   *sai*   *m-kiar*   *okair*   *rae*   *ø-sirus*   *p-hu*   *sai*
       3U-stay   only   3U-decorate   few   man   ø-take.off   1P-stay   only
       'They just stayed, they dressed up a little, the men took (the decorations) off and we
       just live (without the decorations).'

70.   Lys: *n-hu*   *um*   *tiya*
           2-stay   moment   how.much
           'How long did you stay?'

71.   Ais: *um*   *tiya*   *um*   *tuf*   *um*   *tiet*
           moment   how.much   moment   three   moment   four
           'How much time, three (periods of time), four (periods of time).'

72.   *m-hu*   *ø-hren* **tukar**   *kiyit*   *kai*   *s-au*   *kai*   *eok,*[59]
       3U-stay   ø-sit   change   *kiyit*   time   one-3U   time   two

       rai   *m-aum*   *fe*   *a*   /
       enough   3U-border   NEG   INT
       'They stayed and sat and changed *kiyit* once, twice, is it enough or not?'

73.   *orie*   *n-no*   *po*   *p-awiya*   *eti*   /
       now   2-do   thing   thing-who   also
       'Now what more do you do?'[60]

74.   *n-kiar*   *tiet*   *kai*   *eok*   *kai*   *tuf*   *rai*   *m-nan*   /
       2-decorate   four   time   two   time   three   enough   3U-enough
       'We dressed up four (times), two times, three times, that was it.'

75.   *ø-sirus*   *war*   *re-t-o*   *p-se*   *war*   /
       ø-take.off   reject   location.SPEC-near-U   1P-place   reject
       'We took it off, we put it away.'

76.   *prat*   *re-t-o*   *p-se*   *war*   /
       band   location.SPEC-near-U   1P-place   reject
       'We put the band away.'[61]

---

[59] Ais Mawe relates the time spent in the house to the number of times the *kiyit* were changed.

[60] Ais Mawe is getting annoyed with us, she doesn't know what else to tell us.

[61] i.e. the band that was worn on the upper part of the body, see ll. 14-15.

77.   Lys: *rae*   *ro*   *m-kiar*   **atau**   *fnia*   *ø-watum*
                man   REL   3U-decorate   or   woman   ø-advise

anu   *m-kiar*   /
2P   3U-decorate
'The men who dressed you up or the women who advise you, were they dressed up?'

78.   Ais: *fnia*   *m-ama*   *ø-watum*   *m-ama*   *ø-sniem*[62]   /   *ø-sniem*
                woman   3U-come   ø-advise   3U-come   ø-prepare   ø-prepare

safah   *ø-sniem*   *po-kiar*   /   *po*   *katum*   *katum*[63]
bracelet   ø-prepare   NOM-decorate   thing   lower.bracelet   lower.bracelet

re-f-o   /   *po*   *katum*   *m-se*
location.SPEC-very.near-U   thing   below.bracelet   3U-place

re-f-o   /   *ø-kro*   *ro-f-o*   /
location.SPEC-very.near-U   ø-follow   location.SPEC-very.near-U

ø-kro   *ro-f-o*   /
ø-follow   location.SPEC-very.near-U
'Women came and advised, they prepared bracelets and they prepared decorations,
katum things, this *katum*, they put the *katum* thing on and it ran on this one and on
this one.'[64]

79.   *tre*   *re-f-o*   *m-hu*   /   *tre*
        bracelet   location.SPEC-very.near-U   3U-stay   bracelet

ø-kno   *m-hu*   *p-tem*   *tre*   *sori*   *m-hu*   *p-oo*
ø-coloured   3U-stay   1P-arm.P   bracelet   leg   3U-stay   1P-foot.P

re-f-o   /   *tre*   *poh*[65]   *m-hu*   *p-oo*
location.SPEC-very.near-U   bracelet   ash   3U-stay   1P-foot.P

re-f-o   /
location.SPEC-very.near-U
'This *tre* bracelet was here, a coloured *tre* bracelet was on our arms, a *tre* leg
bracelet was on our feet here, a white *tre* bracelet was on our feet here.'

---

[62] The form *sniem* 'prepare' is homophonous to the kinship term *sniem* 'in-law'.

[63] *katum* are bracelets worn on the lower part of the arm, as opposed to *safah*, which are worn on the upper part of the arm, see l. 17.

[64] She showed where the *katum* decoration is put on the arms.

[65] It is unclear why this forms does not appear as *tre m-poh*.

80. Lys: *m-nan*   *fi-re*   *rae*   *ro*   *Wuon*[66]   **toh**   /
         3U-enough   similar.to-PART   man   REL   *Wuon*   isn't.it
         'Precisely like the *Wuon* people, isn't it?'

81. *ait*   *ro*   *y-tien*   *u*   *Wuon*   *fi-t-o*   /
    3M   REL   3M-sleep   alone   *Wuon*   similar.to-near-U
    'Like he who sleeps alone in *Wuon*.'

82. **jadi**   *anu*   *fnia*   *m-kiar*   *u*   *fi-t-o*   /
     so   2P   woman   3U-decorate   also   similar.to-near-U
     'So you women were dressed up like that too.'

83. Ais: *fnia*   *m-kiar*   *m-nan*   *u*   *rae*   *ro*   *Wuon*
          woman   3U-decorate   3U-alike   also   man   REL   *Wuon*

     fi-t-o   /
     similar.to-near-U
     'The dressed-up women were like the men of *Wuon*.'

84. *Wuon*   *orie*   *Wuon*   *emos*   *re-f-o*   /   *m-no*   *sai*
    Wuon   now   *Wuon*   *emos*   location.SPEC-very.near-U   3U-do   only

    fi-re   *Wuon*   *emos*   *re-f-o*   /
    similar.to-PART   *Wuon*   *emos*   location.SPEC-very.near-U
    '*Wuon* now is like *Wuon emos*, they did it like *Wuon emos*.'

85. *p-no*   *p-hu*   *sai*   *ora*   *porie*[67]   *n-amo*   *n-hu*
    1P-do   1P-stay   only   garden   not   2-go   2-stay

    tauf   *a*   /
    forest   mmm
    'When we did it we just stayed in a garden, you did not stay in the forest.'

86. *p-hu*   *amah*   *ora*   *sai*
    1P-stay   house   garden   only
    'We just stayed in a garden house.'

---

[66] *Wuon* is the name of the ceremony for men, in which they are initiated into adult-hood

[67] *porie* is only attested once. It seems semantically similar to *fe* 'NEG', except that *fe* occurs in clause-final position whereas *porie* occurs in clause-initial position.

87. | p-hu | amah | ora | sai | / | p-kiar | p-hu | kai | s-au |
     | 1P-stay | house | garden | only | | 1P-decorate | 1P-stay | time | one-3U |

| kai | eok | kai | tuf | rae | **tukar** | u | re-t-o |
| time | two | time | three | man | exchance | again | location.SPEC-near-U |

m-nan   /
3U-enough
'We just stayed in a garden house and we stayed, once, twice, three times people changed (*kiyit*), that was it.'

88. | m-suet | po-kek | m-apat | popat[68] | ø-frus | rai |
     | 3U-divine | NOM-red | 3U-eat.vegetables | *popat* | ø-divine.blow | enough |

m-nan   /
3U-enough
'They divine *pokek*, they ate *popat* vegetables and they divined these by blowing, that's it.'[69]

89. m-no   fawen   fi-ye
     3U-do   long   similar.to-INT
     'What do they need a long time for?' (lit. 'What do they do a long time?')

90. | Wuon | rae | sa | m-per | kawuon | kaket | ke |
     | *Wuon* | man | and.then | 3U-step.on | *Wuon*.house | carefully | because |

po-snuk[70]   /
NOM-secret
'In *Wuon* people are educated well in the *Wuon* house because they are secret things.'

91. fnia   re-t-o   m-fe   /
     woman   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-NEG
     'Not the women.'

---

[68] *popat* is <u>abelmoschus moschatus sp</u>, of the family of <u>Malvaceae</u>. The leaves are eaten as vegetables, and are planted in gardens or under trees.

[69] It is not clear what is meant by *pokek* 'red things'. The different ways to divine things are also not understood, cf. also l. 48.

[70] I assume that this forms is a nominalised form given the formal properties, i.e. the form *po* followed by another form (cf. section 4.4.4). However, *snuk* was only found as an independent form meaning 'to count'. This verb does not seem to be related to the *snuk* in *po-snuk*.

92. Lys: *fnia*   *re-t-o*   **toh,**   *fnia*   *m-kiar*
       woman   location.SPEC-near-U   isn't.it   woman   3U-decorate

     re-t-o   *m-pau*   *iye*   **atau**   **tidak**
     location.SPEC-near-U   3U-forbidden   too   or   not
     'The women, these decorations, are they sacred or not?'

93. Ais: *m-pau*   *fe*   /   *po*   *rae*   *m-aka*   *rai*   *t-kias*
       3U-forbidden   NEG   thing   man   3U-shape   enough   1s-tell

     me-t-o   /
     PRESTT-near-U
     'It is not sacred, they are things people shape, this is it, I told everything.'

94.   *po-m-aka*   *p-awiya*   *m-pau*   /
     NOM-3U-shape   thing-who   3U-forbidden
     'Things that are shaped (by people), why should they be sacred?'

95. Lys: **hanya**   *po-ø-watum*   /
       only   NOM-ø-advise
       'Only advice.'

96. Ais: *po-ø-watum*   *rae*   *ø-watum*   *rae*   *rae*   *n-no*   *oh*
       NOM-ø-advise   man   ø-advise   man   man   2-do   already
       'The advice, people advise (other) people, you've already done it.'[71]

97.   *po*   *fi-t-o*   *ø-watum*   *p-awiya*   *renti*[72]   /
     thing   similar.to-near-U   ø-advise   thing-who   else
     'They advised things like this, what else?'

98.   *po*   *m-o*   *ninan*   /   *po*   *rae*   *rae*   *ø-watum*
     ceremonial.cloth   3U-take   randomly   thing   man   man   ø-advise

     me-t-o   /
     PRESTT-near-U
     'They randomly took ceremonial cloth, the cloth of people, they are the people that advise.'[73]

---

[71] Ais Mawe (incorrectly) assumes that Lys knows the same things as she herself, despite the fact that Lys never attended the rituals.

[72] It is possible that *renti* is a compound form comprising *re* 'please'. The form *'nti* in isolation is unattested.

[73] It is not clear what Ais Mawe means here, but she seems to imply that those people who gave ceremonial cloth were allowed to advise the women in the *fnia m-kiar* rituals.

99.   *orie*   *ø-watum*   *u*   *m-aka*   *p-awiya*[74]   /   *watum ro*   *n-sia*
      now   ø-advise   again   3U-shape   thing-who   advice REL   2-with

      n-ano   *n-ara*   *sai*   *m-fe*   /
      2-family.member.opp.sex   2-uncles.son   only   3U-NEG
      'Now they advised again, and what was it like? The advice of you with just your brothers and uncles is not enough.'[75]

100.   *ø-watum*   *watum fe*   /
      ø-advise   advice NEG
      'They do not advise.'[76]

101.   *rae*   *fnia*   *m-ros*   *ø-watum*   *wiahae,*
      man   woman   3U-stand   ø-advise   marry.relative

      n-ano   *n-ara,*   *po*   *rae*
      2-family.member.opp.sex   2-uncles.son   thing   man

      y-aka   *etu*   *fi-t-ait*[77]
      3M-shape   really   similar.to-near-3M
      'The men and women got up and advised about marrying relatives,[78] brothers and cousins, the things people really aspire, like that.'

102.   *n-amo*   *n-no*   *p-awiya*   *eti*   /
      2-go   2-do   thing-who   also
      'What else do you go and do?'[79]

---

[74] In addition to the male family members, there was a group of men giving advice as well.

[75] *m-fe* is a predicative form. Literally, the last part of the utterance reads '...only the advice of your brothers and your uncles, it is not.'

[76] It is not clear what Ais Mawe means here.

[77] It is not clear why here a masculine form *fi-t-ait* is used.

[78] *wiahae* refers to the taboo there is on marrying relatives. It is said that this is not allowed, because then the ceremonial cloths that are given to the family of the female by the family of the male do not travel around widely. If two people are related, then the number of relatives from which cloths can be collected becomes limited.

[79] Here, Ais Mawe asks us what else we want to know.

103. Phil: *fnia*   *ro*   *m-har*   *oh*   *ana*   *m-per*   *po*   *ro*
              woman   REL   3U-know   already   3P   3U-step.on thing   REL

      ita   *m-ata*[80]   *po*   *ro*   *ara*   *fe*   *fe*   *a*   /
      leaf   3U-leaf   thing   REL   wood   NEG   NEG   INT
      'The women who already know,[81] did they teach things about leaves, things about
      trees or not?'

104. Ais: *rae*   *m-awe*   *ita*   *m-ata*   *ira*   *t-awe*   *re-t-o*
             man   3U-say   leaf   leaf   just   1s-say   location.SPEC-near-U
      'The people told about the leaves that I just told about.'

105. *sinat*[82] *ira*   *t-awe* *pron*   *pron*   *rai*
      sinat   just   1s-say   bamboo   bamboo   enough

      me-t-o   /
      PRESTT-near-U
      'The *sinat* I just now told about, the bamboo, that's it.'

106. *n-iwiah*   *n-iwiah*   *n-iwiah*
      2-roast   2-roast   2-roast
      'You roasted (the bamboo) for a long time.'

107. *pron*   *s-au,*   *n-iwiah,*   *men*   *pron*   *pron*   *pron*
      bamboo   one-3U   2-roast   tomorrow   bamboo   bamboo   bamboo
      'One bamboo today, you roast (it), one tomorrow, and so forth.'

108. *na*   *aya*   *n-rak*   *n-se*   *sno*[83]   *tuf*   *mati*   *m-aut*
      then   water   2-fill   2-place   day   three   and.then   3U-climb

      m-amo   **tukar**   *ana*   /
      3U-go   change   3P
      'Then you filled it with water and you put it away three days and then you climbed
      (the mountain) and went and changed them.'

---

[80] Both *ita* and *m-ata* were given as equivalents for 'leaf' Sometimes they are used in combination,
to refer to 'leaf'.

[81] i.e. women who have already been initiated.

[82] *sinat* is macaranga sp, the leaves were formerly used as napkins.

[83] The term *sno* to refer to 'day' is unattested in the rest of the data. It probably belongs to a northern
dialect.

109.   *aya   m-aus   re-t-o   m-o   ø-karu ana   gosok ana*
     water   3U-extract   location.SPEC-near-U   3U-take   ø-rub   3P   rub   3P

     fi-f-o   *m-nan*
     similar.to-very.near-U   3U-enough
     'This extract, they took it and rubbed themselves like this until it was enough.'

110.   *t-kah   t-su   t-kah   bersih fi-re   sabun anu*
     1S-body   1S-pleasant   1S-body   clean   similar.to-PART   soap   2P

     p-suok /
     1P-bathe
     'I felt good, my body was clean like when we (exclusive)[84] bathe with soap.'

111.   *p-awiya   ita   rai   me-t-o   /*
     thing-who   leaf   enough   PRESTT-near-U
     'This is about the leaves, this is enough.'

112.   *ita   ira   atu   ø-pria oh   /*
     leaf   just   mountain   ø-all   already
     'The leaves of just now on the mountain, this is everything already.'

113.   Lys: *po   rae   ø-tkief   m-pu   awiah*
          thing   man   ø-divine   3U-insert   taro

     n-iit   po   fi-t-o
     2-eat.P   thing   similar.to-near-U
     'The things people divined, they inserted it in taro and you ate it, something like this.'

114.   Ais: *ratau /   ratau   rae   m-akuoh /   m-amo   m-se*
          ratau   ratau   man   3U-scrape   3U-go   3U-place

     erit   fi-f-o   /   p-iim   awiah /   m-e   m-pu
     side   similar.to-very.near-U   1P-cook.P   taro   3U-give   3U-insert

     awiah   m-se   re   p-iit   /
     taro   3U-place   in.order.to   1P-eat.P
     '*Ratau*, people scraped *ratau*, they placed it on the side like this, we cooked taro, they inserted something in the taro and they placed it so that we ate it.'[85]

---

[84] This is an example of an exclusive form which is expressed with a second person plural subject prefix and a first person plural subject prefix on the verb, see section 4.1.1.

[85] In this sentence there is a shift from the third person plural to the first person plural, possibly to create some distance from the events that she describes, but also experiences herself.

115.   *m-tiah*   *anu*   *po*   *r-ira*   **biasa**   *re-f-o*   */*   *po*
     3U-protect   2P   thing   POSS-just usual   location.SPEC-very.near-U   thing

     r-ira   *anu*   *re-f-o*   */*
     POSS-just 2P   location.SPEC-very.near-U
     'They protected us against the things of just now. It is normal, this thing of just now,
     we here.'[86]

116.   *p-awiya*   *ro*   *sme*   *ø-hres*   *anu*   *p-haf*
     thing-who REL   male   ø-cleaned 2P   1P-belly

     r-anu   */*
     POSS-2P
     'This is why the men cleaned our bellies.'[87]

117.   Lys: *ratau* *m-akuoh*   *ratau* *ø-tkief*   *ø-sfot*   *anu*
           ratau 3U-scrape *ratau* ø-divine   ø-strengthen 2P

         p-haf   *re*   *p-kai*   *mes*   *fe*
         1P-belly in.order.to 1P-meet   blood NEG
         '*Ratau*, they scraped *ratau*, they divined it and strengthened our bellies so that we
         wouldn't bleed.'[88]

118.   Ais: *ø-sfot*   *anu*   *p-haf*   */*
         ø-strengthen 1P   1P-belly
         'They strengthened our bellies.'

119.   *m-o*   *m-pu*   *awiah* *rapu*   *knu*   *p-iim*   *m-o*
     3U-take   3U-insert taro   morning dark   1P-cook.P 3U-fetch

     ø-haper   *m-pu*   *m-auf*   *rai*   *p-pu*
     ø-cut.in.half 3U-insert 3U-contents enough 1P-insert

     me-to   *rai*   *p-iit*
     PRESTT-there enough 1P-eat.P
     'They took it and inserted it in the taro, in the morning we cooked it, they took it and
     cut it in half, they inserted the contents, this is all, this is what we inserted this was
     it, we ate.'

---

[86] 'This thing' refers to menstruation. In the course of the following fragment, Ais Mawe tells us that one of the aims of *fnia m-kiar* was to prevent women from menstruating.

[87] Here it turns out that the *ratau*, mentioned from the beginning onwards, is given to the young women in order to stop menstruation. It seems that the men wanted control over the flow of blood. As far as I understood, the *ratau* did not enhance or stop the fertility of the women.

[88] At this point, Lys mentions menstrual blood in order to clarify Ais Mawe's meaning to me.

120. *p-iit* / *rai* *me-t-o*
    1P-eat.P   enough   PRESTT-near-U
    'We ate, this is all.'

121. *rai* *m-no* *anu* *fnia* *me-t-o*
    enough   3U-do   2P   woman   PRESTT-near-U
    'This is it, this is what they do to us, women.'

122. *p-haf* *rae* *n-se* *ewa* *ku* *rae* /
    1P-belly   man   2-place   always   child   man

    biasa
    usual
    'Our bellies, the men, you always put children in it, it is normal.'

123. *ratau* *rae* *m-aim* /
    ratau   man   3U-cook
    'The *ratau* that people cook.'

124. Phil: *ana* *m-per* *po* *ro* *pofit* *iye* *a*
            3P   3U-step.on   thing   REL   ginger   also   INT

    m-fe
    3U-NEG
    'Did they also teach things about ginger or not?'

125: Lys: *ø-tkief* *pofit* *a*
            ø-divine   ginger   INT
    'Did they divine ginger?'

126. Ais: *pofit* *rae* *ø-tkief* *p-iit* *iye* *fe* *a*
           ginger   man   ø-divine   1P-eat.P   also   NEG   INT
    'You mean, did we also eat the ginger that people divine?'

127. Phil: *pofit* *ø-frok* *m-ana* *tiya* / *pofit* *s-au* *sai*
           ginger   ø-arrive   3U-head   when   ginger   one-3U   just

    fe *eok*
    NEG   two
    'How many kinds of ginger were there, just one or two?'

128. Ais: *pofit* *eok* *o* *s-au* *fi-t-o* **biasa**
          ginger   two   ENUM   one-3U   similar.to-near-3U   usual

    p-iit *sai*
    1P-eat.P   just
    'There were usually two or one kind of ginger, we just ate it.'

129. Wuon rae   mati   m-ait pofit **banyak**
     Wuon man   and.then 3U-eat ginger a.lot
     'In Wuon, people eat a lot of ginger.'

130. anu   ro   sai   fnia   ro   anu   p-iit   efe
     2P   REL   only woman   REL   2P   1P-eat.P NEG

     s-au   rai
     one-3U   enough
     'We, who are only women, we didn't eat ginger, only one, that's it.'

131. Wuon   mati   m-**pakai**[89] m-ait terus   p-ana   /
     Wuon   and.then 3U-Use   3U-eat continuously EMPH-3P
     'In Wuon, they use and eat (ginger) among themselves continuously.'

132. rae   m-per   m-ait p-ana   kaket   /
     man   3U-step.on   3U-eat EMPH-3P carefully
     'The men educate and carefully eat theirs among themselves.'

133. fnia   anu   p-no   po   re-t-o   fawen fe   /
     woman   2P   1P-do thing location.SPEC-near-U long   NEG
     'Women, we didn't do this thing for a long time.'

134. Phil: mati   pofit   ø-frok   po   ro   ita   m-ata   fe
            and.then   ginger   ø-arrive   thing REL   leaf   3U-leaf   NEG

     a   /
     INT
     'Then ginger does not include things with leaves?'

135 pofit   p-awiya
     ginger thing-who
     'Which pofit?'[90]

136. Ais: pofit   ø-ko   tanam / rai   /
           ginger ø-plant.among.burnt.patches   plant   enough
           'Ginger planted between the burnt patches in a garden, they plant it, that's it.'

---

[89] This is one of the few instances where an Indonesian verb receives a Maybrat subject prefix. Moreover, it is polysyllabic, with a C-initial stem, so according to Maybrat morphophonemic rules, it should not receive an overt subject prefix.

[90] At this point in the interview I am confused about the term *pofit*, which is also used to refer to malicious spells put on people to, for instance, kill them. Only initiated men, who have learned about the secrets of *Wuon*, know everything about these spells. *pofit* 'ginger' and *pofit* 'poison' seem to be metonyms.

137.   *pofit   ø-ko*   /   *ø-neyan   ø-ko*
    ginger ø-plant.among.burnt.patches   ø-make.fertile ø-plant.among.burnt.patches

    p-awiya   p-no   p-iit   /   **raria**[91]   **biasa**
    thing-who 1P-do 1P-eat.P   ginger   normal
    'We plant ginger between burnt patches (in a garden), we make (the garden) fertile,
    this is why we eat it.'[92]

138.   *Wuon   rae   mati   m-no   po   re-t-o*
    Wuon man   and.then 3U-do thing   location.SPEC-near-U

    r-ana   /   pofit   m-ait   **terus**
    POSS-3P   ginger 3U-eat   continuously
    'As for the men in *Wuon*, the men do their things, they eat ginger all the time.'

139.   *ro   p-kiar   re-t-o   p-iit   pofit*
    REL   1P-decorate location.SPEC-near-U 1P-eat.P ginger

    terus   *fe*   /   *p-hu   sai*
    continuously NEG   1P-stay   only
    'We who dress up, we do not eat ginger continuously, we just stay there (i.e. without
    eating ginger).'

140.   *p-hu*   **biasa** *sai*   /
    1P-stay   usual   only
    'We just live on as usual.'

---

[91] **raria** is Ais Mawe's adaptation of Indonesian **halia** 'ginger', cf. also section 2.7.

[92] Apparently one of the uses of ginger for women is to place it in a newly-burnt garden, in order to make the garden more fertile.

Appendix III

Siwa y-sia y-ao Mafif 'Siwa and his brother Mafif'

This story was told by Petrus Turot, 39 years old, who lives in *Ayawasi* with his family. As a small child he lived in the area around *Konya*, i.e. slightly to the north of *Ayawasi*.

The stories of Siwa and Mafif are well-known among the *Maybrat* (see, for instance, Miedema (1997, 1998). Siwa is a culture-hero, who is also seen as the creator of the universe. This story gives an account of the creation of some mountains. Because Siwa is a creator, he is sometimes equated to *yfun* 'God'.[1] Mafif is a normal human being. Most Siwa and Mafif stories are about how Siwa always plays tricks on Mafif. At the beginning of the story, Petrus Turot gives an introduction into the identity of Siwa and Mafif.

Below, only the first part of the story told by Petrus is given. The remainder of the story contains accounts of their adventures, for instance what happened when they went fishing, made a garden, went hunting etc.

1.   *tuo t-nit po-mna Siwa y-sia y-ao*[2]   *Mafif*
          1S   1S-tell   NOM-tell.tale   Siwa   3M-with   3M-sibling.SS   Mafif
          'I'll tell the tale of Siwa and his brother Mafif.'

2.   *Siwa rae ro tapam Maybrat m-awe rae ro ø-srokena*
          Siwa   man   REL   land   *Maybrat*   3U-say   man   REL   ø-fool

          rae ro popot[3]   *rae ro y-no po ø-knar-knar*
          man   REL   rich.man   man   REL   3M-do   thing   ø-smart-REDUP
          'Siwa is a man of the land of the *Maybrat*, they say a man who fools (others), a rich man, a man who is smart at doing things.'

3.   *Mafif rae ro y-mai fe rae ro y-hu erun*
          Mafif   man   REL   3M-sound   NEG   man   REL   3M-stay   quiet
          'Mafif is a man who cannot speak, he is quiet.'

4   *rae ro y-oa po y-no*
        man   REL   3M-not.know   thing   3M-do
        'A man who doesn't know how to do anything.'

---

[1] *yfun* is likely to be a loan from Biak.

[2] *-ao* are all family members of the same sex in the following categories: a) siblings; b) children of mother's and father's siblings; c) some cousins. *-ano* (viz. 1. 5) are all family members in the same categories, but of the opposite sex. Friends may also be referred to as *-ao* and *-ano*, with the sex distinction as described above. See appendix IV for a kinship diagram.

[3] A *rae popot* is a man, usually quite old, who possesses a lot of 'ceremonial cloth'(*po*). *rae popot* are usually also wise, and know a lot about the whereabouts of other ceremonial cloths. Because of this, they often have a lot of influence in the community.

5. | *um* | *s-au*[4] | *Siwa* | *y-sia* | *y-me*[5] | *m-amo* | *m-rof* |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | moment | one-3U | Siwa | 3M-with | 3M-mother | 3P-go | 3P-follow |

y-ano	*m-ae*	*tapam*	*Meah*
3M-sibling.OS	3U-at	land	*Meah*

'Once upon a time Siwa and his mother went to Siwa's sister in the land of the *Meah*.'

6. | *m-tien* | *po*[6] | *m-tien* | *snie* | *s-au* | *snie* | *eok* |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | 3P-sleep | ceremonial.cloth | 3P-sleep | moon | one-3U | moon | two |

tein[7]	*s-au*	*tein*	*eok*
abandoned.garden	one-3U	abandoned.garden	two

tein	*tuf*
abandoned.garden	three

'They were looking for ceremonial cloth, they stay one month, two months, one year, two years, three years.'

7. | *y-ano* | *m-o* | *po* | *m-e* | *fe*[8] |
    |---|---|---|---|---|
    | 3M-sibling.OS | 3U-fetch | ceremonial.cloth | 3U-give | NEG |

'The sister took ceremonial cloth, but wouldn't give any.'

8. | *ait* | *y-sia* | *y-me* | *m-e* | *u* | *m-e* | *u* |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | 3M | 3M-with | 3M-mother | 3P-return | again | 3P-return | again |

m-ama	*u*	*m-ama*	*ø-frok*	*m-asuf*
3P-come	again	3P-come	ø-emerge	3U-middle

'He and his mother returned again, they returned again and arrived halfway.'

9. | *y-me* | *m-hai* | *awiah* |
    |---|---|---|
    | 3M-mother | 3U-die | taro |

'His mother was hungry.'

---

[4] The expression *um s-au* literally 'one time' is a discourse feature used to introduce myths, or traditional stories. I have translated it as 'once upon a time'.

[5] *y-me* 'his mother' may refer to the woman who gave birth to Siwa, but also to other women in the family, see appendix IV.

[6] *m-tien po* 'They look for ceremonial cloth' is an idiomatic expression.

[7] *tein* 'abandoned garden' is used to refer to a period of approximately one year, see section 5.1.3, footnote 4.

[8] The system of exchange of ceremonial cloth is intricate: giving to someone does not automatically entail that one is entitled to cloth in return, as seems to be the case here for Siwa and his mother.

10.   *t-akut*   *Siwa*   *k-tuo*[9]   *t-hai*   *awiah*
       1S-boy   Siwa   PART-1S   1S-die   taro
       "My child Siwa, I'm hungry'.'

11.   *m-tien*   *suek*   *m-haf*   *m-arak*
       3U-sleep   immediately   3U-stomach   3U-empty
       'She immediately slept on an empty stomach.'

12.   *ait* *y-ros*   *ø-sawiah*   *aya*   *m-pe*
       3M   3M-stand   ø-cook   water   3U-hot
       'He cooked water until it was hot.'

13.   *y-aru*   *pron*   *y-wian*   *aya*
       3M-cut   bamboo   3M-scoop   water
       'He cut a bamboo and scooped water.'

14.   *y-ama*   *y-ros*   *ø-sawiah*   *aya*   *m-pe*
       3M-come   3M-stand   ø-cook   water   3U-hot
       'He came and got up and cooked the water until it was hot.'[10]

15.   *au* *ø-sokuos* *y-me*   *f-o*   *ø-sokuos*[11] *m-awe*   *n-amo*
       3U ø-order   3M-mother   very.near-u   ø-order   3U-say   2S-go

       n-apot   *ara*   *ø-hri*
       2S-collect   tree   ø-bark
       'She ordered, his mother ordered saying, 'You go and cut some treebark'.'

16.   *n-ama*   *re*   *po*   *aof*[12] *p-se*   *re*   *p-tu*[13]
       2S-come   in.order.to   thing   sago   1P-place   in.order.to   1P-stir
       "Come back, so that we can place the sago-thing and stir it'.'

---

[9] The prefix *k-* originates from a dialect to the north of *Ayawasi*. *k-* seems to express emphasis. In *Ayawasi*, this is not a standard form.

[10] In these two lines, the speaker explains l. 11.

[11] In the spoken text there is a pause between *au ø-sokuos* and *y-me fo ø-sokuos*. The speaker started his sentence again to make the referent, *y-me* 'his mother' more explicit.

[12] *po aof* 'sago thing' refers to the treebark, which will be used as a bowl to stir the sago later on.

[13] The verb *-tu* 'pour' refers to the fact that in order to make sago porridge, boiling water has to be poured onto the sago while stirring vigorously. The stirring of the sago, while it is still in liquid form, is referred to as *-som* 'play' (l. 23). The stirred mixture of water and sago then 'runs', *-hoh* (l. 25). The instant the mixture becomes porridge is called as *aof m-hai*, lit. 'The sago dies' (l. 26).

17.   *ait   y-awe   m-orie*[14]   *re*   *aya   m-yuoh   m-hu*
      3M   3M-say   3U-now   in.order.to   water   3U-boil   3U-stay

      m-akan   m-ah
      3u-seed   3u-appear
      'He said, 'wait until the water boils, it stays until it bubbles'.'[15]

18.   *ø-sokuos   m-awe n-amo n-apot ara   ø-hri   aro*[16]
      ø-order   3U-say 2S-go 2S-cut tree   ø-bark other

      n-ama   re   p-tu   aof
      2S-come   in.order.to 1P-pour sago
      'She ordered, 'you go and cut treebark and come so that we pour sago'.'

19.   *ait   y-awe   m-orie   re*   *aya   m-yuoh*
      3M   3M-say   3U-now   in.order.to   water   3U-boil
      'He said, 'wait until the water boils'.'

20.   *au   m-tien   m-ai   to-a*[17]   *m-haf*   *m-arak   ø-pria*
      3U   3U-sleep   3U-at   LOC-DIST.U   3U-stomach   3U-empty   ø-all

      m-akus
      3U-leave
      'She slept over there, her stomach was completely empty, she was left behind.'

21.   *fai   m-api   ø-pria*[18]   *m-akus   fai*   *m-api   oh*
      woman   3U-big   ø-all   3U-leave   woman   3U-big   already

      m-ana   m-poh   ø-kpor   ø-kaka
      3U-head   3U-white   ø-back   ø-bend
      'A very old woman, she was left behind, the woman was already old, her hair was white, her back was stooping.'

---

[14] Here, a temporal adverbial receives a subject prefix. *m-orie* is used predicatively, and is adequately translated as an interjection meaning 'Wait!'.

[15] *m-akan m-ah* literally means 'seeds appear'.

[16] The term *aro* 'other' may literally refer to other things, but may also be used as a gap-filler, as is the case here.

[17] *-a* is possibly a dialectal variant (from the area to the north of *Ayawasi*) of *-au* 'DIST.U'. See also l. 44.

[18] *m-api ø-pria*, lit. 'everything was old', is adequately translated as 'very old' in this context.

22. | *y-hu* | *y-hu* | *y-hu* | *y-he* | *aya* |
     |--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
     | 3M-stay | 3M-stay | 3M-stay | 3M-see | water |

y-o	*aof*	*f-o*	*y-o*	*y-pron*[19]	*akah*	*au*
3M-take	sago	very.near-U	3M-fetch	3M-fill	above	3U

m-haf
3U-stomach
'He waited for a long time, and saw the water (boil), he took the sago, he took it and poured it onto her stomach.'

23. | *y-ros* | *y-awah* | *aya* | *f-o* | *y-tu* | *tipuo* |
     |---------|----------|-------|-------|--------|---------|
     | 3M-stand | 3M-lift.two.hands | water | very.near-U | 3M-pour | immediately |

y-som
3M-play
'He got up and lifted the water (with two hands),[20] and immediately poured it, and he stirred.'[21]

24. | *y-som* | *aof* | *akah* | *au* | *m-haf* | *au* | *m-afa* |
     |---------|-------|--------|------|---------|------|---------|
     | 3M-play | sago | above | 3U | 3U-stomach | 3U | 3U-move |

'He stirred the sago on top of her stomach, and she moved.'

25. | *m-afa* | *aya* | *f-o* | *m-nah* | *si* | *aof* | *f-o* | *m-hoh* |
     |---------|-------|-------|---------|------|-------|-------|---------|
     | 3U-move | water | very.near-U | 3U-wobble | also | sago | very.near-U | 3U-run |

si
also
'She moved and at the same time the water wobbled, and the sago also ran.'[22]

26. | *m-hoh* | *si* | *au* | *m-afa* | *m-afa* | *aof* | *m-hai* |
     |---------|------|------|---------|---------|-------|---------|
     | 3U-run | also | 3U | 3U-move | 3U-move | sago | 3U-die |

'It ran while she moved, she moved and it became sago-porridge.'

---

[19] *y-pron* is an irregular form, since it receives an overt person prefix. According to the morphophonological constraints stated in section 3.1.2, this form should receive a covert person prefix.

[20] The water is heated in bamboo. In order to pour it out, the bamboo has to be lifted up with two hands and held horizontally and tilted slowly down towards the open end in order to pour out the water, hence the form *-awah* 'lift (with two hands)'.

[21] i.e. he pours and stirs the mixture of sago and water on his mother's stomach, in order to make porridge.

[22] i.e. the mixture on the woman's stomach moved all the time.

27. *fai   m-api f-o   m-hai si   oh*
     woman 3U-big very.near-U   3U-die also   already
     'At the same time the old woman died.'

28. *y-ros   ø-saraf   au m-ana   f-o*
     3M-stand   ø-cut   3U 3U-head   very.near-U
     'He got up and cut off her head.'

29. *m-potu²³   r-au   f-o   y-ruk   war²⁴ m-ato*
     3U-everything POSS-3U very.near-U   3M-submerge reject 3U-hole
     'He discarded her entire body in a hole.'

30. *y-awah m-ana   f-o   ø-sotoh*
     3M-lift 3U-head very.near-U   ø-wrap.up
     'He took her head and wrapped it up.'

31. *ø-sotoh   m-ae   watah²⁵*
     ø-wrap.up 3U-at treebark
     'He wrapped it up in a treebark.'

32. *ø-sotoh   m-ae   afos*
     ø-wrap.up 3U-at treebark
     'He wrapped it up with a kind of treebark.'

33. *y-tor   s-au²⁶   y-e   y-amo y-kit*
     3M-carry.on.shoulder   one-3U   3M-return 3M-go 3M-towards

     y-ano   u   m-ae   tapam Meah
     3M-sibling.OS   again   3U-at land   *Meah*
     'He carried it on his shoulder and returned again to his sister in the land of the *Meah*.'

34. *y-ros   ø-frok   mti   om*
     3M-stand   ø-emerge   night   rain
     'He got up and arrived at night, there was rain.'

---

²³ This is an irregular form: *potu* consists of two syllables, and one would expect it to take a covert person prefix, see section 3.1.2.

²⁴ This form is also used in appendix II, *fnia m-kiar*, ll. 11, 43, 44. 45.

²⁵ Both *watah* and *afos* (see next line) refer to specific types of treebark, but both are unattested in the botanists data.

²⁶ It is unclear why *s-au* 'one' is used here. It possibly refers to the fact that Siwa carried it in one piece.

35.   *ə-frok*   *au*   *y-ros*   *y-sia*   *au m-tien*   *ø-sniem*   *o*
   ø-emerge   DIST.U   3M-stand   3M-with   3U 3U-sleep   ø-in.law   ENUM
   'He arrived there and stood (there), he slept with her and his in-laws.'

36.   *y-ros*   *y-awah*   *y-me*   *m-ana*   *y-ros*   *ø-sotoh*
   3M-stand   3M-lift   3M-mother   3U-head   3M-stand   ø-wrap.up
   'He got up and fetched his mother's head and wrapped it up.'

37.   *y-o*   *y-awe*   *me-f-o*   *k-nuo*[27]
   3M-fetch   3M-say   PRESTT-very.near-U   PART-you

   n-skur   *ø-trat*[28]   *po*   *mai*
   2pl-take.down   ø-open   thing   PROHIB
   'He took it and said, 'do not open this thing'.'

38.   *n-hu*   *n-he*   *t-amo*   *t-amo*   *n-he*   *isie*   *eok*   *o*
   2P-stay   2P-see   1S-go   1S-go   2P-see   sun   two   ENUM

   tuf   *o*   *n-skur*   *mai*   *m-pau*
   three   ENUM   2-take.down   PROHIB   3U-sacred
   ''You stay and see me go. You may not open it before I have gone two or three days.
   It is sacred'.'

39.   *ait y-ros*   *y-e*   *u*   *y-ama*[29]   *u*   *m-ai*   *tapam*   *Hapeh*
   3M 3M-stand   3M-return   again   3M-come   again   3U-at   land   *Hapeh*
   'He got up and returned again to the land of the *Hapeh*.'

40.   *y-kit*   *y-ao*   *Mafif*
   3M-towards   3M-sibling.SS   Mafif
   'To his brother Mafif and the others.'

41.   *ana*   *f-o*   *m-hu*   *to-tis*
   they   very.near-U   3P-stay   LOC-behind
   'They stayed behind.'

---

[27] See l. 11.

[28] The expression *ø-skur ø-trat* refers to opening something up completely. According to the morphophonemic patterns in *Maybrat*, the verb *ø-skur*, with its C-initial stem, should not receive an overt subject prefix. In the text it does.

[29] *-ama* 'come' is used because the place where the story was told (i.e. *Ayawasi*) is called *Tapam Hapeh* (see also section 1.7).

42. | *m-hu* | *m-hu* | *m-hu* | *m-ros* | *m-ari* | *fai* | *f-o* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3P-stay | 3P-stay | 3P-stay | 3P-stand | 3P-hear | woman | very.near-U |

m-ana	*ira*	*re-f-o*		*m-nis*
3U-head	just	location.SPEC-very.near-U		3U-rotten

'They stayed for a long time and smelled the woman's head of just now, it was rotten.'

43. | *fai* | *au* | *m-ason* | *y-ano* | *m-ason* | *u* | *m-a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| woman | 3U | 3U-smell | 3M-sibling.OS | 3U-smell | again | 3U-husband |

f-o	*y-ason*	*rae*	*ro*	*m-ason*
very.near-U	3M-smell	man	REL	3P-smell

'The woman smelled it, his sister smelled it, the husband smelled it, there were other people who smelled it.'

44. | *ku* | *po* | *ro* | *m-nis* |
|---|---|---|---|
| child | thing | REL | 3U-rotten |

"Child, there is something that is rotten'.'

45. | *po* | *ro* | *m-nis* |
|---|---|---|
| thing | REL | 3U-rotten |

"There is something that is rotten'.'

46. | *m-awe* | *m-orie* | *t-skur* | *po* | *ro* | *m-kah* | *watah* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3U-say | 3U-now | 1S-take.down | thing | REL | 3U-with | ko.treebark |

re-a	*t-he*	*po*	*me-au*	*n-skur*
location.SPEC-DIST.U	1S-see	thing	PRESTT-DIST.U	2S-take.down

She said, 'Wait, I will open the thing with the treebark there, I think that's it, you open it'.'

47 | *m-he* | *na* | *m-he* | *m-me* | *m-ana* | *ira* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3P-see | and.then | 3P-see | 3U-mother | 3U-head | just |

m-ano	*Siwa*	*ø-saraf*	*y-e*
3U-sibling.OS	Siwa	ø-cut	3M-give

'Then she saw the mother's head of just now, that her brother Siwa cut off and gave.'

48. | *m-ros* | *ø-sama* | *war* | *ait* | *m-apah*[30] | *mos* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3P-stand | ø-cut | reject | 3M | 3P-invite | flood |

'They threw the head away, and invited a big rain.'[31]

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[30] The form *ait m-apah*, where *m-apah* receives a subject *ait* 'he', is possibly a mistake by the speaker. In the next line he corrects himself.

[31] In *Maybrat* stories, floods resulting from heavy rainfall, referred to as *mos*, are a common theme.

49. *fai*   *m-api*   *f-o*   *m-apah*   *mos*
    woman 3U-big very.near-U   3U-invite   flood
    'This old woman invited a flood.'

50. *m-ros*   *m-rof*   *ø-tutu*   *ø-tutu*   *tapam* **Meah**
    3U-stand   3U-follow   ø-chase   ø-chase   land   **Meah**
    'It got up and chased (Siwa) to the land of the **Meah**.'

51. *to*   **Kebar** *ira*   *n-he*   *f-o*   *ø-sesef*   **Senopi**   *ø-sesef*
    LOC   **Kebar** just   2S-see very.near-U   ø-flat   **Senopi**   ø-flat
    'To **Kebar**, which just now you saw was flat, to **Senopi**, it was flat.'[32]

52. *m-ros*   *ait* *y-atim*   *y-he*   *to-tis*   *ø-sesef*
    3U-stand   3M 3M-lead   3M-see   LOC-behind   ø-flat
    'It got up, he (Siwa) went first and saw that behind him it was flat.'

53. *y-ros*   *y-awah*   *fau*   *o*   *wiam*   *o*
    3M-stand   3M-lift.with.two.hands   plain   ENUM   mountains   ENUM

    y-ros   *y-ati*   *wiam*   *ø-pria* *y-ati*   *wa*[33]   *y-ati*   *wa*
    3M-stand   3M-plant   mountains   ø-all   3M-plant   screen   3M-plant   screen
    'He got up and lifted plains and mountains and planted them, he planted all the
    mountains he planted as a screen.'

54. *y-ati*   *wa*   *y-awe*[34]   *wiam*   *f-o*   **Tuoh Aranduka**
    3M-plant   screen 3M-say   mountains very.near-U   **Tuoh Aranduka**

    o   **Sos Ara Mtis**[35]   *o*
    ENUM   **Sos Ara Mtis**   ENUM
    'He planted them as a screen, and decided that the mountains were **Tuoh Aranduka**
    and **Sos Ara Mtis**.'

55. *y-ati*   *y-ati*   *y-roh*   *y-tien*   *ete*   **Yarat**
    3M-plant   3M-plant   3M-descend   3M-sleep   under   **Yarat**
    'He planted a lot and descended and slept below at **Yarat**.'

---

[32] Here the speaker addresses himself directly to the audience.

[33] See appendix II, fn. 3 for the form *wa*.

[34] Here, *-awe* 'say' is used as a main verb, expressing the thought content of the speaker, see section 8.3.2.

[35] It is unclear to me where *Tuoh Aranduka, Sos Ara Mtis, Ruway, Newar, Ara Pruo*, are located. They refer to places in the forest.

56. *y-he*   *wiam*   *m-apo* *kait*
     3M-see mountains 3U-be near
     'He saw that the mountains were close.'

57. *y-aut*   *ø-frok*   *Konkayah*[36] *y-awe*   *y-he*
     3M-climb ø-emerge *Konkayah*   3M-say   3M-see
     'He climbed to *Konkayah* and decided to look (behind him.)'

58. *y-he*   *wiam*   *m-apo* *y-aut*   *ø-frok*   *Ruway* *o*   *Newar*   *o*
     3M-see mountains 3U-be 3M-climb ø-emerge *Ruway* ENUM *Newar*   ENUM
     'He saw that the mountains were there and climbed to *Ruway* and *Newar*.'

59. *y-atu*   *ø-frok*   *Ara Pruo* *y-awe*   *y-he*
     3M-yank.out ø-emerge *Ara Pruo* 3M-say   3M-see
     'He arrived at *Ara Pruo* and decided to look.'

60. *y-he*   *to-tis*   *y-he*   *m-arak*
     3M-see LOC-behind 3M-see 3U-empty
     'He looked behind him, and saw it was gone.'[37]

61. *Ruway* *o*   *Newar* *o*   *m-tiah*   *wa*
     Ruway ENUM *Newar* ENUM 3U-screened   screen
     '*Ruway* and *Newar* were screened off.'

62. *y-hu*   *to-s-au*   *to*   *Ara Pruo*
     3M-stay   LOC-one-3U   LOC   *Ara Pruo*
     'He stayed at *Ara Pruo*.'

---

[36] *Konkayah* no longer exists. The inhabitants have moved to *Konya*.

[37] i.e. the flood that chased him had not been able to follow him across the mountains.

Appendix IV

Kinship diagram for the *Maybrat*

The legend shows:

1.	t-ao	6.	t-ati	11.	t-aun
2.	t-ano	7.	ø-tmo	12.	t-are
3.	t-atia	8.	ø-sayuoh	13.	t-akut
4.	t-me	9.	t-ara	14.	t-aku
5.	t-amu	10.	ø-sniem	15.	t-fain

○ female
△ male
brother and sister
partners

Based on Schoorl (1979:154-155)

1. t-ao   6. t-ati   11. t-aun
2. t-ano   7. ø-tmo   12. t-are
3. t-aita   8. ø-sayuoh   13. t-akut
4. t-me   9. t-ara   14. t-aku
5. t-anu   10. ø-sniem   15. t-fain

○ female
△ male

brother and sister

partners

Wordlist *Maybrat* - English

This wordlist includes the forms used in this grammar, as well as a number of other forms that were recorded in *Ayawasi*. The list is based on monomorphemic forms. In other words, verbs and inalienably possessed nouns appear in their bare-stem form, i.e. without person prefixes. Some common compounds are also included.

Word-class membership is indicated for each *Maybrat* form. The following abbreviations are used in the wordlist. For the sake of convenience, some abbreviations are repeated from the 'list of conventions' at the beginning of this book.

Abbreviations:

adj	adjectival	marker	marker
adv	adverbial	mot	motion
ADV	adverbial	n	noun
asp	aspectual	N	attributive
col	colour	neg	negator
com	complement	num	numeral
comit	comitative	P	plural
comp	compound	pos	position
conj	conjunction	POSS	possessive
DIST	distance	prep	prepositional
dem	demonstrative	PRESTT	presentative
EMPH	emphatic	PROHIB	prohibitive
ENUM	enumerator	pron	pronoun
foc	focus	quant	quantifying
GEN	general	quest	question word
inal	inalienable	REL	relativiser
int	interrogative	S	singular
interj	interjection	sac	shared argument construction
intr	intransitive	spat	spatial
loan	loan	SPEC	specific
loc	location	temp	temporal
LOC	locative	TRANS	transitiviser
M	masculine	U	unmarked
man	manner	v	verb

a- (marker)
poss
a (int)
int
a (n)
rope
-a (n, inal)
husband
-ae (v, prep)
at
ae (adv, man)
indeed
ae (interj)
yes
-afa (v)
invite
-afa (v)
move
afa (n)
k.o. leaf
-afan (v)
give name
afan (n)
caterpillar
afan kme (n, comp)
k.o. caterpillar
-afat (v)
place between
afi (n)
roof, sagoleaf
-afit (v)
bite
afos (n)
k.o. treebark
afu (n)
k.o. forest taro
ah (n)
frog
-ahmun (n, inal)
chest (also hmun)
ahnat (n)
spirit deceased relative
at (pron)
alone
-ai (v)
plant
-ai (v)
hit
-aif (v)
spend the night

-aim (v)
cook
-aim (v)
live
-aim (n, inal)
wing
ain (n)
drum
-air (n, inal)
foot of tree
-ais (v, intr)
come down
ait (pron)
3m, he
-ait (v)
eat
-aka (v, intr)
wind (e.g. a road)
-aka (v)
shape
-akah (v)
dig
akah (adv, loc)
above
-akan (n, inal)
stone of fruit, seed;
testicle
-akas (n, inal)
blister
-akat (n, inal)
scar
-ake (v)
tie
-ake (v, inal)
fruit
aken (n)
canoo
-akit (v)
hope
-ako (v)
not want
ako (n)
cave
akoh (n)
turtle
-aku (n, inal)
daughter of female
-aku (v, adj)
young
-akuo (v)
feast

-akuoh (v)
scrape
-akuon (v)
time
-akus (v)
leave behind
akus (adv)
left behind
-akut (n, inal)
son of female
am (n)
traditional raincape,
mat, letter
-ama (v, mot)
come
amah (n)
house
amah kiyam (n)
hospital
amah sin (n)
bamboo floor
-ame (v)
stab
-ame (v)
strengthen
ames (n)
black couscous
-ami (v)
stab, pierce
-amo (v, mot)
go
-amos (v)
live
amot (n)
dew
ampah (n)
tip sheet (of sagotree)
amu (pron)
1P, we
-amu (v)
suck
-amu (n, inal)
uncle
-amuah (v)
raw
-amuoh (v)
sew
-amuom (n, inal)
neck
-amus (v)
wash

ana (pron)
3P, they

-ana (n, inal)
head

ana (n)
fence

-ana frak (n, inal, comp)
skull

-anes (v, adj)
old

ania (pron)
each other

-aniah (v)
collect

ankre (n, comp)
sagoleaf

ano (n, adj?)
female

-ano (n, inal)
sibling opposite sex

anu (pron)
2P, you

-ao (n, inal)
foot, leg

-ao (n, inal)
sibling same sex

-aof (v)
divide

aof (n)
sago

-aoh (v)
not care

-ao krem (n, inal, comp)
toe

-aom (n, inal, spat)
outside

-ao m-aur (n, inal)
calf of leg

-aon (v, adj)
sharp

-aos (n, inal)
shoulder

-aot (v)
cut

-apah (v)
dig soil

-apah (v)
invite

apah (n)
mushroom

-apan (v)
turn over

apan (n)
snake

apan papoh (n, comp)
k.o. snake (white
spotted, very poisonous)

apan pases (n, comp)
k.o. snake (green/yellow
colours)

apan payir (n, comp)
k.o. snake

apas (n)
k.o. shrimp (smooth)

-apat (n, inal)
tooth

-apat (v)
eat vegetables

-ape (v)
carry on back

-ape (v)
give birth

-api (v, adj)
big

apit (n)
banana

apit kek (n, comp)
k.o. banana

apit tawe (n, comp)
k.o. banana

-apo (v)
be at

-apo (v)
eat meat

-apot (v)
collect

-apuf (v, adj)
short

apuk (n)
lizard

-apum (v, intr)
creep, hide

-apum (v)
lie on stomach, (sit on
eggs)

-apuo (v, inal)
top; tip

-apuoh (v)
smooth

ara (n)
tree

-ara (n, inal)
uncles son

ara m-tis (n, comp)
treeroot

ara parit (n, comp)
steps

-arak (v; n, inal)
empty, shell, skin

-are (n, inal)
son or daughter of male

-aret (v)
pick

ari (n)
pray

-ari (v, com)
hear

arin (n)
situation

aro (adv)
other

-aru (v)
pay

-as (v)
lift, swell

-as (v)
follow by

asaf (n)
k.o. traditional feast

asah (n)
shrimp

-asah (v)
laugh

asam (n)
sugarcane

-ase (v, adj; adv)
big, very

-ase (v)
plant

-asen (v)
get up

-aser (v)
tasty

aser (n)
posts fireplace

-asi (v)
pick up (food)

-asi (v)
sing

-*asia* (n, inal)
heart
-*asiah* (v)
copulate
-*asiak* (v)
come hurriedly
-*asiem* (v)
coloured
-*asim* (v)
sell
-*asin* (n, inal)
rib
asis (n)
smooth treeroot
-*aso* (v)
plant
-*asoh* (n, inal)
mouth
-*asom* (v)
carry on shoulder
-*asom* (n, inal)
name
-*ason* (v)
kiss, smell
-*asu* (n, inal, spat)
face; front
-*asuf* (n, inal, spat)
middle
-*asuo* (v)
take out
-*asuor* (n, inal)
shinbone
-*ata* (v)
cross
-*ata* (v)
drink
-*ata* (v, intr)
hurt
-*ata* (n, inal)
leaf
ata (n)
raft
-*ataf* (v, adj)
ripe
ataf (n)
ironwood
-*atak* (v)
tough, angry
-*atat* (n, inal)
grandparent

-*ate* (v)
punish, sharpen
-*ate* (v)
bathe
-*atem* (n, inal)
arm, hand
-*atem kotof* (n,inal,comp)
elbow
-*atem krem* (n,inal,comp)
finger
-*atem m-apan*(n, inal,
comp)
palm of hand
-*atem m-aur* (n, inal,
comp)
lower arm
-*atet* (v)
stop crying
-*ati* (n, inal)
aunt
-*ati* (v)
plant
ati (adv)
correct
-*atia* (n, inal)
father
-*atiah* (v)
make love
-*atiet* (v)
perish (piercing with
spear), pierce
-*atim* (v)
go first, lead
-*atin* (n, inal)
group
-*atir* (v)
lay out
-*ato* (n, inal, spat)
hole, inside
-*atoh* (n, inal)
male sex organ
-*aton* (v, adj)
infected
-*atot* (v)
full
-*atu* (v)
pull/yank out, appear,
emerge
atu (n)
mountain

-*atuah* (v)
cut (e.g. sugarcane)
-*au* (n, inal)
lungs
-*au* (dem)
U.DIST
au (pron)
3U, she
-*auf* (v)
content
-*aum* (n, inal)
border
-*aun* (n, inal)
female family member
-*aur* (n, inal)
calf of leg
-*aus* (v)
urinate
-*aut* (v)
climb
aut (n)
'Salawaku' tree
awa (n)
butterfly
-*awah* (v)
lift with two hands
-*awe* (v, intr)
fall
-*awe* (v, com)
say
awe (n)
adopted family member
awet (n)
white cockatoo
-*awia* (v)
cry
awiah (n)
taro
awiah kutawe (n)
k.o. taro (Ind. **keladi
johar**)
-*awian* (n, inal)
hair; feathers; fur
awiet (n)
k.o. red fruit (Ind. **buah
merah**)
-*awien* (v)
lean against
awiya (quest)
who?

-*awof* (n, inal)
    marrow
-*awuon* (v)
    happy
-*aya* (v)
    weave small
aya (n)
    water
aya kre (n, comp)
    tributary
aya sasu (n, comp)
    sea
ayo, ayu (n)
    sun
ayoh (n)
    sky
-*ayun* (v)
    accompany
-*ayoh* (v)
    wish, request
-*e* (v)
    give
-*e* (dem)
    m
-*e* (v)
    return
e (adv, loc)
    far
e (interj)
    hey
ehe (interj)
    no
et (n)
    tattoo
-*ehah* (v)
    cut
ehe (neg)
    no
-*ehoh* (v, sac)
    stab
-*ekait* (v)
    cover
eok, ewok (num)
    two
-*epuah* (v)
    bury
-*erif* (v)
    show
es (adv, temp)
    first, beginning

-*esen* (v)
    split small pieces
esu (adv)
    together
-*et* (dem)
    M
ete, te (adv, loc)
    below
eti (adv)
    also
-*etu* (v)
    still be
ewa (adv, asp)
    often, always
-*eyam, -iyam* (v)
    roll
-*eyum* (v)
    give food
-*f-* (dem)
    very.near
fai (n)
    woman
-*fain* (n, inal)
    wife
-*fais* (v)
    fill
famu (n, inal)
    thigh
fane (n)
    pig
fane ano (n, comp)
    sow
fane rapuoh (n, comp)
    wild pig
fane samu (n, comp)
    domesticated pig
fane sme (n, comp)
    male pig
fane wai (n, comp)
    pig tooth
fares (adv, asp)
    still
farkor (v, loan)
    learn
-*fat* (v)
    fell (tree)
-*fau* (v)
    fill
fau (n)
    plain

fau (n)
    hilltop
fawen (adv, asp)
    long time
fawet (v)
    go silently
fayar (v)
    take ceremonial cloth
fayir (v)
    decorate
fe (adv, neg)
    no
fene (n)
    mother
fenia (v)
    scared
feya, fiya (v)
    swallow
-*fi* (v)
    blow
fi- (dem)
    similar to
fiyaf (v, col)
    yellow
fiyan (v)
    wear
fi-ye (quest)
    how?
fnia (n)
    woman
firu (v, n)
    spray
fiseh (v)
    tear with teeth
-*fit* (v)
    yank out (grass)
fiam (n)
    catfish
fiyes (n)
    k.o. firefly
fnak (v)
    shoot, stab
fma (n)
    woman
fmef (n, inal)
    fontanel
fo (n)
    k.o. tuber (may be
    poisonous, used by women
    to commit suicide)

-fok (v)
  roll
fom (n)
  termite
-fon (v)
  tie (see *fon*)
fon (n)
  rope
forera (n)
  k.o. grass
-fos (v)
  cold (see *fos*)
fos (n)
  wind
-fot (v)
  catch
fra (n)
  stone
fra awiah (n, comp)
  chalk
fra snok (n)
  gravel
frak (n, inal)
  skull
frapu (v)
  bite tough
fri (v)
  find, meet
frit (v)
  move
fro (v)
  stick
frok (v)
  emerge
fru (v)
  fly
frus (v)
  divine by blowing
frur (v)
  stretch out
ftah (v, intr)
  break (shells)
fte (v)
  area, part of land
ftiah (temp)
  day after tomorrow
ftuoh (n)
  string of bag
-fuf (v)
  come out

fukum (v)
  jail
fuo (n)
  axe handle
-fuf (v)
  open
fies (n)
  firefly
fiok (n)
  sheet of sagotree (used
  to knead sago in)
ha (n, inal)
  salt
haen (v)
  shallow
-haf (n, inal; v, intr)
  stomach, belly; pregnant
hafon (v)
  break off
-hafri (v, comp)
  feel for
-hah (v)
  tear
-hai (v, intr; adv)
  die, extremely
-haif (v)
  chop
-hain (v)
  clean up
-ham (v)
  hurt, feel pain
ha m-amos (n, comp)
  traditional feast
hampah (n)
  tip of sagosheet
hampat (n)
  woodtrunk
hamit (v)
  bundle
haot (n)
  saliva
hapa (v)
  very tired, exhausted
hapah (v)
  crack
hapan (n)
  beads
haper (v)
  cut in half
hapis (n)
  ink made of fruit

hapot (v)
  satisfied, replete
-har (v)
  know
hariah (n)
  part, half
harian (v)
  tear
has (n)
  waistband
hasa (v)
  circle
hasuoh (n)
  taro shoot
hat (n)
  fireplace
hata (n, inal)
  k.o. vegetable **(Ind.**
  sayur lilin)
hatat (n)
  mud
hate (n)
  hairlouse
hawe (v, com)
  refuse
hawereh (n)
  bamboo bowl
hayah (v)
  different
hayah (v)
  cough
haye (v)
  startled
hayo (v)
  hang
-he (v, com)
  see
hesa (n)
  k.o. grass
heyau (n)
  k.o. swamp grass
hfuoh (n)
  kite
hifuoh (v, intr)
  diligent
hi (n)
  corpse (see *-hai*)
hmun (n, inal)
  chest (see *-ahmun*)
hmun (v)
  scrape

hnir (v)
growl

-ho (v)
shout

-hoh (v)
run, chase

hoho (n)
plain

horit (n)
hearth

hpat (n)
hitting wood, hammer

hpi (v)
destroy

hpu (adj v)
extremely long

hpuoh (v, adj)
small

hreh (v)
tough

hreha (n, inal)
tongue

hren (v, pos; n, inal)
sit, buttocks

hrer (n)
make smooth sound

hres (v)
clean

hri (n)
woodbark

hropit (n, inal)
umbilical cord

hta (v)
sleep elsewhere

-hu (v. pos)
stay

huti (v, adj)
original

huf (n)
white forest chicken

hwai (n)
ravine

hwoh (v)
scratch

hwuom (v)
dry season

-i (dem)
m

-i (v)
tie

-i- (derivational affix)
TRANS

i (n)
ant

-ia (v)
suck

-im (n)
foster child

in (n)
earthquake

in sari (n, no)
big earthquake

is (adv, temp)
yesterday

-is (v)
take off

-imara (n, inal)
ear

intape (n)
rope

ira (adv, temp)
just now, previously

-irum (v)
buy

-isi (v)
agree

isie (n)
sun, hour

-isier, istyir (v)
drunk

iso (n)
path, track, road

-isoh (v)
fix

isuoh (coor)
whereas

ita (n)
leaf

ita m-ata (n, comp)
foliage

-itah (v)
force

iwai (adv, temp)
just now

-iwiah (v)
roast

iye (adv, foc)
too

-iyoh (v)
request

-ka (v)
wet

-ka (v)
mix

ka (interj)
eh?

kak (n)
cuscus, meat

kamtefo (n, comp)
k.o. wood

kan (n)
embers

kat (v, adj)
dry

kafi (n)
kneading place for sago

-kah (v, prep)
with; to; for

-kah (v)
burn

-kah (n, inal)
body

-kai (v)
meet, find

kai (n)
time

kain (n)
pandanus leaves

kain kek (n, comp)
pandanus for rolling
cigarettes

kain samu (n, comp)
pandanus for weaving
mats

-kair (v, adj)
bad

kais (n, inal)
buttocks

kait (adv, loc)
near

-kak (v, quant)
absolutely
everyone/thing

kak (n)
meat

kak ara (n, comp)
cuscus

kaka (v)
bent

kaket (adv, man)
  well, carefully
kakru (n, comp)
  cassowary
kamean (n)
  black cockatoo
kamon (v)
  store
kamus (v)
  open braids
kana (v)
  chant
kanam (v, adj)
  cold
kapan (n)
  eel
kapes (adj n)
  huge
kapuk (v, in)
  close eyes, pray
kar (adv)
  alone
karef (n)
  arrow
karu (v)
  rub
-kas (v)
  lick
-kat (v)
  catch fish with angle
katum (n)
  bracelet lower arm
katuo (n)
  tree kangaroo
kau (n)
  rat
kau ara (n, comp)
  k.o. rat
kaus (n)
  boil
kawom (v)
  fetch with tang or foot
kawuon (n)
  Wuon house
kayah (n)
  hole
kayie (adv, neg)
  not
ke (coor)
  because

-kek (v, col)
  red
-kek (v, in)
  shut up
-ken (v)
  touch closely
kepet (adv)
  only, just
-ker (v)
  crazy
-ket (v)
  make agreement
kwe (n, inal)
  eggwhite
kwek (v)
  animal scream
ki (n)
  k.o. watery fruit (Ind.
  jambu)
-kiah (v)
  knead sago
-kiar (v)
  decorate
-kias (v)
  say, tell
-kier (v)
  mate
kiet, kiyit (n)
  cloth
kiet ara (n)
  bark cloth
kifar (n)
  bowl for sago porridge
kikik (v)
  giggle
kine (adv)
  close to
kiniah (v, adj)
  small
kir (n, inal)
  eggyolk
-kit (v, prep)
  towards
kiyam (v)
  ill
kiyek (v)
  convulsion
kkai (v, intr)
  in two

kma (n)
  k.o. male plant (Ind.
  matoa)
kmo (v)
  angry
kmoh (v)
  bloom
kmuk (v)
  cut short
kmun (n, adj)
  sow
kmur (v)
  claw
knar (v)
  smart
knen (n)
  k.o. lizard
kno (v)
  coloured
knu (v, col)
  dark
-ko (v)
  plant among burnt
  patches
-ko (v)
  roast
kofa (n)
  k.o. aracea nut
koh (n)
  soil
-kok (v)
  naked
kokok (n)
  chicken
kokok m-auf (n, comp)
  egg
-kom (v)
  write
kopoh (v)
  hurriedly
korin (v)
  scrape till finished
korok (n)
  flute
kowa (n)
  red forest chicken
kpai (n)
  crab
kpat (v)
  leave

kpe (temp)
  shortly
kpet (v, adv)
  immediately
kpis (n, inal)
  nail
kpor (n, inal)
  back
kpor mtai (n, inal)
  spine
kpor ham (n, comp)
  backache before giving
  birth
kraram (v, adj)
  skinny
kre (n)
  traditional birth house,
  nest
kre (n)
  treebranch
kream (v)
  cut
krek (v; n, inal)
  carry under arm; armpit
krem (n, inal)
  finger, toe
krem-eok/ewok (num,   co
                         mp)
  seven
krem-s-au (num, comp)
  six
krem-tiet (num, comp)
  nine
krem-tuf (num, comp)
  eight
krere (n, inal)
  little finger
kri (v, adj)
  straight
kriak (v)
  open stem
krin (v)
  small bites
kro (v, in)
  follow
krofen (n, inal)
  kidney
kroh (v)
  make loud noise

krom (n)
  bamboo for eating
  papeda
kron (v)
  sound
krowes (v)
  whistle on fingers
krun (v)
  throw inside
ksie (v, intr)
  sneeze
ksom (n, inal)
  gall
ktan (v)
  cut small
ktus (v, intr)
  break (ropes)
ku (n)
  child
-kuah, -kuoh (v)
  pick
-kuk (v)
  pull, haul
kuka (v)
  mix
-kum (v)
  wet
kuo (n)
  sago flour
-kuo (v)
  peel
ku r-ano (n, comp)
  girl
ku sme (n, comp)
  boy
kuwian (n)
  flesh
kwek (v)
  scream in pain
kwiak (n)
  beetle
kwian (n)
  meat
kwir (v)
  strengthen (in a ritual)
m- (pron)
  3U, she, it, they
mah (n)
  blue cockatoo
m-aus (n)
  urine, extract (see *-aus*)

mat, tem-s-au (num)
  five
mah (adv, temp)
  later, tomorrow
-mah (v)
  greet, agree with
mahsin (n, comp)
  floor
-mai (v, n)
  sound (see *mai*)
mai (n)
  sound, language
mai (adv, neg)
  PROHIB
makah (n)
  knife near handle
mamuk (n)
  blunt end of knife
manik (n)
  oil
manus (n)
  ditch
mapat (n)
  pool
maru (n)
  lake
masir (n)
  bagstring
-mat (v)
  observe
mata (n)
  ridge
mati (coor)
  and then
matiaf (n)
  bird of paradise
mawah (n)
  adopted child
me- (dem)
  prestt
-me (n, inal)
  mother
men (adv, temp)
  later, tomorrow
-men (v)
  pick up, take home,
  marry
mes (n)
  blood
mes (n)
  edible ferns

mikıe (n)
   co-wife
mi (coor)
   so that
min (n)
   paddle
mimo (adv, man)
   very
mır (n)
   orange
mi-yo (quest)
   where?
m-nan (coor)
   then
mo (n)
   grasshopper
mos (n)
   heavy rain, flood
mostarif (n, comp)
   very heavy rain
mpaır (n, inal, spat?)
   place
mrıe (n)
   k.o. tree
mtah (n)
   dog
mıem (n)
   k.o. cockroach
mtı (adv, temp)
   night (also *tı*)
-muk (v)
   pound (see *muk*)
muk (n, inal)
   rice mortar
mukek (n)
   red cockatoo
-muot (v)
   hide
n- (2)
   2S, 2P, you
-n- (dem)
   far
na (coor)
   and then
na (n)
   k.o. fruit (Ind. **buah
   raja**)
naf (n)
   taroshoot
-nah (v)
   wobble, move

-naif (n, inal)
   nose
-nan (v)
   alike, enough
-nat (v)
   examine
nawe (n)
   breadfruit
nean (v)
   make fertile
-nek (v)
   oppose, bargain
-nien (v)
   push
nımpon (n)
   watermelon
-nin (v, com)
   smell
ninan (adv, man)
   at random
nini (adv)
   pıtchdark
-nis (v)
   rotten
-nit (v)
   tell
-no (v, com)
   do
-nok (v)
   queasy
-non (v)
   suck through straw
-not (v, com)
   think
nuo (pron)
   2S, you
nupain (n)
   old man
-o (v, intr)
   grow
-o (v, sac)
   take
-o (dem)
   u
o (enum)
   ENUM
oa (n)
   butterfly
-oa hani (v, comp)
   not know at all

-oa (v, com)
   not know
-of (v, adj)
   good
oh (adv, asp)
   already
okair (v, quant)
   little
om (n)
   rain
onfuk (n)
   clothes
-oni (n, inal)
   cheek
ora (n)
   garden
orıe (adv, temp)
   today, now
osau (adv)
   together
p- (pron)
   1P, we
pa (interj)
   eh
pae(n) (pron)
   twosome
pahae (n)
   mushroom leaves
pam (n)
   axe
pamu (v)
   store in mouth
parir (n)
   shrimp
parit (n)
   steps
parus (v)
   remove
pas (adv, temp)
   afternoon
pasa (n, loan)
   rice
-pat (v, prep)
   from
-pat (v)
   jump
-pat (n, inal)
   tooth
-pau (v)
   forbidden, sacred

pawiah (n)
nutmeg
p-awiya (quest)
what?
payif (n)
foam
payir (n)
rainbow
-pe (v, adj)
hot
pe- (dem)
area.ADV
peko (n)
sheet for collecting
water and sagoflour
pem (n)
plate
-per (v)
step on
-per (v)
educate
perek (v)
turn over
periet (v)
divide
peroh (adv, neg)
wrong
pes (n)
floor
pesas (v)
explain
pespes (n)
nosefeather decoration
-pet (v)
add to group, marry
peta (adv, quant)
together
petu (n)
paddle
peyak (v)
throw away
peuf (v)
circle
phah (v, in)
angry, break
pi (n)
man
piek (n)
k.o. treebark used to
make bags

-pies (v)
order
-piet (v)
throw
-pin (v)
carry child on hip
pine (n)
father
-pir (v)
block
pitis (n, loan)
money
pka (n)
sacred thing
pnem (v, adj)
flat
-po (v, sac)
hold
po, p- (marker)
EMPH
po (n)
thing, ceremonial cloth
po-fayir (nom)
decoration
pofit (n)
ginger
pofit (n)
poison
-poh (v, adj)
white (see *poh*)
poh (n)
ashes
pohma (n)
python
po-hoho (nom)
cassowary
pohra (n, comp)
premises
poin (n)
a children's game
po-iit (nom)
food
po-kah (nom)
garden
po-kas (nom)
salt
po-kiar (nom
decoration
po-kias (nom)
story

po-kom (nom)
pen
po-kuo (nom)
feast (see *-akuo*)
po-m-aka (nom)
thing that is shaped
po-m-ata (nom)
pandan leaf
po-m-auf (nom)
money
po-mna (nom)
tale
po-m-afit (nom)
mosquito
po-m-haf (nom)
pumpkin
po-nit (nom)
story
po-pat (nom)
vegetables
popot (n)
rich man
-pos (v)
peel
po-safom (nom)
grass
po sakof (n, comp)
cassowary
po-satoh (nom)
belongings (including
family)
pose (adv, temp)
a long time ago
po-smi (nom)
dream
po-ti (nom)
firefly
po-tkief (nom)
a thing for divination
potu (v, quant)
everything
po-watum (nom)
advice
prar (v)
open eyes
prat (v)
band
pria(n) (v, quant)
everyone/thing
prir (v)
scatter

prok (v)
  startled
pron (v, n)
  fill bamboo; bamboo
pruo (n)
  rack over fireplace
prut (v, quant)
  everyone/thing
ptak (v)
  open
ptek (v, intr)
  fall
ptok (v)
  immediately
ptu (v)
  fall
-pu (v)
  insert
puah, puoh (n)
  enemy
puapuo (v)
  toddle
-pum (v)
  slice small
puo (n)
  spiderweb
puoh (n)
  enemy
pupa (n)
  k.o. fly
pur (n)
  wasp, bee
put (n)
  leech
pun (n)
  firefly
rae (n)
  man, person
rae spe (n, comp)
  armed man (also police,
  military)
rat (n)
  enough
-rak (v)
  fill
rako (n, comp)
  firewood
rapu (n, temp)
  morning
rapuoh (n)
  forest

-rar (n, inal)
  molar
raref (v)
  diasappear
ratau (n)
  scrapings of plants,
  wood
-rauk (v)
  hold out
r-awiya (quest)
  whose?
re- (dem)
  location.SPEC
re (adv, foc)
  please
re (coor)
  in order to
refat (v)
  go to toilet
-rek (v)
  step over
remo (n)
  village
-ren (v)
  scared to cross bridge
renaut (v)
  shy
reyo (v, adj)
  tight
rere (adv, temp; manner)
  later; carefully,
  scrupulously
rere (v)
  scatter seeds
reres (v)
  plant sticks crosswise
reta (n)
  small branch
-ria (v, adj)
  tall
riamo (v)
  quiet
riha (adv, temp)
  late afternoon
riyoh (v)
  destroy with hand
rir (n)
  lightning
rit (adv)
  on the side, other

ro-, r- (marker)
  poss
ro (marker)
  REL
-rof (v)
  follow
-roh (v)
  go down
-rom (v)
  dig out
-ros (v, pos)
  stand
ro-yo (quest)
  which?
rpi-rpa (v, redup)
  tapping
rrie (n)
  k.o. lizard
ru (n)
  bird
ru awet (n)
  white cockatoo
ru kos (n)
  k.o. bird
ru matiaf (n, comp)
  bird of paradise
ru m-auf (n, comp)
  egg (see *-auf*)
ru siek (n, comp)
  female bird of paradise
ru wafu (n)
  bat
-ruah, -ruoh (v)
  pick (fruit)
-ruk (v)
  submerge
run (adv)
  quiet
-ruoh (v)
  pick
s-; s-au; s-ait (num)
  one
sa (n)
  fish
saka (v)
  pick up
sa ptuok (n, comp)
  conch shell
safo (v)
  angry

sah (v)
  unripe
safa (v)
  slice (in big chunks)
safah (n)
  bracelet upper arm
safe (v, col)
  black
safo (n, v)
  problem, angry
safom (v, col)
  green
sah (n)
  k.o. fruit (Ind. matoa)
sai (adv, asp)
  just
sair (n)
  origin
-sam (v, com)
  be afraid
sama (v)
  cut
saman (n)
  treebark
samer (v)
  done
samu (n)
  house
samuoh (v, adj)
  heavy, whisper
sanor (n)
  draw
sapa (n)
  worm
sapan (v)
  shy
sape (v)
  peel
sape (n, inal)
  k.o. edible ferns
sapos (v, intr)
  brush
saraf (v)
  cut
saruk (v)
  cook
-sas (v)
  examine, inspect
sasie (v, intr)
  wrap up

saso (v)
  search
sasu (n)
  sweet potato
sasu (n)
  coast
sato (n)
  island
satoh (v)
  gather belongings
sawe (n)
  torch
saweron (n)
  underworld
sawia (v)
  witness
sawia (n)
  spear
sawiah (n, inal)
  tail
sayim (v)
  share
sayuoh (n, inal)
  female family member
-se (v)
  place
-seah (v)
  crack
-ses (v)
  extinguish
sesef (v, adj)
  flat
sfakot (v, intr)
  yawn
sfok (v, adj)
  wide
sfot (v)
  strengthen
shat (n)
  comb
si (adv, foc)
  also
si (n)
  needle
-sia (v, comit)
  and; with; accompanied
  by
sia (n)
  poles floor house
-siar (v, quant)
  many

siar (n)
  common place
siasom (v, adj)
  beautiful
-sif (n, inal)
  nest
sifo (n, inal)
  k.o. spinach
-sik (v)
  insert
sikat (v)
  be thirsty
-sim (v)
  sell
simit (n)
  bachelor
simus (n)
  cockroach
-sin (v)
  weave floor of house
sinak (v)
  step over
sinan (n)
  k.o. grass
sinef (n)
  view
sipak (v)
  pass
sipan (n)
  childless woman
sipuk (n)
  k.o. grass
siris (adv)
  around
siro (v, in)
  tired
sirus (v)
  take off
sis (n)
  breast (see *-asis*)
sisiet, sisiyit (n)
  front porch
sisif (v)
  grow randomly
sitah (v)
  weave bracelet
site (v)
  pass
siwia (v)
  tie (bag)

siwtan (v)
  wait for
sken (n)
  star
skie (v)
  build
sko (v)
  clean out (e.g.
  intestines)
skoh (v, com)
  enjoy
skum (n)
  k.o. large lizard
skum aya (n, comp)
  iguana
skuot (v)
  hide
skur (v)
  take down, destroy
smai (n)
  bean
smai m-ria (n, comp)
  long bean
smai safom (n, comp)
  green bean
smai tapam (n, comp)
  peanut
smai toa (n, inal np)
  string beans
sme (v, adj?)
  male
smen (v)
  peel before eating
smi (v)
  dream
smoh (v)
  roast over big open fire
smos (n, inal)
  nasal mucus
smut (v)
  hurriedly
sneh (n, adv)
  smooth
sni (v, intr)
  paralysed
snie (n)
  moon, month
sniem (v)
  prepare
sniem (n, inal)
  male in-law

snok (v, intr)
  take out
snok (n)
  sand
snuk (v)
  count
so (n)
  dibble
sof (n)
  attic
soh, sohnat (v)
  deceive
sohsan (n)
  charcoal
soka (n, inal, spat)
  mouth, front
sokuos (v)
  order
-som (v)
  play
son (n)
  coconut
soraf (n)
  k.o. fruit (Ind. **nangka**)
sorot (v)
  unthinking, turbulent
soso (v)
  float
sot (v)
  cut in one go
sotoh (v)
  wrap up
spe (n)
  bamboo spear
spi (v; v, adj)
  pierce; spicy
spiah (n)
  hut
spis (v)
  sew
spoh (v)
  undo
spurak (n)
  k.o. shellfish
srar (v, in)
  dance
srau (n, inal)
  throat
sre (v; adv)
  wrong

sreh (v)
  take out seeds
sreo (v, intr)
  accurate
sri (n)
  cricket
sriem (n)
  invite
srir (n)
  hill
srofet (n, comp)
  sago axe
srohni (v, in comp)
  forget
srokena (v, comp)
  deceive, fool
srot (v; adv)
  quick, fast
sruer, sruor (v)
  scatter, let go
sruom (n)
  louse
ssaum (n)
  k.o. small bird
s-t-atem (num comp)
  ten
ste (v)
  wait
sten (n, inal)
  fat
stuah (v)
  wail
-su (v)
  tasty
-su (v, in)
  drown
suar (n)
  hot ashes
suek (adv, foc)
  immediately, straight
  away
suet (v)
  divine
suf (n)
  middle (see *-asuf*)
suk (n)
  cooking pot
su-m-aya (n, comp)
  watery eyes
-sun (v, rdp)
  make noise, sound

-*suo* (v, in)
    defecate (see *suo*)
suo (n)
    faeces
-*suof* (v)
    steal
-*suoh* (v)
    dance
-*suoh* (v)
    weave
-*suok* (v)
    throw out/over, bathe
-*suot* (v)
    close
sur (n)
    house posts
surah (n)
    basket
surut (v)
    broken
-*sus* (v)
    pour into slanted
    bamboo
sus (n)
    sunset
sus (v)
    divine by looking
susu (v)
    go backwards
susur (v)
    pierce
swar (n)
    smell
swi (n)
    k.o. bird
swia (n)
    spirit
t- (pron)
    1s, I
-*t*- (dem)
    near
-*ta* (v)
    raw
ta (n)
    left
taf (n)
    swamp
-*taktak* (v, redup)
    be late

takuo (n)
    master of the earth (Ind.
    Tuan Tanah)
-*tan* (v)
    fit
tafa (n)
    palmfrond in house
tafoh (n)
    fire
tafuf (n)
    flower
tah (n)
    invitation
-*tah* (v)
    eat small meat
taho (n)
    drawing (used in *Wuon*)
-*tai* (n, inal; v)
    bone, strong
-*tain* (v)
    provoke
tait (n)
    centipede
takoh (v)
    pierce
tam (n)
    mud
tamah (v)
    divine by blowing
-*tan* (v)
    fit
tanam (v)
    soak
tane (v)
    divine
tapak (n, loan)
    tobacco
tapam (n)
    earth
tapi (n)
    animal mother
-*tat* (n, inal)
    forefather
-*tau* (n, inal)
    trunk
-*tau* (v)
    wear
tauf (n)
    forest
taur (n)
    bow

-*taus* (v)
    decorate with yarn
tawer (v)
    fish with rod
-*te* (v)
    cut in two
te- (dem)
    area.N
-*teh* (v)
    feel (for fish)
tein (n)
    abandoned garden, year
teko (n)
    forked fish spear
ten (n)
    enemy
tet (n)
    small bat
tet (n)
    bridge
teta (n)
    top end of wooden
    house posts
tetet (v, intr)
    happy
tfe (n)
    crocodile
tfo (n)
    machete
tfo kawia (n, comp)
    knife
-*ti* (v)
    feel
-*ti* (v)
    carry on back or head
ti- (dem)
    side.N
-*tiah* (v)
    protect, screen off
tian (adv, temp)
    formerly, in the past
-*tie* (v, intr)
    break (sticks)
-*tien* (v)
    sleep
tim (v)
    send
tin (n)
    earring
tinie (adv, temp)
    formerly

tipuo (adv. asp)
  immediately; straight
  away
-tis (n, inal)
  root, tendon
tis (dem)
  behind
tisai (adv, temp)
  middle of night
tisu (n)
  darkness
titit (v)
  sad
ti-ya (quest)
  how much/many?
tief, tiyif (n)
  ground kangaroo
tiet, tiyit (num)
  four
titiya (quest)
  when?
tka (v)
  exchange
tkia (n)
  place
tkie (n)
  k.o. tree
tkief (v)
  divine
tmi (v)
  penetrate
tmo (n, inal)
  female family member
tmoh (v)
  forbidden
tna (adv, temp)
  recently
to- (dem)
  LOC
-toh (v)
  sharpen
toke (n)
  gong
to (n)
  rope (rattan)
tom (v)
  vomit
topa (n)
  k.o. ceremonial cloth
-tor (v)
  carry on back/shoulder

toro (adv, man)
  many times
-tot (v)
  release
toya (n)
  song
to-yo (quest)
  where?
tpe (v)
  open
trah (v)
  fetch from bag
trak (v)
  fill
trat (v; n)
  open up; daylight
tre (n)
  bracelet
tre kno (n, comp)
  bracelet
tre sori (n, comp)
  leg bracelet
trit (v)
  fluent
tu (adv)
  real
-tu (v)
  call
-tu (v)
  pour
tuat (n)
  bamboo of bow
tuf (num)
  three
-tuk (v)
  closed
tuka (n)
  tongs
tum (n)
  mud
tumuk (v)
  ask
tuo (pron)
  1s, I
tuo (n)
  palm wine
-tuoh (v)
  pierce
tuoh (n)
  place

tupat (v)
  lift
turaf (n)
  wall
-tus (v)
  add
-tut (v, quant)
  everyone (small group)
tut (n)
  corner
tutu (n)
  lizard
tutu (v)
  chase
tuwiak (v)
  screen
towa (n)
  k.o. string bean
twat (adv, asp)
  always
twia (v)
  close roof with leafs
twok (v)
  enter
u (adv, asp)
  again
u (dir)
  above
-uf (v, adj; n, inal)
  round, full; offspring
um (n)
  time, moment
-umam (v)
  sweat (see *umam*)
umam (n)
  sweat
un (n)
  depth
upah (n, inal)
  bamboo vegetables
-usiah (v)
  hunt
us (n)
  urine (see *-aus*)
wa (v, adv?)
  protect, screen
waf (n)
  bamboo for fire
wan (n)
  k.o. ceremonial cloth

war (adv, man)
   reject
warok (v, intr)
   insert
wai (excl)
   scream
wai (n)
   (pig) tooth
waitau (n)
   traditional headcovering
-wak (v, adj)
   crippled, crooked
wamoh (n)
   k.o. bird
wamu (v)
   almost dark
war (adv)
   reject
waref (n)
   k.o. bridge
wari (n)
   waistband
waro (adv, quant)
   little
wasi (n)
   smoke
wasik (v)
   smoke
wata (n)
   fish trap
watah (n)
   k.o. treebark
watar (n)
   small bracelet
watum (n)
   advice
-wau (v)
   roast
we- (dem)
   location.GEN
weah (n)
   beads for forehead
-wer (v)
   leave
wer (n)
   parrot
weraif (n)
   spider
werek (v)
   pass

wewe (v)
   look up
weya (v)
   turn
weah (n)
   black cockatoo
wia (n)
   frog
wia (adv, asp)
   before, earlier
wiahae (v)
   marry sibling (strictly
   forbidden)
wiak (n)
   canoo
wiam (n)
   mountains
-wian (n, inal)
   shadow
-wian (v)
   scoop
-wiat (v)
   abuse
wikan (n)
   tears
winaut (v, com)
   hope
wisau (v, quant)
   everyone/thing
witau (n)
   hat
wo- (dem)
   LOC.GEN
-wof (v, in)
   wait
wohrarar (v, comp)
   shout
woi (n)
   cuckoo
wosok (v)
   slippery
woum (v)
   search
wo-yo (quest)
   where?
wrek (v)
   go past
wrot (n)
   place
wuom (v)
   plant

wuon (n)
   male education
   (initiation)
wuti (n)
   group
wyo (adv)
   quickly
y- (pron)
   3m, he
-ya, -ye, -yo (marker)
   int
yaf (v, n)
   wounded, wound
yeyam, yiyam (v)
   roll
yeyum (v)
   collide
yfun (n, loan)
   Superior Being
yimpra (v)
   tame
yoh (v)
   give up
yoyo (adv, asp)
   continuously
yu (n)
   bag (traditional woven
   headband bag)
yuwan (v, adj)
   light (n, weight)
yuk (n)
   area, place
yum (adv)
   immediately
-yum (v)
   push
yuwo (v)
   run, flee
-yuoh (v)
   boil
yut (adv)
   above
yuti (v, intr)
   incapable

Wordlist English - *Maybrat*

abandoned garden, year
tein
above
akah
above
u
above
yut
absolutely everyone/thing
-kak
abuse
-wiat
accompany
-ayun
accurate
sreo
add
-tus
add to group, marry
-pet
adopted child
mawah
adopted family member
awe
advice
po-watum
advice
watum
afternoon
pas
again
u
agree
-ist
alike, enough
-nan
almost dark
wamu
alone
ai
alone
kar
already
oh
also
eti
also
si
always
twat

and then
mati
and then
na
and; with; accompanied by
-sia
angry, break
phah
angry
kmo
angry
safo
animal mother
tapi
animal scream
kwek
ant
i
k.o. aracea nut
kofa
area, part of land
fte
area, place
yuk
area.ADV
pe-
area.N
te-
arm, hand
-atem
armed man (also police, military)
rae spe
around
siris
arrow
karef
ashes
poh
ask,t
umuk
at
-ae
at random
ninan
attic
sof
aunt
-ati

axe
pam
axe handle
fuo
bachelor
simit
back
kpor
backache before giving birth
kpor ham
bad
-kair
bag (traditional woven headband bag)
yu
bagstring
masir
bamboo bowl
hawereh
bamboo floor
amah sin
bamboo for eating papeda
krom
bamboo for fire
waf
bamboo of bow
tuat
bamboo spear
spe
bamboo vegetables
upah
banana
apit
k.o. banana
apit kek
k.o. banana
apit tawe
band
prat
bark cloth
kiet
basket
surah
bat
ru wafu
bathe
-ate
be afraid
-sam

be at
-apo
be late
-taktak
be thirsty
sikat
beads
hapan
beads for forehead
weah
bean
smai
beautiful
siasom
because
ke
beetle
kwiak
before, earlier
wia
behind
tis
belongings (including family)
po-satoh
below, ete
te
bent
kaka
big. very
-ase
big
-api
big earthquake
in sari
bird
ru
k.o. bird
ru kos
k.o. bird
swi
k.o. bird
wamoh
bird of paradise
matiaf
bird of paradise
ru matiaf
bite
-afit
bite tough
frapu

black
safe
black cockatoo
kamean
black cockatoo
weah
black couscous
ames
blister
-akas
block
-pir
blood
mes
bloom
kmoh
blow
-fi
blue cockatoo
mah
blunt end of knife
mamuk
body
-kah
boil
-yuoh
boil
kaus
bone, strong
-tai
border
-aum
bow
taur
bowl for sago porridge
kifar
boy
ku sme
bracelet
tre
bracelet
tre kno
bracelet lower arm
katum
bracelet upper arm
safah
breadfruit
nawe
break (ropes)
ktus

break (shells)
ftah
break (sticks)
-tie
break off
hafon
breast
sis
bridge
tet
k.o. bridge
waref
broken
surut
brush
sapos
build
skie
bundle
hamit
burn
-kah
bury
-epuah
butterfly
awa
butterfly
oa
buttocks
kais
buy
-irum
calf of leg
-ao
calf of leg
-aur
call
-tu
canoo
aken
canoo
wiak
carry child on hip
-pin
carry on back
-ape
carry on back or head
-ti
carry on back/shoulder
-tor

carry on shoulder
-asom
carry under arm; armpit
krek
cassowary
kakru
cassowary
po sakof
cassowary
po-hoho
catch
-fot
catch fish with angle
-kat
caterpillar
afan
k.o. caterpillar
afan kme
catfish
fiam
cave
ako
centipede
tait
k.o. ceremonial cloth
topa
k.o. ceremonial cloth
wan
chalk
fra awiah
chant
kana
charcoal
sohson
chase
tutu
cheek
-oni
chest
-ahmun, hmun
chicken
kokok
child
ku
childless woman
sipan
chop
-haif

circle
hasa
circle
peuf
claw
kmur
clean
hres
clean out (e.g. intestines)
sko
clean up
-hain
climb
-aut, atu
close
-suot
close eyes, pray
kapuk
close roof with leafs
twia
close to
kine
closed
-tuk
cloth
kiet
clothes
onfuk
coast
sasu
cockroach
simus
k.o. cockroach
mtem
coconut
son
cold
kanam
cold
-fos
collect
-aniah
collect
-apot
collide
yeyum
coloured
-asiem
coloured
kno

comb
shat
come
-ama
come down
-as
come hurriedly
-asiak
come out
-fuf
common place
siar
conch shell
sa ptuok
content
-auf
continuously
yoyo
convulsion
kiyek
cook
-aim
cook
saruk
cooking pot
suk
copulate
-asiah
corner
tut
corpse
hi
correct
ati
cough
hayah
count
snuk
cover
-ekait
co-wife
mikie
crab
kpai
crack
-seah
crack
hapah
crazy
-ker

creep, hide
  -*apum*
cricket
  sri
crippled, crooked
  -*wak*
crocodile
  tfe
cross
  -*ata*
cry
  -*awia*
cuckoo
  woi
cuscus, meat
  kak
cuscus
  kak ara
cut
  -*aot*
cut
  -*ehah*
cut
  kream
cut
  sama
cut
  saraf
cut (e.g. sugarcane)
  -*atuah*
cut in half
  haper
cut in one go
  sot
cut in two
  -*te*
cut short
  kmuk
cut small
  ktan
dance
  -*suoh*
dance
  srar
dark
  knu
darkness
  tisu
daughter of female
  -*aku*

day after tomorrow
  ftiah
deceive, fool
  srokena
deceive
  soh, sohnat
decorate
  -*kiar*
decorate
  fayir
decorate with yarn
  -*taus*
decoration
  po-fayir
decoration
  po-kiar
defecate
  -*suo*
depth
  un
destroy
  hpi
destroy with hand
  riyoh
dew
  amot
diasappear
  raref
dibble
  so
die, extremely
  -*hai*
different
  hayah
dig
  -*akah*
dig out
  -*rom*
dig soil
  -*apah*
diligent
  hifuoh
ditch
  manus
divide
  -*aof*
divide
  periet
divine
  suet

divine
  tane
divine
  tkief
divine by blowing
  frus
divine by blowing
  tamah
divine by looking
  sus
do
  -*no*
dog
  mtah
domesticated pig
  fane samu
done
  samer
draw
  sanor
drawing (used in *Wuon*)
  taho
dream
  po-smi
dream
  smi
drink
  -*ata*
drown
  -*su*
drum
  ain
drunk
  -*isier, isiyir*
dry
  kat
dry season
  hwuom
each other
  ania
ear
  -*imara*
earring
  tin
earth
  tapam
earthquake
  in
eat
  -*ait*

eat meat
-apo

eat small meat
-tah

eat vegetables
-apat

edible ferns
mes

k.o. edible ferns
sape

educate
-per

eel
kapan

egg
kokok m-auf

egg
ru m-auf

eggwhite
kwe

eggyolk
kir

eh
pa

eh?
ka

eight
krem-tuf

elbow
-atem kotof

embers
kan

emerge
frok

EMPH
po, p-

empty; shell, skin
-arak

enemy
puah, puoh

enemy
puoh

enemy
ten

enjoy
skoh

enough
rat

enter
twok

enum
o

everyone (small group)
-tut

everyone/thing
pria(n)

everyone/thing
prut

everyone/thing
wisau

everything
potu

examine, inspect
-sas

examine
-nat

exchange
tka

explain
pesas

extinguish
-ses

extremely long
hpu

face; front
-asu

faeces
suo

fall
-awe

fall
ptek

fall
ptu

far
-n-

far
e

fat
sten

father
-atia

father
pine

feast
-akuo

feast
po-kuo

k.o.traditional feast
ha m-amos

k.o. traditional feast
asaf

feel
-ti

feel (for fish)
-teh

feel for
-hafri

fell (tree)
-fat

female
ano

female bird of paradise
ru siek

female family member
-aun

female family member
sayuoh

female family member
tmo

fence
ana

fetch from bag
trah

fetch with tang or foot
kawom

fill
-fais

fill
-fau

fill
-rak

fill
trak

fill bamboo; bamboo
pron

find, meet
fri

finger, toe
krem

finger
-atem krem

fire
tafoh

firefly
fies

firefly
po-ti

firefly
pun

k.o. firefly
fiyes

fireplace
hat
firewood
rako
first, beginning
es
fish
sa
fish trap
wata
fish with rod
tawer
fit
-tan
fit
-tan
five,mat
fix
-isoh
flat
pnem
flat
sesef
flesh
kuwtan
float
soso
floor
mahsin
floor
pes
flower
tafuf
fluent
trit
flute
korok
fly
fru
k.o. fly
pupa
foam
payif
foliage
ita m-ata
follow
·rof
follow
kro
follow by
-as

fontanel
fnief
food
po-iit
foot, leg
-ao
foot of tree
-air
forbidden, sacred
-pau
forbidden
tmoh
force
-itah
forefather
-tat
forest
rapuoh
forest
tauf
k.o. forest taro
afu
forget
srohni
forked fish spear
teko
formerly, in the past
nan
formerly
tinie
foster child
-im
four
tiet
frog
ah
frog
wia
from
-pat
front porch
sisiet, sisiyit
fruit
-ake
k.o. fruit (Ind. **buah raja**)
na
k.o. fruit (Ind. **nangka**)
soraf
full
-atot

gall
ksom
game for children
poin
garden
ora
garden
po-kah
gather belongings
satoh
get up
-asen
giggle
kikik
ginger
pofit
girl
ku r-ano
give
-e
give birth
-ape
give food
-eyum
give name
-afan
give up
yoh
go
-amo
go backwards
susu
go down
-roh
go first, lead
-atim
go past
wrek
go silently
fawet
go to toilet
refat
gong
toke
good
-of
grandparent
-atat
grass
po-safom

grass
sinan
k.o. grass
forera
k.o. grass
hesa
k.o. grass
sipuk
grasshopper
mo
gravel
fra snok
green
safom
green bean
smai safom
greet, agree with
-mah
ground kangaroo
tief
group
-atin
group
wuti
grow
-o
grow randomly
sisif
growl
hnir
hair; feathers; fur
-awian
hairlouse
hate
hang
hayo
happy
-awuon
happy
tetet
hat
witau
he (3M)
ait, y-
head
-ana
traditional headcovering
waitau
hear
-ari

heart
-asia
hearth
horit
heavy, whisper
samuoh
heavy rain, flood
mos
hey
e
hide
-muot
hide
skuot
hill
srir
hilltop
faut
hit
-ai
hitting wood, hammer
hpat
hold
-po
hold out
-rauk
hole, inside
-ato
hole
kayah
hope
-akit
hope
winaut
hospital
amah kiyam
hot
-pe
hot ashes
suar
house
amah
house
samu
house posts
sur
how much/many?
ti-ya
how?
fi-ye

huge
kapes
hunt
-usiah
hurriedly
kopoh
hurriedly
smut
hurt, feel pain
-ham
hurt
-ata
husband
-a
hut
spiah
I (1S)
tuo, -t
iguana
skum aya
ill
kiyam
immediately, straight away
suek
immediately
kpet
immediately
ptok
immediately
yum
immediately; straight away
tipuo
in order to
re
in two
kkai
incapable
yuti
indeed
ae
infected
-aton
ink made of fruit
hapis
insert
-pu
insert
-sik
insert
warok

int
  -ya
int
  a
invitation
  tah
invite
  -afa
invite
  -apah
invite
  sriem
ironwood
  ataf
island
  sato
jail
  fukum
jump
  -pat
just
  sai
just now, previously
  ira
just now
  iwai
kidney
  krofen
kiss, smell
  -ason
kite
  hfuoh
knead sago
  -kiah
kneading place for sago
  kafi
knife
  tfo kawia
knife near handle
  makah
know
  -har
lake
  maru
late afternoon
  riha
later, tomorrow
  mah
later, tomorrow,men, they
  m-
later; carefully,

scrupulously
  rere
laugh
  -asah
lay out
  -atir
leaf
  -ata
leaf
  ita
k.o.leaf
  afa
lean against
  -awien
learn
  farkor
leave
  -wer
leave
  kpat
leave behind
  -akus
leech
  put
left
  ta
left behind
  akus
leg bracelet
  tre sori
lick
  -kas
lie on stomach, (sit on eggs)
  -apum
lift, swell
  -as
lift
  tupat
lift with two hands
  -awah
light (weight)
  yuwan
lightning
  rir
little
  okair
little
  waro
little finger
  krere

live
  -aim
live
  -amos
lizard
  apuk
lizard
  tutu
k.o. lizard
  knen
k.o. lizard
  rrie
k.o. large lizard
  skum
LOC
  to-
loc.GEN
  wo-
location.GEN
  we-
location.SPEC
  re-
long bean
  smai m-ria
k.o.long bean
  towa
long time
  fawen
a long time ago
  pose
look up
  wewe
louse
  sruom
lower arm
  -atem m-aur
lungs
  -au
m
  -e
m
  -i
machete
  tfo
make agreement
  -ket
make fertile
  nean
make loud noise
  kroh
make love
  -atiah

make noise, sound
-sun
make smooth sound
hrer
male
sme
male education (initiation)
wuon
male in-law
sniem
male pig
fane sme
k.o. male plant (Ind.
matoa)
kma
male sex organ
-atoh
man, person
rae
man
pi
many
-siar
many times
toro
marrow
-awof
marry sibling (strictly
forbidden)
wiahae
master of the earth (Ind.
Tuan Tanah)
takuo
traditional raincape, mat,
letter
am
mate
-kier
matoa
sah
meat
kak
meat
kwian
meet, find
-kai
middle
-asuf
middle
suf

middle of night
tisai
mix
-ka
mix
kuka
molar
-rar
money
pitis
money
po-m-auf
moon, month
snie
morning
rapu
mosquito
po-m-afit
mother
-me
mother
fene
mountain
atu
mountains
wiam
mouth, front
soka
mouth
-asoh
move
-afa
move
frit
mud
hatat
mud
tam
mud
tum
mushroom
apah
mushroom leaves
pahae
nail
kpis
naked
-kok
name
-asom

nasal mucus
smos
near
-t-
near
kait
neck
-amuom
needle
si
nest
-sif
nest, traditional birth house
kre
night
mti
nine
krem-tiet
no
ehe
no
ehe
no
fe
nose
-naif
nosefeather decoration
pespes
not,kayie
not care
-aoh
not know
-oa
not know at all
-oa hani
not want
-ako
nutmeg
pawiah
observe
-mat
often/always
ewa
oil
manik
old
-anes
old man
nupain
on the side, other
rit

one,
  s-
only, just
  kepet
open
  -fuf
open
  ptak
open
  tpe
open braids
  kamus
open eyes
  prar
open stem
  kriak
open up; daylight
  trat
oppose, bargain
  -nek
orange
  mir
order
  -pies
order
  sokuos
origin
  sair
original
  huti
other
  aro
outside
  -aom
paddle
  min
paddle
  petu
palm of hand
  -atem m-apan
palm wine
  tuo
palmfrond in house
  tafa
pandan leaf
  po-m-ata
pandanus for rolling
cigarettes
  kain kek
pandanus for weaving mats
  kain samu

pandanus leaves
  kain
paralysed
  sni
parrot
  wer
part, half
  hariah
pass
  sipak
pass
  site
pass
  werek
path, track, road
  iso
pay
  -aru
peanut
  smai tapam
peel
  -kuo
peel
  -pos
peel
  sape
peel before eating
  smen
pen
  po-kom
penetrate
  tmi
perish (piercing with
spear), pierce
  -atiet
pick
  -aret
pick
  -kuah, -kuoh
pick
  -ruoh
pick (fruit)
  -ruah, -ruoh
pick up, take home, marry
pick up
  saka
pick up (food)
  -asi
pierce
  -tuoh

pierce
  susur
pierce
  takoh
pierce; spicy
  spi
pig
  fane
pig tooth
  fane wat
pitchdark
  nini
place
  -se
place
  mpair
place
  tkia
place
  tuoh
place
  wrot
place between
  -afat
plain
  fau
plain
  hoho
plant
  -ai
plant
  -ase
plant
  -aso
plant
  -ati
plant
  wuom
plant among burnt patches
  -ko
plant sticks crosswise
  reres
plate
  pem
play
  -som
please
  re
poison
  pofit

poles floor house
sia

pool
mapat

POSS
a-, ro-, r-

posts fireplace
aser

pound
-muk

pour
-tu

pour into slanted bamboo
-sus

pray
ari

premises
pohra

prepare
sniem

PRESTT
me-

problem, angry
safo

prohib
mai

protect, screen
wa

protect, screen off
-tiah

provoke
-tain

pull, haul
-kuk

pull/yank out, appear,
emerge
-atu

pumpkin
po-m-haf

punish, sharpen
-ate

push
-nien

push
-yum

python
pohma

queasy
-nok

quick, fast
srot

quickly
wyo

quiet
riamo

quiet
run

rack over fireplace
pruo

raft
ata

rain
om

rainbow
payir

rat
kau

k.o. rat
kau ara

ravine
hwai

raw
-amuah

raw
-ta

real
tu

recently
tna

red
-kek

red cockatoo
mukek

red forest chicken
kowa

k.o. red fruit (Ind. **buah merah**)
awiet

refuse
hawe

reject
war

reject CH
war

REL
ro

release
-tot

remove
parus

request
-iyoh

return
-e

rib
-asin

rice
pasa

rice mortar
muk

rich man
popot

ridge
mata

ripe
-ataf

roast
-iwiah

roast
-ko

roast
-wau

roast over big open fire
smoh

roll
-eyam, -iyam

roll
-fok

roll
yeyam

roof, sagoleaf
afi

root, tendon
-tis

rope
a

rope
fon

rope
intape

rope (rattan)
to

rotten
-nis

round, full; offspring
-uf

rub
karu

run, chase
-hoh

run, flee
yuwo

sacred thing
pka

sad
titit

sago
aof

sago axe
srofet

sago flour
kuo

sagoleaf
ankre

saliva
haot

saliva
hot

salt
ha

salt
po-kas

sand
snok

satisfied, replete
hapot

say, tell
-kias

say
-awe

scar
-akat

scared
fenia

scared to cross bridge
-ren

scatter, let go
sruer

scatter
prir

scatter seeds
rere

scoop
-wian

scrape
-akuoh

scrape
hmun

scrape till finished
korin

scrapings of plants, wood
ratau

scratch
hwoh

scream
wai

scream in pain
kwek

screen
tuwiak

sea
aya sasu

search
saso

search
woum

see
-he

sell
-asim

sell
-sim

send
tim

seven
krem-eok/ewok

sew
-amuoh

sew
spis

shadow
-wian

shallow
haen

shape
-aka

share
sayim

sharp
-aon

sharpen
-toh

she, it (3S)
au

sheet for collecting water
and sagoflour
peko

sheet of sagotree (used to
knead sago in)
fiok

k.o. shellfish
spurak

shinbone
-asuor

shoot, stab
fnak

short
-apuf

shortly
kpe

shoulder
-aos

shout
-ho

shout
wohrarar

show
-erif

shrimp
asah

shrimp
parir

k.o. shrimp (smooth)
apas

shut up
-kek

shy
renaut

shy
sapan

sibling opposite sex
-ano

sibling same sex
-ao

side.N
ti-

similar to
fi-

sing
-asi

sit, buttocks
hren

situation
arin

six
krem-s-au

skinny
kraram

skull
-ana frak

skull
frak

sky
ayoh

sleep
-tien

sleep elsewhere
hta

slice (in big chunks)
safa

slice small
-pum

slippery
wosok

small
hpuoh

small
kiniah

small bat
tet

k.o. small bird
ssaum

small bites
krin

small bracelet CH
watar

small branch
reta

smart
knar

smell
-nin

smell
swar

smoke
wasi

smoke
wasik

smooth
-apuoh

smooth
sneh

smooth treeroot
asis

snake
apan

k.o. snake (green/yellow colours)
apan pases

k.o. snake (white spotted, very poisonous)
apan papoh

k.o. snake
apan payir

sneeze
ksie

so that
mi

soak
tanam

soil
koh

son of female
-akut

son or daughter of male
-are

song
toya

sound, language
mai

sound
kron

sound
-mai

sow
fane ano

sow
kmun

spear
sawia

spend the night
-aif, sruor

spider
weraif

spiderweb
puo

spinach
sifo

spine
kpor mtai

spirit angel
swia

spirit deceased relative
ahnat

split small pieces
-esen

spray
firu

stab, pierce
-ami

stab
-ame

stab
-ehoh

stand
-ros

star
sken

startled
haye

startled
prok

stay
-hu

steal
-suof

step on
-per

step over
-rek

step over
sinak

steps
ara parit

steps
parit

stick
fro

still
fares

still be
-etu

stomach, belly; pregnant
-haf

stone
fra

stone of fruit; seed; testicle
-akan

stop crying
-atet

store
kamon

store in mouth
pamu

story
po-kias

story
po-nit

straight
kri

strengthen
-ame

strengthen
sfot

strengthen (in a ritual)
kwir

stretch out
frur

string beans
smai toa

string of bag
ftuoh

submerge
-ruk

suck
-amu

suck
-ia

suck through straw
-non

sugarcane
asam

sugarcane
asem

sun, hour
isie

sun
ayo, ayu

sunset
sus

Superior Being
yfun

swallow
feya, fiya

swamp
taf

k.o. swamp grass
heyau

sweat
umam

sweat
-umam

sweet potato
sasu

tail
sawiah

take
-o

take ceremonial cloth
fayar

take down, destroy
skur

take off
-is

take off
sirus

take out
-asuo

take out
snok

take out seeds
sreh

tale
po-mna

tall
-ria

tame
yimpra

tapping
rpi-rpa

taro
awiah

k.o. taro (Ind. **keladi johar**)
awiah kutawe

taro shoot
hasuoh

taroshoot
naf

tasty
-aser

tasty
-su

tattoo
et

tear
-hah

tear
harian

tear with teeth
fiseh

tears
wikan

tell
-nit

ten
s-t-atem

termite
fom

then,m-nan

they (3P)
ana

thigh
famu

thing, ceremonial cloth
po

thing that is shaped
po-m-aka

a thing for divination
po-tkief

think
-not

three
tuf

throat
srau

throw
-piet

throw away
peyak

throw inside
krun

throw out/over, bathe
-suok

tie
-ake

tie
-i

tie (bag)
siwia

tie
-fon

tight
reyo

time, moment
um

time
-akuon

time
kai

tip of sagosheet
hampah

tip sheet (of sagotree)
ampah

tired
siro

tobacco
tapak

today, now
orie

toddle
puapuo

toe
-*ao krem*
together
esu
together
osau
together
peta
tongs
tuka
tongue
hreha
too
iye
tooth
-*apat*
tooth
-*pat*
tooth (pig)
wat
top end of wooden house
posts
teta
top; tip
-*apuo*
torch
sawe
touch closely
-*ken*
tough, angry
-*atak*
tough
hreh
towards
-*kit*
TRANS
-*t*-
tree
ara
k.o. tree
mrie
k.o. tree
tkie
tree kangaroo
katuo
k.o. tree (Ind. **salawaku**)
aut
treebark
saman
k.o. treebark
afos

ko treebark
watah
k.o. treebark used to make
bags
piek
treebranch
kre
treeroot
ara m-tis
tributary
aya kre
trunk
-*tau*
k.o. tuber (may be
poisonous, used by women
to commit suicide)
fo
turn
weya
turn over
-*apan*
turn over
perek
turtle
akoh
two
eok, ewok
twosome
pae(n)
u
-*o*
u.dist
-*au*
umbilical cord
hropit
uncle
-*amu*
uncles son
-*ara*
underworld
saweron
undo
spoh
unripe
sah
unthinking, turbulent
sorot
urinate
-*aus*
urine, extract
m-aus

urine
us
k.o. vegetable (Ind. **sayur**
lilin)
hata
vegetables
po-pat
very
mumo
very heavy rain
mostarif
very tired, exhausted
hapa
very near
-*f*-
view
sinef
village
remo
vomit
tom
wail
stuah
waistband
has
waistband
wari
wait
-*wof*
wait
ste
wait for
siwian
wall
turaf
wash
-*amus*
wasp, bee
pur
water
aya
watermelon
nimpon
watery eyes
su-m-aya
k.o. watery fruit (Ind.
jambu)
ki
we (1P)
amu, p-

wear
-tau
wear
fiyan
weave
suoh
weave bracelet
sitah
weave floor of house
-sin
weave small
-aya
well, carefully
kaket
wet
-ka
wet
-kum
what?
p-awiya
when?
titiya
where?
mi-yo
where?
to-yo
where?
wo-yo
whereas
isuoh
which?
ro-yo
whistle on fingers
krowes
white
-poh
white cockatoo
awet
white cockatoo
ru awet
white forest chicken
huf
who?
awiya
whose?
r-awiya
wide
sfok
wife
-fain

wild pig
fane rapuoh
wind,
fos
wind (e.g. a road)
-aka
wing
-aim
wish, request
-ayoh
with; to; for
-kah
witness
sawia
wobble, move
-nah
woman
fai
woman
fnia
woman
fnia
k.o. wood
kamtefo
woodbark
hri
woodtrunk
hampat
worm
sapa
wounded, wound
yaf
wrap up
sasie
wrap up
sotoh
write
-kom
wrong
peroh
wrong
sre
Wuon house
kawuon
yank out (grass)
-fit
yawn
sfakot
yellow
fiyaf

yes
ae
yesterday
is
you (2P)
anu, n-
you (2S)
nuo, n-
young
-aku

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Index

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

'Een grammatica van het *Maybrat*, een taal van de Vogelkop, Irian Jaya, Indonesië'

Dit proefschrift geeft een beschrijving van het *Maybrat*, een taal die door ongeveer 22.000 mensen wordt gesproken op de Vogelkop, in Irian Jaya, Indonesië. In deze taal kunnen zes dialecten worden onderscheiden, waarvan het *Mayhapeh*, het dialect dat wordt gesproken in Ayawasi, een dorp in het binnenland van de Vogelkop, in dit werk wordt beschreven.

In hoofdstuk 1 wordt een kort overzicht gegeven van de ligging, bevolking, bestuursstructuur en geschiedenis van het gebied. Ook komen in dit hoofdstuk in kort bestek de mensen, de taalkundige situatie, de globale gegevens over de taal zelf met inbegrip van de dialecten, en eerdere studies aan bod. Als laatste wordt een verantwoording gegeven van het veldwerk dat ik gedurende 22 maanden in Ayawasi heb gedaan.

Hoofdstuk 2 geeft allereerst een opsomming van de fonemen van het *Maybrat*, gevolgd door een beschrijving van de fonotaktiek en lettergreep- en woordstructuur, met speciale aandacht voor de epenthetische klinker schwa ([ə]). Hierna worden woordklemtoon en een aantal andere fonetische eigenschappen behandeld. Vervolgens worden de elliptische verschijnselen die in 'allegro'spraak optreden beschreven, alsmede intonatie in continue spraak. Het hoofdstuk eindigt met de aanpassing van niet-*Maybrat* klanken in het *Maybrat*.

In het volgende hoofdstuk wordt een viertal morfofonologische processen beschreven, namelijk, (1) prefixatie van werkwoorden en onvervreemdbaar bezittelijke zelfstandige naamwoorden. In deze categorieën bepaalt de fonologische vorm van het werkwoord of het persoonsprefix fonologisch wordt gerealiseerd; (2) de aanwezigheid van halfklinkers tussen twee klinkers in vraagwoorden; (3) de afwezigheid van de klinker /a/ in bepaalde vormen na aanhechting van een persoonsprefix; en (4) de afwezigheid van een van de twee klinkers als deze naast elkaar over een morfeemgrens heen komen; en reduplicatie. In het laatste deel van dit hoofdstuk worden de orthografische conventies gegeven.

De morfologie van het *Maybrat* wordt in hoofdstuk 4 behandeld. Omdat het *Maybrat* niet veel morfologie heeft, moeten bij de indeling van woorden in woordklassen zowel morfologische als syntactische criteria gebruikt worden. Er zijn veertien woordklassen te onderscheiden, waarvan de voornaamste zijn: pronomina, werkwoorden, zelfstandige naamwoorden, demonstrativa, vraagwoorden, getallen en adverbia. Binnen de klassen van werkwoorden wordt een onderscheid gemaakt tussen verschillende klassen aan de hand van hun gedrag in werkwoordsequenties. Deze sequenties worden verder beschreven in hoofdstuk 8. De klasse van demonstrativa is morfologisch het meest complex, en dit wordt ook weerspiegeld in hun betekenis en mogelijke syntactische functies. Binnen dit hoofdstuk worden ook de verschillende soorten plaatsbepalingen behandeld. Naast spatiale zelfstandige naamwoorden, demonstrativa en bijwoorden van locatie, kan plaats ook worden aangegeven door locatiemarkeerders of directionele elementen. Sommige van deze vormen komen alleen als gebonden morfemen voor. De verschillende vormen die plaats aangeven kunnen ook met elkaar worden gecombineerd.

In hoofdstuk 5 komen de naamwoordgroepen aan bod. In naamwoordgroepen staat het zelfstandig naamwoord voorop, mogelijk gevolgd door een beperkt aantal beschrijvende woorden. De woordvolgorde in naamwoordgroepen is rigide. Naamwoordgroepen omvatten ook bezittelijke constructies en relative bijzin constructies. In bezittelijke constructies waarin een morfologisch een onvervreemdbaar zelfstandig naamwoord bezit uitdrukt is de woordvolgorde 'bezitter-bezit', en in bezittelijke constructies waarin het bezit morfologisch een vervreemdbaar zelfstandig naamwoord is, is de woordvolgorde 'bezit-bezitter'. In het

laatste geval wordt de bezitter gemarkeerd met de bezittelijke markeerder *ro*. In relative bijzinnen wordt de beperkende bijzin, die volgt op het hoofd, ook gemarkeerd met *ro*. Aan het einde van het hoofdstuk worden combinaties van naamwoordgroepen besproken.

Hoofdstuk 6 geeft een overzicht van de simpele zin, namelijk eenheden die bestaan uit een predikaat en de bijbehorende argumenten. De basiswoordvolgorde van de zin is Subject-Werkwoord-Object. In plaats van Werkwoord-Object kan ook een zelfstandig naamwoord voorkomen, in welk geval sprake is van een nominale zin. Evenals de structuur van naamwoordgroepen, is de structuur van de simpele zin rigide, hoewel topicalisatie, namelijk het voorop plaatsen van objecten, wel voorkomt. In de periferie van de zin komen elementen voor die de zin verder beschrijven of specificeren. Deze perifere elementen kunnen bijwoorden van tijd, manier, aspect, focus of plaats zijn. Negatie geschiedt door het plaatsen van het negatieve element *fe* aan het eind van de zin. *fe* kan zowel attributief of predicatief (*m-fe*) gebruikt worden.

In hoofdstuk 7 worden interrogatieve en imperatieve constructies beschreven. Deze onderscheiden zich grammaticaal van neutrale mededelingen, ofwel mededelingen in de indicatieve wijs: deze laatste zijn grammatikaal ongemarkeerd.

Hoofdstuk 8 behandelt werkwoordssequenties, die veelvuldig voorkomen in het *Maybrat*. Deze werkwoordsequenties zijn vormelijk veelal gelijk. Echter, deze constructies kunnen wel van elkaar worden onderscheiden met behulp van drie criteria, te weten intonationeel, morfologisch en syntactisch. Op grond van criteria kan een onderscheid worden gemaakt tussen vijf verschillende werkwoordsequenties, namelijk (1) coördinerende constructies; (2) adverbiale werkwoorden; (3) constructies met een object complement (waaronder ook pseudo-quotatieve constructies); (4) constructies met een prepositioneel werkwoord; en (5) comitatieve constructies. Na de analyse van de werkwoordsequenties wordt een problematische categorie aangesneden, namelijk die waar werkwoorden van positie en beweging in voorkomen, en die waarin sprake is van een gedeeld argument (het object van het eerste werkwoord is tegelijkertijd het subject van het tweede werkwoord). Deze werkwoordsequenties lijken enerzijds coördinerend, maar vertonen anderzijds ook overeenkomsten met wat in de literatuur als 'seriële constructie' wordt aangemerkt.

Het laatste hoofdstuk bevat een beschrijving van complexe constructies, namelijk constructies die meer dan een predicaat bevatten, waarin een conjunctie de syntactische relatie tussen deze predicaten aangeeft. Een onderscheid wordt gemaakt tussen coördinerende constructies en bijwoordelijke bijzinnen. Bijwoordelijke bijzinnen zijn syntactisch parallel aan relatieve bijzinnen. Aan het einde van dit hoofdstuk worden tevens een aantal stijlfiguren besproken.

Curriculum Vitae

Philomena Hedwig Dol werd op 3 juni 1966 te Soest geboren. Zij doorliep de middelbare school aan de Jakarta International School te Jakarta en het Rijnlands Lyceum te Oegstgeest waar zij in 1985 het International Baccalaureate diploma behaalde. Daarna studeerde zij Engelse Taal- en Letterkunde aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, waar zij in 1986 haar propaedeutisch examen aflegde, en vervolgens in 1991 het doctoraal examen. In 1993 begon zij aan haar promotieonderzoek als OIO in het kader van het NWO prioriteitsprogramma 'De Irian Jaya Studies: een programma voor Interdisciplinair onderzoek' bij de afdeling Projecten van de Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuid-Oost Azië en Oceanië aan de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden. In 1997 trad zij bij de afdeling Projecten in dienst als medewerker. Sinds 1998 doceert zij Indonesisch aan de Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuid-Oost Azië en Oceanië. Naast haar werk is zij tevens actief in de muziek.