Université libre de Bruxelles
Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres

A TENTATIVE DESCRIPTION OF AWAR PHONOLOGY

AND MORPHOLOGY

(LOWER RAMU FAMILY, PAPUA NEW GUINEA)

Catherine LEVY

Dissertation présentée en vue
de l'obtention du grade de
Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres

Promoteurs :
Prof. Claire GREGOIRE
Prof. William FOLEY

2002-2003

Université libre de Bruxelles
Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres

A TENTATIVE DESCRIPTION OF AWAR PHONOLOGY

AND MORPHOLOGY

(LOWER RAMU FAMILY, PAPUA NEW GUINEA)

Catherine LEVY

Dissertation présentée en vue
de l'obtention du grade de
Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres

Promoteurs :
Prof. Claire GREGOIRE
Prof. William FOLEY

Année académique 2002-2003

mai ne? keri ne?, me nan kambinʌri dumur ne?

Pour Mai et Keri, et tous leurs "wantoks"

Remerciements

ULB

CONTENT

CHAPTER V. THE VERB 193

CHAPTER VI. MISCELLANEOUS WORDS 247

List of abbreviations

Dl	dual
Pl	plural
Pres	present
Past	past
Perf	perfect
Fut	future
Uncfut	uncertain future
Narr	narrative
Dur	durative
Prog	progressive
R	root
LR	long root
SR	short root
Ch	chain
Appr	apprehensive
Attr	attributive

INTRODUCTION : THE LANGUAGES OF NEW GUINEA

1. PAPUA NEW GUINEA: THE COUNTRY

Papua New Guinea, the largest island in the world after Australia (considered a continent) and Greenland, is located right above Australia.

The island is divided in two: the western part, West Papua, has been annexed by Indonesia.

The eastern part of the island, known as Papua New Guinea, is independent since 1975, after having been a German and English colony, then an Australian protectorate.

The total population topped the 5 millions inhabitants at the last census in 2001. Most of the population lives on subsistance farming in the rural areas.

The main towns are the capital, Port Moresby, Lae, Mount Hagen, Goroka and Madang.

Politically, Papua New Guinea follows the parliamentary system, "Westminster Style», and is a member of the Commonwealth.

The country is rich in such resources as: timber, fisheries, copper, gold, gas, and oil.

2. LANGUAGES OF SOUTH PACIFIC AND OF NEW GUINEA :

The South Pacific counts today about 1800 languages – one-third of the world's languages - that come into three groups:

- The Australian languages, from one Australian proto-language; the number of languages are estimated at about 200 prior to European contact, and about 100 today, many of which are endangered.

These languages are spoken in Australia only.

- The Austronesian languages, over 600 languages descending from one proto-language. These languages are spoken today from Madagascar to the whole of South Pacific, mostly on islands and coastal areas.

In New Guinea, these languages are spoken in areas non-occupied by Papuan languages, again, mainly in the coastal areas and on the islands.

- The Papuan languages, about 750 in total, are spoken as far east as Halmahera, and as far west as the Solomon Islands. Most of these languages are spoken on mainland New Guinea.

The term "Papuan" has been deemed misleading, as it does not recognize that these languages do not have a common origin.

It is estimated today that these languages might be classified in about 60 families. Further research will probably review this classification.

The Papuan languages are therefore also referred to- and understood - as "Non-Austronesian».

The languages spoken in the New Guinea region (that is, including mainland New Guinea and offshore islands such as New Britain and New Ireland in the east, and part of Eastern Indonesia) number about 1200 and belong to the Austronesian and to the Papuan families.

Some of the main families of Papuan languages are:

- the Trans New Guinea family: it counts a minimum of 170 languages, which, if further research shows that they are related, might reach 300 languages.
This phylum is represented mainly in the mountain area of central New Guinea, but also in the lowlands, and namely in Madang Province.

- the Lower Ramu family, stretching from the rivers' basin to adjacent riverine and coastal areas, and the Upper Sepik family, in the mid- and upper regions of the Sepik river.

- Toricelli : mostly in the Toricelli Range (West of New Guinea),
- Sko : across the New Guinean and West Papuan border
- West Papuan : in the West Papuan part of the island of New Guinea

- A number of isolates – about one dozen, possibly more – are counted as Papuan languages.

The average language density is of one language for 900 km2, one of the highest in the world.
In some areas of the Sepik-Ramu, and of Madang Province, this average reaches one language for 200 km2.

Reasons for this language density may be threefold:

- the time depth: 50 000 years of human presence represent ample time and opportunity for linguistic diversification.
- the terrain: Papua New Guinea features steep mountains, deep valleys, dense forests and extended swamp areas, all elements that work against human social interaction, and in favor of linguistic diversity.
- social identity: in New Guinea society, language is a major element of community identity, and therefore an element of personal and communal pride.

3. THE LOWER RAMU FAMILY AND THE AWAR LANGUAGE

The Awar language belongs to the Lower Ramu family (Foley 2000).

The family counts five languages which are: Awar, on the North coast, Bosmun on the Ramu, Kaian and Gamai in the mangrove just east of the Ramu, and Watam at the mouth of the Sepik.

Within the family, Awar is most closely related to Bosmun.

Awar speakers number around 1000, in three villages, Awar, Nubia and Sisimangum, along Hansa Bay, on the North coast of New Guinea, 30 km north of Bogia.

Two variants are spoken, one in Awar – recognized as authoritative – the other one in the other two villages.

Awar is surrounded by speakers of the Toricelli phylum, - which they might have displaced east upon their arrival to the coast- and by Austronesian speakers on the islands of Manam and Boisa, with which they have maintained active trade relations.

No language of the Lower Ramu family has been described thoroughly.

David Parrish, of Pioneer Bible Translators, has compiled a tentative grammar of Boroi (1988, unpublished)

William Foley has written an unpublished grammar of Watam (1992), to which the author has had access through personal communications.

4. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PAPUAN LANGUAGES

Within the highly varied structural features of Papuan languages, William Foley (1998) has isolated some that generally apply to most Papuan languages.

On the phonological level, Papuan languages are usually characterized by a simple system of vowels i, e, a, o, u, although the Sepik-Ramu languages feature a high preponderance of central vowels.

The consonants are contrasted as labial, dental/alveolar, velar, and sometimes palatal.
There is usually only one liquid, and no r/l contrast.

Most of these languages are verb-final, except for the Toricelli languages and those that have undergone Austronesian influence.

The order of nominals is often free, as in the West Papuan family, so that it is difficult to strictly classify these languages as of the SOV type. They often feature postpositions.

3

Papuan languages commonly present quite complex morphologies, especially verbs. Agglutinative pattern is frequent. Tense and moods are marked with suffixes. There may occur verb agreement with subject, object and sometimes indirect object.
They usually feature a small number of verb roots, and use verbs series for full descriptions.

Nouns may be inflected for case. Number is rarely signaled on nouns. Some languages feature gender-distinctive classes, or full scale noun-class systems.
Pronoun systems are highly varied, but most often make a distinction between singular, plural and sometimes dual.

We will see that Awar shares some of these characteristics, for instance:
-   its vowel system counts 11 vowels, among which three central vowels
-   verb tense and moods are marked by suffixes and prefix. It does not use agglutination, and there is no verb agreement with subject or object
-   there is no case-marking in nouns, nor class system. Dual and plural are marked. Pronouns are distinct for singular, dual and plural.

The three national languages are :
- English: the language of education; the first language of a very small minority of Papua New Guineans
- Melanesian Tok Pisin: a pidgin belonging to a South Pacific based family. Other languages in this group are spoken in Vanuatu, in the Solomons, and, last century, in the sugar cane plantations of North Queesland.
Tok Pisin is probably the language that counts the highest number of first language speakers in New Guinea. It exerts considerable influence – and pressure, on local languages.
- Motu: an Austronesian language that had expanded as a vernacular language in the southern part of New Guinea. Its expansion has been hindered by the expansion of Tok Pisin in the last years.

5. METHODOLOGY

The information analyzed in this thesis has been gathered during regular stays in Awar village since 1994.

The present report is restricted to the phonology and morphology of the language, as indispensable step before further investigation into the syntax.
The texts collected so far have delivered more information than presented hereafter. These data will be the object of future publications.

The methodology used has allowed the identification of a level of broad phonetics, as laboratory procedures were not available. The search for minimal pairs and the identification of relevant phonemic features has resulted in the formulation of phonological rules.

The description follows an inductive method. Indeed, few models of anterior description are available, and none for the other languages in the family. In the absence of a theoretical model that could have been used with critical distance, the author has therefore adapted to the linguistic situation as it was unfolding. The objective has been to give a maximum of information over the system.

The information has been gathered using Melanesian pidgin as contact language. Drawbacks were twofold: Tok Pisin is not the author's first language, on the one hand. Also, Tok Pisin is an exchange language, but not an accurate language, which made equivalences sometimes difficult: orientationals and space words, for instance, numerous and precise in Awar, were invariably translated in Tok Pisin by "long hia", "over here", and "long ab", over there".

A dictionary of about 1500 entries Awar/Tok Pisin/English is being finalized.
Together with this lexicon , about 20 texts, mostly traditional stories, will also be used as educational material in the elementary school starting in the village in 2003.

Map 1.

Papua New Guinea

140°

150°

0°

New Ireland

Bismark Sea

West Papua
(Indonesia)

Sepik

Manam

Awar

Ramu

Madang

New Britain

Papua New Guinea

Torres Strait

PORT MORESBY

10°

Coral Sea

N

Australia

Australia

100   200   300 km
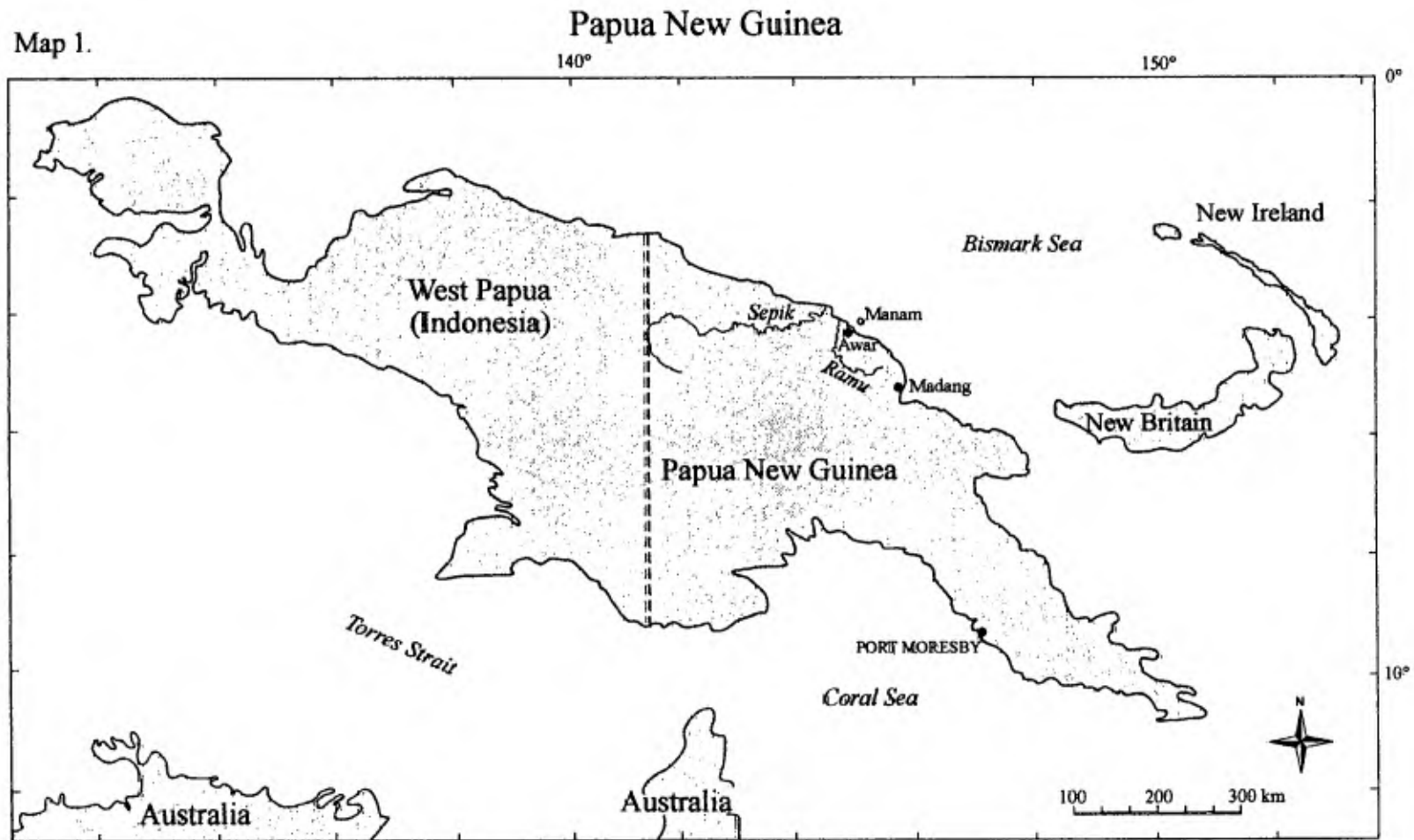
Map 2.　　　The Lower Ramu family

I. PHONOLOGY

In order to present a grammatical analysis of the Awar language, it is first necessary to describe the phonological features of the language. These features include the phonemes, and the phonetic and morphophonemic changes, which are discussed in this section.

1. VOWELS

1.1 Phonetic chart

The 11 vowel phones of Awar language contrast as to point of articulation between front, central and back position.
Vowels contrast as to height between high, medium high, medium low, and low position, with three heights of central vowels.
They contrast as nasal and oral.

	Point of articulation					
	front		central		back	
Tongue position	oral	nasal	oral	nasal	oral	nasal
high	i	ī	ɨ		u	
mid high	e		ʌ		o	
mid low		ɛ̃				ɔ̃
low			a	ã		

1.2. Phonological Chart

All 11 oral and nasal vowels in Awar language are attested as phonemes; they have been opposed in minimal pairs in word-final and interconsonant position, in open and closed syllables when allowed.

The difference in tongue position between medium high and medium low is due to the nasalisation of the vowel.
The phonological chart displays only three levels of height, where the medium position features both oral and nasal versions of the front and back vowels e, o.

Point of articulation						
	front		central		back	
Tongue position	oral	nasal	oral	nasal	oral	nasal
high	i	ī	ɨ		u	
medium	e	ẽ	ʌ		o	õ
low			a	ã		

1.3. Vowel description

1.3.1. Oral vowels

The seven oral vowels [i, ɨ, e, ʌ, a, o, u] are encountered mostly in word-medial and word-final position.
In four examples, two of them, a and o, appear in word-initial position. These examples are quoted with the corresponding phoneme.
No other oral vowel appears in word-initial position.

As far as vowel sequences are concerned, oral vowels have been encountered only in sequences with other oral vowels and with semi-vowels, not with nasal vowels.

1.3.1.1. High oral front vowel [i]

1.3.1.1.a. The high oral front vowel [i] has been encountered

- in word-final position

[kaɾʌmbi] "python" [yandi] "good"   [piri] "skin" [gi]"name"

- in word-medial position: in both open and closed syllables in interconsonantic position

[piɾi] "skin" [nik] "belly"

1.3.1.1.b. Minimal Pairs
The distinctive character of the vowel is attested by the following minimal pairs:
[i] with:

i	[ndi]	"mosquito net "	[ndɨ]	"kundu"
	[mbin]	" calf"	[mbɨn]	"grand-child"
u	[mbit]	" prawn"	[mbut]	"side"
	[mbuni]	" two"	[mbunu]	"North wind"
e	[ɾiɾut]	"cold"	[ɾeɾut]	"he forgot"
	[ɾi?]	"things"	[ɾe?]	"thing"
ʌ	[ni]	"both"	[nʌ]	"he"
	[ɾik]	"fall!"	[ɾʌk]	"middle"
o	[vit]	"sugar"	[vot]	"throat"
	[mbi]	"wait!"	[mbo]	"close!"
a	[mbit]	"prawn"	[mbat]	"he eats"
	[mi]	"so"	[ma]	"eat !"

1.3.1.1.C. Vowel sequences

[i] has not been encountered in initial position of vowel sequence.
It is commonly encountered in final position of vowel sequence, after front and back medium e,o, and low central a

[oi] [voi] "he buried" - narrative style
[ei] [mbei] "he came back"- narrative style
[ai] [mbai] "he buried"- narrative style
[aoi] [taoi] "he tidied"- narrative style

[voy] [mbey] [mbay] [taoy] are indifferently accepted.

In all examples, the rule of facultative semi-vocalisation applies:

rule 13: the vowel i, suffixed after a vowel, or positioned after any vowel except u in open or closed syllable, may be facultatively semi-vocalised into y

This rule applies to verbs

- in sequence after a semi-vowel: [i] has been encountered only after [w]

[wi] [dwiɽe] "he swims"

The description of [y] further analyses the relation between the vowel [i] and the semi-vowel [y].
(See I. 2.3.21)

1.3.1.2. High central oral vowel [ɨ]

The high central oral vowel [ɨ] has been encountered in only a few examples.

1.3.1.2.a   [ɨ] has been encountered in word-medial, interconsonant position only, in open and closed syllable:

[diɽit]	"it creaks "	[mɨŋgit]	"sago insect"
[nim]	"point "	[dɨm]	"kambang"
[mesindip]	"beach"	[tɨm]	"door"

1.3.1.2.b. Minimal Pairs

The distinctive character of the vowel is attested by the following minimal pairs:

[ɨ] with:

i	see i		
u	[dip] "he falls"	[dup] "shark"	
e	not encountered		
o	[piɽit] "he lets go"	[poɽit] "it explodes"	
ʌ	[kin] "naked"	[kʌn] " tree"	
a	[mbɽit·] "it breaks down"	[mbɽat] "she plants"	

1.3.1.2.c. Vowel sequence

Only one example featuring [ɨ] in vowel sequence has been encountered, where [ɨ] appears in initial position before the high back vowel [u]:

[iu] [kiu?] "bed"

11

1.3.1.3. High oral back vowel [u]

1.3.1.3.a. The high oral back vowel [u] has been encountered:

- in word-final position
[mbunu] "North wind" [tu] "plate" [pu] "mouth" [ɾu] "ripe" [ma?mu] "child"

- in word-medial, interconsonantic position, in both open and closed syllables:
[mbunum] "cassowary"
[ŋgum] "face"   [guɾ] "yesterday" [vʌvuɾ] "old"

1.3.1.3.b. Minimal Pairs

The distinctive character of the vowel is attested by the following minimal pairs:
[u] with:

i	see i	
i	see i	
e	[nu] "close to"	[ne] "you"
	[munmun] "fly larvae"	[menmen] "sago spoon"
ʌ	[gut] "heart"	[gʌt] "he stands up"
	[nu] "close to"	[nʌ] "he"
o	[mu] "night"	[mo] "you"
	[vus] "same"	[vos] "paddle!"
a	[mu] "night"	[ma] "eat !"

1.3.1.3.c. Vowel sequences

In one example only [u] has been encountered in vowel sequence initial position:

[ui] [sui] "she scraped"- narrative
Base form: |su?|
Suffixation of mark of narrative –i: |su?-i|
Elision of glottal ? (rule 2) |sui|

[u] has been encountered in only two types of vowel sequence in non-initial position:

[ʌu] [dʒʌuɾ] "type of fish"
[au] [ŋʌɾvauk] "type of fish"
     [ŋʌɾvawk] is accepted

1.3.1.4. Medium oral front vowel [e]

1.3.1.4.a. The medium oral front vowel [e] has not been encountered in word-initial position, except in isolation, as an interjection, used to attract attention.

It has been regularly encountered in word-final and in interconsonant position, in both open and closed syllables:

[saŋɡɾe]   "he goes"   [moŋɡɾe]   "he works"

[veves]   "small chicken"   [nenep]   "dirt"

[kʌne?]   "fishing net"   [monde?]   "over there"

1.3.1.4.b. Minimal Pairs

The distinctive character of the vowel is attested by the following minimal pairs:

e with :
i   see i
ɨ   not encountered
u   see u
o   [me] "they"   [mo] " you"
        [mbe?] "digging stick"   [mbo?] "betelnut"
ʌ   [ne] "you"   [nʌ] "he, she"
        [ŋgep] "rack"   [ŋgʌp] "hip"
a   [ve?] "sago"   [va?] "with"
        [me] "they"   [ma] "eat !"

1.3.1.4.c. Vowel sequences

[e] appears
- in vowel sequence
[ei] [mbei] "he came back" - narrative

- in sequence before and after a semi-vowel:
[ye] [kyeɾe] "he cuts"
[ey] [gey] "type of fish"
[we] [kwe] - interjection of surprise or pity

13

A number of examples of verbs conjugated in narrative point towards a relationship between [e] and [ʌ]:

[gwʌʔɽe]	"she cooks"	[gwey]	" cooked" - narrative
[gʌʔɽe]	"she gets up"	[gey]	"got up" - narrative
[mbʌʔɽe]	"he came back"	[mbey]	"came back" – narrative

where, upon suffixation onto the verb root of the mark of narrative i, facultatively semi-vocalized into y, ʌ always alternates with e within the verb root.

Chapter I.1.6. on vowel centralisation tendency will give further information on [e] and [ʌ]'s respective position within the vowel system.

1.3.1.5. Medium central oral vowel [ʌ]

1.3.1.5.a. The medium central oral vowel [ʌ] has been encountered:

- in word final position: only two examples
[nabʌ] "mango" [ɣʌ] - suffix of chain form

- in interconsonant position, in both open and closed syllables
[vʌvʌɽ] "white" [dɽwʌʔɽe] "he drifts'" [ɽʌtaɽ] "sawfish"

1.3.1.5. b. Minimal Pairs

The distinctive character of the vowel is attested by the following minimal pairs:
ʌ with

i	see i		
i	see i		
e	see e		
u	[kʌn] "tree"	[kun] "package"
o	[ndʒʌk] "he cuts"	[ndʒok] "if"
	[mʌ] – progressive	[mo] "you"
a	[kʌn] "tree"	[kan] "fish"

1.3.1.5.c. Vowel sequences

[ʌ] has been encountered only in initial position of vowel sequence, in two examples:

[ʌo] [sʌok] "type of fish"
[ʌu] [dʒʌuɽ] "type of fish"

[ʌ] has been encountered in sequence after and before a semi-vowel:

[wʌ]   [gwʌʔɾe]   "he cuts"
       [dɾwʌʔɾe]   "he turns around"

[yʌ]   [dʒyʌɾ] "dry season"

[ʌw]   [nʌwtʌ] "how"

As introduced in the discussion of vowel [e], vowel [ʌ] is not encountered before semi-vowel [y] in places where it could have been expected, but appears to alternate there with [e]:

[mbʌɾe] "he came back"   [mbey] "he came back" – narrative

This alternance is further discussed in I.1.6.

1.3.1.6. Medium oral back vowel [o]

1.3.1.6.a. The medium oral back vowel [o] has been encountered :

- in word-initial position in two examples:
[ore] "yes"
[o] – "or" (could have been borrowed from pidgin)
    - interjection, used to draw attention or for confirmation

- in word-final position and in interconsonantic position, in both open and closed syllables
[koɾondo] "pawpaw" [komgo] "flower" [kodoɾ] "type of marsupial" [ɾomemet]"butterfly"

1.3.1.6.b. Minimal Pairs

The distinctive character of the vowel is attested by the following minimal pairs:

[o] with
i   see i
ɨ   see ɨ
e   see e
u   see u
ʌ   see ʌ
a   [poʔ] "spear"   [paʔ] "arrive"
        [mbo] "close !"   [mba] "basket"

15

1.3.1.6.c. Vowel sequences

[o] has been encountered in initial position of vowel sequence in one example only, before [i]:
[oi]   [voi]   "he buries"

It has been found in non-initial position of vowel sequence, after [a]:
[ao]   [ɾao]   "sun"
[yao]   [nyaom]   "scorpion"
[aoi]   [taoi]   "tidied" -narrative

[o] in semi-vowel sequence, before and after [y]
[yo]   [yos]   "type of tree"
[oy]   [voy]   "he buried" - narrative
[aoy]   [taoy]   "he tidied" -narrative

where, in the last two examples, [y] is the facultative realisation of [i]:

1.3.1.7. Low central oral vowel [a]

1.3.1.7.a. The low central oral vowel [a] has been encountered:

- in word-initial position in two examples
[ay] "we"   [a] "this"

- in word-final position and in interconsonant position, in both open and closed syllables:
[tamu] "above"   [byena] "casuarina"   [maɾe]– proper noun
[paɾ] "hand"   [siɣat] "small"

1.3.1.7.b. Minimal Pairs

The distinctive character of the vowel is attested by the following minimal pairs:

[a]   with
i   see i
ɨ   see ɨ
u   see u
e   see e
ʌ   see ʌ
o   see o

1.3.1.7.c. Vowel sequences

[a] has been encountered in initial position of vowel sequence, before [o][i]:

[ao] [ɾao] "sun" [ŋʌɾvaok] "type of fish"
[ai] [mbai] "he ate" - narrative

It has been found in semi-vowel sequence:

[wa] [kwaʔɾe] "he gets out of the way"
[ya] [kyaɣaɾ] "flying fox"
[ay] [ɾay] "under"
      [mbay] "ate" –narrative

The last example is accepted as the facultative alternative to [mbai].

1.3.2. Nasal vowels

All nasal vowels are rare, only a few examples of each one has been found.
Except in one instance, the nasal vowels in simple word singular are encountered in word-final position exclusively, in open syllable.

1.3.2.1.Description

High nasal front vowel [ĩ]: only two examples
[tĩ] "throat"
[nĩ] "base"

Medium low nasal front vowel [ɛ̃]:
[ɾwɛ̃] "bush"
[ndʌndɛ̃] "spoiled"
[dwɛ̃] "coconut"
[yɛ̃] "ask!"
[ŋʌdɛ̃] "freshwater turtle"
[ndʒʌndʒɛ̃] "strength"

[dwɛ̃ŋit] - proper noun - the only example of a nasal vowel in word-medial position: in open syllable, followed by nasal consonant ŋ

Medium low nasal back vowel [ɔ̃]
[tɔ̃]   "grand-father'"
[mɔ̃]   "guts"
[bɔ̃]   "tend!"
[mɔ̃]   "work!"

Low nasal central vowel [ã]
[ndwã]   "brother"
[sã]   "go!"
[kimã]   "run away!"

1.3.2.2. Minimal Pairs

The distinctive character of the vowels is attested by the following minimal pairs:

ĩ with
i   [nĩ] "base"   [ni]   "both"
ɨ   not encountered
u   [nĩ] "base   [nu]   "close to"
e   [nĩ] "base"   [ne]   "you Pl"
ʌ   [nĩ] "base"   [nʌ]   "he, she"
o   [tĩ] "throat"   [to]   "before"
a   [tĩ] "throat"   [ta]   "come up"

ɛ̃   not encountered
ɨ̃   [tĩ] "throat"   [tɔ̃]   "grand-father"
ã   [nĩ] "base"   [nã]   "give !"

ɛ̃ with
i   not encountered
u   not encountered
e   [ɽwɛ̃] "bush"   [ɽwe] "foot"
ʌ   [ɽwɛ̃] "bush"   [ɽwʌ] "foot" (rapid speech)
o   not encountered
a   [yɛ̃] "ask"   [ya]   "friend"
ɨ   not encountered
ɔ̃   not encountered
ã   [ndwɛ̃] "coconut"   [ndwã] "brother"
        [yɛ̃] "ask"   [yã]   "good"

õ with

i	[mõ]	"guts"	[mi]	"narration"	
ɨ	not encountered				
u	[mõ]	"guts"	[mu]	"night"	
e	[mõ]	"guts"	[me]	"they"	
ʌ	[mõ]	"guts"	[mʌ]	– progressive	
o	[mõ]	"guts"	[mo]	"you"	
a	[mõ]	"guts"	[ma]	"eat!"	

ɛ̃	not encountered				
ĩ	[tõ]	"grand-father"	[tĩ]	"throat"	
ã	[ɾõ]	"laugh"	[ɾã]	"throw"	

ã with

i	[nã]	"give!"	[ni]	"both"	
ɨ	not encountered				
u	[nã]	"give!"	[nu]	"close to"	
e	[nã]	"give!"	[ne]	"you Pl"	
ʌ	[nã]	"give!"	[nʌ]	"he, she"	
o	not encountered				
a	[yã]	"good"	[ya]	"friend"	

ĩ	[nã]	"give!"	[nĩ]	"base"	
ɛ̃	[yã]	"good"	[yɛ̃]	"ask"	
õ	not encountered				

All nasal vowels may be opposed to their oral counterpart.

1.3.2.3. Nasal vowel sequences

a. Nasal vowels do not appear in sequence with oral or nasal vowels

b. Nasal vowels have been encountered in semi-vowel sequences, in only four examples:
[wɛ̃] [ɾwɛ̃] "bush"   [dwɛ̃] "coconut"   [dwɛ̃ŋit] "durangit" - proper noun
[wã] [ndwã] "brother"
[yã] [yã] "good"

b. Relationship between nasal vowel and nasal or prenasalised consonant

The following examples show that the nasal vowels come from a sequence vowel + nasal, or vowel + prenasalised consonant, in an earlier stage of the language.

The first example features the two plurals allowed for a simple noun ending with nasal vowel. The second plural shows how the nasal vowel [ɔ̃] is the realization of the sequence vowel + velar nasal [oŋ] in word-final position:

[tɔ̃]   "grandfather"
[tɔ̃ɾi]   "grandfathers"
[toŋoɾi]   "ancestors"

Verb conjugation shows the alternance between nasal vowel [ã, ɔ̃], on the short root, and the sequence vowel+prenasalised consonant on the long root: (see V.2)

[mɔ̃]   "do!"
[moŋgɾe]   "he does"
[moŋgo] – "do "

[sã]   "go!"
[saŋgat]   "went"
[saŋgʌ]   "go"

These examples and the morphological rules that explain them are discussed in I.1.8.

The examples above show that the language features nasal vowels as coming from a sequence composed of vowel + nasal consonant in an earlier stage of the language.
As they have shown a distinct phonological status in the language today, the nasal vowels appear in the phonological chart.

Conclusions for vowels:
All 11 oral and nasal vowels in Awar language are attested as phonemes by minimal pairs in word-final and interconsonant position, in open and closed syllables when allowed.
Some Awar vowels are allowed in word-initial position in only four examples; they are common in word-final position

1.4. Vowel and semi-vowel sequences

Vowel and semi-vowel sequences as encountered are featured in the summary table hereunder:

Sequence initial position:

	i	ɨ	e	ʌ	a	u	o	w	y	ī	ɛ̃	õ	ã
i	–	–	e i	–	a i	u i	o i	w i	–	–	–	–	–
ɨ	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
e	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	we wey	y e	–	–	–	–
ʌ	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	w ʌ	y ʌ	–	–	–	–
a	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	wa way	ya yao yay	–	–	–	–
u	–	ɨ u	–	ʌ u	a u	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
o	–	–	–	ʌ o	ao aoy aoi	–	–	w o	y o	–	–	–	–
w	–	–	–	ʌ w	a w	–	o w	–	–	–	–	–	–
y	–	–	e y	ʌ y	a y	–	o y	–	–	–	–	–	–
ī	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ɛ̃	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	w ɛ̃	y ɛ̃	–	–	–	–
õ	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ã	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	w ã	y ã	–	–	–	–

- only two nasal vowels out of four appear in sequence after semi-vowel , and only in four examples.

- nasal vowels appear in second position of semi-vowel sequence only (as they always appear in word-final position, except for one example).

- all except one sequence of three vowels feature at least one semi-vowel, and maximum two, either in sequence-initial or-final position.

- the semi-vowels [w] and [y] are analyzed in I.2.3.21.

1.5. General comments and phonological rules for vowels

1.5.1. Vowel sequences as diphtongues

All vowel sequences are diphtongues that may be analyzed as one simple nucleus.
Indeed, only monosyllabic words follow the rules of vowel insertion and harmonization when they function as first component of a compound noun.
The words of CVVC and CSVVC type follow these rules. They must therefore be considered as monosyllabic, not as of CV + VC type.

Example:

kaos	"ghost"	mot	"man"	kaosomot	"white man"
pʌur	"four"	tiɣi	"time"	pʌurutiɣi	"four o'clock"
nyaom	"scorpion"	par	"leg"	nyaomopar	"scorpion's leg"

1.5.2. Vowel insertion and harmonization

The conjugation of verbs, the formation of compound nouns and of some plurals, bring about vowel addition or insertion and harmonization, then consonant alternance when applicable.
Consonant alternance will be examined later in chapter I.2.7.; vowel insertion and harmonization is analyzed hereunder.

The language features vowel addition or insertion in the following cases:

a. formation of long verb root:

All verb roots except those ending with a vowel or with the glottal ʔ are realized optionally in a short and a long root (see V.2.).
The formation of the long root occurs by suffix addition: the suffix is here a vowel harmonized on the vowel of the preceding syllable:

|vas-a|	vasa	"look"
|pir-i|	piri	"clap"
|yemb-e|	yembe	"know"
|moŋg-o|	moŋgo	"make"

b. formation of compound nouns, the first part of which is monosyllabic ending with m,n,r,s,p,t,k

sem	"louse"	par	"leg"	semepar	"louse leg"
van	"warmth"	mok	"water"	vanʌmok	"boiling water"

par "hand"	kundum "nail"	parakundum	"fingernail"
vis "pandanus"	ŋgʌri "rope"	visiŋgʌri	"rope made out of pandanus fibre"
yʌp "redness"	ndumi "potato"	yʌvʌndumi	"red potato"
sʌk "fish"	tyem "bamboo"	sʌyʌtyem	"fish cooked in bamboo"
set "louse"	mam "mother"	seremam	"femal louse"

The formation of compound nouns, the first part of which is monosyllabic ending with p,t,k features vowel insertion and consonant alternance, as detailed in I.2.7.

c. alternant plural of one word:

[tɔ̃] "grandfather"   [tɔ̃ri] "grandfathers"   [toŋori] "ancestors"

This last example will be discussed in I.1.8.

The oral vowels [i, e, ʌ, a, o, u] are maintained in this insertion process.

d. insertion of vowel after complex nucleus

In the case of complex nucleus, it is the last vowel of the sequence that will be reduplicated:

pʌur	"four"	tiɣi	"time"	pʌurutiɣi	"Thursday"
nyaom	"scorpion"	par	"hand"	nyaomopar	"scorpion's leg"
kaos	"spirit"	mot	"white man"	kaosomot	"white man"
paot	"stone"	sʌk	"fish"	paorosʌk	"reef fish"
ŋgʌop	"thigh"	piri	"skin"	ŋgʌovopiri	"thigh' skin"
ŋdyet	"side"	to	"house"	ndyereto	"the house on the side"

The last three examples feature the consonant alternance specific to inflected monosyllabic nouns ending with k,p,t - see I.2.7.

e. insertion of vowel after a VS nucleus

The sequence [ey] presents a particular treatment, namely vowel metathesis, upon formation of compound noun :

Base form:	|meis| "salt"	|teip| "tulip tree"
Semi-vocalisation:	|meys|	|teyp|

The semi-vocalization occurs according to the following rule:
rule 15: the vowels i and u are always semi-vocalized into y and w between any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant and any vowel, and between any vowel and any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant in syllable coda positon, or in onset of the following syllable.

Upon formation of compound noun, the first component of which contains the sequence e i , there occurs vowel insertion and harmonization, then elision of the second vowel of the complex nucleus:

me i s "salt"   mok   "water"
vowel insertion and harmonization |me i s imok|
disappearance of second vowel of complex nucleus |me s imok|
                                                 /me s imok/ "sea'"

te i p "tulip tree"   par   "leaf"
vowel insertion and harmonization |te i v i par|
disappearance of second vowel of complex nucleus |te v i par|
                                                 /te v i par/ "tulip tree leaf"

f. inflection rule in more complex compound nouns

This inflection rule has been observed also in the case of more complex compound nouns, composed of three common nouns:

[vʌk] "wing" [bit] "feather" [ŋgiŋgir] "color"
[vʌ.ɣʌ.bi.ri.ŋgi.ŋgir] "the color of the wing's feather'

Through this process, words of up to six syllables are being created, whereas the language features simple words of maximum three syllables.

1.5.3. Vowel centralisation tendency

For some vowels, examples have been observed that feature a tendency to centralization of the inserted vowel.
This tendency to centralization represents an important element of Awar morphophonology.

Awar language has three central vowels, all three phonemic: i,ʌ,a

The following examples testify of the further tendency of the language to centralize back and front vowels:

24

1.5.3.1. Medium front e, and medium back o, to medium central ʌ

An alternance of the medium front and back vowels e,o with the medium central ʌ is accepted, in both open and closed syllables:

- in everyday language, in rapid speech,

ŋye?	ŋyʌ?	"pot"
rwe	rwʌ	"leg"
vanen	vanʌn	- negation
mbombē	mbʌmbē	"wind"
mborire	mbʌrire	"he spits"

- in verb conjugation, in such tenses as simple past and perfect, and in long root, that involve vowel insertion and harmonization:

when the vowel of the first syllable is [e], the reduplicated vowel will be [ʌ]:
yem "know!" yembʌt "he knew"

Vowel centralization does not always apply:
nek   "love!" neyet "he loved"

- upon formation of the durative form:
the durative form of the verb is formed by preposing the reduplicated first syllable to the root form. When the original vowel is o, the reduplicated vowel may be the central ʌ:

moŋgre "he works"	momoŋgre	mʌmoŋgre "he works for a long time"
roŋgre "he laughs"	roroŋgre	rʌroŋgre "he laughs for a long time"

However, when the original vowel is u,i, no vowel alternance has been observed in the reduplication process:

dwire	"he swims"	dudwire	"he swims for a long time"
dʒyere	"he goes"	dʒidʒyere	"he goes for a long time"
kure	"she harvests"	kukure	"she harvest for a long time"

1.5.3.2. High central vowel i, and low central a, to medium central vowel ʌ:

An alternance of the medium front and back vowels a with the medium central ʌ is accepted, in both open and closed syllables:

- in everyday language, in rapid speech

rʌɣam	rʌɣʌm	"pig"
ŋgari	ŋgʌri	"vine"
saŋgam	sʌŋgam	"knife"

- in verb conjugation, in such tenses as simple past and perfect, and in long root, that involve vowel insertion and harmonization:

when the vowel of the first syllable is i, the reduplicated vowel will be ʌ:

kip	"come !"	kivʌt	"he came"
dip	"break !"	divʌt	"he broke"

when the vowel of the first syllable is a, the inserted vowel may be ʌ:

ŋare	"he hits"	ŋarat	or	ŋarʌt	"he hit"
saŋgre	"he goes"	saŋgat	or	saŋgʌt	"he went"
gware	"he cuts"	gwarat	or	gwarʌt	"he cut"

- in compound noun formation, if the first vowel is a, the inserted vowel may be ʌ:

ɣam	"talis tree"	sʌk	"fruit"	ɣamʌsʌk		"talis fruit"
par	"hand"	kundum	"shield"	parakundum parʌkundum		"fingernail"

- in the durative form of the verb, when the first vowel is a, the inserted vowel may be ʌ:

saŋgre	sʌsaŋgre	"he walks for a long time"
kare	kʌkare	"he is there for a long time"
paʔre	pʌʔpaʔre	"it happens for a long time"

However, a few examples show the reverse relationship between ʌ and another vowel, e, where the narrative form, with e, may feature the trace of an older, not centralized form of the verb:

gwʌʔ-re	"he cooks"	gwey	"he cooked" - narrative
gʌʔ-re	"he stands up"	gey	"he came"- narrative
kirʌʔ-re	"he pulls"	kirey	"he pulled" - narrative
mbʌ-re	"he comes back "	mbey	"he came back" - narrative
gurʌʔ-re	"he hangs up"	gurey	"he hung up" – narrative

1.5.4. Medialization: High front vowel i to medium front vowel e:

in two examples (one in verb conjugation, and one in compound noun formation), the narrative form and the compound form feature the replacement of i by e:

nwi re "it sinks"   nwey – narrative

ŋwi t "turmeric, ext. yellow" ndumi "potato"   ŋwerendumi or ŋwirindumi "yellow potato"

1.5.5.Comments on centralization and medialization tendency

The various examples point towards a general tendency, within the oral vowel system, of vowel centralization, whereby front and back vowels tend or may to be replaced by a central vowel, and of medialization, whereby a high vowel tend or may be replaced by a medium vowel.

The summary table below shows how, in different instances of the languages such as rapid speech or vowel harmonization, the language tends to replace or at least accepts the replacement of:

- high front vowel i by medium front vowel e,
- front medium e and back medium o by medium central ʌ
- high central i , low central a by medium central ʌ.

	Front	Central	back
high	i ⇓	ɨ ⇓	u
medium	e ⇒	ʌ ⇑	⇐ o
low		a	

No example has been encountered that testify that u nor i is affected by the centralization tendency.

Nasal vowels are rare; no example has been found to show whether they are affected by these tendencies.

Observations point towards a tendency, not a finished movement. It appears clearly, however, that a present ʌ may be the centralized form of a or e.

1.5.6. Relation between nasal vowels and nasal consonants

Different examples testify of the special relationship between nasal vowel, and vowel + velar nasal consonant ŋ:

a. Nouns

tõ "grand father"   tõri "grand-fathers"   toŋori "ancestors"

Both plurals are accepted, however with different meanings, the second one referring to an "enlarged" group of people, rather than to an immediate relationship to the speaker.

The example seems to indicate that the base form of the noun is [toŋ]; the formation of the plural follows rule 3:
rule 3: between any two consonants, except ?, there may occur insertion of a vowel, harmonized on the vowel of the preceding syllable
This rule is compulsory for nouns, and facultative for verbs.

Indeed, if the base form were [ton], the plural would be tonori.[1]

kõkõ morori is the Awar word used to designate Chinese men. It is a loanword that reflects the local pronunciation of "HongKong". This example shows how the – in this case foreign - ending oŋg is changed into the nasal vowel.

b. Indicative present and past, and short verbal root

An alternance has been observed in verb conjugation, between Vŋ in indicative present and past, and nasal V in short verbal root.

| saŋgre | "he goes" | sā | "go!" |
| ŋganaŋgat | "he gave" | ŋganā | "give!" |

---

[1]Note: Awar language allows -ŋ- in final position only rarely:
[bisaŋ]   "Boisa island"
[kabuaŋ]   "Boroi river"
[pariŋ]   "both hands"
The first 2 examples are proper nouns, the third one is a less common, maybe older form of the current parni. So, the examples of ŋ in word-final position are few and not really significant.

| raraŋgʌ | "dried"-long root | rarã | "dry!" |

| moŋgre | "he does" | mõ | "do!" |

but:
| kesuŋgre | "he answers" | kesu | "answer!" |
| kiŋgre | "he coughs" | ki | "cough!" |

All verb having a sequence Vŋ- in the simple present, past, and in the long root, have a nasal vowel ending the short root form, except when V is i or u.

Three more roots have been encountered that confirm the relation between nasal vowel and Vŋ-sequence.

| pisã | "taste" | pisaŋgre | "to please"(for taste) |

| ndʒʌndʒẽ | "strength" | ndʒʌndʒʌŋgre | "to strengthen" |

| ndʌndẽ | "spoiled"" | ndʌndʌŋgre | "to spoil" |

The first two roots are encountered as substantives, the last one as a verb-derived adjective.
In all three cases, we find the nasal vowel in word-final position, and the sequence Vŋ in word-medial position.

Note : ū has not been found in the language. u is common in word final position. ī is found in the language, in two nouns only, and both times in word-final position. i is common in word-final position.

c. Choice of base form

- the simple present is formed by suffixing the mark of simple present -re onto the root.
This suffixation brings about no morphological changes except when the verb root ends with V+ ŋg-re and V+ mb-re
When this is the case, a base form has to be chosen.

We observe:

	"do"	"go"	"ask"	"crumb"	"cough"
short root	mõ	sã	yẽ	dundum	ki
present	moŋg-re	saŋg-re	yeŋg-re	dundumb-re	kiŋg-re
future	moŋg-rene	saŋg-rene	yeŋg-rene	dundumb-rene	kiŋg-rene
long root	moŋgo	saŋgʌ	yeŋgʌ	dundumbu	kiŋgi

29

The verb root could be ending with ŋ or ŋg.

The choice of the velar ŋ or bilabial m is not enough to explain the presence of the voiced occlusive g and b in the simple present, as the inseretion of an occlusive in such environment is common in numerous languages.

The choice of the prenasalized, respectively velar ŋg, and bilabial mb, seems preferable: this choice allows for the most credible re-construction of the process; as said earlier, no consonant sequence has been encountered in word-final position. ŋg is analysed as one single phoneme.

The short root might be analyzed as follows:

rule 11: in word-final position, the prenasalized velar ŋg, bilabial mb, are reduced to the simple nasal, respectively velar ŋ, bilabial m and alveolar n

rule 12: in word-final position, the nasal velar ŋ always nasalizes the preceding vowel, except if it is a high vowel, then the consonant is deleted.

|moŋg| ==> moŋ ==> mõŋ ==> mõ
|saŋg| ==> saŋ ==> sãŋ ==> sã
|yeŋg| ==> yeŋ ==> yẽŋ ==> yẽ

|kiŋg| ==> kiŋ ==> ki
|kesuŋg| ==> kesuŋ ==> kesu

|dundumb| ==> dundum

The only example of the alternance nasal vowel and V+ŋ in noun seems to orient the choice of a base form towards V+ŋ, rather than V+n, for that instance.
Base form: toŋ ==> tõ "grand father"   tõri "grand-fathers"   toŋori "ancestors"

2. CONSONANTS

The consonants of Awar contrast
- in manner of articulation:
- nasal
- oral: occlusive   voiceless
                               voiced

              flap
              fricative   voiceless
                               voiced

              affricate
              prenasalised

- in place of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, palato-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal.
All Awar consonants are produced with egressive lung air.

2.1. Phonetic chart

Point of articulation manner of articulation	bilabial	alveolar	alveo-palatal	palatal	velar	glottal
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Occlusive 　　　voiceless 　　　voiced	p b	t d		k	g	ʔ
Retroflex flap			ɽ			
Approximant	w			y		
Fricative 　　　voiceless 　　　voiced	 v	s z			 ɣ	
Affriquate			dʒ			
Prenasalised 　　Occlusive 　　affricate	mb	nd ndʒ			ŋg	

31

2.2. Phonological chart

Point of articulation / manner of articulation	bilabial	alveo palatal	velar	glottal
Nasal	m	n	ŋ	
Occlusive voiceless voiced	p b	t d	k g	 ʔ
Retroflex flap		ʈ		
Approximant	(w)		y	
Fricative voiceless voiced	 v	s z	 ɣ	
Affriquate		dʒ		
Prenasalised occlusives affricate	mb	nd ndʒ	ŋg	

All 22 consonants in the phonetic chart are attested as phonemes; for all of them, minimal pairs have been found in word-initial, word-medial and word-final position, when allowed.

The analysis of the four prenasalised consonants will show that:
- there are no rules of automatic prenasalisation, and the language features non-homorganic consonant sequences, although never in word-initial position
- the prenasalised consonants are the only "consonant sequences" including a nasal that are allowed in word-initial position
- the only group of consonant allowed in word initial position is Cr, and not CCr. NCr is attested in that position.
The four prenasalised consonants are therefore analyzed as consonantal units rather than as consonant sequences, and appear in the phonological chart.

Notes:
- the analysis of [w] will show that it functions as a distinctive unit, even if it is not a distinctive structural unit, but the representation of [u] in specific environments.
- for reasons of graphic comfort, and because there is no possible confusion, the flap [ɾ] will be written r on a phonological level.

2.3. Consonant description

For each consonant, the description will include:
1. Articulation description
2. Position: encountered
       a. word-initial
       b. word-final
       c. word-medial: in intervowel position
                            before consonant
                            after consonant
3. Minimal Pairs
       a. word-initial
       b. word-final
       c. word medial

Note:
- [ʔ] does not appear in word-initial position
- [b, d, g, ɣ, v, mb, nd, ndʒ, ŋg] do not appear in word-final position
- [ŋ] is extremely rare in word final position
- [z] has been encountered in only one example, in word-medial position
- No consonant cluster has been encountered in word-final position

2.3.1. Bilabial nasal [m]

2.3.1.1. The bilabial nasal [m] has been encountered:

- in word-initial position
[mʌɾi] "woman" [mot]"man" [mok] "water" [moŋgɾe]" he works"

- in word-final position
[ɾʌɣam] "pig" [kam] "sound" [ndʒeɾam]"lung" [kundum]"shield"

- in word-medial position:

    - in intervowel position:

[dumuɾ]"all" [ɾomʌmet]"butterfly" [gʌmi] "East wind" [ŋgumi]"crocodile"

    - followed by consonant:

[mz][sʌmza?] "heavy" (one example only)
[mg][komgo] "flower" [nemgoɾ]- proper noun [kumgit] "type of tree"
[md][kamdoŋ]- proper noun [mamdep]"thumb"
[mk][sumki]- proper noun
[mdʒ][sʌmdʒom] "type of tree" [ndimdʒiɾa?] "lightning"
[mŋ][maɾamŋap] "funeral song"
[mnd][ndimndiɣiɾ] "pus"

    - preceded by consonant:

[nm][venmot] "very" [veynme?] "older sister"
[km][vʌkma?] "death adder" [pʌkme?] "turtle"
[tm][bitmʌ] "bird"
[?m][ma?mu] "child"

2.3.1.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position:
[m] with:

[n]	[mu]	"night"		[nu]	"close to "
[ŋ]	[mam]	"mother"		[ŋam]	"spoon"
[p]	[mu]	"night"		[pu]	"mouth"
[b]	[mu]	"night"		[bu]	"wall"
[v]	[may]	- negation		[vay]	"listen!"
[mb]	[ma]	"eat!"		[mba]	"basket"
[nd]	[ma]	"eat!"		[nda]	"those"
[ndʒ]	[nʌ mi]	"that one"	cf.	[nendʒi]	"how much"
[ŋg]	[ma]	"eat!"		[ŋga]	"both of them"
[ɣ]	[ma]	"eat"		[ɣa]	"friend"

- in word-final position
[m] with
[n] [ŋgum] "nose"   [ŋgun] "tail"
[ŋ]- not encountered
[p] [ɾum] "kwila -tree"   [ɾup] "thigh"

- in word-medial position: minimal pairs have been found for the following phones only:

[s] [komopaɾ] "bamboo leaf"   [kosopaɾ] "banana leaf"
[ɣ] [semʌpaɾ] "coconut leaf"   cf. [sʌɣʌpaɾ] "fish fin"
[ɾ] [komopan] "bamboo top"   [koɾopan] "canoe point"

2.3.2. Alveolar nasal [n]

2.3.2.1. The alveolar nasal [n] has been encountered:

- in word-initial position
[nik] "belly" [nu?] "egg" [nay] "where" [nabʌ] "mango"

- in word-final position:
[nin] "some, a certain" [mbɾibin] "three" [yimbin] "rodent"

- in word-medial position:
    - intervowel:
[vanen] "no" [mbunu] "cassowary" [mbunum] "North wind" [kina] "type of parrot"

    - before consonant:
[nb]	[yanbit]	"reed"	[bonbon]	"type of coconut"
[np]	[manpavuɾ]	"type of fish"	[panpan]	"one of each "
[nm]	[menmen]	"sago spoon"	[venmot]	"main"
[nɣ]	[ndinɣiɾe]	"slide"- one example only		
[nv]	[punvaɾ]	"lip" - one example only		
[ng]	[mangwagi]	"crow" - one example only		
[nk]	[diɣinkot]	"far away"		
[nmb]	[mbʌnmbʌn]	"trevally"		

    - after consonant:
[mn]	[nemniɾe]	"he is wet" - one example
[kn]	[ɾikni]	- proper noun
[ɾn]	[paɾni]	"both hands"
[tn]	[setni]	"both lice"
[pn]	[ɾupni]	"both thighs"
[kn]	[sʌkni]	"both fishes"
[sn]	[pisni]	"both sores"

2.3.2.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position

[n] with:

[m] see [m]

[ŋ]	[naɽ]	"grass skirt"	[ŋaɽ]	"hit!"
[t]	[nu]	"close to"	[tu]	"plate"
[d]	[nu]	"close to"	[du]	"dugong"
[s]	[ni]	"both"	[si]	"penis"
[ɽ]	[nu]	"close to"	[ɽu]	"ripe"
[mb]	[nu]	"close to"	[mbu]	"mourning"
[nd]	[nin]	"a certain"	[ndin]	– negation
[ndʒ]	– not encountered			
[ŋg]	[naɽ]	"grass skirt"	cf. [ŋgʌɽ]	"take!"
[ɣ]	[nã]	"give"	[ɣã]	"good"

- in word-final position

[n] with

[m] –see [m]

[ŋ] - not encountered

[p]	[kan]	"flat fish"	[kap]	"reunion"
[k]	[ven]	"bird of paradise"	cf.[vʌk]	"rest"
[t]	[gun]	"earthquake"	[gut]	"heart"
[s]	[ven]	"bird of paradise"	[ves]	"peel!"
[ɽ]	[gun]	"earthquake"	[guɽ]	"yesterday"

- in word-medial position

The almost minimal pairs have been found:

[n] with

[ɣ]	[bunum]	"type of wind"	cf.[buɣun]	"banana stalk"
	[byena]	"casuarina tree"	cf.[byeɣʌ]	"he bit" (chain form)
[ɽ]	[byena]	"casuarina tree"	cf.[byeɽe]	"he bites"

[ndʒ] [neni] "each other"   [nendʒi] "which?"

2.3.3. Velar nasal [ŋ]

2.3.3.1. The velar nasal [ŋ] has been encountered:

- in word initial position

[ŋaɽe] "he hits" [ŋesiɽe] "he is tired" [ŋi] "story"

36

- in word final position: very rare, only two proper nouns

[kamdoŋ]-proper noun   [bisaŋ]"Boisa island"

- in word medial position:

     - in intervocalic position:

[saŋaɾ]"rudder"   [ŋaŋaɾ] "work"   [dwẽŋit]- proper noun
[toŋoɾi]"ancestors"   [kyeɾeŋam]"kina shell"   [kʌvaŋit]"type of fish"

     - before consonant:

[ŋk][neŋke] "happy" - one example

     - after consonant:

[ʔŋ] [ɾeʔŋaŋaɾ] "work"
[pŋ] [kuɾuɣupŋem]- proper noun
[ɾŋ] [maɾoɾŋas] "type of banana"

2.3.3.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position:

[ŋ] with:
[m]   see [m]
[n]   see [n]
[k]   [ŋam]   "spoon"   [kam]   "sound, language"
[g]   [ŋi]   "story"   [gi]   "name"
[ɣ]   [ŋaɾ]   "hit!"   [ɣaɾ]   "arm"
[mb]   [ŋaɾe] "I hit"   [mbaɾe] "I eat"
[nd]   [ŋi]   "story"   [ndi]- negation
[ndʒ]- not encountered
[ŋg]   [ŋgʌm] "corner"   [gʌm]   "cough"
[y]   [ŋam]   "new"   [yam]   "canoe outrigger"

- in word-final position

[ŋ] is very rare in word-final position. No minimal pair has been found

- in word-medial position: no minimal pair has been found

2.3.4. Voiceless bilabial occlusive [p]

2.1.4.1. The voiceless bilabial occlusive [p] has been encountered:

- in word-initial position
[paɽ] "hand"   [pisã] "taste"   [pan]"head"   [pis]"sore"   [pa?ɽe]"she pushes"

- in word-final position:
[kiɽʌp]"vegetable"   [guɽʌp]"tomorrow"   [nop]"paddle"   [teyp]"tulip"

- in word-medial position:

        - in intervowel position:
[mʌpiɽe] "she is clapping hands"   [mʌpa?ɽe] "she is preparing"
[kapok]"kapok tree"(loan word from pidgin)

        - before consonant:
[pɽ]   [ŋapɽi] "songs"
[pɣ]   [kapɣiɽe] "she rolls up"
[ps]   [sepsok] "type of tree"
[pp]   [miɽʌppan] "ancestor's flute"
[pŋg] [miɽʌpŋgum] "ancestor's carving"
[pŋ]   [kuɽuɣupŋem] - proper noun

        - after consonant:
[ɽp]   [puɽpuɽ]- proper noun
[np]   [panpan] "one of each "
[?p]   [ka?pan] "knee"

2.3.4.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position
[p] with:
[m] see [m]
[n] see [n]
[ŋ] see [ŋ]

[b]	[pu]	"mouth"	[bu]	"wall"
[v]	[paɽ]	"hand"	[vaɽ]	"North West wind"
[t]	[pu]	"mouth"	[tu]	"plate"
[d]	[pu]	"mouth"	[du]	"dugong"
[k]	[pan]	"head"	[kan]	"type of fish"
[g]	[pun]	"flesh"	[gun]	"tail"

38

[p] with: (continued)

[ɣ]   [paɾ] "hand"   [ɣaɾ] "arm"
[mb]   [pu] "mouth"   [mbu] "mourning"
[nd]   [pa?] "push!"   [nda?] "show!"
[ndʒ]- not encountered
[ŋg]   [pun] "flesh"   [ŋgun] "tail"
[y]   [pit] "she clapped hands"   [yit] "ginger"

            - in word-final position
[p] with:
[m] see [m]
[n] see [n]
[ŋ] see [ŋ]
[t]   [ɾup] "thigh"   [ɾut] "he fills up"
[k]   [yap] "younger brother"   [yak] "thorn"
[?]   [yap] "younger brother"   [ya?] "cry!"

            - in word-medial position
only one minimal pair has been found, in intervowel position:
[p,k] [kapok] "kapok" (borrowed from pidgin)   [kaɾok] "hook"

2.3.5. Voiceless dental occlusive [t]

2.1.5.1. The voiceless dental occlusive [t] has been encountered:

- in word-initial position
[to]"house" [tu]"plate" [taɾot]"finished" [tumba]"morning"
[takɾe]"it swells up" [tikɾe]"he stands up"   [tɾa?ɾe] "she holds"

- in word-final position:
[mot]"man" [mbat]"he ate" [siɣat]"small" [pot]"star" [gut]"heart, fruit"

- in word-medial position:
        - intervowel: rare, only two examples
[ɾʌtaɾ]"saw-fish" [tatap] "short"

        - before consonant:
[tɾ] [tɾa?ɾe] "she holds"
[tm] [bitmʌ] "pidgeon" - only one example

- after consonant :
[kt] [taktakɽe] "(the leaves) rustle"
[tndʒ] [gimbitndʒyet] "type of fungus"

2.3.5.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position
[t] with:

[d]	[tu]	"plate"		[du]	"dugong"
[n]	see [n]				
[m]	see [m]				
[ŋ]	see [ŋ]				
[p]	see [p]				
[b]	[tyʌp]	"road"	cf.	[byet]	"he bit"
[k]	[tan]	"outside"		[kan]	"type of fish"
[g]	[tay]	"grandmother"		[gay]	"tree type"
[ɣ]	[tap]	"short"		[ɣap]	"red"
[v]	[tay]	"grandmother"		[vay]	"listen"
[mb]	[tay]	"grandmother"		[mbay]	"ate" - narrative
[nd]	[teɽi]	"hurry up!"		[ndeɽi]	"rodent"
[ndʒ]	[teɽi]	"hurry up!"		[ndʒeɽi]	- proper noun
[ŋg]	[tɽat]	"he held"		[ŋgɽat]	"he took"
[y]	[tay]	"grandmother"		[yay]	"cried"-narrative

- in word-final position
[t] with:

[n]	see [n]			
[m]	see [m]			
[ŋ]	see [ŋ]			
[ʔ]	see [ʔ]			
[p]	see [p]			
[k]	[mot]	"man"	[mok]	"water"

- in word-medial position

[s]	[putʌp]	"type of fish"		[pusʌp]	"beard"
[ŋg]	[mʌtrat]	"he was holding"	cf.	[mʌŋʌgrat]	"he was taking"
[mb]	[mʌtrat]	"he was holding"		[mʌmbrat]	"he was planting"

2.3.6. Voiceless velar occlusive [k]

2.3.6.1. The voiceless velar occlusive [k] has been encountered:
- in word initial position:

[kwakɾe] "chicken"   [kam] "sound"   [kʌn] "tree"
[kiɾʌp] "vegetable"   [kyao] "dog"   [kɾam] "type of snake"

- in word final position:

[mok] "water"   [sʌk] "fish, meat"   [mbuk] "speak!" [ɾik] "get down!"

- in word-medial position:

-   intervowel : only one example: [pokon] "great-grandfather".
Note: [poɣon] is accepted as the older pronunciation of the word, and is found today in the Nubia dialect.

- before consonant:

[kɾ]   [mbukɾe]   "he speaks"
[kt]   [taktakɾe]   "(the leaves) rustle"
[kn]   [ɾikni]   - proper noun
[kb]   [nakbandi]   "poor, to be pitied"
[kd]   [sikdam]   "headdress"
[kmb]   [mbʌkmbʌk]   "black"
[kndʒ] [mikndʒi]   - proper noun

- after consonant:

[ɾk]   [taɾku]   "with attention"
[nk]   [diɣinkot]   "faraway"
[ŋk]   [neŋke]   "joy"

2.3.6.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position
[k] with:
[g] [kun] "pack,bundle"   [gun] "earthquake"
[ɣ] [kam] "sound, language"   [ɣam] "talis"
[b] [ki] prefix - "married"   [bi]   "shallow water"
[d] see [d]
[p] see [p]
[m] see [m]
[n] see [n]
[ŋ] see [ŋ]
[t] see [t]

[mb]	[kaɾe]	"she is at"	[mbaɾe]	"she eats"
[nd]	[kɨn]	"naked" cf.	[ndin]	–negation
[dʒ]	[kyeɾe]	"she stands"	[dʒyeɾe]	"she goes"
[ŋg]	[kun]	"packet"	[ŋgun]	"tail"
[y]	[kaɾe]	"she is at"	[yaɾe]	"she cries"

- in word-final position
[k] with:

[p]	see	[p]
[m]	see	[m]
[n]	see	[n]
[ŋ]	see	[ŋ]
[t]	see	[t]
[ʔ]	[yak] "thorn"	[yaʔ] "cry!"

- in word-medial position
only one minimal pair has been found:
[nekɾe] "he likes" [neyɾe] "he paints"

2.3.7. Voiced bilabial occlusive [b]

2.3.7.1. The voiced bilabial occlusive [b] has been encountered:

- in word initial position
[bɨtmʌ] "bird" [bindʌʔɾe] "she learns" [biyut] "seahorse"

- in word-medial position:
        - intervowel: rare, only one example in simple word:
[nabʌ] "mango"
compound noun: [ɾwebʌbsik] "foot"

        - before consonant:
[bs] [ɾwebʌbsik] "foot"

        - after consonant:
[nb] [bonbon] "type of coconut"
[kb] [nakbandi] "poor"

2.3.7.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position
[b] with:
[m] see [m]
[n] see [n]
[ŋ] see [ŋ]
[p] see [p]
[v]   [boŋgɾe]"he tends a sore"   [voŋgɾe]   "he makes noise"
[t]   [bu]   "wall"   [t u]   "plate"
[d]   [bu]   "wall"   [du]   "dugong"
[k]   [bi]   "shallow water"   [ki]   prefix - "married"
[g]   [bi]   "shallow water"   [gi]   "name"
[mb]   [bi]   "shallow water"   [mbi]   "wait!"
[dʒ]   [byet]   "(the dog) bit"   [dʒyet]   "he went"
[nd]   [byet]   "(the dog) bit"   [ndyet]   "side"
[ndʒ] [bit]   "tail feather"   [ndʒit]   "excrement"
[ŋg]   [bu]   "wall"   [ŋgu]   "hit!"
[y]   [bit]   "feather"   [yit]   "ginger"

- in word-medial position
only two minimal pairs were found:
[b,g] [gabit] "yam"   [gagit]   "it itches"
[b,s] [gabit] "yam"   cf. [gaset]   "type of skin disease"

2.3.8. Voiced dental occlusive [d]

2.3.8.1. The voiced dental occlusive [d] has been encountered:

- in word initial position
[diɣinkot] "distant" [dup] "shark" [dɾwʌʔɾe] "she turns"

- in word-medial position:
    - intervowel:
[madu] "turtle" [kodoɾ] "type of marsupial"

    - before consonant: [mʌdɾwʌʔɾe] "he is turning"

    - after consonant:
[kd] [sikdam] "headdress"
[md] [mamdep] "thumb"

2.3.8.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position
[d] with:
[t] see [t]
[n] see [n]
[m] see [m]
[ŋ] see [ŋ]
[p] see [p]

[b]	[du]	"dugong"	[bu]	"wall"
[v]	[du]	"dugong"	[vu]	"well"

[k]	[divʌt]	"he broke"		[kivʌt]	"he came"
[g]	[dɽwʌʔɽe]	"he drifts"	cf.	[guɽʌʔɽe]	"he is hanging"
[ɣ]	[dat]	- proper noun		[ɣat]	"he sang"
[mb]	[du]	"dugong"		[mbu]	"mourning"
[nd]	[dat]	- proper noun		[ndat]	"he showed"
[ndʒ]	[dit]	"she plaits"		[ndʒit]	"excrement"
[ŋg]	[du]	"dugong"		[ŋgu]	"hit!"
[y]	[dat]	- proper noun		[yat]	"he cried"

- in word-medial position :

[r]	[mʌdit]	"she is plaiting"	[mʌrit]	"she is afraid"
[p]	[mʌdit]	"she is plaiting"	[mʌpit]	"he is clapping hands"
[s]	[mʌdit]	"she is plaiting"	[mʌsit]	"she is washing"
[mb]	[mʌdit]	"she is plaiting"	[mʌmbit]	"he is waiting"

2.3.9. Voiced velar occlusive [g]

2.3.9.1. The voiced velar occlusive [g] has been encountered:

- in word initial position:
[gigiɽ] "hot"   [gumbu] "close to"   [gʌm] "cough"
[gi] "name"   [gɽao] "type of fish"

- in word-medial position:
        - intervowel: rare
[gigiɽ] "hot"   cf.[mangwagi] "crow"

- before consonant:
[gɽ] [gigɽi] "dried coconut leaves"

- after consonant:
[mg] [komgo] "flower" [nemgoɾ] – proper noun
[sg] [gusgumbɾe] "he is ashamed"
[ɾg] [vaɾgem] [siɾgem]- proper nouns
[ng] [mangwagi] "crow"
[ʔg] [poʔgut] "bullet"

2.3.9.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

[g] with:

[k] see [k]
[ɣ] [gʌʔɾe] "he gets up" cf.[ɣaɾe] "he celebrates"

[p] see [p]
[g] with: (continued)
[t] see [t]
[b] see [b]
[d] see [d]
[m] see [m]
[n] see [n]
[ŋ] see [ŋ]
[mb] [gi] "name" [mbi] "wait!"
[nd] [gi] "name" [ndi] - negation
[ndʒ] [gʌm] "cough" cf.[ndʒam] "knife"
[ŋg] [gʌm] "cough" cf.[ŋgam] "new"
[y] [gay] "type of tree" [yay] "cried"

- in word-medial position:

[k] [mʌgyat] "she was looking back" cf.[mʌkyet] "he was staning up (something)"
[p] [mʌgyat] "she was looking back" cf.[mʌpyayt] "he was climbing "

2.3.10. Glottal occlusive [ʔ]

2.3.10. 1. The glottal occlusive [ʔ] has been encountered:

- in word final position:
[maʔ] "male child" [ndʒeʔ] "some" [paʔ] "prepare!"

- in word-medial position:
    - intervowel: only one example: [mbʌʔuni] "type of parrot"

- before consonant:

[ʔm]	[maʔmu]	"child"
[ʔn]	[poʔni]	"both spears"
[ʔp]	[kaʔpan]	"knee"
[ʔt]	[mbʌʔtuɽe]	"he swallows"
[ʔg]	[poʔgut]	"bullet"
[ʔɣ]	[paʔɣʌ]	"happened" -chain
[ʔɽ]	[paʔɽe]	"it happens"
[ʔŋg]	[paʔŋget]	"it had happened"

2.3.10. 2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-final position:
[ʔ] with:

[k]	[yaʔ]	"cut (sago)	[yak]	"sting"
[p]	[yaʔ]	"cut!"	[yap]	" younger brother"
[t]	[ndʒeʔ]	"some, a few"	[ndʒet]	"bilum"
[ɽ]	[paʔ]	"push!"	[paɽ]	"hand"
[s]	[veʔ]	"sago"	[ves]	" peel!"
[m]	see [m]			
[n]	see [n]			
[ŋ]	see [ŋ]			

- in word-medial position: one minimal pair has been found
[ʔ,k] [kwaʔɽe] "he gets out of the way" [kwakɽe]"chicken"

2.3.11. Voiced post alveolar retroflex flap [ɽ]

2.3.11.1. The voiced post alveolar retroflex flap [ɽ] has been encountered:

- in word-initial position:
[ɽikɽe]"he falls" [ɽotoɽ]"sawfish" [ɽʌɣam]"pig" [ɽʌɽaŋgat]"he dried"

- in word-final position:
[ɽotoɽ]"sawfish" [paɽ]"hand" [kuɽ]"ear" [vʌvʌɽ]"white" [vʌɽaɽ]"plume"

- in word-medial position:
    - intervowel
[vʌɽaɽ]"feather" " [oɽe]"yes" [mʌɽi]"woman" [dʒyeɽe]"he goes" [kʌɽok]"hook"

- before consonant:

[ɽn]	[paɽni]	"both hands"
[ɽŋ]	[maɽoɽŋas]	"type of banana"
[ɽŋg]	[suɽŋgi]	- proper noun [mɨmbiɽŋgam] "young woman"
[ɽndʒ]	[ŋgweɽndʒen]	- proper noun
[ɽv]	[kaɽvi]	"type of lizard"
[ɽk]	[taɽku]	"with attention"
[ɽp]	[puɽpuɽ]	- proper noun
[ɽg]	[sʌɽgam]	"slice" [kʌɽgum] "nose decoration"

- after consonant:

[pɽ]	[pɽẽ]	"fight"
[kɽ]	[ɽikɽe]	"he falls down"
[tɽ]	[ŋgʌtɽi]	"mountains"
[vɽ]	[ɽivɽaʔ]	"lightning"
[gɽ]	[gigɽi]	"dried coconut leaves"
[ʔɽ]	[tɽaʔɽe]	"she holds"
[mbɽ]	[gʌmbɽe]	"she coughs"
[ŋgɽ]	[ŋgʌnaŋgɽe]	"he gives"

2.3.11.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position
[ɽ] with:
[s] [ɽay] "under" [say]" wait"
[v] [ɽay] "under" [vay] "listen!"
[ɣ] see [ɣ]
[m] see [m]
[n] see [n]
[ŋ] see [ŋ]
[y] [ɽay] "under" [yay] "cried"- narrative

- in word-final position
[ɽ] with:

[m]	[ɽuɽ] "day before yesterday"	[ɽum]	"kwila tree"
[n]	[guɽ] "yesterday"	[gun]	"earthquake"
[p]	[ɽuɽ] "day before yesterday"	[ɽup]	"thigh"
[t]	[paɽ] "hand"	[pat]	"it happened"
[k]	[mboɽ] "bark!"	[mbok]	"carry on the shoulder!"
[ʔ]	[paɽ] "hand"	[paʔ]	"push"
[s]	[ŋaɽ] "hit!"	[ŋas]	"banana"

- in word-medial position :
[ɽ.p] [kaɽok] "hook" [kapok] "kapok" - loanword from pidgin
[s] [mʌrit] "she was afraid"   [mʌsit] "she was washing"
[p] [mʌrit] "she was afraid"   [mʌpit] "she was clapping hands"
[d] [mʌrit] "she was afraid"   [mʌdit] "she was weaving"
[mb] [mʌrit] "she was afraid"   [mʌmbit] "she was waiting"

2.3.12. Voiceless alveolar fricative [s]

2.3.12. 1. The voiceless alveolar fricative [s] has been encountered:

- in word initial position
[swa?]"fire" [siɣat]"small" [sat]"father" [saŋɽe]"he goes"

- in word final position
[ŋas]"banana" [veves]"chick" [vus]"same" [vas]"look!"

- in word-medial position:
        - intervowel:
[ŋesiɽe]" he is tired" [ŋʌsẽ]"freshwater turtle" [visiɣaɽ]"men's house"
[mesindɨp]"beach"   [mesimok]"sea"

        - before consonant:
[sg] [gusgumbɽe] "he is ashamed"
[smb] [kunasmbay] "type of fish"

        - after consonant:
[bs] [ɽwebʌbsik] "foot"
[ps] [sepsok] "type of tree"

2.3.12.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position
[s] with:
[ɣ] [sap] "termite" [ɣap] "red"
[v] see [v]
[ɽ] [say]" wait"   [ɽay] "under"
[t] see [t]
[d] see [d]
[y] [sit] "she washed"   [yit] "ginger"

- in word-final position
[s] with:
[t] see [t]
[ɾ] [k o s] " tip over !"   [k o ɾ] "canoe"

- in intervowel position: one example
[g] [g a s e t] "type of skin disease"   cf.[g a g i t] "it itches"
[r] [mʌs i t] "she was washing"   [mʌr i t] "she was afraid"
[d] [mʌs i t] "she was washing"   [mʌd i t] "she was weaving"
[p] [mʌs i t] "she was washing"   [mʌp i t] "she was claping hands"
[mb] [mʌs i t] "she was washing"   [mʌmb i t] "she was waiting"

2.3.13. Voiced velar fricative [ɣ]

2.3.13.1. The voiced velar fricative [ɣ] has been encountered:

- in word-initial position
[ɣa p] "red"   [ɣam] "talis tree"   [ɣa u]"West wind"

- in word-medial position:
        - intervowel:
[ɾ i ɣ i t]"he fell down"   [s i ɣa t]"small"   [n d i ɣa ɾ]"fishing spear"
[t o ɣu] "wild vegetable"   [k y a ɣa ɾ]"flying fox"

        - before consonant: not encountered

        - after consonant:
[p ɣ] [k a p ɣ i ɾ e]   "he turns"- one example only
[n ɣ] [n d i n ɣ i ɾ e]   "he slides" - one example only
[t ɣ] [k ʌ t ɣʌ]   "cut" - one example only

2.3.13.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position
[ɣ] with:
[k] see [k]
[g] see [g]
[m] see [m]

[n] see [n]
[ŋ] see [ŋ]
[ɾ] –not encountered
[ɣ] [ɣam] "talis tree" [ɣam] "canoe outrigger"

- in word-medial position
[ɣ,m] [sʌɣʌpaɾ] "fish fin" cf.[semʌpaɾ] "coconut leaf"

2.3.14. Voiced bilabial fricative [v]

2.3.14.1. Voiced bilabial fricative [v] has been encountered:

- in word initial position
[vanen]"no" [veʔ]"sago" [veɾe]"it hurts" [vʌvus]"same"
[vanʌmok]"boiling water" [vayɾe]"he hears" [vit]"sugar"

- in word medial position:
     - intervowel:
[vʌvus]"same" [vʌvuɾ]"old" [veves]"chick" [tevipaɾ] "tulip leaf"

     - before consonant:
[vɾ] [ɾivɾaʔ] "lightning"

     - after consonant:
[ɾv] [kaɾvot] "type of ant"   [yaɾvaʔ] "comb"   [viɾvaʔ] "white"

2.3.14.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position:
[v] with:
[b] [vit] "sugar cane"   [bit] "crumbs"
[p] see [p]
[s] [var] "wind"   [sar] "staircase"
[ɣ] [vaɾ] "stingray"   [ɣaɾ] "wind"
[ɾ][veʔ] "sago"   [ɾeʔ] "thing"

[m] see [m]
[n] see [n]
[ŋ] see [ŋ]
[t] see [t]
[mb] [veɾe] "it hurts"   [mbʌe] "he comes back"
[nd] [vay] "listen"   [nday] "showed" - narrative

[ndʒ] - not encountered
[ŋg] [vu] "well"   [ŋgu] "hit!"
[y] [vit] "sugar cane"   [yit] "ginger"

- in word-medial position
[ɾ] [ɾivit] "type of fish"   [ɾiɾit] "hibiscus"
[y] [nevet] "type of flower"   [neyet] "type of fish

2.3.15. Voiced alveolar fricative [z]

2.3.15.1. The voiced alveolar fricative [z] is extremely rare and has been encountered in one example only, in word-medial position
[simzaʔ] "heavy"

One almost minimal pair has been found:
[dʒ] [simzaʔ] "heavy"   cf.[simdʒʌo] "type of tree"

2.3.16. Voiced palatal affriquate [dʒ]

2.3.16.1. The voiced palatal affricate [dʒ] has been encountered:

- in word initial position
[dʒā] "decoration" [dʒyembɾe] "he watches" [dʒimbi] "cloud"

- in word-medial position:
[simdʒʌo] "type of tree" [ndʒipdʒip] "type of fish" [mʌdʒyeɾe] "he is coming"

2.3.16.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position
[dʒ] with
[y] [dʒā] "decoration"   [yā] "good"
[s] [dʒā] "decoration"   [sā] "go!"

- in word-medial position:
        - in intervowel position:
[dʒ] with
[p] [mʌdʒyeɾe] "he is going"   cf.[mʌpiɾe] "she is clapping hands"
[mb] [mʌdʒyeɾe] "he is going"   cf.[mʌmbiɾe] "she is waiting"
[ndʒ] [mʌdʒyeɾe] "he is going" cf.[mʌndʒiɾe] "she is sharpening"

- after consonant: almost minimal pair:

[z] [simdʒʌo] "type of tree"   cf.[simza] "heavy"

- before consonant: not encountered

Note: dialectal variant:
Some Nubia speakers use [dz] as alternative pronunciation for [dʒ] - both pronunciations are then accepted:

[dzā / dʒā paʔɾe] "he decorates"

2.3.17. Voiced prenasalised bilabial [mb]

2.3.17.1. The voiced prenasalised bilabial [mb] has been encountered:

- in word-initial position
[mbaɾe] "he eats" [mbi] "wait!" [mbɾaʔɾe] "she plants"

- in word-medial position
    -    in intervowel position:
[yembe] "sail"   [mʌmbiɾe] "she is waiting"

    - before consonant:
[mbɾ][yembɾe] "he knows"

    - after consonant:
[smb] [kuɾasmbay] "type of reef fish"
[kmb] [mbʌkmbʌk] "black"
[nmb] [mbʌnmbʌn] "trevally fish"

2.3.17.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position:
[mb] with:

[m] [mba] "basket"   [ma] "eat!"
[n] [mbi] "wait!"   [ni] "both"
[ŋ] [mbi] "basket"   [ŋi] "story"
[b] [mbi] "wait!'"   [bi] "shallow water"
[nd] [mbat] "he ate"   [ndat] "he showed"
[ŋg] [mbʌt] "he came back" [ŋgʌt] "mountain"

- in word-medial position:
[mb] with

[ŋ]	[mʌmbaɾe]	"she is eating"	[mʌŋaɾe]	"he is hitting"
[p]	[mʌmbiɾe]	"she is waiting"	[mʌpiɾe]	"he is clapping hands"
[k]	[mʌmbaɾe]	"she is eating"	[mʌkaɾe]	"he is there"
[ʔ]	[mʌmbaɾe]	"she is eating"	[mʌyaɾe]	"he is singing"
[ɾ]	[mʌmbiɾe]	"she is waiting"	[mʌnɾiɾe]	"he is scared"
[ndʒ]	[mʌmbiɾe]	"she is waiting"	[mʌndʒiɾe]	"he is sharpening"
[nd]	[mʌmbat]	"she was eating"	[mʌndat]	"he was showing"
[ŋg]	[mʌmbʌɾe]	"she is coming back"	[mʌŋgʌɾe]	"he is taking"

2.3.18. Voiced prenasalised alveo-palatal [nd]

2.3.18. 1. The voiced prenasalised alveopalatal [nd] has been encountered:

- in word initial position
[ndendi] "today"   [ndevit] "plaiting bark"

- in word-medial position:

   - intervowel position: [ndendi] "today"

   - before consonant: not encountered

   - after consonant: [ndɨmndigiɾ] "pus"

2.3.18.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position:
[nd] with:

[n]	[ndendi]	"today"	[nendi]	"self"
[d]	[ndat]	"he gave"	[dat]	- proper noun
[v]	[ndevit]	"plaiting bark"	[divit]	"grass"
[mb]	[ndat]	"he showed"	[mbat]	"he ate"
[dʒ]	[ndyet]	"side"	cf. [dʒyet]	"he went"

- in word- medial position:
[nd] with:

[n]	[nendi]	"self"	[neni]	"each other"
[mb]	[mʌndat]	"he was showing"	[mʌmbat]	"she was eating"
[ndʒ]	[mʌndik]	"he rubs off"	[mʌndʒik]	"she was scratching"

2.3.19. Voiced prenasalised alveo-palatal [nd ʒ]

2.3.19.1. The voiced prenasalised dental palatal [ndʒ] has been encountered:

- in word initial position
[ndʒyet] "he went" [ndʒʌndʒɛ̃] "strong" [ndʒam] "knife" [ndʒokɾe] "she cuts"

- in word-medial position:
     - intervowel position:
[nendʒi] "how many" [gindʒeʔ] "really" [nendʒu] "which?"

      - before consonant: not encountered

      - after consonant:
[ɾndʒ] [ŋgweɾndʒen]- proper noun
[tndʒ] [gimbitndʒyet] "type of fungus"
[kndʒ] [mikndʒi]- proper noun
[mndʒ] [ndʒimndiɾaʔ] "lightning"

2.3.19.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

   - in word initial position:
[ndʒ] with:

[dʒ]	[mʌndʒiɾe]	"she is sharpening"	cf. [mʌdʒyeɾe]	"he is going"
[ŋg]	[ndʒam]	"knife"	[ŋgam]	"new"
[n]	[ndʒokɾe]	"he cuts"	[nokɾe]	"she cuts in small pieces"

   - in word- medial position:
[ndʒ] with:

[nd,n]	[nendʒi]	"how many"		[nendi] "self"	[neni] "each other"

2.3.20. Voiced prenasalised velar [ŋg]

2.3.20.1. The voiced prenasalised velar [ŋg] has been encountered:

- in word-initial position
[ŋgam] "new" [ŋgɾat] "he took"

- in word-medial position:
        - intervowel position:
[moŋgot] "he made" [ɾaɾaŋgat] "he threw"

        - before consonant:
[ŋgɾ] [moŋgɾe]   "he makes"

        - after consonant:
[ʔŋg] [paʔŋget]   "it came"
[ɾŋg] [suɾŋgi]   - proper noun
[pŋg] [miɾʌpŋgum] "ancestor's carving"

2.3.20.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word initial position:
[ŋg] with:
[ŋ]   [ŋgam]   "new"   [ŋam]   "spoon"
[g]   [ŋguɾ]   "type of fish"   [guɾ]   "yesterday"
[ndʒ] [ŋgam]   "new"   [ndʒam] "knife"

- in word-medial position:
[ŋg] with:
[p]   [mʌŋgoɾe]   "he is sleeping"   [mʌpoɾe]   "she is closing"
[s]   [mʌŋgut]   "he was hitting"   [mʌsut]   "she was scraping"
[dʒ] [mʌŋgyeɾe] "she is weaving"   [mʌdʒyeɾe] "she is going"
[mb] [mʌŋgʌɾe]   "he is taking"   [mʌmbʌɾe] "she is coming back"

2.3. 21. Semi-consonant or semi-vowel ? : [y], [w]
This chapter features the analysis of [y],[w], and shows the parallels that can be drawn between the two phones, in order to establish their phonological status.

2.3.21.1. Voiced palatal [y]

2.3.21.1.1.The voiced palatal [y] has been encountered:

-. in word-initial position:
[yembɾe] "he knows"   [yembi] "rainy season"   [yimbin] "rat"
[yembe] "sail"   [yaɾe] "he cries"   [yos]   "type of tree"

- in word-final position :
[ay]"we"   [vey] "first wife"

- in word-medial position:
- in intervowel position:
[ŋguyaɽe] "he is hungry"   [kuyʌɽ] "dolphin"   [biyut] "surgeon fish"
[viyap]   "cockatoo"   [ɽiyok] "seahorse"

- before consonant:

[ym]	[mbweymam]	"type of shell"
[yn]	[tayni]	"both old women"
[yp]	[teyp]	"tulip tree"
[yt]	[vayt]	"he heard"
[yk]	[payk]	– proper noun
[ys]	[meys]	"salt"
[yɽ]	[vayɽe]	"she hears"
[yŋg]	[vayŋget]	"he had heard"

- after consonant:

[py]	[mʌpyayɽe]	"he is climbing"
[ky]	[mʌkyeɽe]	"she is standing (something)"
[ty]	[moɽotyʌp]	"man-made road"
[gy]	[mʌgyeɽe]	"she is plaiting"
[by]	[mʌbyeɽe]	"it is biting"
[ny]	[ninyuɽe]	"it fades"
[vy]	[mʌvyaɽe]	"she is rincing the sago"
[ŋgy]	[mʌŋgyaɽe]	"she si looking back"
[dʒy]	[mʌndʒyeɽe]	"she is going"

2.3.21.1.2. The distinctive character of the consonant is attested by the following minimal pairs:

- in word-initial position:
[y] with:
[m] [ya] "friend"   [ma] "eat !"
[n] [yi] "wriggle!"   [ni] – dual

[y] with: (continued)

[ŋ] [yaɽ] "type of tree"   [ŋaɽ] "hit !"
[p] [ya?] "needle"   [pa?] "push !"
[t] [yat] "he cried"   [pat] "he pushed"
[k] [yos] "type of tree"   [kos] "bear fruit"
[b] [yes] "peel !"   [bes] "charcoal"

[d]	[yit]	"ginger"	[dit]		"she plaited"
[g]	[yem]	"thought"	cf. [gʌm]		"cough"
[ɣ]	[yat]	"he cried"	[ɣat]		"he sang"
[s]	[yat]	"he cried"	[sat]		"father"
[v]	[yos]	"type of tree"	[vos]		"paddle!"
[ɽ]	[yit]	"ginger"	[ɽit]		"she is afraid"
[dʒ]	[yā]	"good"	[dʒã]		"decoration"
[mb]	[yat]	"he cried"	[mbat]		"he ate"
[nd]	[yat]	"he cried"	[ndat]		"he showed"
[ndʒ]	[yit]	"ginger"	[ndʒit]		"excrement"
[ŋg]	[yap]	"younger brother"	[ŋgap]		"hip"
[w]	[kye]	"stand (it) up!"	[kwe]–		exclamation of surprise
	[gyet]	"she plaited"	[gwʌt]		"she cooked over the fire"

- in word-final position:

[y] with:

[m]	[may]	– proper noun	[mam]	"mother"
[n]	[pay]	"pushed"-narrative	[pan]	"head"
[ŋ]	not encountered			
[p]	[ɽwey]	"wash up" narrative	[ɽwep]	"stir!"
[t]	[pay]	"pushed"-narrative	[pat]	"he pushed"
[k]	[vey]	"hurt"-narrative	cf. [vʌk]	"rest"
[s]	[voy]	"buried"-narrative	[vos]	"paddle!"
[ɽ]	[pay]	"pushed"-narrative	[paɽ]	"hand"

- in word-medial position: no minimal pair has been encountered

Conclusion: [y] alternates with most consonants in syllable-onset position, which gives it the status of semi-consonant, allowed in the consonant morphological chart.
However, a further analysis gives insight as to its relationship with the vowel [i].

2.3.21.1.3. [y] in specific environments:

- in syllable reduplication
 The syllable reduplication marking the formation of verbs in the durative mood shows that y is the realization of [i] between consonant and vowel.

The durative mood expresses the fact that an action occurs over a long period of time; it is formed by prefixing the partially reduplicated first syllable of the verb.

In the case where the first syllable consists in CSV,
the prefixed reduplicated syllable will be CV,
where V is the oral version of the semi-vowel S, that is [i] for [y], as in the examples below, and, as we will see in the next chapter, [u] for [w].

57

[dʒyeɽe]	"he goes"	[dʒidʒyeɽe]	"he goes for a long time"
[gyeɽe]	"she plaits"	[gigyeɽe]	"she plaits for a long time"
[pyayɽe]	"she climbs"	[pipyayɽe]	"she climbs for a long time"
[vyaɽe]	"she rinces the sago"	[vivyaɽe]	"she rinces the sago for a long time"

As a reminder, [i] has never been encountered in first position of vowel sequence, whereas [y] has been encountered in that position after nasal, occlusive and fricative consonant.

- in vowel sequence:

Reminder: the sequences Vy, whether in initial or final position, have been assessed as diphtongues after observation of the inflection process typical of the compound noun process involving monosyllabic nouns (see I.1.4. and I.1.5.)

Examples:

teyp "tulip tree"	par "leaf"	tevipar "tulip leaf"
		tevigut "tulip fruit"
meys "salt"	mok "water"	mesimok "sea"

The simple noun features a vowel+ semi-vowel sequence where [y] comes in second position. The compound noun, however, features single vowels, and the inserted vowel [i].

The analysis of [y] within this type of sequence, and observations from simple and compound noun, as in the examples above, confirm the alternance [i ,y] in specific environments.

The different steps of the process have been reconstituted as follows:

Upon formation of compound noun, there occurs insertion of an harmonised vowel, then reduction of the initial diphtongue to a simple vowel.
The last step is consonant alternance if justified, as detailed later in the chapter on consonant alternance.

Base form: teip "tulip tree" gut "fruit"

	|teip gut|
vowel insertion	|teipi gut|
reduction of diphtongue to simple vowel	|tepi gut|
consonant alternance	|tevigut|
	/tevigut/ "tulip tree fruit"

Base form: me i s "salt"   mo k "water"

	|me i s mo k	
vowel insertion	|me i s i mo k	
reduction of diphtongue to simple vowel	|me s i mok	
	/me s i mok/ "sea"

In both examples:
- [y] appears between a vowel, and an occlusive or fricative consonant

Numerous examples have shown [y] in initial and final position of sequences, before and after nasal, occlusive and fricative consonant.

The rule may therefore be as follows:
rule 15: the vowel i is always semi-vocalised into y between any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant and any vowel, and between any vowel and any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant in syllable-coda position, or in onset of the following syllable.

- in word-final position:

[y] commonly appears in word-final position, after a vowel sequence:
[may] - proper noun   [tay] "grandmother"

- For verbs, the mark of narrative mood i is suffixed onto the verb root:

In this case, the semi-vocalisation of i suffixed onto a root ending with a vowel is accepted and even preferred, but not compulsory.
We have thus:
[yai][yay] " cried" - narrative
[mbai] [mbay] "ate" - narrative

Hence, it appears that the relationship [i,y] follows the rules:

Rule 13: the vowel i, suffixed after a vowel, or positioned after any vowel except u in open or closed syllable, may be facultatively semi-vocalised into y.
This rule applies for verbs.

rule 15: the vowels i and u are always semi-vocalised into y and w between any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant, and any vowel, and between any vowel and any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant in syllable-coda postion, or in onset of the following syllable.

Conclusion
[y] has been identified as
- the representation of the structural i in specific environment
- a structural consonantic phoneme
y appears in the final phonological consonant table

The semi-vocalisation of u is described in the next section.

2.3.21.2. Labial semi-vowel [w]

2.3.21.2.a. The labial semi-vowel [w] has almost always been encountered between consonant and vowel, as in the following examples:

[kwakɾe] "chicken" [bimbiswa] "whistle" [gwaɾe] "he cuts"
[gwʌ?ɾe] "she cooks over the fire"
[kwe] - exclamation   [ŋgweɾndʒen]- proper noun
[ɾi?kwit] "long"(pl) [kwis] "type of coconut" [mbwi?] "fishing net"
[dwiɾe] "he swims"

[ɾwɛ̃] "forest" [dwɛ̃] "coconut" [ndwã] "brother (of a woman)"

In only two examples, [w] has been encountered after a vowel and in word-final position in one of these examples:
[sʌwgʌguɾ] "type of fish"
[yeyow] "type of tree"
The alternative [yeyou] is accepted, but not preferred.

2.3.21.2.b. Minimal pairs:
[w] with:

[y]	[kwe]	– exclamation of surprise	[kye]	"stand (it) up!"
	[gwʌt]	"she cooked over the fire"	cf. [gyet]	"she plaited"
	[gwat]	"she cut"	[gyat]	"she looked back"
[ø]	[gwʌ?ɾe]	"she cooks over the fire"	[gʌ?ɾe]	"he gets up"

2.3.21.2.c. Relation between [w] and [u]
Again, as in the case of [i,y], the formation of verbs in the durative mood throws a light into the relationship between [u] and [w].

[dwiɾe] "he swims"   [dudwiɾe] "he swims for a long time"
[nwiɾe] "he swims   [nunwiɾe] "he swims for a long time"
(both nwire and dwire are accepted for the same meaning)

[ɾweɾe] "she mixes"   [ɾuɾweɾe] "she mixes for a long time"

The particular syllable reduplication for the formation of verbs in the durative mood shows that w is the realisation of u between nasal, occlusive and fricative consonant, and any oral vowel.

rule 14: the vowel u may be facultatively semi-vocalised into w in second position of a vowel sequence, in open syllable, in word-final position.

rule 15: the vowels i and u are always semi-vocalised into y and w between any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant, and any vowel, and between any vowel and any nasal or occlusive in syllable-coda position or in onset of the following syllable.

[w] has been identified as the semi-vocalised representation of u in specific environment. It is not a structural unit, but it has however been confirmed as a distinctive unit through minimal pairs.
For these reasons, w appears in the final consonant phonological table.

Note: a few facultative alternatives between vowel and diphtongue, depending on the speaker, have been encountered:

[e,we]	[mesindip] [mwesindip]	"beach"
	[mesimok] [mwesimok]	"sea"
	[mbeymam] [mbweymam]	" type of shell"

| [o,wo] | [mboɾiɾe] [mbwoɾiɾe] | "he spits" |
| | [mbombē] [mbwombē] | " wind" |

| [ʌ,wʌ] | [mbʌ?] [mbwʌ?] | "fence" |
| | [bʌŋgit bʌŋgit] [bwʌŋgit bwʌŋgit] | " a few of" |

In all cases, both pronunciations are accepted. In all cases, this has been observed after bilabial consonants [m, b, mb].

2.4. General comments and phonological rules for consonants

2.4.1. Consonant position in the word

The summary chart below shows the positions that may be occupied by the various consonants within the word.
The nasals, the voiceless oclusives, the flap and the dental fricative are encountered in all positions.
The voiced occlusives and the prenasalised are most commonly encountered in word-initial position and after consonant.

	Initial	Initial before C	Final	Medial after C	before C	Intervowel
m	x		x	x	x	x
n	x		x	x	x	x
ŋ	x		(x)	x	x	x
k	x	x	x	x	x	x
g	x	x	-	x	x	x
ɣ	x	-	-	(x)	-	x
ʔ	-	-	x	-	x	(x)
p	x	x	x	x	x	x
b	x	x	-	x	x	x
v	x	-	-	-	x	x
t	x	x	x	x	x	x
d	x	r	-	-	(x)	x
r	x	-	x	x	x	x
s	x	-	x	x	x	x
dʒ	x	-	-	(x)	-	-
z	-	-	-	(x)	-	-
y	x	-	-	-	-	x
mb	x	x	-	x	x	x
nd	x	-	-	x	-	x
ndʒ	x	-	-	x	-	x
ŋg	x	-	-	x	x	x

X: regular occurrence, (x): rare occurrence, - = not encountered

2.4.2. Consonant Sequences and Prenazalised Consonants

	m	n	ŋ	p	b	v	k	g	ʔ	ɣ	t	d	r	s	dʒ	z	mb	nd	ndʒ	ŋg
m		nm					km		ʔm		tm									
n	mn			pn			kn		ʔn		tn		rn	sn						
ŋ	mŋ			pŋ					ʔŋ				rŋ							
p		np		pp					ʔp				rp							
b	mb	nb					kb													
v		nv											rv							
k	mk	nk	ŋk										rk							
g	mg	ng	—						ʔg				rg	sg						
ɣ		ŋɣ		pɣ					ʔɣ		tɣ		rɣ							
ʔ																				
t	mt						kt		ʔt											
d	md	nd					kd				td									
r	mr	nr		pr	br	vr	kr	gr	ʔr		tr	dr					mbr			—
s				ps	bs															
dʒ	mdʒ	ndʒ		pdʒ																
z	mz																			
mb		nmb					kmb							smb						
nd																				
ndʒ	mndʒ						kndʒ				tndʒ		rndʒ							
ŋg		nŋg		pŋg					ʔŋg				rŋg							

2.4.2. Consonant sequences and prenasalised consonants

The chart on the next page summarizes consonant sequences encountered in word-initial position, and word-medial position.

The sequences encountered in both initial and medial position are in bold. The sequences not in bold are encountered in word-medial position only.

Only two types of consonant sequences appear in word-initial position, - and, they are also the only ones allowed in both word-initial and word-medial position. These sequences are therefore likely to appear in syllable-onset position.

These sequences are:
- occlusives   pr, br, kr, dr, tr
- prenasalised non-alveolar   mbr, ŋgr

These observations speak in favor of considering the prenasalised bilabial, alveo-palatal and velar mb, nd, ndʒ and ŋg as single phonemes rather than as consonant sequences, and this, despite the fact that they have minimal pairs with simple consonants.

2.4.2.1. Consonant sequences in word-initial and word-medial position

For the prenasalised consonants mb, nd, ndʒ, ŋg, and the consonant sequences allowed in word-initial position, namely pr, br, kr, dr, tr, mbr, ŋgr:
when they appear in word-medial position, the syllable boundary will fall immediately before them.

mb/mbr	ye.mbe	"sail"	ye.mbre	"she knows"
	du.ndu.mbre	"she reduces to crumbs"		
ŋg/ŋgr_	sa.ŋgi	"go"-narrative"	ki.ŋgre	"she coughs"
nd	nak.ba.ndi	"sorry"	nde.ndi	"now"
ndʒ	ne.ndʒi	"how much"	ne.ndʒu	"what kind"
pr	ki.pre	"she comes"		
br	gʌ.mbre	"he coughs"		
kr	ri.kre	"she comes down"		
gr	gi.gri	"dried coconut leaves"		
tr	tak.ta.kre	"(the leaves) rustle"		
dr	drwʌʔ.re	"it turns"		

2.4.2.2. Consonant sequences in word-medial position

All other sequences, that appear in word-medial position only, are composed of a consonant in syllable-coda + a consonant in syllable-onset of the following syllable.
In that case, the syllable boundary will appear after the first consonant, and the nasal consonant may be non-homorganic of the following consonant.

Hereunder are examples of words featuring the various consonant sequences.

mbʌʔ.tu.re "he swallows"   mbʌʔ.ɣʌ "he comes"   voʔ.ŋget "he buried"
voʔ.re "he buries"   poʔ.ri "spears"   poʔ.ni "two spears"

sʌm.zaʔ "heavy"
sɨm.dʒao "type of tree"

tak̃.tak "rustle"(noun)

nem.nit "he is wet"   sum.ki - proper noun   kom.go "flower"   kam.doŋ-proper noun
vʌk.maʔ"death adder"   nak.ba.ndi "unfortunate"   sik.dam - proper noun
bɨt.mʌ "type of bird"
mun.mun "fly larvae"   pun.var "lip"   man.gwa.gi "crow"   ndin.ɣi.re "he slides"
ŋgin.ŋgir "color"   gin.bit "mushroom"
nen.ke "joy"
mar.vi "fly"   pur.pur - proper noun   tar.ku "attention"   var.gem- proper noun
ŋgwer.ndʒen - proper noun   sur.ŋgi - proper noun
dus.gen– proper noun   gus.gu.mbre "he is ashamed"
kʌp.ɣi.re "he turns"   sep.sok "type of tree"
rwẽ.bʌb.sik "ankle"
sep.sok "type of tree"

2.5. Syllable and syllable division

2.5.1. Types of syllables

The language features simple words of up to three syllables, although the mono- and disyllabic are most common.
It features compound words, such as compound nouns, of up to eight syllables.
Hereunder are examples of the syllable schemes of words with one to three, then four and more syllables.

2.5.1.1. Monosyllabic words

V	a	"this"
VS	ay	"we"
CV	du	"dugong"
CVV	rao	"sun"
CSVS	pyay	"climbed" - narrative
CCV	prẽ	"fight"
CCVS	krey	"came"
CVC	dup	"shark"
CSVC	twa?	"worm"
CCVC	mbra?	"plant"
CSVVC	nyaom	"scorpion"

2.5.1.2.Disyllabic words

V.CV	o.re	"yes"
CV.CV	ma.du	"turtle"
CV.CCV	mbu.kre	"he says"
CV.CVV	ma.kao	"fish"
CV.CVS	mʌ.vay	"he is listening"
CV.CCVC	mʌmbra?	"she is planting"
CCV.CV	prẽ.ri	"fights"
CVV.CV	tao.re	"she tidies"
CVV.CVC	tao.ŋget	"she had tidied"
CVC.CVC	bon.bon	"coconut leaf"
CVC.CVVC	ŋʌr.vaok	"type of fish"
CSVS.CV	pyay.re	"he climbs"
CCVC.CV	mbra?.re	"she plants"
CSVC.CV	kwa?.re	"he gets out"
CSVS.CVC	pyay.ŋget	"he had climbed"

2.5.1.3. Trisyllabic words

The trisyllavic words encountered in the language are mostly conjugated verbs and compound nouns.

CV.CV.CV	mo.di.mõ	"python"
CV.CV.CCV	mʌ.mbu.kre	"he is saying"
CV.CV.CCVC	ka.ra.krap	"type of fish"

CV.CVV.CV	mʌ.tao.re	"she is tidying"
CV.CVS.CV	mʌ.vay.re	"he is listening"
CV.CCVC.CV	mʌ.mbraʔ.re	"she is planting"
CV.CVV.CVC	mʌ.tao.ŋget	"she had been tidying"
CV.CVC.CVC	ka.ra.krap	"type of fish"
CV.CV.CCVC	ta.roʔ.ŋget	"it had been finished"
CVC.CV.CV	nak.ba.ndi	"poor"
CVC.CV.CVC	man.pʌ.vur	"type of fish"
CVS.CV.CVC	sʌw.gʌ.gur	"type of fish"
CV.CV.CV.CVC	mʌ.mbu.yu.ŋget	"he had been talking"

2.6.1.4. Words of four syllables or more

The words of four syllables or more encountered are all conjugated verbs and compound nouns.
The compound nouns especially can count up to eight syllables, as the compound of four nouns of
two syllables each.

CV.CV.CV.CVC   mʌ.pi.ri.yi.ŋget "he had been turning"

CVC.CV.CV.CV.CV.CVC: bit.mʌ.bi.ri.ŋgi.ŋgir "color of bird's tail"
from: bitmʌ "bird" bit "tail" ŋgiŋgir "colour"

CVC.CV.CV.CV.CVC.CVC.CVC: maʔ.mu.pa.nʌ.da.mbar.ŋgir.ŋgir "child's hair's color"
from: maʔmu "child" pan "head" dʌmbar "hair" ŋgirŋgir "color"

In both examples of compound nouns, the second element features the inflexion process, typical of
monosyllabic nouns that are part of compound nouns (see I.1.5. and I.2.7)

2.5.2. Syllable reduplication

The following examples of syllable reduplication, complete and partial, have been observed:

2.5.2.1. Complete reduplication

In the case of reduplication of monosyllabic words as below, the reduplication is complete.
A complex nucleus is conserved.

If the monosyllabic has a consonant in coda, the reduplication creates a consonant sequence, with
one consonant in coda and one consonant in onset, and with syllable boundary within the sequence.

In the case of a sequence nasal + consonant, the nasal does not become homorganic, as shown in the first two examples:

n is conserved before m and d, and is conserved and not homorganised before b.

This observation is another indication that mb, nd, nd3, ŋg are prenasalised consonants, rather than consonant sequences.

bi.bi	"little thing"
di.di	"baby"
dʒu.dʒu	"cloth"
mbi.mbi	"type of tree insect"
mi.mi	"cream"
yao.yao	"type of fish"
bon.bon	"coconut leaf"
ben.ben	"ankle bracelet"
mun.mun	"fly larvae"
men.men	- proper noun
pur.pur	- proper noun
vo?.vo?	"he buries for a long time"
kwa?.kwa?	"he lets loose for a long time"
mbra?.mbra?	"he plants for a long time"
mu?.mu?	"she fishes for a long time "
mbʌk.mbʌk	"black"
mbra?.mbra?	"he plants for a long time"

2.5.2.2. Partial syllable reduplication

In this type of reduplication, the coda is not included in the reduplication.

In the case of a syllable composed of onset + complex nucleus (first example), the reduplication only affect the onset + first vowel.

In the second group of examples, the reduplication happens before the first vowel becomes semi-vocalised:

	"dive"	"rwe"	"go"
Base form:	|dui|	|rue|	|dʒie|
durative: reduplication	|dudui|	|rurue|	|dʒidʒie|
semi-vocalisation:	|dudwire|	|rurwere|	|dʒidʒyere|

Note: in the case of a complex nucleus, and a reduplication prefixed to the base form, it is the first element only of the nucleus that is reduplicated.

ra.rao	"type of fish"
ru.rwere	"he stirs for a long time", from [rwere]
du.dwire	"he swims for a long time", from [dwire]
ne.nep	"refuse"
ta.tap	"short"
vo.vop	"tree type"
dʒo.dʒot	"type of fish"
gi.gir	"hot"
gu.gur	"aopa seed"
mbi.mbir	"floor timber"
ŋa.ŋar	"work"
ŋgi.ŋgir	"color"
ve.ves	"baby chicken"
ri.rin	"cheek"
vo.voʔ	"type of yam"
ŋge.ŋgen	"type of parrot"
mo.mok	"liquid"

2.6. Conclusions for consonant position and syllable division

The analysis has given the following results:

- All phones featured in the phonetic chart are attested as phonemes by minimal pairs, whether in word-initial, word-final and-or word medial position .
Therefore, they all appear in the phonological chart., except for w.

- Except for ʔ and z, all consonant phones in Awar language are allowed on word-initial position and are attested as phonemes by minimal pairs in this position.
Therefore, except for ʔ and z, all consonant phones in Awar language are allowed on syllable-onset position.

- The following phonemes do not appear in word-final position, and are therefore allowed only in syllable-onset position, and not in syllable-coda position:
d, b, g, ɣ, v, dʒ, mb, nd, ndʒ, ŋg

69

Whether they are in first or second position of consonant sequence, the syllable division will always fall immediately before them.

- ? is attested as phoneme in word-final position, where it is most regularly encountered.
It is allowed in syllable-coda position only.
Therefore, in consonant sequences, ? appears only in first position of sequence, followed by another consonant at the onset of the following syllable, and syllabe division falls between the two.

- z is extremely rare, has been encountered in one example only, in second position of consonant sequence, in syllable-onset position

- [w] is the realisation of u, between consonant and vowel, or as second part of complex nucleus, in open or closed syllable.
It therefore only appears in syllable-nucleus position.

- [y] may be the realisation of i between consonant and vowel, or as second part of a complex nucleus, in word-final position.
In that case, [y] will be first, second or third element of a complex syllable-nucleus, as a vowel.

y may also be an independent consonant phoneme, in syllable-onset position.
In that case, as a consonant, it will appear in syllable-onset position.

- The nasals m, n, ŋ, the voiceless occlusives k, p, t, the retroflex flap r, and the voiceless fricative s, are commonly encountered in word-initial, and in word-final position, and are therefore allowed in both syllable-onset and -coda position.
Except when they are followed by r, if the occlusives appear in first position of consonant sequence, the syllable division will fall immediately after them.
When the occlusives are followed by r, the syllable division will fall immediately before them.

- The retroflex flap r may appear in syllable-onset and -coda position.
It appears regularly before and after both voiced and voiceless consonants, namely after the nasals m, n, ŋ, the voiceless occlusives k, p, t, the voiced occlusives g, b, d, the glottal ?, and the prenasalised mb, ŋg.

It is the only consonant in the system to feature such a large distribution in consonant sequence, and, most particularly, to appear after consonant in word-intial position, or in syllable- onset position.

In the case of a sequence of voiceless or voiced occlusive, or prenasalised + r, that is, pr, tr, kr, br, gr, mbr, ŋgr, in word-medial position, the syllable division falls immediately before the sequence, and r forms a complex syllable onset with the preceding consonant.
This may bring about resyllabification, if the sequence is the result of contact between p, t, k in syllable-coda position, and r in syllable-onset position separated by morpheme boundary.

- As a general rule, in case of a consonant sequence in word-medial position, the syllable division will fall before the consonant cluster, if that cluster is also allowed in word-initial position.
The syllable division will fall after the first consonant in all other cases.

2.7. Consonant alternance

We have seen in the section on vowel analysis how the language features vowel insertion and harmonisation in verb conjugation, and in plural and compound noun formation. (see I.1.5.)
This process is accompanied by consonant alternance when the vowel is inserted after the voiceless occlusives k,p,t , and then involves resyllabification.

Consonant alternance has been observed in verb conjugation, compound noun formation, and for the plural of five simple nouns.

The analysis shows that, after vowel insertion, the voiceless occlusives k,p,t in word-final position alternate with, respectively the voiced fricatives ɣ,v and vibrant r in intervowel position.
That is to say: the voiceless occlusive in syllable-coda position alternantes with a voiced fricative or a flap in syllable onset and intervowel position.

2.7.1. Consonant alternance in verb conjugation

The system appears to function as described below. The description will be reviewed upon discussion of long and short verbal roots in V.1

- k,p,t appear in word-final position on verb root
- ɣ,v,r appear in intervocalic position, after vowel insertion, in simple past, perfect, and long verb root:

	mbuk "speak"
suffixation of mark of simple past	|mbuk-t|
vowel insertion	|mbuk-u-t|
consonant alternance	|mbuɣ-u-t|
resyllabification	|mbu.ɣut|
	/mbuɣut/ "he spoke"

	kip "come"
suffixation of mark of perfect	|kip-ŋget|
vowel insertion	|kip-ʌ-.ŋget|
consonant alternance	|kiv-ʌ-.ŋget|
resyllabification	|ki.vʌ.ŋget|
	/kivʌŋget/ "he had come"

	[k i t] "cut"
vowel for formation of long root	|k i t-ʌ|
consonant alternance	|k i-r-ʌ|
resyllabification	|k i.rʌ|
	/k i rʌ/ " cut" – long root

2.7.2. Consonant alternation in compound nouns:

In the formation of compound nouns, the first part of which is monosyllabic ending with k, p, t, there occurs, after vowel insertion, consonant alternance, then resyllabification:
Example:

|mok| "water" |nik| "belly, inside"

	|mok-nik]|
vowel insertion	|mok-o-nik|
consonant alternance	|moɣ-o-nik|
resyllabification	|mo.ɣo.nik|
	/moɣonik|/ "underwater"

|mok| "water" |pot|"star"

	|mok-pot|
vowel insertion	|mok-o-pot|
consonant alternance	|moɣ-o-pot|
resyllabification	|mo.ɣo.pot|
	/moɣopot/ "starfish"

|rup| "thigh" |piri| "skin"

	|rup-piri|
vowel insertion	|rup-u-piri|
consonant alternance	|ruv-u-piri|
resyllabification	|ru.vu.pi.ri|
	/ruvupiri/ "thigh' skin"

|vit| "sugar cane" |mok|"water"

	|vit-mok|
vowel insertion	|vit-i-mok|
consonant alternance	|vir-i-mok|
resyllabification	|vi.ri.mok|
	/virimok/ "sugar cane juice"

This phenomemon is also observed with words borrowed from Tok Pisin:

|bot| "boat" |ŋgam|"new"
vowel insertion |bot-o-ŋgam|
consonant alternance |bor-o-ŋgam|
resyllabification |bo.ro.ŋgam|
                       /boroŋgam/ "new boat"

2.7.3. Consonant alternation in formation of plural of five simple nouns:

Five common nouns, monosyllabic and ending with p,t, present a plural involving vowel insertion, consonant alternance and resyllabification.

/mot/ "man"   /morori/ "men"
                       |mot-ri|
vowel insertion |mot-o-ri|
consonant alternance |mor-o-ri|
resyllabification |mo.ro.ri|

/mut" wife"   /mururi]/ "wives"
                       |mut-ri|
vowel insertion |mut-u-ri|
consonant alternance |mur-u-ri|
resyllabification |mu.ru.ri|

Three of the nouns present two plurals, with the same meaning:

/yap/ "younger brother"   /yavari/ or /yapri/ "younger brothers"
                           |yap-ri|
vowel insertion |yap-a-ri|
consonant alternance |yar-a-ri|
resyllabification |ya.va.ri|

/yip/."cousin"   /yiviri/ or /yipri/ "cousins"
                           |yip-ri|
vowel insertion |yip-i-ri|
consonant alternance |yiv-i-ri|
resyllabification |yi.vi.ri|

/sat/ "father"   /sarari/ or /satri/ "fathers"
                           |sat-ri|
vowel insertion |sat-a-ri|
consonant alternance |sar-a-ri|
resyllabification |sa.ra.ri|

The fact that all these nouns refer to kinship may point to some system belonging to an earlier stage of the language.

2.7.4. Alternance k,g and p,b:

The speakers pronounce [mbukre], and [kipre],[dipre], in slow speech, but pronounce [mbugre], [kɨbre],[dɨbre] at rapid speech speed.

rule 7: in word-medial syllable-onset position, k and p followed by r may be represented by their voiced equivalent g and b.

2.7.5. Special case of the glottal ʔ

The glottal ʔ differs from the velars k,ɣ,g in that it undergoes change only in the case of suffixation of the marks of narrative i and simple past t, but remains unaltered in all other instances:

	mu? "to fish"
suffixation of mark of simple past	|mu?-t|
? may not combine with t to form a complex coda ?t,	
hence ? disappears:	|mu-t|
and t replaces ? in coda :	/mut/ "she fished"

	vo? "to bury"
suffixation of mark of simple past	|vo?-t|
? may not combine with t to form a complex coda [?t],	
hence ? disappears:	|vo-t|
and t replaces ? in coda :	/vot/ "he buried"

In the case of formation of the narrative by suffixation of i onto the root:

|mu.?i| .is not acceptable as ? may not appear in syllable-onset position	
hence ? disappears:	|mu-i|
u forms a complex nucleus with i	|mui| "he buried" – narrative
u is semivocalised into w	|mwi| "he buried" – narrative

|vo.?i| is not acceptable as ? may not appear in syllable-onset position	
hence ? disappears:	|vo-i|
i forms a complex nucleus with o	|voi| "he buried" - narrative

In verb conjugation of verbs whose root ends with ?, ? will be maintained if the suffix is composed of onset and nucleus at least, and will disappear in other cases.

rule 1: in a sequence ?-t, ? is deleted, and t occupies the coda position in the syllable.
This rule applies to verbs.

rule 2: in a sequence V?-i except if V is i, ? is deleted and i becomes part of a complex nucleus.
If the first vowel is i, ? is conserved and the last i is deleted
This rule applies to verbs.

If the vowel is i, ? is conserved and the conjugation morpheme i disappears:
si? "to wash" |si?-i| /si?/ "washed"- narrative

The following examples show how ? remains unaltered in compound noun formation and verb conjugation:

bwʌ? "fence"   bwʌ?nik "inside the fence"
po? "spear"   po?ŋgʌr "spear handle"
                    po?ri   "spears"
                    po?ni   "two spears"

vo? "bury"   vo?re "he buries"   vo?ŋget "he has buried"

As a general observation, ? is maintained in dualisation and pluralisation, and in the formation of simple present, perfect and serial.
It is the only occlusive appearing in word-final position to behave this way.

2.7.6. Choice of base form: k,p,t or ɣ,v,r in syllable-coda position

After discussing the consonant alternance k,ɣ and p,v, we here analyze which would be the consonant appearing in coda position of the base form.
The base form could end with:
- the voiced fricative ɣ,v,r
- the voiceless occlusive k,p

If we choose:
- the voiced fricative ɣ,v,r:
this choice speaks against the observations made in the consonant distribution in the language, as the language does not allow voiced fricatives in word-final, and therefore syllable-coda position.

The flap r, however, appears commonly in syllable-coda position.

- the voiceless stop k,p,t:
this choice is supported by observations concerning the consonant distribution in the language, that allows voiceless occlusives in word-final position.

Therefore, we observe a lenition process: the base form features the voiceless occlusive k,p,t in syllable-coda position, which alternates, after vowel insertion and resyllabification, with the voiced fricative ɣ,v,r in syllable-onset intervowel position.

rule 5: upon vowel insertion, the voiceless occlusives k,p,t, in syllable-coda position alternate with, respectively, the voiced fricative ɣ,v, or the flap r, in syllable-onset intervowel position, and there occurs resyllabification.

2.7.7. Special case of t,r in intervowel position

The description of the relation between r and t shows that t in syllable-coda position alternates, after vowel insertion, with r in syllable-onset intervowel position.

However, the complementary distribution t,r is not complete, as:
- t appears, however rarely, in intervowel position in disyllabic simple words:
rʌtar "sawfish"
- r appears commonly in word-final position in monosyllabic words:
par "hand" ŋar "hit!"

The presence of the consonant r between two vowels may therefore refer to two different base forms, with either t or r in coda position.
The formation of a compound noun would cancel the difference between the consonants in final positin of the base form:

par "hand" kundum "shield" parʌkundum "fingernail"
set "louse" par "leg" serepar "louse leg"

2.8. Phonological proccesses around prenasalised consonants

2.8.1. Alternance of prenasalized consonants nd / ŋgr

A number of examples testify of the special relationship of the prenesalised dental nd with prenasalised velar ŋg+r, on the one hand, and with the sequence nr, on the other hand.

- nd, ŋgr in verbs
When verbs whose root end with ŋg form their simple present and future by adding the suffix -re and −rene, the alternance whereby nd replaces ŋgr is commonly accepted:

mongre	or	monde	"she does"
kesungene	or	kesundene	"she will answer"
sangre	or	sande	"he goes"
kingrene	or	kindene	"he will cough"

Both variants are considered as fully acceptable.

The rules that preside over this alternance are as follows:

rule 8: when preceding the flap r, the prenasalised velar ŋg may be reduced to the simple nasal velar ŋ, then assimilated on the dental feature of r into the alveolar n
This rule applies to verbs, nouns and adjectives.

rule 9: when preceded by the nasal n or the occlusive t, the flap r may be assimilated into d
This rule applies to nouns, adjectives and verbs.

Ex: |moŋg-re| ==> moŋ-re ==> mon-re ==> mo.nde ==> /monde/

- nd,nr in nouns and adjectives:
In the formation of plural of common nouns ending with dental nasal n, and in two adjectives ending with dental occlusive t, the vibrant r in syllable-onset position of the mark of plural −ri may be homorganised into the dental d.
Both variants are accepted:

|kʌn-ri|	/kʌndi/	"trees"
|menmen-ri|	/menmendi/	"fly larvae"
|kot-ri|	/kotdi/	"long"
|diɣinkot-ri|	/diɣinkotdi/	"distant"

Rule 9 applies.

Note that the rules apply differently according to whether the morphemes are grammatical, conjugation or lexical.
Indeed, contact between t-r, separated by lexical morpheme limit, would bring about vowel insertion and consonant alternance if the first part is monosyllabic (see I.1.5. and I. 2.8.).

2.8.2. Alternance prenasalised consonants ŋg, nd and occlusives g, d

Upon word contact and in word formation, a prenasalized consonant preceded by occlusive tends to be reduced to its occlusive feature.
The first two examples deal with word contact, and the third one with compound word formation:

ŋg -> g |mot re? kam ŋgʌrat| / mot re? kam grat/
          man thing stick take Past
          "The man took the stick"

nd-> d |mʌri mare? ŋgʌrat ndin| / mʌri mare? ŋgrat din/
        woman food   take Past Neg
        "The woman did not take the food"

mb-> b |mʌri tan mbã   saŋgat|/ mʌri tanbã saŋgat/
        woman outside towards go Past
        "The woman went outside"

rule 16: the prenasalized consonants mb, nd, ŋg preceded by m, n, t, r may be reduced to the
corresponding voiced occlusive, respectively, b,g,d.
This rule applies upon word contact and in compound noun formation.

3. SYLLABLE FORMULAS AND MORPHOLOGICAL RULES

3.1. Observations from syllable types

The following syllable structures have been encountered in monosyllabic and polysyllabic words.
The examples hereunder are taken from monosyllabic words, but apply to polysyllabic words also,
as no other type of syllable structure has been encountered.

- in onset position:

a. simple onset: C
- where C may be any consonant allowed in onset position, i.e. any consonant, except ?,z
- where C may be void in only four examples: ore "yes" a "this" ay "we" o "or"

b. complex onset: C + r
- where C may be any voiceless or voiced occlusive, or the prenasalised velar or prenasalised
bilabial, to form the sequence: pr, kr, tr, br, vr, gr, dr, mbr, ŋgr

- in nucleus position:

a. simple nucleus :   V
where V may be any oral or nasal vowel

b. complex nucleus: V1+V2
                       S1+V3
                       V1+S2
                       S1+V1+V2
                       S1+V1+S1
                       V1+V2+S1
where: V1 may only be an oral vowel
       V2 may only be an oral vowel not identical to V1
       V3 may be any oral or nasal vowel
       S1 may be any of the two semi-vowels y,w

- in coda position:

always simple coda: C

- C may be any consonant allowed in coda position

i.e. C may be   - any nasal: m,n,ŋ

- any voiceless occlusive and glottal: p,t,k,ʔ

- the retroflex flap: r

- the voiceless fricative: s

- the coda positon may be void

- C may not be: - any voiced fricatives and affricate: v,z,ɣ,dʒ

- any voiced occlusive: d,g,

- any prenasalised mb,nd,ndʒ,ŋg

- any consonant sequence

3.2. Graphic representations of syllable types

The different syllable types may be represented graphically as follows:

```
V          O    N    C
           |    |    |
           Ø    V    Ø
                a         a      "this"


VS         O    N    C
           |         |
           Ø    VS   Ø
                ay        ay     "we"


CV         O    N    C
           |    |    |
           C    V    Ø
           d    u         du     "dugong"


CVV        O    N    C
           |    Ʌ    |
           C    VV   Ø
           r    ao        rao    "sun"


CSVS       O    N    C
                Ʌ
           C    VVV  Ø
           p    yay        pyay   "climb"
```

CCV
```
O   N   C
|   |   |
C   C   V
p   r   ɛ      prɛ̃   "fight"
```

CCVS
```
O    N    C
|    ∧    |
CC   VV   Ø
kr   ey         krey   "come"
```

CVC
```
O   N   C
|   |   |
C   V   Ø
d   u   p      dup   "shark"
```

CSVC
```
O   N    C
|   ∧    |
C   SV   C
t   wa   ?     twa?   "worm"
```

CCVC
```
O    N   C
∧    |   |
CC   V   C
mbr  a   ?     mbra?   "plant"
```

CSVVC
```
O   O     N   C
|   ∧     |
C   VVV   C
n   yao   m    nyaom   "scorpion"
```

3.3. Summary of phonological rules

Note: It has been observed that rules apply differently according to whether we are dealing with conjugation morphemes, such as marks of conjugation in the indicative, with grammatical morphemes, such as mark of dual and plural, and with lexical morphemes.
The relevant word category is therefore referred to explicitly when necessary to avoid confusion.

80

rule 1: in a sequence ʔ-t, ʔ is deleted, and t occupies the coda position in the syllable.
This rule applies to verbs.

rule 2: in a sequence Vʔ-i except if V is i, ʔ is deleted and i becomes part of a complex nucleus.
If the first vowel is i, ʔ is conserved and the last i is deleted
This rule applies to verbs.

rule 3: between any two consonants, except ʔ, there may occur insertion of a vowel, harmonized on the vowel of the preceding syllable
This rule is compulsory for nouns, and facultative for verbs.

rule 4:
rule 4a: inserted oral vowels, central high i , medium front and back e,o, and low central a , tend to be replaced by the medium central vowel ʌ
rule 4 b: inserted high front vowel i tends to be replaced by the medium front vowel e

rule 5: upon vowel insertion, the voiceless occlusives k,p,t, in syllable-coda position alternate with, respectively, the voiced fricative ɣ,v, or the flap r, in syllable-onset intervowel position, and there occurs resyllabification.

rule 6: when the voiceless occlusives k and p, appear before the voiced fricative ɣ, k and p may be deleted.
This rule applies to verb and nouns.

rule 7: in word-medial syllable-onset position, k and p followed by r may be represented by their voiced equivalent g and b.

rule 8: when preceding the flap r, the prenasalised velar ŋg may be reduced to the simple nasal velar ŋ, then assimilated on the dental feature of r into the alveolar n
This rule applies to verbs, nouns and adjectives.

rule 9: when preceded by the nasal n or the occlusive t, the flap r may be assimilated into d
This rule applies to nouns, adjectives and verbs.

rule 10: a sequence of two identical consonants or vowels is reduced to one.
This rule applies for nouns and verbs.

rule 11: in word-final position, the prenasalised velar ŋg, bilabial mb and alveolar nd are reduced to the simple nasal, respectively velar ŋ , bilabial m. and alveopalatal n

rule 12: in word-final position, the nasal velar ŋ nasalizes the preceding vowel, except if it is a high vowel, then the nasal disappears.

rule 13: the vowel i, suffixed after a vowel, or positioned after any vowel except u in open or closed syllable, may be facultatively semi-vocalised into y
This rule applies to verbs

rule 14: the vowel u may be facultatively semi-vocalised in second position of vowel sequence, in open syllable, in word-final position.

rule 15: the vowels i and u are always semi-vocalised into y and w between any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant and any vowel, and between any vowel and any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant in syllable-coda position, or in onset of the following syllable.

rule 16: the prenasalized consonants mb, nd, ŋg preceded by m, n, t, r may be reduced to the corresponding voiced occlusive, respectively, b,g,d.
This rule applies upon word contact and in compound noun formation.

rule 17: a alveopalatal occlusive t followed by the velar occlusive g is represented by the flap r
This rule applies upon word contact.

4. STRESS PATTERN

There has not been any opportunity for lab analysis that would have allowed for a definition of the stress.
The stressed syllable is marked by pitch, probably together with loudness.

In the word, the stress usually falls on the last syllable, for simple and compound words:

ŋuni	ŋun 'ni	"village"
kyaɣar	kya 'ɣʌr	"bat"
korondo	koro 'ndo	"snake"
keriɣi	keri 'ɣi	"turn"

mbiripar	mbiri 'par	"leaf of hibiscus tree"	- from: mbit "hibiscus"	par	"leaf"

panʌdambar   panʌdʌ 'mbar   "head hair"   – from: pan "head"   dʌ'mbar "hair"

nabʌpar   nabʌ 'par   "mango leaf"   – from: na'bʌ "mango"   par "leaf"

It is interesting to observe that not all suffixes influence the stress pattern on words in the same way. Indeed, grammatical suffixes of dual and plural cause the word to behave as if it were extended by one syllable – thereby allowing the stress to shift from last syllable in singular to suffix as last syllable in dual and plural:

panʌdʌ 'mbar   "head hair"   panʌdʌmba 'ri "several crops of hair"

nabʌ 'par   "mango leaf"   nabʌpar 'ni "two mango leaves"

The suffixation of any conjugation mark, except for the mark of simple past –t, however, fails to bring change in the stress pattern of the verb, even though, technically, one syllable is added to the verb:

taro?	ta? 'ro?	"finish
taro?re	ta 'ro?re	"he finishes"- simple present
taro?rene	ta? 'ro?rene	"he will finish" – simple future
taro?ŋget	ta? 'ronget	"he has finished"- perfect | taʳro?ɣʌ| "he finished"-
tarot	ta? 'rot	"he finished"- simple past : no change in stress, because there

is no change in syllable number, but the following example, because it entails vowel addition and therefore change in the number of syllables, shows clearly the shift in stress:

kɨp   "come"- short root
kɨvʌt   kɨ 'vʌt   "he came"

Hereunder a number of minimal pairs oppose a simple substantive to a substantive phrase (ex. 1,2), to conjugated verbs (ex. 3,4), and oppose a conjugated simple past to a simple present (ex.5):

In examples 1 and 2, the stress falls on the last syllable of the substantive:

1. kʌma nde?   kʌ 'ma nde?   "kema's place"
kema   place

kʌma nde?ri   kʌ 'ma nde? 'ri   "kema's places"
kema place Pl

kʌmande?   kʌma 'nde? "cockatoo"
cockatoo

2.   rire?   ri 're? "what?"
   rerik   re 'rik "blood"
   rire?   'ri re? "garden tool"

In examples 3,4, the stress falls on the last syllable of the simple substantives, but not on the mark of simple present in the two verbs:

3.   kwakre   kwa 'kre   "chicken"
     kwa?re   'kwa?re   "he gets out of the way"

4.   voret   vo 'ret   "big"
     vo?re   'vo?re   "he digs"

In example 5, again, the mark of simple present is not stressed, while the syllable created by adjunct of the mark of simple past is stressed; the third example, a substantive, follows the regular stress pattern:

5.   yembre   'yembre   "he knows"
     yembʌt   ye 'mbʌt   "he knew"
     yembit   ye 'mbit   "aopa"

CHAPTER II: ELEMENTS OF AWAR SYNTAX

The purpose of this chapter is to facilitate the reading of the present description by providing the main elements of Awar syntax.

The constituents of the verbal clause, then of the non-verbal clause will be presented hereunder

1. THE VERBAL CLAUSE

The two core constituents of the verbal clause are the noun phrase in the subject slot, and the verb phrase in the verb slot.

The noun phrase is described in detail in chapter IV Nouns.

The verb phrase will be described in detail in chapter V. Verbs.
It is constituted of a verb in head slot position, and may present one or several complements as direct object or attributive if it is transitive or bitransitive

Other complements, circonstants, may be featured with the verb; these circonstants may be such of accompaniment, time, instrument , location, origin, intention and manner.

The general word order is not entirely fixed, but the main principles are as follows:

- the verbal clause core constituents are: Subject –Attributive - Direct Object – Verb

- the subject is usually in clause-initial position, and the verb, in clause-final position

- non-core constituents are circonstants

- the basic word order is
    - Subject - Verb , if the verb is intransitive

ma?mu mbʌt
child   go back Past
"The child went back"

    - Subject - Object - Verb , if the verb is transitive

ma?mu   kor   vasat
child   canoe   see Past
"The child saw the canoe"

mʌri   ŋyeʔ   ŋgʌrat
woman pot   take Past
"The woman took the pot"

- Subject – Attributive - Object – Verb,   if the verb is bitransitive

mot   mʌri   twā   mbuɣut
man   woman   talk   say Past
"The man talked (the talk) to the woman"

mʌri   maʔmu   ŋyeʔ   ŋganʌŋgat
woman child   pot   givve Past
"The woman gave the pot to the child"

- a circonstant would normally appear between subject and object:

Subject – Attributive – Time -   Object –   Verb
mʌri   maʔmu   gur   ŋyeʔ   ŋganʌŋgat
oman   child   yesterday pot   give Past
"The woman gave the pot to the child yesterday"

Subject- Origin -   Object-   Verb
mam   to   teʔ   maʔmu   kot
mother   house from   child   call Past
"The woman called for the child from the house"

- if the clause counts several circonstants, their most usual order of appearance would be as follows:

Accompaniment – Time – Instrument – Location – Goal – Origin – Manner

Examples:

Subject- Accompaniment- Goal-   Origin-   Verb
mam   sat va?   maʔmu ne? to   teʔ   kot
mother father with   child for   house from   call Past
"The mother with the father called for the child from the house"

As many as four constituents may be encountered within a single clause:

Subject -	Accompaniment –	Intention –	Origin –	Direct Object -	Verb
mam	sat va?	ma?mu ne?	to te?	sʌrim	ŋgrat
mother	*father with*	*child for*	*house from*	*soup*	*take sp*

"The mother with the father took the soup from the house for the child"

However, rarely are more than two constituents encountered within the same clause.

When greater detail requires added substantive phrases, the number of verb phrases increases equally, resulting in "verb series", and the number of constituents per verb is kept low.
This feature will be described as a characteristic of Papuan languages in V.6.4.

Examples:

mam	ŋye?	ŋgʌr,	ŋuni	saŋgʌ ,	kembi	mʌri	ŋganʌŋgat
mother	*pot*	*take SR*	*village*	*go LR*	*other*	*woman*	*give Past*

"The woman took the pot, went to the village, gave it to the other woman" = "The woman brought the pot to the other woman in the village"

mot	po?	ŋgʌrɤʌ,	rwẽ	saŋgʌ,	rʌyam	raŋgʌt
man	*spear*	*take ch*	*forest*	*go LR*	*pig*	*shoot Past*

"The man went to spear pig in the forest"

2. THE NON-VERBAL CLAUSE

The non-verbal clause most often counts two constituents : the topic, in clause-initial position, and the comment, following the topic.
The non-verbal clause is used to express an equative relation between the first and the second component: "the first element (is equal to) the second one".

A third component, the negation, is optional, in clause-final position.

The topic slot may be filled with a substantive, a substantive phrase, or a substitute, as will be described in chapter III.The noun Phrase.

The comment may be filled by a substantive , a substantive phrase (ex. 1,2), an adjective or adjective phrase (ex.5), a numeral (5), a demonstrative substitute (ex. 4). (For their description, see chapter III. The Noun Phrase

Non-verbal clauses are frequent, both in conversation and in narrative.
They may represent a statement, (ex. 1 to 3), a question or an answer (ex. 4 to 7), an exclamation (ex. 7,8).

Topic	Comment
/---------------/	/--------------------------/

1. a mʌr i   ŋgo nan   mam
   this woman   I   property   mother
"This woman (is) my mother"

Topic	Comment
/------------------/	/----------------------/

2. monbā ŋun i,   re? vor
over there village   thing big
"The village over there (is) big"

Topic	Comment
/-------------/	/----------------------------/

3. nʌ num   ay nan   mot vor
   he self   us property   man big
"He himself (is) our big man"

Topic	Comment
/--------------------/	/----------/

4. ay nan   ŋun i   ŋʌmbā
   us property   village   that of this side
"Our village (is) over here"

The negation v a n e n optionally occupies the clause-final slot.
The negation may appear after a comment filled by a substantive phrase, which it negates as a whole.

```
Topic              Comment   Negation
/---------------/ /-------------/ /----------/
9. ŋgo rwē      a nde?      vanen !
    my forest   this place   Neg
```
"My (part of the) forest is not this place"


```
Topic            Comment                  Negation
/--------------/ /-------------------/    /-------------/
10. ma?mu        mʌri   nan               vanen
     child        woman property           Neg
```
"That child is not that woman's"

As the negation appears also in final position of verbal clause, its position here might indicate the position of a verbal slot, empty in this instance.

Another clue for this empty verbal slot might given by the comparison of a verbal and a non-verbal clause of ötherwise similar composition.

The first example features the non-verbal clause composed of topic and comment:

```
a        mʌri    nʌ    ŋuni    mʌri
This    woman    she   village  woman
```
"This woman is a village woman" = "This woman is a woman of our village"

The next sentence is a verbal clause where nuni mʌri "village woman" is predicate of the verb moŋgot "became":

```
a        mʌri    nʌ    ŋuni    mʌri     moŋgot
This    woman    she   village  woman   become Past
```
"This woman became a woman of our village" through her marriage with one fellow villager)

The next two sentences are negative: the first one features a non-verbal clause, the second one is verbal with the verb mō "become":

```
a        mʌri    nʌ    ŋuni   mʌri   vanen
This    woman she     village woman   Neg
```
"This woman is not a woman of our village"

```
a      mʌri   nʌ    ŋuni   mʌri  mõ           vanen
This   woman  she   village woman become SR    Neg
```
"This woman will not become a woman of our village"

The scheme for the non-verbal clause would be:

```
Topic        Comment        Verbal slot           Negation
= Subject    = Object
```

In such structures that express an equative relationship, the verbal slot remains empty in the present and in the past, but may be filled by moŋgrene "will become", to express the future affirmative, or by mõ vanen "will not become".

The use of the time substantive gur " yesterday" is one way to express the past character in such a structure:

```
a      mot  twã  (gur)       yã
This man talk yesterday     good
```
"This man's speech (yesterday) (was) good"

The verb moŋg "become" in the future is used to express the future :
```
a      mʌri  ŋuni   mʌri   moŋgrene
This  woman village woman  become Fut
```
"This woman will become a village woman" (when she gets married)

3. TOPICALISATION

The topicalisation is a process whereby the topicalized constituent moves from its original slot to occupy the left-most position in the clause, while the place of the other complements remains unchanged.

This process that has been observed in both verbal and non-verbal clauses, is used to add emphasis to one of the components of the phrase.
Examples are given below where it has been applied to subject, direct object or circonstants as time, attribution, origin, purpose/intention.

When the complement in topic position is subject, direct object, attributive or instrument, it may be optionally be repeated, as the substitute nʌ, in its original position between subject and verb

Examples:

```
Topicalised element                    Topic      Comment
/-------  -----------------------------/ /---------/ /---------------/
monbā       ŋuni                          nʌ          re? vor
over there  village                       it          thing big
"The village over there,  it (is) big"
```

```
Topicalised element    - time
/--------  -----------/
so  mbinʌ,           ŋgo rwē   saŋgʌt
day one,             I   forest  go Past
"One day,  I  went to the forest"
```

```
                                           Topicalised element   - attribution
                                                 /----/
syapan  moror   a    tu   hansa be  kot,     ay a  gi   kare
japan   men    this  place hansa bay  call Past,  we this name  be at Pres
"The Japanese called this place Hansa Bay,  with us this name stays"
```

```
Topicalised element  - direct object
/------------/
ŋgavimʌri  ŋgo  kʌnʌnī  taɣʌ     vasat
Witch      I    tree-base  come ch  see Past
"A witch I saw standing at the base of a tree"
```

```
Topicalised element – direct object
/------/
paut    me    miller ne? raŋgat
stone   they   miller  it  hit Past
"A stone they threw at Miller"
```

```
Topicalised element  - origin
/----------------/
ŋuni   te?   mot   mbuni   nʌ kivʌt
Village from  man  two it    come Past
"From the village the two men came"
```

```
Topicalised element  - purpose
/--------------/
ma?mu ne?  mam    nando  nʌ  kot
child  for  mother  again   it  call sPast
"For the child the mother called again"
```

CHAPTER III. THE NOUN PHRASE

0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter , "the noun phrase", features the analysis of the noun phrase, first as a whole, then of its different components, in turn.
The description of the noun, the core component of the noun phrase, is followed by that of the adjective, that appears to be its closest determinant, and the only one to agree with the noun (except for dumur "all" and dumni "both").
The next elements to be examined are the preposed, then the postponed noun determinants.

1. THE NOUN PHRASE

1.1. Introduction

The language presents limited morphology. Apart from the mark of dual and plural on the substantive, the agreement of the adjective, and the marks of inflection on verbs, most of the expression is conveyed through syntax and word order of the different components.
The absence of morphological criteria suggests to base the analysis on the different positions occupied by the various word types.

The phrase is the group of words, the center of which is the substantive, surrounded by its determinants.

The present chapter will look at the structure of the noun phrase and examine in turn the position of the different adjuncts of the noun, together with their mutual compatibility.

1.2. Description of the noun phrase

The noun phrase consists of a head complex slot and seven adjunct slots. The head complex slot must be obligatorily filled, while the adjunct slots may be optionally filled.
All seven adjunct slots are rarely filled simultaneously within one single noun phrase. Many noun phrases consist only of one single word.

The possible positions open within the noun phrase are in seven slots that accept the following types of lexemes:
(1) the demonstrative slot
(2) the specifyer
(3) the question word slot
(4) the nominal + adjective slot
(5) the quantifying slot
(6) the selector slot
(7) the interrogative quantifier

The table below splits the different components into the columns of their respective positions within the phrase.

The columns are filled following this specific order, or may remain vacant. Only the noun in column 4 is required to be present.

Elements of different categories may not commute with each other, unless specified otherwise.

The analysis will show which elements are compatible or not.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Demonstrative	"other"	"which"	Substantive + adjective+ modifier "very", "somewhat"...	Numerals "some", "a lot"...	"self", "alone", "only", "together"...	"how many"
a "this"	kembi	ŋendʒu	kori simza?	mbinʌ	ŋum	ŋendʒi
ande?	"other"	"which"	"canoes heavy"	"one"	"self"	"how many"
"this one here"			bidi	mbuni	nembi	
ŋaya			"somewhat"	"two"	"together"	
"this one there"				ndʒye?	nendi	
miyo				"a few"	"alone"	
"this one further"				dumur		
mondet				"all"		
"this one over there"				nin		
ŋʌndet				"some, a certain"		
"this one over here"						
monbā						
"this one front"						
ŋʌnbā						
"this one back"						
gunbā						
"this one right"						
ŋgenbā						
"this one left"						

1.3. Comments per position

Note: the noun, adjective, adjective modifier and mark of number, that occupy Column 4 will be described in III.2 and III.3.
The elements occupying all other columns will be described in III.4.

1.3.1. Column 1: the demonstrative slot

In this column, in initial position before the noun, appear
- the demonstrative a, "this"
- the space demonstratives:
    - ande? "this one here"/ŋaya "this one there"/miyo "this one further" (proximity),
    - mondet "this one over there"/ŋʌndet "this one over here" (distance),
    - monbã "this one front"/ŋʌnbã "this one back"/gunbã "this one right"/ŋgenbã "this one left" (directionals)

These demonstratives are mutually exclusive: the position will be occupied
by any one of the demonstratives, but only by one of them at any time.
The demonstrative determines the noun that occupies the head position of the noun phrase.

1.3.2. Column 2: interrogative specifyer nendʒu "which"

The question word nendʒu "which, what type" occupies the second column
nendʒu is only compatible with the demonstrative a "this", in column 1, and with the undefined determinant in column 3.

1.3.3. Column 3: "otherness" kembi

The undefined determinant kembi "other", that occupies column 3, is compatible with any of the demonstratives in column 1 and with nendʒu "which", in column 2: the sequence will however necessarily be nendʒu kembi "which kind" in a question.
Both lexemes will determine the noun head of the noun phrase.

1.3.4. Column 4: the head complex slot

This slot is really composed of two positions: position 1 called here the modifier slot, is optionally filled, by a noun or a noun phrase.
Position 2 called the main slot, is obligatorily filled, by a noun, a substitute or a question word.

94

The content of position 1 functions as modifier of position 2. This relation is analyzed in III.5.

The filler of the head position may be a simple or a complex substantive, in singular, dual and plural. It may also be a substitute or a question word.

All slots of the noun phrase may be filled if it is a common noun that fills position 2 in the head complex slot.
Proper nouns and substitutes have only occasionally been encountered with some of the noun determiners.

The adjective phrase may appear in this slot, as the substantive's closest determinant, in agreement with the noun it immediately follows.

There may more than one adjective, but rarely more than two.

1.3.5. Column 5 : the quantitative slot

This column features such quantitative determinants as:
- the numerals
- the undefined quantifiers dumur "all", duni "both", ndʒe? "a few", vurin "one of two", nin "some, a certain"
The quantitative determinants are the first determinants to immediately
follow the core of the noun phrase.
They may be either any numeral, or one of the undefined quantifiers, but not both together after a same substantive.

The undefined quantifier duni "both" is compatible with a noun in dual, and with the numeral mbuni "two", although speakers qualify this last structure as "not elegant", probably because of the redundancy of the information conveyed by the repetition of the dual.

The presence of the numeral mbuni "two", or the quantifier duni "both" presupposes a dual core in the noun phrase, or at least is incompatible with the mark of plural.

The undefined quantifier dumur "all" is compatible with a quantifier equal to or above 3. It is also compatible with the undefined quantifyer, ndʒe? "a few" which it must then follow. (example 2).
In this view, dumur may be called a "totaliser".
dumur is not compatible with the undefined quantifier vurin, "one of two", and logically from a grammatical point of view, it is not compatible with a noun in dual.

Several numerals may be juxtaposed in succession, for example in an
enumeration, in the course of a narration.

All undetermined quantifiers and all numerals are compatible with the demonstratives, column 1, and the preposed determinants kembi "other", and nendʒu "which", in column 2.

The undetermined quantifier vurin "one of two". is not compatible with any other quantitative determinant in column 4; it is compatible only with the demonstrative a in column 1. It is not compatible with any element of column 2 and 3. (example 3)

1.3.6. Column 6: the "selector" slot

The "selectors" num "self', nendi "alone", kembi "kind", nembi "all together" may appear in isolation or in succession after the substantive.
If in sequence, the specific order is as shown above; speakers prefer sequences of maximum two at one time.

All four selectors are compatible with any demonstrative in column 1 and with any determinant in column 2 and 3.
They are compatible with any numeral and any undetermined quantifier in column 5, except for nembi "all together".

Logically from a semantic point of view, nembi, "all together", is compatible only with a noun in dual or plural.
nembi is compatible with any demonstrative in column 1, and with kembi "kind", in column 3.
nembi is compatible with any numeral except mbinʌ "one", and with any undetermined quantifier, in column 5, except vurin "one of two". (ex. 3)

1.3.7. Column 7: Interrogative quantifier nendʒi "how many"

The question word nendʒi, "how many", implies a plural meaning in the noun it determines, although it most often follows a noun in singular.
Quite logically from a semantic point of view, it is not compatible with a noun in dual, as this would presuppose the speaker's knowledge of the information.
nendʒi is compatible with any demonstrative in column 1, and with kembi "kind", in column 3, but not the other question word, nendʒu "which", in column 2.
It is not compatible with a numeral, nor with undetermined quantifier in column 5, except dumur "all".
nendʒi is compatible with any selector in column 6.

1.4. Examples

```
mo nendʒu kembi   gurʌʔ vasat?
you which other    bird   see Past
```
"Which kind of bird did you see?"

```
mʌri ndʒeʔ  dumur a   tap   nʌ yembat
woman a few all   this custom it know Past
```
'A few woman all know this custom"

```
a    kembi gurʌʔ dumur nembi   mbayʌ saŋgat
this other bird  all   together fly R  go Past
```
"These other birds all flew away together"

```
a    kembi mʌri  simzaʔni   mbuni nin   ŋuni kɨvʌt
this other woman heavy Dl    two   a certain village come Past
```
"These certain other two women came to the village"

```
a        koronik      vori   dumur num   sivʌt
this     canoe-inside big Pl  all   themselves be full Past
```
"All these big insides of canoe themselves were full "

```
a    kembi    motnendi nendʒi    saŋgat ?
this other    man alone how many  go Past ?
```
"How many of these other men went on their own?"

```
nendʒu    kor   yandi gindʒeʔ ?
what type  yam   good  truly?
```
"What type of yam is truly good?"

```
andeʔ   kembi kor   ndʒeʔ ŋgo   nan
this here other canoe a few my   property
```
"These few other canoes are mine"

```
ŋaya        kembi guraʔ nembi   nendʒiʔ
those there other  bird  together how many?
```
"How many are there of those other birds together over here?"

```
nendʒu     kembi bitmʌ?
what type  other bird
```
"What type of other birds?"
```

monbã       kembi  tori    dumur  nembi  kwa  nu        kare
*at the back   other  house Pl  all    together  river  nearness    be at Pres*
"All those other houses together over , they are next to the river"

mʌrini       mbuni  duni     saŋgat
*woman Dl    two    together  go Past*
"The two women went together"

a   mʌri   vurin        kembi   rinik        kivʌt
*this  woman  one of two    other   garden-inside  come Past*
"This one of the two women came on her own to the garden"

mʌri   num   kembi  nendʒi    tonik        kare?
*woman   self   other  how many    house-inside  be at Pres*
"How many women themselves are on their own inside the house?"


# 2. THE NOUN

## 2.0. General introduction

The main categories of words in the Awar language are the nouns and the verbs.

One particularity of the language is that nouns and verbs are little differentiated. The analysis will show the morphological similarities between verb root and nominal root, and give examples of their respective syntactic use.

Most of the verb roots may be inflected to function as nouns and some may be inflected to function as adjectives; non-derived nouns and adjectives, however, may not function as verbs.

Hence we will refer to those nouns and adjectives derived from verbs as, "verb-derived", or, respectively, "nomino-verbals" and "adjectivo-verbal".
The Routledge Dictionnary of linguistics (1996) defines them as follows: "a nomino-verbal is any root able to function as a substantive, by association with the different nominal modalities, or as a verb, by association with the different verbal modalities.
"An adjectivo-verbal is any root able to function as an adjective, by association with the different adjectival modalities, or as a verb, by association with the different verbal modalities".

Each word category may be described as follows:

The noun is characterized by:

- its ability to fill the head slot in a noun phrase,
- its capacity to fill the topic and comment slot of non-verbal clauses.
- its ability to function as subject, object and verb complement in a verbal clause
- its ability to take such affixes as dual -ni and plural -ri suffixes
- the fact that it may be simple or complex
- the fact that the complex noun follows the same modalities as the simple substantive
- the fact that it may be replaced by a substitute
- its ability to commute with words belonging to the same category


The adjective is characterized by:

- its capacity to determine the noun by expressing a state or a characteristic
- its capacity to function as predicate in a non-verbal clause
- its capacity to take the mark of dual and of plural in agreement with the noun it determines
- its capacity to take adjective modifiers and negation
- The verb is characterized by:

- its ability to fill the head position in a verb phrase
- its ability to take the inflection marks for mood, tense and aspect
- its ability to take the negation mark characteristic of each mode and tense
- its ability to commute with words belonging to the same category

The following examples show how the same lexical unit may take a nominal, adjectival or verbal value:

Examples 1, 2, 3, feature the noun riru "coldness", first in isolation, then as part of a compound substantive.

1. tamumok      pa?      tarot,      riru   re? vor
   *above-water   arrive R finish Past, coldness thing big*
   "The rain has arrived, it is very cold"


2. ŋgo moyoriru        mbare      moŋgre
   *I    water-coldness   eat Pres  make Pres*
   "I want to drink cold water"


3. ŋgo riruŋuni        saŋgre moŋgre
   *I    coldness-village  go Pres  make Pres*
   "I want to go to the highlands"

In the next example, r i r u functions as adjective predicate of the noun m a r e ?.
b i d i is its modifyer.

4. m a r e ?   r i r u   b i d i
  *food*    *cold*    *somewhat*
"The food is somewhat cold"

Examples 5 and 6 feature the root r i r u as verb, respectively in simple future and as part of a verb series:
5. m a r e ?    r i r u r e n e
  *food*    *get cold Fut*
"The food will get cold"

6. m a r e ?    r i r u      t a r o t
  *food*     *cool off R finish Past*
"The food has become cold"

In the next examples, n d ʒ ʌ n d ʒ u "dry" takes the value of a substantive, then an adjective, and finally a verb.

Example 1: n d ʒ ʌ n d ʒ u is part of a compound substantive:

1. ŋ g o   s ʌ ɣ ʌ n d ʒ ʌ n d ʒ u   m a k e t    t a ɣ ʌ      v a s a t
  *I*    *fish-dryness*      *market*    *come up LR*    *see Past*
"I saw dried fish at the market"

Example 2: n d ʒ ʌ n d ʒ u is adjective, predicate of the noun s ʌ k.

2. s ʌ k   n d ʌ n d ʒ u   v a n e n
  *fish*   *dry R*    *Neg*
"The fish is not dry"

In the last example, the root functions as a verb as part of a verb series.

3. s ʌ k   s w a ?   t a ɣ ʌ       n d ʒ ʌ n d ʒ u    k a r e
  *fish*   *fire*   *come up LR*   *dry R*      *be at Pres*
"The fish is drying over the fire"

The following examples show the formal closeness of verb and substantive, alternatively with a nominal or verbal value.

The four examples show how the same root is commonly used within one same sentence, first as a substantive, then as a verb (respectively root as indicative (ex.1), indicative past (ex.2) and present (ex. 3), and chain mood (ex.4)).

These structures are "internal objects" that are formed on the same root and have the same meaning as the verb. They are not compulsory, but function to express the intensity or the length of the action carried out.

The possibility of short and long root on some verbs is described in V.1.

1. maʔmu ŋgo reʔ kot ŋgo tarot
    *child sleep thing big sleep R finish Past*
"The child slept for a long time"

2. ŋgo nʌ nekre, ŋgo nek reʔ vor
    *I it like Pres my liking thing big*
"I like it, my liking is very intense"

3. ŋgo sã reʔ kot saŋgat
    *I go SR thing big go Past*
"I walked for a long time"

4. gʌʔɣʌ, ve vor veɣʌ vaʔ, nʌ rikre, tyʌvʌkam
    *stand up ch, pain big hurt ch after he go down Pres road-side*
nʌ mbiraʔ mʌkare
    *he sit down R be at Pres Prog*
"Having stood there, the pain being very intense, he sat down and waited by the roadside"

Awar substantives are an open class of words that designate animate and inanimate beings, objects and notions.

The proper noun does not take the mark of dual and plural, as do all other nouns; it has however been included in the analysis of the nouns because it may commute with the noun in the same slot, and occupy the same functions in a verbal and non-verbal clause.

Moreover, a large number of nouns are used in the Awar language as proper nouns for people.

The proper noun is therefore considered here as a special case of the simple substantive, as the proper nouns encountered appear as simple non-analyzable words.

## 2.1. The simple noun

The simple noun in Awar is the noun that presents one single morpheme, that is, the noun that is not the result of the juxtaposition of two or more morphemes, and as such, is non-analyzable.

## 2.1.1. The common noun

The common noun presents no trace of derivation from verb or adjective.
Most simple substantives are mono- and disyllabic. No simple noun has been encountered with more than three syllables.
The syllable structures have been described in I.3.

The common noun are extremely numerous, especially to designate environment features, such as plants and animals. Quite a number of these items would not yet have a translation in English.

Examples of common substantives:

| | |
|---|---|
| mo t | "man" |
| t o | "house" |
| ma d u | "turtle" |
| mod i mō | "python" |
| ŋye ʔ | "pot" |

## 2.1.2. The proper noun

Proper nouns in Awar language include anthroponyms and toponyms, that is, names of people and villages, but also names of traditional celebrations, of weather phenomenons like winds, and of geographical areas and bodies of water.
More precisely, in this last case, the proper noun refers to the spirit of that geographical area or body of water as, for instance, the spirit that resides at the mouth of the river.

Some common nouns are also commonly used as anthroponyms for male and female individuals.
They mostly designate animals and plants, but also some physical phenomenons, such as sun, moon, cloud...
A proper noun may refer to a male or a female, but not to both sexes.
Rare variations have however been observed between the three villages, whereby a female proper noun in Awar may be used as a male proper noun in Sisimangum.

Proper nouns may commute with substantives in the head slot position of a noun phrase, where they may have the same complements, preposed and postponed, as the substantive.
They may function as determiner of a noun phrase.
They may function as subject, object and complement of a verb phrase.
They may be apposed to simple and complex substantives, and may have simple and complex substantives apposed to them.

In short, the only difference between noun and proper noun is that the latter may not be part of compound noun, and may not take the mark of dual and plural.

102

Examples of proper nouns:

| | |
|---|---|
| may | Mai - spirit's name - also a male proper noun |
| nemgor | Nemgor - Awar village |
| kabuaŋ | river Boroi |
| bisaŋ | Boisa island |
| margat | Laing island |
| kʌri | "Moon", also female proper noun |
| dʒimbi | "Cloud", also female proper noun |
| rao | "Sun", also male proper noun |

ŋgo syʌndam ŋuni kɨvʌt...
*My syandam village come Past*
"My Syandam came to the village"

ŋgo ma?, syʌndam, a kʌri, ŋgo nan mō a , gurʌp kɨrene
*my son syandam and keri my property daughter and tomorrow come Fut*
"My son, Syandam and Keri, my daughter, arrived this morning"

a kor , nʌ martin siɣat kor
*this canoe it Martin small canoe*
"This canoe is little Martin's canoe"

Proper nouns may not be inflected for dual and plural forms; but they may, however, be followed by the personal pronoun for third person plural me and personal pronoun for dual ŋga, to indicate that the person is part of, respectively, a group of peers, or a pair of persons. These structures are described in IV. 2, 2.1 and 2.2.

martin me ŋuni saŋgat
*martin they village go Past*
"Martin and his peers (those of the same age) went to the village"

martin ŋga ŋuni saŋgat
*martin DL village go Past*
This last example may have two translations:
(1) "Both Martin and somebody else went to the village"
(2) "Both Martin and myself, we went to the village"
where "somebody else" may be identified or not identified by the speaker (1), or may be the speaker himself (2) - see IV.2.2.

As noun complement designating an origin, the proper noun is preferably positioned as the first part of the noun phrase, before the noun it determines; Awar speakers however also accept the proper noun after the noun, as in example below.

This unusual feature may be borrowed from Tok Pisin syntax.

a      mot,  nʌ vegen mot
*this  man,  he vegen  man*
"This man is from Sisimagun"
(Vegen is the local name for Sisimagun)

a      mʌri,  nʌ  nemgor mʌri
*this woman,  she  awar     woman*
"This woman is from Awar"
(Nemgor is the local name for Awar)

a      mʌri,  nʌ  mʌri  nemgor ,  a    mot, nʌ mot vegen
*this  woman  she  woman awar    this  man  he man vegen*
"This woman is from Awar, this man is from  Sisimagun"


## 2.2. Expression of number

The language presents different morphological features, according to whether the number
of considered entities the noun  is referring to is one, two or several.
The different expressions of number will be analyzed in turn:
- singular
- dual
- plural

### 2.2.1. Singular

The noun  root form is the singular form of the noun.
The singular is marked by the absence of morpheme marking the dual and the plural that
apply to  simple and complex substantives.
The noun  in singular may refer to an undefined or a defined entity:
- at the beginning of a narration, a singular noun without any mark of determination
refers to a person or object that is undefined:

mot kivʌt
*man come Past*
"A man came"

- later in the narration, after the person or object has been introduced to the audience, the
same singular may express a defined meaning:

meri    nʌ nan      kʌŋgit  ne? kore.     mot    kire...
*woman her property husband for  call Pres . man    come Pres*
"The woman calls for her husband. The man comes..."

- the singular may be used to express a distributive value: in this case, the noun in singular is duplicated:

meri    market te?    pan pan    kirʌp    ŋgʌrɣʌ    ŋuni    saŋgat
*woman market from    head head    vegetable take Ch    village    go Past*
"The woman brought back some of each kind of vegetables to the village"


### 2.2.2. Dual

The dual morpheme -ni restricts the number of considered entities to two.
The dual is formed by suffixing the dual morpheme -ni directly onto the noun in singular.
The dual may apply to simple and complex substantives.
The dualization process is constant. No variant of the dual suffix on common nouns has been encountered.

|          | singular | dual    |
|----------|----------|---------|
| "plate"  | t u      | t un i  |
| "man"    | mo t     | mo t n i|
| "hip"    | ŋg a p   | ŋg a p n i |

ɣʌvʌndumini           mbuni
*redness-sweet potato DL  two*
"Two red sweet potatoes"


sʌɣʌndʒʌnduni mbuni
*fish-dryness DL  two*
"Two dried fish"


ŋgumini    mbuni kare,    mʌrini    mbuni kivʌt
*crocodile DL two    be at Pres    woman DL  two    come Past*
"Two crocodiles were there, two women came"

When the dual applies to a noun phrase composed of noun + adjective, the language will preferably present the mark of dual at the end of the noun phrase, although the repetition of the dual after each element is accepted.

ŋgo mbʌkmbʌkmot    vorni    vasat
*I    blackness-man    big Dl    see Past*
"I saw two big black men"

ŋgo mbʌkmbʌkmotni    vorni vasat
*I    blackness-man DL    big Dl    see Past*
"I saw two big black men"

The dual morpheme -ni and the numeral mbuni, "two", are complementary and, indeed, appear to reinforce each other.

However, the omission of one of the two elements is accepted and even preferred, once the context is established.

Note that mbuni itself features the morpheme -ni.

| motni | mbuni | ŋuni | saŋgat. | motni | soɣay | kirʌʔre | moŋgre |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *man DL* | *two* | *village* | *go Past* | *man DL* | *smoke* | *pull Pres* | *make Pres* |

"Two men went to the village. The two men wanted to smoke"

## 2.2.3. Plural

The plural of substantives is formed in a number of different ways.

It can be by suffixation of morpheme -ri, by vowel insertion and consonant alternation for some kinship terms, and by featuring a double plural.

Also, some kinship terms feature a plural different to the more usual ones.

### 2.2.3.1. Suffixation of morpheme -ri

The most commonly encountered plural is by suffixation of the morpheme -ri onto the noun stem.

The morpheme –ri implies that more than two units are considered.

Simple and complex substantives may be pluralized this way:

| "trees" | kʌnri |
|---|---|
| "houses" | tori |
| "hips | ŋgapri |

ɣʌvʌndumiri
*redness-sweet potato Pl*
"Red sweet potatoes"

ŋgeremamri
*mosquito-mother pl*
"Female mosquitoes"

Another function of the plural suffix – ri is to express an iterative value:

| a | manderi | nʌ a | tu | kire, | a | keriri, | nʌ nan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *this* | *Monday Pl* | *he this* | *place* | *come Pres* | *this* | *month Pl* | *his property* |

| mut | a | tu | kire |
|---|---|---|---|
| *wife* | *this* | *place* | *come Pres* |

"Every Monday he comes here, every month his wife comes here"

### 2.2.3.2. Plural of kinship terms

The language features three common nouns, among which two are kinship terms, which present a different plural to the most common one.

The morphological changes occurring here are consequent with the ones observed earlier for the inflection of monosyllabic words ending with p,k,t, where, after vowel insertion, the voiceless occlusive alternates with the corresponding voiced occlusive or vibrant v,γ,r
(see I. 1.5. and I.2.7.)

The other kinship terms, that is, those not presented hereunder, feature a plural by adjunction of -r i

|  | singular | dual | plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| "wife" | mu t | mu t n i | mu r u r i |
| "man" | mo t | mo t n i | mo r o r i |
| "young brother" | y a p | y a p n i | y a v a r i |

The plural is formed as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| suffixation of mark of plural | \|mu t–r i \| | \|mo t–r i \| | \|y a p–r i \| |
| insertion of harmonized vowel | \|mu t–u–r i \| | \|mo t–o–r i \| | \|y a p–a–r i \| |
| consonant alternance | \|mu r–u–r i \| | \|mo r–o–r i | \|y a v–a–r i \| |

### 2.2.3.3. Double plural

Four substantives present a double plural, i.e. two distinct forms of plural for the same word, where one form appears as a "regular" plural by suffixation of -ri, and the other one in a different, if recognizable, form.

Three of these substantives are kinship terms:

|  | Sing | Pl + -ri | other Pl |
|---|---|---|---|
| "child" | ma ʔmu | ma ʔmu r i | ma ʔme ŋg i r i |
| "grandfather" | t ō | t ō r i | t o ŋo r i |
| "father" | s a t | s a t r i | s a r a r i |
| "thing" | r e ʔ | r e ʔr i | r i ʔ |

For the first three cases, the kinship terms:
The first plural presents a "general" meaning, referring to one of the four generations featured in Awar language
(see III.4)

The second form presents a "restricted" meaning, reducing the focus to the members of the clan or of the village.

107

In this sense, the second plural refers to a certain generation of these clan members, with regards to the speaker: "all those of that age, with reference to me", while the "regular" plural refers to a closer relationship, "the own children, or fathers, or grandfathers".

| | |
|---|---|
| s a t r i | "fathers" |
| s a r a r i | "fathers of the clan", i.e. the generation of the fathers, seen from the speakers' point of view. |

| | |
|---|---|
| ma ʔmu r i | "children" |
| ma ʔmuŋg i r i | "all children of our family, of our clan" |

| | |
|---|---|
| t õ r i | "grandfathers" |
| t oŋo r i | "ancestors of the clan" |

In the same idea, an additional nuance is found in the fourth example of double plural of the noun r e ʔ. (See r e ʔ as a special compound noun in III.2.4)
Note that the plural of "thing" r e ʔ into r i ʔ features the only plural formed by vowel alternance encountered in the language

From a morphological point of view,
- the plural of s a t into s a r a r i follows the consonant alternance observed for the plural of three other common nouns (See III.2.3.2)

- the plural of "child" ma ʔmu into ma ʔmuŋg i r i will be set in relation with the plural of the adjectives (See III.3.5.4)

- the plural of "grandfather" t õ into t oŋo r i has been discussed in relation with nasal vowels, in I.1.8.

The fourth noun to present a double plural is r e ʔ "thing" :
- r e ʔ r i "things" - regular plural, referring to "things in general"
- r i ʔ plural by vowel alternance, referring to "all things belonging to one entity"

Opposed to r e ʔ r i, that is more general, r i ʔ is understood to mean "all the things belonging to a certain context". This context must be understood or has been mentioned earlier in the sentence (examples 2 and 3).
r i ʔ is used as plural when r e ʔ functions as part of a compound substantive, or is used to express the meaning of what "partakes" in an activity (examples 4 and 5)

1. mo t   mandã   saŋgat,     re ʔr i   vasat
   *man   madang  go Past     things   see Past*
"The man went to Madang and saw all kinds of things"

2. ŋgo rinik      saŋgre moŋgre,    ri   moŋgre   ri?  ŋgʌre
   *I  garden-inside  go Pres  make Pres   garden make Pres  things  take Pres*
"I want to go to the garden, I take the garden tools"


3. mʌriri sʌk  mu?re     ri?   ŋgʌryʌ,   mesindɨp saŋgat
   *women fish   catch Pres things   take chain  beach     go Past*
"The women took the fishing gear and went to the beach"


4. ŋgo korori?      vori  moŋgot
   *I    canoe-things  big Pl  make Past*
"I worked on the big parts of canoe"


5. ŋgo korori?      siyatri moŋgot
   *I    canoe-things  small Pl  make Past*
"I worked on the small parts of canoe"


## 2.2.4. Special use of dual/plural

The dual and plural of "hand" is used to express the number 10.
pari |par ri|     "ten"
*hand pl*

parni |par ni|     "ten"
*hand dual*

pari   rwembut    mbɨnʌ "eleven"
*hands   foot-side    one*

parni   rweni           "twenty"
*hands Dl  foot Dl*

ŋgo mo raogut    pari   tumbʌ    vaserene
*I you  sun-heart  hand Pl  morning  see Fut*
"I will see you at 10 o'clock in the morning"

ŋgo mo ragout   pari      mu   vaserene
*I you  sun-heart  hand Pl   night  see Fut*
"I will see you at 10 o'clock at night"

morori re?  vat        ŋunirʌk      kaŋget; ŋgo pari     vasat;
*men    thing  numerous  village-middle  be at Perf I    hand Pl   see Past*
pari        tonik      kɨvʌt
*hands-Pl  house-inside  come Past*
"A lot of men had been in the middle of the village; I saw ten (of them); ten came to the house"

## 2.2.5. Non-singular of "undetermined quantity"

Such words as terik "ground", rerik "blood", mok "water", are mass nouns referring to undetermined quantities.

When taking the morphemes of dual and plural, they will refer, respectively, to such entities as "pieces of ground", "pools of blood", "ponds", that is, independent entities made out of a finite quantity of the substance.

For such words, taking the mark of dual and of plural is accompanied by a semantic shift, from "undetermined quantity" in singular to a quantifiable entity with adjunct of a numeral or of the suffix of dual and of plural .

Examples:

ŋgo mok mbare
*I  water  drink Pres*
"I drink water"

ŋgo mok mbɨnʌ vasat
*I  water  one    see Past*
"I saw one pool of water"

ŋgo mokni   mbuni vasat
*I  water Dl  two    see Past*
"I saw two pools of water"

ŋgo mokri   vasat
*I  water Pl see Past*
"I saw pools of water"


## 2.2.6. Omission of mark of non-singular

The mark of the dual/ plural may be omitted in a number of cases:

- when the presence of a numeral makes the dual/plural meaning redundant:
 the meaning may then be expressed by the noun in singular followed by the numeral:

| "three men" | morori mbrɨbɨn | mot mbrɨbɨn |
|---|---|---|
| | *men     three* | *man three* |
| "four good children" | ma?meŋgiri yandi pʌur | ma?mu yandi pʌur |
| | *children     good four* | *child good four* |
| "two women came" | mʌrini   mbuni kivʌt | mʌri   mbuni kivʌt |
| | *woman Dl two   come Past* | *woman two   come Past* |

```
mot   yandi mribin ŋuni kivʌt
```
*man   good   three   village   come Past*
"Three good men came to the village"

```
mʌri   vor dumur mesindip saŋgat
```
*woman big  all    beach     go Past*
"All the old women went to the beach"

– in the case of a noun  phrase composed of noun  + adjective, the mark of dual and plural may appear only once, either with the noun  or with the adjective, but preferably at the end of the noun phrase:

| "strong men" | morori vori | mot vori | morori vor |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | *men     big Pl* | *man big Pl* | *men    big* |

## 2.3.  The complex noun

A noun may be formed by several morphemes and may be analyzed in its different components.

The complex noun  in Awar may be a compound noun  or a derived substantive; they are analyzed in that order hereunder.

### 2.3.1. The compound noun

The compound noun may be composed of a succession of two or more nouns.

The language features an indefinite number of compound nouns.

The compound noun is formed by the juxtaposition of two or more lexemes.

The order of the nouns in the compound noun is the same as the one of the substantives in the genitive phrase, where the modifying element is preposed to the element that is determined.

The characteristics of the compound noun, as opposed to the genitive phrase, are threefold, and appear on both morphological and semantic level:

- The inflection process as formal difference
- Indetermination /no complement for the determiner
- Semantic characteristic of the compound

### 2.3.1.1 The inflection process as formal difference

One of the most obvious characteristics of the compound noun is the inflection process of the modifier, that does not take place in the genitive phrase.
The inflection is characterized by vowel insertion and harmonization, and consonant alternation, as described in I.1.5. and I.2.7
To undergo the inflection process, the modifier has to be monosyllabic ending by any consonant accepted in word-final position, except ?.
In short, the morphological rules that preside over the inflection process are as follows:

rule 3: between any two consonants, except ?, there may occur insertion of a vowel, harmonized on the vowel of the preceding syllable
(all examples below)

rule 4a: inserted oral vowels, central high i, medium front and back e and o, and low central a, tend to be replaced by the medium central vowel ʌ
(examples 1,2,3)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. ɣʌmʌpar | \|ɣʌm par\|<br>*talis-leaf* | "talis leaf" |
| 2. panʌdambar | \|pan dʌmbar\|<br>*head-hair* | "hair" |
| 3. parʌkundum | \|par kundum\|<br>*hand-shield* | "fingernail" |
| 4. visiŋgʌri | \|vis ŋgʌri\|<br>*pandanus-rope* | "rope made out of pandanus" |

rule 5: upon vowel insertion, the voiceless occlusives k,p,t, in syllable-coda position alternate with, respectively, the voiced fricative ɣ,v, or vibrant r, in syllable-onset intervowel position.
(examples 5 to 11)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5. ɣʌvʌndumi | \|ɣʌp ndumi\|<br>*redness sweet potato* | "red sweet potato" |
| 6. morotyʌp | \|mot tyʌp\|<br>*man road* | "manmade path" |
| 7. virimok | \|vit mok\|<br>*sugar cane water* | "sugared water" |

8. moɣonik         |mok nik|             "in the water"
                         *water inside*

9. ŋwirindumi      |ŋwit       ndumi| "yellow sweet potato"
                         *yellowness sweet potato*

rule 4b: inserted front high vowel i tends to be replaced by the front medium vowel e. (examples 10)

10. ŋwerendumi      |ŋwit       ndumi| "yellow sweet potato"
                         *yellowness sweet potato*

11. ŋgeremam        |ŋget     mam|     "female mosquito"
                         *mosquito mother*

Examples below show that the language accepts the compound process for a maximum of three substantives.

ŋgerebiriŋgiŋgir |ŋget    bit ŋgiŋgir| "Color of mosquito tail"
                 *mosquito tail   color*

kyaɣʌrvʌɣʌŋgiŋgir|kyaɣʌr vʌk ŋgiŋgir| "Color of bat's wing"
                   *bat    wing   color*

vʌɣʌbiriŋgiŋgir   |vʌk bit    ŋgiŋgir| "Color of wing's feather"
                 *wing feather   color*

The following example shows that the compound substantives may not be composed of more than three elements: indeed, the third element, bit, appears uninflected:

bidmʌvʌɣʌbit ŋgiŋgir          "The color of pigeon's wing feather"
|bidmʌ| |vʌk|     |bit| |ŋgiŋgir|
*pigeon    wing    feather color*

Note that compound nouns are morphologically recognizable only if the first component is monosyllabic ending with a consonant allowing at least vowel insertion, and possibly consonant alternation.
In other cases, it is not morphologically recognizable, as hereunder:

ra?tamu       |ra? tamu|
              *thunder-above*     "sky"

yamot         |ya mot|
              *friend-man*      "male friend"

## 2.3.1.2. Indetermination for the first part of the compound

A second characteristic of the inflection process is that the inflected compound noun features a "generic" meaning, as opposed to the "specific" meaning of the genitive phrase. Examples:

morotyʌp     |mot tyʌp|  "manmade path"
             *man road*

opposed to:
mot tyʌp     "the road of the man"
*man road*


yeveŋʌma?    |yep ŋʌma?|  "a crab claw"
             *crab claw*

opposed to:
yep ŋʌma?  "the claw of the crab"
*crab claw*

Any determiner, adjective, quatifyer or demonstrative, whether preposed or postponed, will affect the compound noun as a whole.
This shows that the compound functions as one single entity.

a     morotyʌp
*this  man-road*
"This manmade road"

a     morotyʌp yandi
*this   man-road  good*
"This good manmade road"

a  morotyʌp mbrɨbin
*this man-road three*
"These three manmade road"

As counter-examples, in the genitive phrase, determinants are allowed for all substantives:
mot yã      tyʌp vor
*man good    road big*
"The big road of the good man"

114

### 2.3.1.3. Semantic characteristic of the compound

A third criteria expressing the difference between compound noun and genitive phrase is the particular meaning of the compound substantive, as more specific than just the addition of the meaning of its components:

| parʌkundum | \|par kundum\|<br>*hand-shield* | "Fingernail" |
| korondʒʌndʒē | \|kor ndʒʌndʒā\|<br>*canoe-strength* | "Lateral mast support" (in boat) |
| kʌrgum | \|kʌt ŋgum\|<br>*cut-nose* | "Nose decoration |

kʌrgum is a nose decoration that is inserted through a cut in the nose.

Rule 16: the prenasalized consonants mb,nd,ŋg, preceded by m,n,t,r, may be reduced to the corresponding voiced occlusive, respectively b,d,g.
==> \|kʌt gum\|

Rule 17: a dental occlusive t followed by the velar occlusive g is represented by the flap r.
==> \|kʌrgum\|

moɣondʒʌndʒā
water-*strength*      "beer"

moɣondʒʌndā   ŋgo moŋgot,    ŋgo roret   moŋgre
*beer          me  make Past   I   silliness  make Pres*
"The beer makes me drunk, I act silly"

### 2.3.2. Compound substantive: Noun+ adjective

One non-derived adjective has been encountered in three instances as part of a compound with a substantive.
The adjective is : ŋgam, "new". The compounds were, in two cases, compounds that must have been part of the language for some time, as they refer to young people having undergone initiation.

moroŋgamri    rwē    teʔ   kivʌt
*man-new Pl    forest from   come Past*
"The young men came out of the forest"

| mõŋgamri | meritonik | tayʌ | mʌkare |
|---|---|---|---|
| *young woman-new Pl* | *woman-house inside* | *come up LR* | *be at Pres Prog* |

"The young women are inside the women's house"

An Awar "new man" or "new woman" was the one that had gone through initiation. In the example above, the men come out of the forest after their period of isolation, while the young women sit together in the women's house.

A third example must be of more recent origin, as the same adjective has been compounded with a loan word:

ŋgo boroŋgam kam    vayre
*I   boat-new   sound   hear Pres*
"I hear the sound of the new boat"
boroŋgam has been compounded from:    |bot  ŋgam|
                                                     *boat new*

### 2.3.3. The derived noun

The language presents a number of nouns that appear as derived nouns.
Three derivation processes have been encountered:
1. by total or partial reduplication of the noun
2. by adjunction of derivation suffix - ʌp, ip
3. by nominalization of a verb root
All derived substantives may take the mark of dual and plural, and may occupy the functions of regular nouns.

### 2.3.3.1. Derivation by total or partial reduplication of the noun

Four examples have been encountered where reduplicated version of the noun coexists with the non-reduplicated versions. The first three nouns, simple and reduplicated, the fourth one a verb and the reduplicated noun.

In the first two examples, the reduplicated version appears to designate an "approximation" of the meaning of the non-reduplicated version:

- mbik "total blackness"    mbʌkmbʌk "almost total blackness"
The morphological link between the two substantives is obvious, as is the semantic link; the reduplication of the noun has been complete.

– momok – mok "water" -
dʒirimomok          |dʒit mok|
                         *excreta-water* "diarrhea"
We have here partial reduplication , whereby the onset and nucleus of an onset-nucleus-coda syllable have been preposed to the substantive.


- In the third example, reduplication is used to express a distributive meaning:
pan "head"    panpan "one of each"
panpan is formed on a common substantive, completely reduplicated.
panpan is invariable, and appears to form the second element of a noun phrase with the noun it determines.
Its meaning in the next example would be "one "head" of each  vegetable"


ŋgo market saŋgʌ, panpan    kirʌp      riɣare
*I    market go LR   head-head   vegetable   look for Pres*
"I went to the market, to look for some of each vegetable"


- The word ŋgiŋgir means "color". It appears to be derived from the verb, the root of which is ŋgɨr:

a ŋguraʔ ŋgiŋgir ɣʌp, kembi   ŋguraʔ ŋgiŋgiri ɣʌp,    vʌvʌr,    gindi
*this bird color   redness other   bird    colors     redness whiteness blueness*
"This bird's color is red, the other bird's colors are red, white, blue..."

ŋgo mba  ŋgire
*I     basket color Pres*
"I dye the basket"


## 2.3.3.2. Simple noun  + derivation suffix

Three examples of derivation by adjunction of suffix have been encountered in the language: two with the suffix -ʌp, and one with the suffix -ip.


### 2.3.3.2.1. Derivation by addition of suffix -ʌp,  -ip

The suffix ʌp  has been encountered in:
gurʌp      |gur ʌp| "tomorrow" is constituted from the noun  gur "yesterday" with addition of suffix -ʌp.

Both words, gur, gurʌp, refer to the 24 hours, respectively, immediately before and immediately after a specific  point in time.

rurʌp |rur ʌp|    "the day after tomorrow or the day after the next one", is formed on rur "the one before", with addtion of the same suffix -ʌp. Both words, rur, rurʌp, refer to a time lapse of 48 hours respectively before and after a specific point in time.

The suffix -ʌp, which has not been encountered anywhere else, would be the trace of a morpheme referring, in an anterior stage of the language, to a time lapse of 48 hours, or , more simply, to "one more".

(For gur, rur, see III.2.4.)

### 2.3.3.2.2. Derivation by addition of - suffix – i p

In analogy with the precedent examples, ŋʌrip, that designates "two days after tomorrow", may be presenting a derivation suffix -i p .
Morphologically close to -ʌp. ŋʌrip is used rarely in everyday language. ŋʌr has not been encountered in any other use..

### 2.3.3.3. Derivation by nominalization of a verb root

The language very commonly features substantives that are derived from verbs. Any verb root – the short root for those verbs that present a long and a short root - may be derived into a substantive, provided the meaning is acceptable. By contrast, however, verbs may not be derived from nouns.

Examples:

1. ŋgo ŋi   nekre,    ŋgo nek re? vor
   *I story like Pres ,   my liking thing big*
"I like the story, my liking is big"

2. ŋgo bis ŋgʌre,    gutri bisyere
   *I string take Pres   fruits thread Pres*
"I take string to thread fruits"

3. ŋgo gusgumbre,      ŋgo gusgum re? vor
   *I be ashamed Pres ,   my shame thing big*
"I am ashamed, my shame is big"

4. ŋgo kyao rire,       ŋgo ri re? vor
   *I dog be afraid Pres   my fear thing big*
"I am afraid of the dog, my fear is big"

5. ŋasʌru  pisā  yā,  nʌ mo pisaŋgre
   *banana-ripeness taste  good  it  you taste good*
"Ripe banana has a nice taste,  it tastes nice to you"

6. ma?mu ŋgoŋget  nʌ  ŋgo  re?  kot  ŋgo  tarot
   *child  sleep Perf  it  sleep  thing  long  sleep R  finish Past*
"The child has slept,  he slept a long sleep"

7. ŋgo dwãtaktak  vayre,  dwãpari  taktakre
   *I  coconut-rustle hear Pres  coconut-leaf Pl  rustle Pres*
"I hear the rustle of  coconut (leaves),  the coconut leaves are rustling"


## 2.4. Annex: Special nouns

This chapter describes special nouns presented in two categories:
- those who belong to specific semantic micro-systems
- those that present restricted syntactic use

### 2.4.1. Semantic micro-systems

The language features some substantives that present a particular semantic interest. These substantives, however, otherwise share all the characteristics of regular substantives.

These substantives are presented hereunder in three parts, namely substantives referring to:
1. Kinship , 2. Color , 3. Time and space


#### 2.4.1.1. Kinship
The language features a number of substantives referring to all kinship relationships envisaged in the Awar culture.
These kinship substantives may be grouped in microsystems according to their meaning: generations, siblings, age groups, family, marital relationships.

## 2.4.1.1.1. Generations

The Awar people distinguish four generations inside the family:

|  | male | female |
|---|---|---|
| grand-parent | tõ | tay |
| parent | sat | mam |
| child | ma?mu ma? | ma?mu mõ |
| grand-child | mbɨn ma? | mbɨn mõ |
| great-grand parent/ great-grand-child | pokon | pokon |

- The word pokon is reciprocal and designates both great-grand-parent and great-grand-child, so, rather, "parent distant by 4 generations".

- The nouns ma? and mõ mean respectively "boy" and "girl", and are used for gender marking by compounding the substantive.

− mõ/ma?, on the one hand, and tõ/tay, on the other hand, present similar morphological traits in syllable-onset position that may refer to specific gender-marking morphemes in an former stage of the language.

## 2.4.1.1.2. Siblings

The substantives referring to siblings differ for man and woman.

Siblings of a man:

| vey | "elder brother" |
|---|---|
| yap | "younger brother" |
| mindʌ? | "sister" |

Note:
- the word vey is also used to refer to Awar village, ŋuni vey, as the "first" village of the three speaking the language; vey was also used to refer to the "first" wife, in the times of polygamy : mʌri vey.
It is generally used to convey a meaning of respect.

- the word yap was then used to refer to the second wife, : mʌri yap.
Dual and plural forms are regular:  mʌri veyni/ mʌri yapni,
mʌri veyri/ mʌri yapri

Siblings of a woman:
| veynme? | "older sister" |
|---|---|
| ponme? | "younger sister' |

ndwā                        "brother"

The language does not feature specific words to designate "cousin", but uses the ones designating the siblings.


For both genders: ɣasu/ yip

The word ɣasu designates the mother's and father' siblings, equivalent to "uncle" and "aunt", while yip designates the children of one's siblings, that is, "nephew" and "niece". Gender marking occurs through compounding with the substantives designating respectively "man" and "woman", and "boy" and "girl":


ɣasusat/ɣasumot          "uncle"
ɣasumam/ɣasumʌri         "aunt"
yip ma?                   "nephew"
yip mō                    "niece"


A child will call his uncle and aunt, ɣasusat and ɣasumam..
If the person is particularly close, he might call them sat  siɣat and  mam  siɣat, meaning "small father" and "small mother".
A speaker will call his or her nephew yip ma? and her niece yip mō

Note: yip va?, where va? means  "group", has a collective meaning and refers to all these children as a group.


### 2.4.1.1.3. "Life stages"

The Awar speakers seem to have abandoned the tradition of initiation. However, the language retains certain nouns that must have referred to the initiation in earlier times. These nouns reflect the changes initiation brought about in the person, as suggested by the presence in the compound of the adjective ŋgam, "newness":

moroŋgam
*man-newness*
"young man"

mōŋgam
*girl-newness*
"young woman"

mimbir / mimbirŋgam
*young girl-newness*
"young woman"(slightly older than mō)

Other "life stages"

pʌvur  "woman mother for the first time"

```
a   mʌri   gur   maʔmu   mirʌyʌ,   mʌrini   kɨ ,
this   woman yesterday child   give birth Ch, women DL come SR
pʌvur   vasat
first-time mother see Past "
```
"This woman having given birth to a child yesterday, the women came and saw the first-time mother"


```
syeʔŋem
cloth-clan
```
where syeʔ means "loin-cloth", designates a group (of men or of women, but genders ought to be separated) of the same age, having all worn the initiation cloth at the same time, that is having gone through initiation at the same time.

```
me   syeʔŋem,   moroŋamri   rwē   tayʌ   ŋuni mbʌt
they cloth-clan young man Pl forest come up LR   village go Past
```
"Those young men belonging to the same initiation group left the forest to go back to the village"

mwin  "mark, size"
this noun refers to those of the same size, hence to the same age group

```
ŋgo ŋgo mwin morori riyat
I   my   mark men   look for Past
```
"I looked for the men of my age"

```
martin   mwin maʔmeŋiri kwapar saŋat
martin   mark children   river   go Past
```
"The children of Martin's age went to the river"

```
ŋgo mwin morori vaʔ   ŋuni   saŋat
I   mark men   group   village go Past
```
"I went to the village with the men of my age group"

The same notion may be expressed by the noun phrase:

martin me
*martin they*   "those of Martin ('s age)"(= the age group Martin belongs to)

ŋgo martin me    vasat
*I   Martin  them   see Past*
"I saw the group (including Martin) of Martin's age"

yep va?
*younger brother inclusion*
designates all the men of the same clan, younger than the speaker

Note: the word yep is morphologically close to yap "younger brother".
yep has not been encountered independently.

## Family and clan

seŋgom      "nuclear family", composed of father, mother and children
vonomŋem    "clan", descending from a common ancestral couple. ŋem   designates the
            clan. vonom has not been encountered independently.

## Marital relationships

|                                   | male              | female                          |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| spouse                            | kʌŋgit            | mut                             |
| in-law, within the three villages | ndʌk/ndʌɣʌmot     | ndʌk/ndʌɣʌmeri<br>ndʌɣʌnme?     |
| in-law, within Ramu-Sepik area    | vendikmot         | vendikmeri                      |

- ndʌk is used when the person is known, ndʌɣʌmot, ndʌɣʌmeri is used as an introduction for a person that is not known yet:

ndʌk    nay?
*in-law   where?*
"Where is your in-law?"

a    mot, ŋgo nan    ndʌɣʌmot
*this man  I    property  in-law-man*
"This man is my brother-in-law"

## 2.4.1.2. Colors

The language features a number of nouns to generally designate colors of people, things, natural features etc.

The basic colors are expressed by the following substantives:

- mbʌkmbʌk    "almost total blackness'
- mbik        "total blackness"
- vʌvʌr       "whiteness"
- gindi       "blueness"
- kʌvar       "yellowness"

ŋgo mbʌkmbʌk mot vasat
*I   blackness   man   see past*    "I saw the black man"

mbʌkmbʌk yandi
*blackness good*    "Blackness is good"

The same colors and other colors are designated by natural elements. These may be vegetals or minerals that present or produce that specific color:

- ŋwit               "turmeric", gives a yellow dye ,    "yellow"
- kʌnʌpar gindi      "blueness of tree leaf",            "green"
- bes                "charcoal",                         "black"
- virva              "lime"                              "white"
- ɣʌp                "tree type, gives a red dye"        "red"
- seɣos              "tree type, gives a purple dye"     "purple"

The noun designating the vegetal or mineral the color is extracted from retains its original meaning when used independently.

To designate the color, it is used as first element of a compound substantive:

ŋgo ɣʌp       nekre
*I   tree-type   like Pres*
"I like the (specific ) tree"
where, in this context, ɣʌp retains its original meaning "tree type".

ŋgo ɣʌvʌreʔri       nekre
*I   redness-things   like Pres*
"I like red things" =" I like the color red"

ŋgo ɣʌvʌndumi       nekre
*I   redness-potato   like Pres*
"I like red sweet potato"

ŋgo seɣosnik     ndumi   nekre
*I   purple-inside  potato   like Pres*
"I like purple sweet potato"

ŋwuit    rinik       taɣʌ          kare
*turmeric  garden-center  come up LR   be at Pres*
"Turmeric grows in the garden"

ŋgo  ŋwirindumi       nekre
*I   yellowness-potato  like Pres*
"I like red sweet potato"

The examples hereunder feature the root used in simple noun (ex. 1 and 4), compound noun (ex.3) and in conjugated verbs (2,4).

1. a     motri  mbʌkmbʌkri
   *This  men   black Pl*
"These men (are) black"

2. ŋgo  piri  ɣʌpre,   ŋgo  piri  ɣʌvʌ       tarot
   *I   skin   red Pres  my   skin  redden LR  finish Past*
"My skin is turning red, my skin has turned red

3. mo   ŋgo  ɣʌvʌpiri      vas!
   *you   my   redness-skin   see SR*
"Look at my red skin"

4. a     komgo  kʌvar,  a    komgo  kʌvar    tarot
   *this  flower  yellow  this  flower  yellow R  finish Past*
"This flower is yellow, this flower (has turned) yellow"


### 2.4.1.3. Time references

The language features a number of substantives and noun phrases to express time references.

Most commonly, the nouns used to express time and time divisions function as verb complement, indicating the time of day or year when the action takes place.
Only occasionally do they appear as subject of the verb taɣʌt "came up".

| | |
|---|---|
| so | "day" (as a period of 24 hours) |
| mu | "night" |
| tumbʌ | "morning" |
| bivimin | "afternoon" (between 3 pm and sunset) |

raovevi,       meaning "sun's steam", refers to the hottest time of the day, when the air is
               vibrating, from 11 am to 3 pm

The last four nouns are also used as greetings, at that particular moment of the day. They
may then followed by the adjective yã/yandi "good":

mu yandi / mu yã          "good night"
tumba yandi / tumbʌ yã    "good morning"
bivimɨn yã                "good afternoon"
raovevi yã                "good afternoon"

rao "soleil" may designate the dry season as well as daytime:

ŋgo mo  rao                    vaserene
*I  you  dry season/ daytime  see Fut*
"I will see you at the dry season"
"I will see you during daytime"

a     mot, nʌ ragout    tumba    pari kivʌt;    kembi mot, nʌ    ragout    mu
*this man  he  sun-heart  morning  ten    come Past,  other  man  he  sun-heart night*
pari    kivʌt
*ten      come Past*
"This man came at 10 o'clock in the morning, the other man came at 10 o'clock at night"

vʌk        "week"
kʌri       "moon", hence: "month"
dʒyʌr      "dry season";
yembi      "rainy season"
mɨmbɨrva?  "year"; lit: "group of young girls", refers to the constellation of the
Pleiades; their apparition in the sky right after sunset marks the beginning of the Awar
New Year.

mbek is the noun  that designates a marked time, for example a set time for an
appointment or a task:

ŋgo gʌ?        tʌyʌt        mbek          nin  tʌyʌt,
*me  get up R   come up Past   marked time  some  come up Past*
mot    kivʌt      din,
*man   come Past   Neg*
"One day set by me went by, the man did not come"

ŋgo  mo  mbunitiyi  mbek         vaserene
*I   you two-time    marked time  see Fut*
"I will see you by appointment on Tuesday"

(See also gur, rur, tiyi, III.2.4)

126

### 2.4.2. Special nouns with restricted syntactic use
The language features a number of substantives with restricted syntactic use.
Some may only function as independent substantives, while others may become part of compounds.


### 2.4.2.1. Special simple nouns: va?, vʌvus, nan, to, nu, gi

The special substantives analyzed hereunder may not become part of a compound, but may function independently or in a noun phrase.
They are: va?, vʌvus, nan, to, nu, gi


### 2.4.2.1.1. va? "group, inclusion"

va? is a simple noun that does not appear independently, but functions only as head of a noun phrase, to express the idea of "inclusion" of the entities referred to in the determiner.
The determiner preceding va?, as its complement within the noun phrase, may be a noun (ex. 1,2,3), an undefined determiner (ex. 4), but may not be the demonstrative a.
va? may take the mark of dual and plural.

va? also acts as a postposition, in noun phrase final position, in one function, and in verbal phrase final position, in another function.
Both functions are analysed in V.5.1. and V.6.1.

1.  mimbɨri      va?      ŋuni    kɨvʌt
    *young girl Pl  group    village  come Past*
"The group of young girls came to the village"

2.  mimbɨri      va?ri      ŋuni      kɨvʌt
    *young girl Pl   group Pl    village    come Past*
"The groups of young girls came to the vilage"

3.  kyaori va?        murʌk        mbɔŋget
    *dog Pl  group      night-middle  bark Perf*
"The pack of dogs had been barking in the middle of the night"

4. mo   nin   va?      mbare      mɔŋgre?
   *you  some  group     eat Pres    make Pres*
"Do you want to eat some more?"

### 2.4.2.1.2. vʌvus "similarity"

vʌvus is a noun meaning "similarity" or "(same) way", and is used in a noun phrase to indicate that a person, an object or an action is, in some respect, comparable to the main person, object or action .

vʌvus is most often used as head of a noun phrase; its complement may be a noun and its determiners-, or a relative clause.

vʌvus may not take the mark of dual and plural.

It may not become part of a compound noun.

vʌvus may be used in verbal (ex. 1 to 6) or non-verbal clause (ex.7).

- vʌvus may be subject:

1. a meri    vʌvus    ŋuni kivʌt    din
   *this woman similarity village come Past Neg*
   "A woman like this one did not come to the village"

- it may apposed to the subject:

2. mʌri mbinʌ, a    meri vʌvus,    nʌ    ŋuni kivʌt
   *woman one   this woman similarity she   village come Past*
   "One woman, looking like this one, came to the village"

3. a meri,    nʌ meri vor vʌvus    saŋgre
   *this woman she woman old similarity go Pres*
   "This woman walks like an old woman"

- it may be complement:

4. nʌ a korotiu?    mirʌpŋgum    vʌvus    moŋgot
   *he this canoe-prow   ancestor-mask   similarity   make Past*
   "He made this canoe prow in the shape of an ancestor's mask"

- it may be head of a relative clause:

5. me mbwi?    moŋgre vʌvus    yembre    din
   *they fishing net make Pres similarity know Pres Neg*
   "They don't know the way to make a fishing net"

- vʌvus appears independently in only one instance in very limited and specific circumstances, after the demonstrative a, to express "so, in the same way":

6. meri    a    vʌvus    moŋgot:
   *woman that similarity make Past :*
   "The woman did this way:

- it may be predicate in a non-verbal clause:
7. a kʌni mbuni, ni gugay vʌvus
 *this tree Dl two Dl tree type similarity*
"These two trees (are) similar to the gugay tree"


### 2.4.2.1.3. nan "property"

nan is a noun whose function has become rigidified.
It means "property", and is used to mark the possession.
It does not take dual or plural anymore, and it may not be part of a compound noun.

nan functions as the head of a genitive phrase expressing the possession of the complement that precedes it.
nan most often appears as the medium unit of a genitive phrase in three parts, in which:
- it functions as complement to the third part
- it is the head of a noun phrase with the first part as its complement, as in the example below:

ŋgo mʌri nan to vasat
*I woman property house see Past*
"I saw the house belonging to that woman"
lit: "I saw the house of property of the woman"


rʌɣam kyao nan ŋgun byet
*pig dog property tail bite Past*
"The pig bit the dog's tail"

The presence of nan marks added emphasis on possession. Compare below the use of a genitive phrase including nan, with the use of a compound substantive:

ŋgo mʌri nan to vasat
*I woman property house see Past*
"I saw the house belonging to that woman"

ŋgo mʌrito vasat
*I woman-house see Past*
"I saw the women's house" = the house where all women live

mam maʔmu nan syeʔ ŋgʌrat
*mother child property cloth take Past*
"The mother took the child's own cloth"

ŋgo kwapar nu maʔmusyeʔ vasat
*I river nearness child-cloth see Past*
"I saw a child's cloth next to the river"

When the possessor or the possessed object have been mentioned and made clear, one component of the genitive phrase may be omitted.

nan may fulfill nominal functions independently:
- as predicate in a non-verbal clause (ex.1)
- as subject (ex.2),
- as verb object (ex. 3)

1. korni   mbuni, ŋgo   nan       ni
   *canoe Dl   two     my   property   Dl*
   "These two canoes, there are both mine"

2. mamʌri dumur maʔmuri  kot.       nʌ nan       to       kivʌt
    *mothers   all     children    call Past   her property   before   come Past*
   "All the mothers called their children. Hers came first"

3. syeʔni   mbuni gurʌʔ   kare,       ŋgo maʔmu   nan         ŋʌrat
    *cloth Dl    two     hang R   be at Pres    I     child     property   take Past*
   "Two cloths were hanging, I took the child's"

**2.4.2.1.4.** to **"first"**, nu **"next"**, gi **"last"**

to, nu, gi are three substantives that may function as verb complements, or as part of a noun phrase.

They function complementarily in that all three function for both time and space information, and refer, respectively, to, to the first one or the one in front, nu, the next one or the second, and gi, the one behind or the last.

to, nu, gi do not take the mark of plural and dual.

to     "the front /the closest" or      "the first/the ...before"

a   mot, nʌ   kor   to   tik      kare
*this man   he   canoe front   stand SR   be at Pres*
"This man stands in front of the canoe"

a      mot nʌ to          kivʌt
*this   man   he   before / first   come Past*
According to the context, this sentence may mean:
"This man came here before (coming today)"
"This man came here first (of a group)"

nu     "nearness / nextness" or "the second"

ŋgo   kor, nʌ to   nu       nan
*my   canoe   it house   nearness property*
"My canoe is the one close to the house"

ŋgo to kivʌt, ŋgo ndwā nu kivʌt
*I first come Past , my brother nearness come Past*
"I was first born, my brother was second born"

a dembin, nʌ mot kot nu nan
*this finger it man long closeness property*
"This finger, it is the index"
Note: mot kot designates the major; mot kot nu designates "the one near the major"

gi "the ...behind" or "the ...after/the last /the third"

a ŋgavimʌri, nʌ ni nan gi tiɣʌ vayt
*this witch-woman she Dl property behind stand Ch listen Past*
"The witch listened, standing behind the two (women's) back"

a mot nʌ gi kivʌt
*this man he after / last / third come Past*
According to the context, this sentence may have the following meanings:
"This man came later" (after some event or after somebody else)
"This man came last" (after the others had arrived)
"This man came third" (after the first one, referred to as to, and the second one, referred to as nu)

ŋgo kʌni mbuni vasat. a nu kʌn, ŋgo to nʌ vasat,
*I tree Dl two see Past this nearness tree I before it see Past*
a diɣinkot kʌn ŋgo gi nʌ vasat
*this distant tree I after it see Past*
"I saw two trees, the closest one I saw first, the distant one I saw afterwards"


### 2.4.2.2. Special compoundables

These special substantives have all been encountered in compounds.
They are described in two categories:
- all compound components have retained some autonomy and may be encountered independently, but the use of the compound itself is restricted to specific functions
- some of the compound components are not encountered independently anymore

All special substantives described hereunder belong to the first category, except for "Vestigial Forms", that belong to the second category.


### 2.4.2.2.1. Gender and age: mam / sat

The language does not express gender morphologically ( except perhaps for the possible morphemes nme?, t-, m-, belonging to an earlier stage of the language – see III.2.4)

For the animate beings, the language differentiates gender lexically.

For people, the language features:
- distinct male and female kinship words for human beings (see III.2.4.)

- compound substantives using the regular substantive:
      - s a t "father", m o t "man", ma? "boy", to mark masculine gender
      – mam "mother", mʌ r i "woman", mõ "girl", to mark feminine gender

The substantives function as second constituents of compound substantives, for gender and age or generation marking.

Examples:
ɣ a s u designates a kin among one's parents' siblings, that is, the brother or sister of one's mother and father.
ɣ a s u combines with mam and s a t for further precision as to the gender of the designated kin:

| ɣ a s u mam | \| ɣ a s u–mam \| | |
|---|---|---|
| | *sibling of my parent-mother* | "aunt" |

| ɣ a s u s a t | \| ɣ a s u–s a t \| | |
|---|---|---|
| | *sibling of my parent -father* | "uncle" |

In the same way, ma?mu "child" combines with ma? and mõ, respectively "male "and "female" , for younger generation, at child level:

ma?muma?     "male child, boy"
ma?mumõ     "female child, girl"

For the differenciation of sex in animals, the language uses the noun designating the animal, followed by the same substantives as for people:

kyaomo t   or   kyaos a t     "male dog"
kyaomʌ r i   or   kyaomam     "female dog"

The inflection of the first constituent in the following examples testify that these gender-marking entities are compound words:

| s e r emam | \| s e t   mam \| | |
|---|---|---|
| | *louse-mother* | "female louse" |

| ŋge r emam | \| ŋge t   ma \| | "female mosquito" |
|---|---|---|
| | *mosquito-mother* | |

Note: gender marking is only for humans and animals; trees are differentiated according to whether or not they bear fruit:

132

ɑ    korondo kʌn,   nʌ gut   rare    nan
*this  pawpaw tree    it  fruit   bear Pres property*
"This pawpaw tree is one bearing fruit" (is a female one)


### 2.4.2.2.2. General and particular: re?

re? is a regular noun meaning "thing", commonly used independently in the language. It appears as second constituent in a number of compound substantives, where re? designates the part of an entity.

korore?    vor
*canoe-thing  big*              "the big part of canoe"

ŋgo korore?   vor moŋgot
*I  canoe-thing  big make Past*
"I worked on the big part of canoe" (ex: outrigger)

korore?    siɣat
*canoe-thing small*
"the small part of canoe"

ŋgo korore?   siɣat moŋgot
*I  canoe-thing small   make Past*
"I worked on the small part of canoe"
This use is to be set in relation with a particular meaning of re? as "utensil, tool": in both cases, independently and as a compound, re? designates what "partakes" in an object or an activity, as in the following example:

ŋgo rinik          saŋgre moŋgre,    ri     moŋgre    re?    ŋgʌre
*I   garden-middle   go Pres  make Pres  , garden  make Pres  thing  take Pres*
"I want to go to the garden, I take the garden tool"

In addition, re? presents two plurals, with differentiated meanings: see III.2.3.


### 2.4.2.2.3. Orientation in time: tiɣi "time", gur "the one before", rur "the one after"

All three tiɣi "time", gur "the one before", rur "the one after" are substantives used to designate time and moments. Their use has become restricted.

tiɣi does not appear independently anymore: it may be head of a relative clause, or part of a compound substantive
It may not take the mark of plural and dual, nor determiners.

ndendi, nʌ rao tiɣi, nʌ mare? mbare tiɣi
   *now   it sun time  it  food   eat Pres time*
"Now is daylight, it is time to eat"


tiɣi is part of compounds designating weekdays.
Five of the weekdays are numbered; tiɣi functions as second part of a compound, the first part of which is a numeral

| | |
|---|---|
| mbinʌtiɣi | "Monday" |
| *one-time* | |
| mbuni‑tiɣi | "Tuesday" |
| *two-time* | |
| mbribintiɣi | "Wednesday" |
| *three-time* | |
| pʌurutiɣi | "Thursday" |
| *four-time* | |
| parʌmbãtiɣi | "Friday" |
| *five-time* | |
| vʌɣʌtiɣi | "Sunday" |
| *rest-time* | |

The fourth and sixth examples, pʌurutiɣi and vʌɣʌtiɣi, show the inflection specific of compound nouns.
The base forms are, respectively:

| | |pʌur tiɣi| | |vʌk tiɣi| |
|---|---|---|
| | *Four-time* | *Rest-time* |
| Addition of harmonized vowel: | |pʌur‑u tiɣi| | |vʌk‑ʌtiɣi| |
| Consonant alternance | | |vʌɣ‑ʌ tiɣi| |

The compound nouns can therefore be translated as "the day of one", "the day of two", "the day of rest" etc:

ŋgo mo pʌurutiɣi vaserene
*I you four-time see Fut*
"I will see you on Thursday"


Note: Saturday is borrowed directly from Pidgin: sarere.


In two instances, tiɣi expresses a spatial meaning

rao gʌʔre   tiɣi, rao rikre    tiɣi
*sun go up Pres place  sun  go down Pres place*
"East" (where the sun goes up), West (where the sun goes down)


ŋgo rao gʌʔre tiɣi sʌk ŋgʌre    sangat
*I   sun  go up place fish catch Pres go Past*
"I went to catch fish towards the East"

The special substantives gur and rur are still used independently to express, respectively, "yesterday" , and "the day before yesterday" .

They may be used as first elements of compound substantives to express a position in time relative to the present moment of the speaker.

gur refers to "last" or "the one before the present one"

rur refers to "the one before last"

ŋgo a mot guruvʌk vasat
*I this man last-week see Past*
"I saw this man last week"

ŋgo a mot gurukʌri vasat
*I this man last-moon see Past*
"I saw this man last month"

rurukʌri yandi, tamumok pa? tarot
*one before last-moon good above-water arrive R finish Past*
"The month before last was good, rain came down"

ŋgo a mot ruruvʌk vasat
*I this man before-last-week see Past*
"I saw this man the week before last"

ruruvʌk num re? ŋaŋar re? vor, mi kure tiɣi
*before-last-week self thing work thing big yam harvest Pres time*
"The week before last was hard work, it was time to harvest yam"

Note: Verbs that go with time: the verb tayʌt "come up, appear" , is used to express the day – or week or season- while the verb gʌ?re "get up" is used with the time of the day.
Day of the week:
mbuni tiɣʟ tayʌt
*two time come up Past*
"Tuesday arrives"

Hour of the day:
pari gʌ?re
*ten o'clock arrive Pres*
"It is 10 o clock"

### 2.4.2.2.4. Orientation in space - body parts: rʌk, nik, pu, gumbu,

A number of compound substantives for orientation in space have a regular autonomous use, together with that of first and/or second part of compound substantives.
Some of these substantives refer to body parts that present an "extended" meaning. They are: rʌk "spine/in the middle of", nik "belly/inside", pu "mouth/front", gumbu "flesh/nearness".

135

They may be encountered in isolation and take the mark of dual and plural.

– rʌk "spine" / "in the middle of"

mot   rwẽrʌk        saŋgat
*man bush-middle     go Past*
"The man went deep inside the forest"

ŋgo tonik          rʌɣʌgut        saŋgat
*I   house-inside   middle-heart    go Past*
"I went into the middle passage inside the house"
(when the house is composed of two parts separated by a hallway)

ŋgo tonik          rʌk   saŋgat
*I   house-inside middle  go Past*
"I went right into the middle of the house"


– nik "belly" / "inside"

ŋgo nik   vere
*I   belly  hurt Pres*
"My belly hurts"

ŋgo tonik          saŋgat
*I   house-inside  go Past*
"I went inside the house"

ŋgo sʌk koronik        tʌɣʌt
*I   fish canoe-inside  put Past*
"I put the fish inside the canoe"

ŋgo niɣitim     mbo2  tarot
*I   inside-door close R finish Past*
"I closed the inside door"


– pu "mouth" / "at the front of"

ŋgo pu      vere
*I   mouth   hurt Pres*
"My mouth hurts"

kyao topu        ŋgore
*dog  house-front  sleep Pres*
"The dog sleeps in front of the house"

mo  karʌpu  mbã    mbira2  sã
*you car-front  towards  sit R    go SR*
 "Go and sit in the front of the car"

– gumbu       "flesh" / "nearness"

ŋgo gumbu moŋgre
*I   flesh   make Pres*
"I am sick"

ma?mu togumbu        kare
*child   house-nearness   be at Pres*
"The child is close to the house"

One compound including gumbu emphasizes the "local" character of the language.

gumbukwa              monbā     kare
*nearness-body of water   over there   be at Pres*
"The waterpond near to (the village) is over there"

Note: The Awar area knows only one waterpond, referred to as gumbukwa, "the water near", which has in turn become the speakers' general word for "pond".


### 2.4.2.2.5. Orientation in space - non-body parts:

mbʌn "lowness, ground", sim "top", ŋgin "at the end of,"ray "under", vʌvē "side"
tamu "above, beyond", tan "outside", mbā "towards"

Except for mbʌn and sim, these eight orientational substantives have all been encountered in compounds only, and not in independent use
They have been encountered only as second part of the compound (ŋgin, ray, vʌvē), or as first and second part of the compound (tamu, tan, mbā).


### 2.4.2.2.5.1. mbʌn "lowness, ground", sim "top"

Both mbʌn "lowness, ground" and sim "top" have been encountered mostly as components of compound substantives.
Within these compounds, mbʌn was either first (ex. 1, 2, 3) or second component (ex. 4).
sim has been encountered as second component only (ex. 6, 7)
Both have been encountered independently (ex. 5, 8)

1. ŋgo mbʌnʌto        moŋgot
   *I   lowness-house make Past*
"I built a cement house"
Cement houses are built directly on the ground, in contrast to traditional houses built on stilts, designated by tamuto, " above-house"

2. ŋgo mbʌnʌtim   mbo?       tarot
   *I   lowness-door close R   finish Past*
"I closed the lower door"

3. ŋgo mbʌn    mbã       saŋgat
   *I    lowness towards    go Past*
"I went in a downward direction"

mbʌnbã  is to be decomposed in |mbʌn mbã|  – rule 16 applies

4. ŋgo tombʌn        vasʌre
   *I    house-lowness  see Pres*
"I see the lower part of the house"

5. ŋgo nan     to,  nʌ mbʌn    kare
   *I property house  it lowness  be at Pres*
"My house is the one down there"

6. ŋgo sʌk   korosim ŋgʌr    tʌyʌt
   *I   fish   canoe-top take R   put Past*
"I put the fish on top of the canoe"

7. ŋgo kʌnʌsim pori     vasat
   *I   tree-top   shoots    see Past*
"I saw the top tree shoots"

8. ŋgo a    mot sim   ŋgʌre,
   *I  this man  top   take Pres*
"I praise this man"


**2.4.2.2.5.2.** ŋgin **"at the end of,"** ray **"under"**, vʌvẽ **"side"**,
        tamu **"above, beyond"**, tan **"outside"**, mbã **"towards"**

ŋgin "at the end of" , (ex. 1,2,3), ray "under" (ex. 4), and vʌvẽ "side" (ex. 5) have all
three been encountered as second part of compound only.

1. kʌri panʌŋgin  kare
   *moon  head-at end be at Pres*
"The moon is above the head"
(This expression refers to the half-moon waxing, right after sunset, up above in the sky)

2. kwapar toŋgin       kare
   *river   house-at end  be at Pres*
"The river is at the back of the house"

3. nik takre mʌri, nʌ nan niɣiŋgin moŋgre
   *belly come up Pres woman, her property belly-at end make Pres*
   "The pregnant woman, her abdomen starts contracting"

4. kyao toray ŋgore
   *dog house-under sleep Pres*
   "The dog sleeps under the house"

5. ŋgo tovʌvẽ vasat
   *I house-side see Past*
   "I saw the side of the house"

tamu "above, beyond" (ex. 1 to 4) , tan "outside" (ex. 5 to 7) , and mbã "towards" ,
have been encountered in both first and second position within a compound substantive.

6. ŋgo tamuto moŋgot
   *I above-house make Past*
   "I built a house on stilt"

7. ŋgo tamutim mbo? tarot
   *I above-door close R finish Past*
   "I closed the upper door"

8. ŋgo ra?tamu vasʌre
   *I thunder-above look Pres*
   "I look at the sky"

9. ŋgo totamu vasʌre
   *I house-above look Pres*
   "I look at the top of the house"

10. ŋgo totan vasat
    *I house-outside see Past*
    "I saw the outside of the house"

11. ŋgo tanʌtim mbo? tarot
    *I outside-door close R finish Past*
    "I closed the outside door"

12. ŋgo tan mbã saŋgat
    *I outside towards go Past*
    "I went outside"
    tanbã is to be decomposed in |tan mbã| – rule 16 applies

mbã is very common and occupies a number of functions.

Indeed, like the others, it functions as regular substantive, meaning "mark, print". As such, it may function independently, or as part of a compound substantive, where it retains its meaning of "mark"

ŋgo to      moŋgre    monde,   ŋgo to    mbā  kye,        mbāri  kuvʌt
*I   house   make Pres make Pres I   house mark   make stand R  marks   check Past*
"I want to build a house, I make the house mark stand, then checked the marks"

ŋgo mo   rwembā    vasat
*I   you  foot-mark    see Past*
"I saw your footprints"

ŋgo mbārʌk     vasat
*I    mark-middle    see Past*
"I looked at the middle of the mark"

- As an orientational, mbā adds a meaning of "general direction", or "general movement", translated by "towards".
In this case, mbā may appear in different instances:

- after common noun (ex. 1)
1. ŋgo to   mbā    mbʌt,        ma?mu rwẽ  mbā    riɣit
    *I   house towards  go back Past    child  forest  towards   go down Past*
"I went back towards the house, the child went down towards the forest"

- after another orientational such as: t amu, pu, t an, mbʌn. (ex.2,3,4)
2. vurʌ? t amu   mbā    mbayʌ    saŋgat
    *bird    above towards   fly Ch     go Past*
"The bird went flying up"

3. ŋgo karʌnik   pu     mbā    mbira?re
    *I    car-inside mouth  towards  sit Pres*
"I sit in the front of the car"

4. ŋgo t an   mbā    d3yet, ŋgo ri    mbʌn mbā       kare
    *I   outside towards  go Past  my garden  below towards    be at Pres*
"I went outside the house, my garden is down below (the hill)"
- after a compound including an orientational: (ex. 5,6,7)

5. ŋgo t ogumbu      mbā    saŋgat
    *I    house-nearness  towards  go Past*
"I went in the general direction towards the house"

6. ŋgo rwẽrʌk     mbā    saŋgat
    *I    forest-middle towards   go Past*
"I went towards the middle of the forest"

7. ŋgo tonik mbã saŋgat
*I    house-inside  towards  go Past*
"I went towards the inside of the house"

The following comparative examples illustrate how the addition of mbã express a reference to a larger area:

ŋgo togumbu saŋgat
*I    house-nearness  go Past*
"I went near the house"

ŋgo togumbu mbã saŋgat
*I    house-nearness  towards  go Past*
"I went in the general direction towards the house"

ŋgo rwẽrʌk saŋgat
*I  forest-middle  go Past*
"I went inside the forest"

ŋgo rwẽrʌk mbã saŋgat
*I  forest-middle  towards  go Past*
"I went towards the middle of the forest"

Finally, monbã is the only one of the space demonstratives to be used with a time meaning as well as with a space meaning.
In this context it functions in opposition with the demonstrative a (rather than ŋʌnbã ):

ŋgo mo monbã kʌri vaserene, a   kʌri vanen
*I    you next   moon see Fut   this   moon Neg*
"I will see you next month, not this month"


## 2 .4.2.2.6. Vestigial forms

Some substantives appear to result from an anterior compound process, whereby one of the elements has lost its autonomy, and does not appear in independent use anymore.
These "vestigial" compounds are: raopivi, bivimin, mesindip., rwebenben and substantives featuring- nme?

- raopivi designates an overcast sky (and a "cool" sun, rao) - but pivi has not been encountered in isolation and has not appeared in another compound.

- bivimin "afternoon" (between 3 pm and sunset). It is also used as a greeting during that time of the day, bivimin yandi, "good afternoon".
The compound could come from |bip min|, where min is "mark" – but neither bip nor bivi are encountered independently, nor appeared in another compound.

- mesimok / mesindip
mesindip, "beach", is formed by compounding two substantives |meys ndip|

|meys| is "salt" ; the second element ndip has lost its autonomy and has not been encountered independently.

This example is to be set in analogy with mesimok "salt water, sea", where both elements have retained their autonomy.

mesimok      |meys mok|
             *salt water*      "sea"

– rwebenben "footbracelet" – ornated with dried and hollowed nutshells that make noise as the person who wears them walks or dances
rwe "foot"
benben – no independent use, used only as second component of this compound; we note , however, that the word seems to be an onomatopeia , as it remind of the sound of the nutshells.

– nme? appears as second constituent of three compound substantives, but has not been encountered independently.
It may be supposed that nme? used to be a gender marking morpheme.

veynme? "older sister", where vey expresses respect, as in ŋuni vey , an expression designating Awar village, as the linguistically and culturally dominant one among the three along the bay.
ndʌyʌnme? "sister-in-law", where ndʌk, in isolation, is "in-law"
ponme? "younger sister" – neither element has been encountered in isolation

### 2.4.2.3. Neologisms

The language often uses compound nouns to create neologisms that designate objects or concepts new to the Awar culture.
Hereunder a few examples:

paorogut
*stone-fruit*
"rice"

twã̄ŋʌri
*voice-vine*
"telephone"

ŋgʌriswa?
*vine-fire*
"electricity"

swa?ŋgʌri
*fire-vine*
"electric cable"

raogut   mbuni  tumbʌ
*sun-heart two    morning*
"Two o'clock in the morning "

raogut   mbuni  bivimin
*sun-heart two    afternoon*
"Two o'clock in the afternoon"

# 3. THE ADJECTIVE

## 3.1. Introduction

The adjective is a nominal that is characterized by:
 - its capacity to determine the noun  by expressing a state, a quality  or a characteristic
 - its capacity to take the mark of dual and of plural to agree with the noun  it determines
 - its capacity to function as attributive of the noun  in a noun phrase, or as predicate in a verbal or non verbal clause .
 - its capacity to take adjective modifyers

The adjective may have an attributive function to a sequence of two or three substantives, again following them and agreeing with them.

The adjectives may be sorted into two groups:
- one group features adjectives that do not appear to be derived from a verb.
The number of adjectives in this category is limited. They are hereunder referred to as non-derived adjectives.

- the other group features verb-derived adjectives, that is, those adjectives that are derived from the verb root.
The adjectives in this category are as numerous as the verbs they may be based on, providing the meaning is acceptable.

## 3.2. Non-derived adjectives

The non-derived adjectives list as follows:
yã / yandi     "good"

| | |
|---|---|
| simza? | "heavy" |
| biŋga | "light" |
| | |
| kot | "long" |
| tap | "short" |
| | |
| diɣinkot | "distant" |
| nu | "close" |
| | |
| siɣat | "small" |
| vor/voret | "big", "old "(people) |
| | |
| ndʒu | "old" (people) |
| vʌvur | "old"(things) |
| ŋgam | "new" "raw" |

- yã / yandi: both may be analyzed from a common structural form yaŋg.

| | |
|---|---|
| Base form: | yaŋg |
| Reduction to nasal velar (rule 11): | yaŋ |
| Nasalisation of vowel (rule 12): | yã |

yandi may have been formed on the plural according to the following steps:

| | |
|---|---|
| Base form: | yang |
| Suffixation of mark of plural: | \|yang-ri\| |
| Alternance ŋgr/nd (rule 8 and 9) | yandi |

- kot "long" / diɣinkot "distant": both words are morphologically and semantically close, as are their plural (see III.3.5.3)

Moreover, the regular noun duyun refers to "the distance between two given points", for instance, between two leaves on a bambou stem, or between two finger knuckles.
diɣinkot might therefore be the rigidified version of a compound noun or noun phrase in an older stage of the language. However, the mutation from u into i in this formation is not explained.

- vor: commonly used, means "big", but also "old" when referring to people; traditionally, an old man was a "big man", a man of importance and worthy of respect.
The original form seems to be voret, now commonly shortened into vor, whereby, the original form voret is sometimes used as the plural.
vor is also used as adjective modifyer (see III.3.4)
The adjective ndʒu is not commonly used.

- ŋgam commonly means "new"
It is the only adjective to appear as second element of a compound noun, in two instances:

moroŋgam and mimbirŋgam
*Man-new woman-new*
young man and young woman

Both nouns are used to designate young people after initiation. They may take the mark of dual and plural.
This compound may point to a vestigial use of the adjective that has been nominalized within this compound.

The list above shows how most of these adjectives can be grouped in pairs of antonyms. Note, however, that the opposite of yandi, pare? "bad", is a verb-derived adjective.

The non-derived adjectives may be part of a particular syntactic construction using the verb moŋgre in the sense of "to become".
Within this construction, the adjective determines the noun re?, with which it forms a nominal phrase used as a predicate.
Only non-derived adjectives have been found in this particular construction.

ma?mu re? kot moŋgot
*child thing big make Past*
"The child has become big"

to re? yā moŋgot
*house thing good make Past*
"The house has become nice"

pis re? siɣat moŋgot
*sore thing small make Past*
"The sore has become small"

## 3.3. Verb-derived adjectives

The language features adjectives that are derived from the verb root; these adjectives are numerous, may be formed on any verb, as long as the meaning and use is acceptable. Hereunder a few examples:

Verb                                        Adjective

| ʀiru | "to cool off" | riru | "cold" |
| gɨgɨ | "to warm up" | gɨgɨr | "hot" |
| ru | "to ripen" | ru | "ripe" |
| pʌru | "to joke" | pʌru | "joking" |
| raraŋg | "to dry" | rarā | "dry" |
| pare? | "to become bad" | pare? | "bad" |

ŋgo mok riru taɣʌ rwe?re
*I water cold come up LR wash Pres*
"I wash in the cold water"

ŋgo timok moŋgot, timok rirure
*I tea-water make Past tea-water cool off Pres*
"I made tea, the tea is cooling off"

ŋgo tyʌp pare? taɣʌ saŋgre ndin
*I road bad come up SR go Pres Neg*
"I don't walk on the bad road"

tamumok re? vor pa? tarot, tyʌp pare?re
*rain thing big come R finish Past road become bad Pres*
"Big rain came down, the road became damaged"

A particular structure involving the verb root has been identified; in this structure, the root immediately follows the noun and may agree with it in singular, dual and plural. It appears to function as a verb-derived adjective.

However, this structure requires further analysis: indeed the root appears here to be part of a verb series:

me    morori dumur ŋari    vot
*they  men     all     hit R   Pl bury Past*
"They killed all the men"

The verb series ŋar voʔ "hit bury" expresses the meaning "to kill" (a person).
Within the verb series, ŋar functions as determinant of the *noun* and as part of the verb series ŋar voʔ

ŋuni    ŋar    tayʌ,          ay    muʔre          saŋgre
*Village  hit R   come up LR   we   catch fish Pres   go Pres*
"At dawn, we go fishing"

The literal translation of ŋuni    ŋar    tayʌ is "the village hit (by light) appears" = "at dawn"

This expression is commonly used to designate the break of the day: it is composed of a noun  and a verb series ŋar    tayʌ "hit come up".

In the three next examples, the first element of the verb series functions as determinant of the substantive:

mam      mareʔ paʔ        taroʔyʌ saŋgat.  maʔmu  mareʔ    paʔ          vas
*mother   food    prepare R finish Ch go Past       child     food    prepare R   see R*
mbat
*eat Pas*
"The mother left after having prepared the food. The child saw and ate the food that had been prepared"

ŋgo  tyʌp   ndiŋgi     kirʌʔ    riyit
*I    road be  slippery R   pull R    go down Past*
"I slipped down and fell  on the slippery road"

ŋgo  piri  sʌrʌk     ndʒikre        moŋgre
*I    skin    itch R    scratch Pres   make Pres*
"I want to scratch the itchy skin"

ŋgo  dʒudʒuni  nemnini  ŋgʌr      gurʌt
*I    clothe Dl     wet Dl       take R    hang up Past*
"I hung up the two wet clothes"

This structure needs to be fully investigated and described for a next publication.

### 3.4. Sequence of adjectives

The sequence of two adjectives referring to the same noun is common.
As far as verb-derived and non-verb derived adjectives are concerned, there seems to be no preferred order as to which characteristic is mentioned first; the fact that an adjective is or not verb-derived does not play a part in the sequence.

146

kor    yã   biŋga
*canoe good light*
"A good and light canoe"

kor    biŋga  yã
*canoe light good*
"A light and good canoe"

mot  ndʒʌndʒẽ  yã
*man strong   good*
"A strong good man"

mot  yã  ndʒʌndʒẽ
*man good strong*
"A good strong man"

a   sʌk siɣatri ndʒʌndʒuri
*that fish small Pl dried Pl*
"These small and dried fish"

a   sʌk ndʒʌndʒuri  siɣatri
*that fish dried Pl     small Pl*
"These dried and small fish"

The emphasis on one of the characteristics is expressed through the use of the "intensifiers" (See III.3.4)

## 3.5. Agreement of the adjective in number

The adjective agrees in number with the noun  it follows; the adjective will therefore appear in singular, dual and plural form, according to the noun  it determines.

### 3.5.1. Adjective agreement in singular

The singular form of all adjectives will be characterized by the absence of the morphemes of dual and plural.

### 3.5.2. Adjective agreement in non-singular

The language features adjective agreement in number with the substantive, as the basic feature of genuine adjective agreement.
Morphologically, the expression of number of the adjective is mostly identical to that of the substantive.

ŋgo mbʌkmbʌkmotni    vorni vasat
*I   blackness-man Dl   big Dl  see Past*
"I saw two big black men"

ŋgo a sʌkri siyatri mbare moŋgre
*I   that fish Pl   small Pl   eat Pres   make Pres*
"I would like to eat these small fishes"

The chapter on the expression of number of the *noun* has introduced the acceptable omission of the mark of dual and plural in specific circumstances (see III.2.2.6.)

### 3.5.3. Adjective agreement in dual

For the expression of dual, the morpheme -ni is suffixed to both verb-derived and non verb-derived adjective.
No irregularity has been observed in this dualization process.

ma?muni siyatni ŋuni sangat
*child Dl   small DL   village   go Past*
"The two small children went to the village"

mʌri mbani biŋgani moŋot
*woman basket DL   light DL   make Past*
"The woman made two light baskets"

mot visiŋgetni simza?ni vasat
*man   pandanus-basket DL   heavy DL   see Past*
"The man saw the two heavy basket made of pandanus fiber"

### 3.5.4. Adjective agreement in plural

As far as the agreement in plural is concerned, all verb-derived adjectives and most non-derived adjectives take the morpheme -ri, as the mark of plural.

ma?meŋgiri siyatri ŋuni sangat
*child Pl       small Pl   village go Past*
"The small children went to the village"

mʌri mbari biŋgari moŋot
*woman basket Pl   light Pl   make Past*
"The woman made light baskets"

mot visiŋgetri simza?ri vasat
*man pandanus-basket Pl   heavy Pl   see Past*
"The man saw the heavy baskets made of pandanus fiber"

Two adjectives, both non-derived, present a double plural:

| singular | plural | meaning |
|----------|--------|---------|
| kot | kotri/kwit | "long" |
| diɣinkot | diɣinkotri/diɣinkwit | "distant" |
| yandi | yeŋgi | "good" |
| yā | yāri | "good" |

- kot/ diɣinkot: both adjectives feature two forms of plural, with no difference in meaning.

The earlier observation of morphological closeness between kot and diɣinkot is confirmed by the existence of a double plural for each adjective, and by the morphological similarity of these plurals:

- one plural is formed by adjunction of the morpheme -ri: kotri, diɣinkotri

- the other plural may have been formed according to the following steps:

- vowel alternance: o → u: |kutri| / |diɣinkutri|

- metathesis of the final vowel: |(diɣin)kutri| → |(diɣin)kuitr|

- semi-vocalisation of the original vowel: |(diɣin)kwitr|

- drop of the r, now in final position: |diɣinkwit|

(no consonant sequence is allowed in word-final position):


– yā takes -ri as the regular mark of plural
korni    yāri
*canoe pl good pl*
"good canoes"

- yandi presents an irregular plural: yeŋgi.
This form may be set in relation with the plural of maʔmu, "child": maʔmeŋgiri, "children of our clan"
The different forms might be explained as follows:

| Base form: | yaŋg |
|------------|------|
| Suffixation of mark of plural: | \|yaŋg-ri\| |
| Alternance ŋgr/nd (rules 8 and 9) | \|yandi\| |

| Base form: | yaŋg |
|------------|------|
| Suffixation of old mark of plural : | \|yaŋg-i\| |
| Alternance of a with e: | \|yeŋgi\| |
| | /yeŋgi/ |

In relation to this example, if we suppose a variant to maʔmu "child:

Base form:                                        maʔmaŋg
Suffixation of old mark of plural:   |maʔmaŋg-i |
Regressive assimilation of a in e:   |maʔmeŋgi |
Suffixation of regular mark of plural: |maʔmeŋg-i-ri |
                                             /maʔmeŋgiri/

In this case, both the old and the more recent marks of plural would be suffixed : the former would only be present as a vestigial form, encountered in only a small number of examples.

Another "witness" of this mark of plural -i (causing regressive vowel assimilation) might be explain the "second" plural of reʔ "thing":

Suffixation of mark of plural:       |reʔ-i |
Regressive assimilation of e in i:  |riʔ-i |
Final vowel disappears (rule 2):   |riʔ|
                                         /riʔ/

In both cases of regressive vowel assimilation, the medium vowel alternates with a high vowel.

## 3.6. Adjective modifiers

The adjective modifiers should be described together with the verb modifiers in the chapter VI. Miscellaneous words.
However, as they participate in the structure of the noun phrase, their analysis appears in this part of the description.

The adjective modifiers specifically qualify the adjective: they mark the intensity with which the adjective applies, or does not apply to the noun it determines:
gindʒeʔ "truly", venmot "very", vor "very" (pesi "indeed"), bidi "somewhat"
None of these modifyers take the mark of dual and plural. They immediately follow the adjective they determine, even in a sequence of several adjectives.

### 3.6.1. gindʒeʔ "truly"

gindʒeʔ is the intensifyer used to convey that the adjective applies thoroughly to the noun it determines. It may be translated by "truly", and is used with this meaning also in isolation:

a mʌri   yandi gindʒeʔ nʌ ŋuni  kivʌt
*this woman good   truly   she village come Past*
"This truly good woman came to the village "

a   mot kot vor gindʒeʔ ŋuni  kivʌt
*this man tall  big truly     village come Past*
"This tall truly fat man came to the village"

**3.6.2.** v e n m o t  **"very"**

To mark that the description conveyed by the adjective really applies strongly to the
substantive, the language uses v e n m o t, that may be translated by "very".

mam     ma r e ?   yā     venmot  pa ?        t a r o t
*mother food    good  very     prepare R  finish Past*
"Mother has prepared this very good meal"

a    tu    rwērʌk         dik    vor venmot
*this place forest-middle  clearing big  very*
"This place in the middle of the forest is a very big clearing"

a     mʌri   vor   venmot nʌ  ŋuni  kivʌt
*this woman big    very    she village  come Past*
"This very big woman came to the village"

mot    kot re ? kot venmot
*man tall  thing tall  very*
"The man is really very tall"

morori  ri ?  kwit venmot
*men     things tall    very*
"The men are really very tall"


**3.6.3.** v o r  **"very"**

As an alternative to v e n m o t, the adjective v o r "big", is sometimes used after the adjective,
although less often. It then means "very".
When used in this function, v o r may be followed by p e s i "indeed", for additional
emphasis.
p e s i has only been encountered in this instance.

mot  nʌ  yā  vor
*man he   good very*
"The man is very good"

mot  nʌ  yā  vor pesi
*man he   good very indeed*
"The man is really very good"

ŋuni   diɣinkot vor
*village far         very*
"The village is very far"

ŋuni   diɣinkot vor pesi
*village  far     very indeed*
"The village is really very far"

Note: To emphasize the (really) big size of an entity and to avoid the repetition of vor, the language will use venmot "very", or pesi "indeed", after the adjective vor "big":

a   mot   nʌ  vor   venmot
*this man  he  big     very*
"The man is very big"

a   mot   nʌ vor  pesi
*this man   he  big  indeed*
"This  man is really very big"

### 3.6.4. bidi "somewhat"

To mark that the description by the adjective applies moderately or little to the substantive, bidi "somewhat", is used after the adjective.
bidi refers to the unfinished or incomplete characteristic of the noun determined by the adjective.

market yā?       market  yā    bidi
*market good ?     market   good   somewhat*
"Was the market good?" "The market was somewhat good " (but not very good)

ŋgo a  kor   simza? bidi      mongot
*I   this canoe heavy  somewhat   make Past*
"I made this somewhat heavy canoe"

## 4. THE DETERMINANTS OF THE NOUN

### 4.0. Introduction

The core of the noun phrase is the noun, in singular, dual or plural form, immediately followed by the adjective, which is its closest determinant, and agrees with it in number.

The language features a number of words that gravitate around the noun, to determine it; these determinants may be either preposed or postponed to the noun   head of the noun phrase.

Preposed determinants are:
- the demonstrative a "this"
- the space demonstratives
- the interrogative specifier  nendʒu "which"
- the specifier  of "otherness" kembi "other"

Postponed determinants are:
- the numerals
- the undefined quantifiers ndʒe? "a few", vurin "one of two", dumur "all", duni "both, two together", nin "some, a certain"
- the indefinite determinants num "self", nimbi "together", nendi "alone", kembi "kind"
- the interrogative quantifier nendʒi "how many"

## 4.1. Preposed determinants

### 4.1.1. The demonstrative a "this"

The demonstrative a "this", is a reduced to one single morpheme.
It always precedes the simple or complex noun and is always the first constituent of the noun phrase of which the noun occupies the head position.

a functions as deictic, but may also be anaphoric, referring to something mentioned by or known to the speaker.
a will not take the mark of dual and plural, but it may determine substantives in singular, dual and plural.

ŋgo a    ma?mu vasat
*I  this  child  see Past*
"I saw this child"

a    ma?meŋgiri siɣatri   mesindip saŋgat
*this children      small Pl     beach     go Past*
"These small children went to the beach"

ŋgo a    twã    mbuɣut:"..."
*I    this talk   speak Past "..."*
"I said the following:"..." "

meri   a    ɣʌvʌndumi          ŋgʌrat
*woman  this   redness sweet potato   take Past*
"The woman took this red sweet potato"

ŋgo a    tyʌp   vasat   a    vegen ŋuni   mʌndʒye
*I    this road    see Past this   nubia village   go R Prog*
"I saw the road, the one that goes to Nubia village"

## 4.1.2. Space demonstratives:

ande?, ŋaya, miyo,
ŋ∧ndet, mondet,
ŋ∧nbā, monbā, ŋg∧nbā, gunbā

This series features determinants that express a demonstrative value complemented by a value of situation in space.
As detailed hereunder, these space demonstratives are vestigial compound substantives.
They may determine the noun in singular, dual or plural form, but do not take the mark of dual and plural.

The analysis will differenciate:
ande?, ŋaya, miyo: demonstratives of proximity
ŋ∧ndet, mondet: demonstratives of localization
ŋ∧nbā, monbā, ŋgenbā, gunbā : orientational demonstratives

Note that the speakers use these space demonstratives preferably in "micro-systems", whereby the first three are used in the same context, or the next two, or the last four, with complementary meanings.

## 4.1.2.1. Demonstrative of proximity: ande? "this one here", ŋaya "that one there", miyo "that one further"

ande? appears as the vestigial form of the demonstrative a, followed by the noun nde?, "place"
ande? may be translated by "this of this place"

Note: some speakers say ani as a variant of ande?.

ŋaya and miyo do not present traces of former morphemes.
ŋaya is "that of over there", while miyo is "that of further away".
As a series, the three demonstratives express progressive distance from the speaker:
ande?: close to the speaker, within reach, "this here"
ŋaya: less close to the speaker, points with the finger, "that one there"
miyo: further away from the speaker, not necessarily in sight, "that one over there"

| ŋgo | kori | mbrɨbɨn, | ande? | kor | siɣat, | ŋaya | kor | vor , |
|-----|------|----------|-------|-----|--------|------|-----|-------|
| *I* | *canoes* | *three* | *this one here* | *canoe* | *small* | *that one there* | *canoe* | *big* |

| bidi, | miyo | kor | vor | pesi |
|-------|------|-----|-----|------|
| *somewhat* | *that one further* | *canoe* | *big* | *indeed* |

"I have three canoes, this canoe here small, that canoe there bigger, that canoe over there very big"

| ande? | to | ŋgo | nan; | ŋaya | to | ŋgo | ndwā | nan, |
|-------|-----|-----|------|------|-----|-----|------|------|
| *this here* | *house* | *my* | *property* | *that there* | *house* | *my* | *brother* | *property* |

| miyo | to | mbrɨt |
|------|-----|-------|
| *further over there* | *house* | *collapse Past* |

154

"This house here is mine, that house there belongs to my brother, that house over there has collapsed"


ande?    mʌri    kot,  ŋaya         mʌri    siyat, miyo
*this here  woman  tall    that one there  woman  small,  that over there*
mʌri    tap    bidi
*woman    short    somewhat*
"This woman here is tall, that woman there is small, that woman further away is rather short"


The following examples feature nde?, "place here (attributed for ownership)", as a regular substantive, for comparison with demonstrative ande?:


ŋgenbā, re?   nin   vanen nde?
*left    thing  some  Neg  place*
"On the left hand side, the place of nothing"= "where there is nothing"


ŋgo nde?    nin    riyit      din, ŋgo nde?    mire?    mʌkare
*I  place    some   go down Past Neg, I   this place  lie down R  be at Pres Prog*
"I did not get down (from) here, I was lying here"


### 4.1.2.2. Demonstratives of localization: ŋʌndet, mondet

ŋʌndet, mondet appear as vestigial forms of former compound substantives, respectively |ŋʌn ndet| and |mon ndet|
ndet has not been encountered in independent use, but could be an alternative form of ndyet,"part", that still functions as an independent regular substantive.
(For analogy, the language accepts ndʒye? as well as ndʒe?, "some, a part of").


ŋʌn and mon have not been encountered in independent use but appear also in ŋʌnbā and monbā analyzed later.

In both compounds, ŋʌn and mon have complementary meanings: ŋʌn is used to designate what is "on the side of the speaker", while mon designates what is "on the other side", away from the speaker.
ŋʌndet and mondet will be respectively translated by "on this side" and "on that side".


ŋgo kʌni  mbuni  vasat,    ŋʌndet    kʌn    nʌ to      vasat,    mondet
*I  tree Dl  two    see Past   on this side  tree     it  before    see Past   on that side*
kʌn    nʌ gi    vasat
*tree    it after    see Past*
"I saw two trees, the tree on this side I saw first, the tree on that side I saw later"

mondet       mʌri   yandi,   ŋʌndet     mʌri    yã   vanen
*on that side   woman   good,   on that side   woman   good   Neg*
"The woman on that side is nice, the woman on this side isn't"

ŋgo korni   mbuni, mondet       kor siɣat ,   ŋʌndet       kor   vor
*I   canoe Dl   two   on that side   canoe small       on this side   canoe big*
"I have two canoe, the one over there is small, the one over here is big"

### 4.1.2.3. Orientational demonstratives: ŋʌnbã / monbã, gunbã/ŋgenbã

ŋʌnbã/monbã, gunbã/ŋgenbã are four orientational demonstratives of complementary function, both in pairs, and all four together.

In pairs, ŋʌn and mon, and ŋgen and gun, have complementary meanings:
- as seen earlier, ŋʌn is used to designate what is "on the side of the speaker", while mon designates what is "on the other side, further away".
- ŋgen designates what is on the left hand side, while gun designates what is on the right hand side.

For orientation in space, all four demonstratives function in a complementary system :
from a *unique* , *single*, point of view, that of the speaker, or that of a person or an object he is referring to, ŋʌnbã and monbã will refer to the front and the back , while ŋgenbã and gunbã will refer, respectively, to the left and the right.
These demonstratives do no take the mark of dual and plural.

All four are the vestigial forms of compound substantives formed on the independent regular noun mbã, meaning "mark", preceded by a morpheme of direction ŋʌn, mon, gun, ŋgʌn:
|ŋʌn-mbã|  "front"
|mon-mbã|  "back"
|ŋgen-mbã|  "left"
|gun-mbã|  "right"
In all cases, rule 16 applies.

The morphemes of direction are not encountered in independent use anymore
mbã has been described as constituent of special compound noun in III.2.4.2.2.5.2.

monbã       to       yandi,   ŋʌnbã       to    pare?
*over there   house   good   over here   house   bad*
"The house over there is good, the house over here is bad" (=poorly built)

monbã       to    ŋgo nan,   ŋʌnbã       to    mo nan
*over there house   my   property,   over here   house   you property*
"The house over there is mine, the house over here is yours"

gunbã to    ŋgo nan,   ŋgenbã   to    mo    nan
*right house   my   property   left   house   your   property*
"The right house is mine, the left house is yours"

mo  ŋgʌrʌsim   kare.    ŋʌnbã   ŋuni,   nʌ  ŋgo   nan,    monbã
*you  mountain-top  be at Pres   over here  village  it   my  property  over there*

kwapar ,  nʌ ay ŋuni  nan,     ŋgenbã ŋgʌt     re? vor ,  nʌ kembi
*river    it we village  property  left    mountain  thing big ,  it  other*

ŋuni    nan,    gunbã    ŋgʌt ,   nʌ   ŋgo   ŋuni   nan
*village property  right    mountain , it   my   village  property*

"You are on top of the mountain; the village in front of you is mine, the river at the (your) back belongs to our village, the big mountain on the left belongs to another village, the moutain on the right belongs to my village"


Note: Originally, gunbã must have designated the "main" hand, that is the right hand of a right-hand person, and the left hand of a left-hand person.
Complementary to this, ŋgenbã would have designated the "secondary" hand.
Although it is still and spontaneously mentioned by the speakers, this use has become lost, and gunbã and ŋgenbã, as a convention, now designate respectively the right and left hand side.


### 4.1.3. Interrogative specifier  nendʒu

nendʒu is the question word used to elicit information on the identity or the type of person or object is referred to. It may be translated by "which" or by "what".
It is preposed to a noun in singular, dual or plural

Followed by tiɣɨ "time", nendʒu is used to elicit information as to the time when the action is taking place.
a  kor,   nʌ nendʒu kor?
*this canoe  it  what type canoe*
"This canoe, what type of canoe is it?"

mo  nendʒu  sʌkri   vasat?
*you what type fish Pl   see Past*
"What type of fish did you see?"

nendʒu   mot kɨvʌt?
*what type man  come Past*
"What type of man came?"

mo  nendʒu  nabʌ   mbare  moŋgre?
*you what type mango  eat Pres  make Pres*
"What type of mango do you want to eat?"

nʌ nendʒu kirʌpri   mo ŋganaŋgat?
*she what type vegetables   you give Past*
"What type of vegetable did she give you?"

mo nendʒu tʌp   a  kor   moŋgot?
*you what  custom  this canoe  make Past*
"What custom did you use to make this canoe?"
= "How did you make this canoe?"

vegen a  sirgem a   mʌriri  a   tu kivʌt.   nendʒu mʌri mbʌt?
*nubia and sisimagun and women  this  place come Past . what woman went back*
"Women from Nubia and Sisimagun arrived to this place.  Which woman left?"

mot  ŋgo nʌ mbuyu,   nendʒu    kirʌpri   nʌ market tayʌ        vasat
*man m  it  say LR    what type  vegetables  he  market   come up LR  see Past*
"The man told me what type of vegetables he saw at the market"

### 4.1.4. Specifier of "otherness": kembi

The specifier    of "otherness" kembi "other" appears before the noun and, in this position, may be reduplicated.

kembi expresses the meaning of "kind, sort", in the sense of "other, different".
When it is reduplicated, kembi means "one of each kind", "all kinds of ".

Another determinant kembi, "alone", postponed to the substantive, has been identified as a "selector", and is described in III.4.2.2.

ŋgo kembi mot vasat
*I   other man  see Past*
"I saw another man"

nʌ kembi kʌn,  a  kor   moŋgre kʌn
*it other tree   this canoe make Pres tree*
"It is the other tree, this tree is to make canoes"

ŋgo kembi a kembi mot vasat
*I   alone   this other  man see Past*
"I alone saw that other man"

ŋgo madang saŋgʌ,  kembi kembi   mot, kembi kembi re?ri  vasat
*I  madang go R    other  other   man other   other  thing pl see Past*
"I went to Madang, saw all kinds of people, all kinds of things"

## 4.2. Postponed determinants

### 4.2.1. Quantifiers

Among the quantifiers, two categories have been encountered: the numerals and the unspecified quantifiers.

### 4.2.1.1. Numerals

Counting system

As a determinant, the numeral follows the noun to give the quantity of the considered entity.

Quite logically semantically, mbinʌ, "one", determines a noun in singular; mbuni, "two", determines a noun in dual, while all other numerals determine substantives in plural.

These numerals pertain to different word categories: simple and nouns, simple and complex numerals, complex expressions.
Each is reviewed in detail in the corresponding chapter; hereunder some general information on numerals as postponed determinants.
The numerals may also follow the substitutes, as illustrated in III.4.

The language has a basic counting system that is a base-five finger-toe system, or body system.

The numerals from 1 to 10 are:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 mbinʌ | 6 parʌmbut mbinʌ |
| 2 mbuni | 7 parʌmbut mbuni |
| 3 mbribin, | 8 parʌmbut mbribin, |
| 4 pʌur | 9 parʌmbut pʌur |
| 5 parʌmbā | 10 pari, parni. |

The numerals 1 and 4 are simple words that do not appear to be analyzable in morphemes:
mbinʌ         "one"
pʌur          "four"

mbuni,"two", features the morpheme of dual , ni, that is also used to mark the dual of substantives and adjectives, and is also used independently as a substitute .

The numerals 3 and 5 are compounds:

parʌmbā   "five"

parʌmbā   |par-mbā|   "five"
              *hand mark*
is a compound of two substantives, literally meaning "the mark of one hand", referring of the visual print of the five fingers of the outstretched hand

mbribinʌ "three"

mbribinʌ  |mbri - mbinʌ| "three", sometimes shortenend in mbribin
         *break   one*
is a compound composed of a verb + numeral, literally meaning "the broken one": the speaker visually indicates the number 3 by starting to count on the little finger, bending it, then the ring finger, then the major, thereby "breaking the hand".

The number 10 is expressed by a substantive, par "hand", in dual or plural form, as described in III.2.3.5.

pari  |par ri|   "ten"
parni |par ri|   "ten"

Complex expressions form the numerals 6 and 9, and above 10: the compound noun parʌmbut "hand side" is immediately followed by a numeral indicating the number of units added to 5:

parʌmbut mbinʌ    "6", often shortened into parʌmbut
*hand-side one*

parʌmbut mbuni    "7"
*hand-side two*

parʌmbut mbribin  "8"
*hand-side three*

parʌmbut pʌur    "9"
*hand-side four*
mbut is used to designate "side" in the counting system, but is not encountered independently anymore.

Once fingers and hands are counted, the speakers move on to toes and feet.
The numbers above 10 are composed of the noun  par in plural, the complex noun rwembut "foot side", and the adequate numeral.
These constituents are simply juxtaposed.

pari    rwembut    mbinʌ      "11"
*hands   foot-side   one*

pari    rwembut    mbuni      "12"
*hands   foot-side   two*

To express 20 and numbers over 20, we find:

pari    rweni                  "20"
*hands   foot Dl*

The following is an alternative to express "twenty":

mot   yā mbinʌ              "a good man" = "twenty"
*man   good one*

```
mot    yā   mbinʌ mbut mbinʌ    "21"
man    good one     side one
```

```
mot   yā mbuni                  "40"
man good two
```

```
mot yā    mbribin               "60"
man good three
```

Note that the language may technically express numbers above twenty, but prefers to use re? vat, "a lot", to do so.

```
ŋgo a mot mbribin vasat
I  this man three     see Past
"I saw these three men"
```

```
ŋgo a kembi mot yandi pʌur vasat
I  this other man good    four see Past
"I saw these four other good men"
```

```
mʌrini     yandi mbuni ŋuni  kivʌt
woman Dl good    two    village come Past
"The two good women came to the village"
```

```
ŋgo mo raogut    pari tumbʌ  vaserene
I   you sun-heart ten   morning see Past
"I will see you at 10 o'clock in the morning"
```

Numerals and money

An interesting point is the village view on money.
The national currency is the kina, divided in 100 toea (the names are borrowed from shell money traditionally used in exchange and trade).
Cash is a rare commodity within the village that still functions mostly with subsistence gardening and barter.
As a result, the villagers have adopted 10 toea as their basic currency:

kiŋgipʌk is the small toea shell,
kiŋgipʌk mbinʌ, more commonly designated as pʌk mbinʌ, "one shell", is 10 toea
pʌk mbuni is 20 toea
etc.

The equivalent of one kina is expressed by pʌk pari "10 toea shells", or gʌmba? mbinʌ "one kina shell", where gʌmba? is the larger kina shell

gʌmba? mbuni "two kina" etc.

mot yā mbinʌ "two kina", as 20 times 10 toea.

```
ŋgo pʌk vanen
I   shell Neg
"I don't have money"
```

4.2.1.2. Undefined quantifiers: ndʒyeʔ, vurin, dumur, duni, nin

These determinants express the undetermined number of entities considered.
They may also be used as substitutes.

4.2.1.2.1. "some, a few": ndʒeʔ

ndʒeʔ is used to refer to "some, several, as part of a group".
It refers to part, but not the totality of the group of entities considered.
ndʒeʔ follows the noun in singular. The alternative ndʒyeʔ is accepted.

The noun vaʔ "group, together, inclusion", may follow to emphasize the togetherness of
the group of entities considered.

ŋgo tonik   saŋga,   riʔ ndʒeʔ ŋɑrat
I   house-inside go LR   things a few   take Past
"I went inside the house and took a few things"

mot ndʒeʔ ŋuni saŋgat,   mot ndʒeʔ ri   saŋgat
man a few   village go Past   man a few   garden go Past
"Some men went to the village, some men went to the garden"

4.2.1.2.2. "one of two": vurin

vurin follows the noun singular it determines.
vurin refers to "one out of two" persons , objects or actions. It may therefore be
considered as a special quantifier, "extracting" the considered entity out of two.

mɑrini   mbuni rinik   saŋgat. mɑri vurin   rɑyam vasat
woman Dl   two   garden-inside go Past woman one of two pig   see Past
"Two women went to the garden. One of the two woman saw a pig"

mot ndʒɑndʒē vurin   rɑyam vor   vurin   rangat
man strong   one of two pig big   one of two shoot Past
"One of the two strong men shot one of the two big pigs"

The sentence above is accepted, although described as "less elegant to the ear" than the
next version that is particularly interesting from a syntactical point of view, as two different
structures are given to express one meaning.
Indeed, to avoid the repetition of vurin , the speaker chooses to express the same meaning
through a genetive phrase and use of a substitute, ni mot nin, literally, "one man of
both":

motni   mbuni rɑyamni mbuni vasat. ni mot nin a rɑyam vurin
men Dl   two   pig Dl   two   see Past Dl man some this pig   one of
        raŋgat
two   shoot Past
"Two men saw two pigs, one of the two men shot this one of the two pigs"

4.2.1.2.3. "all" dumur, "both, two together" dumni

Both undefined determinants dumur and dumni follow the noun or the pronoun to express that all entities without exception are considered, whether they be two or more.
Both specifiers are formed on a common root, dumu, followed by the mark of dual and of plural.
dumu has not been encountered in isolation.

dumur is the vestigial form of dumuri . The chapter on plural has already pointed out the possible drop of the final i of the mark of plural (See III.2.3)
duni is accepted as an alternative for dumni.

4.2.1.2.3.1. "all": dumur

dumur refers to the entirety of the group of entities considered, "all of them".
dumur follows the noun in plural or in singular : as it semantically and morphologically contains the expression of plural, the mark of plural on the noun may be considered redundant.

siuk, tare, biris, vaŋgo, nʌ kirʌʔre gʌʔre.　　　 mbinʌ, mbuni, vat
(fish) *trevally (fish)* *(fish)* *it* *pull Pres* *come up Pres* *. one* *two* *lots*
dumur kirʌʔyʌ...
all *pull Ch*
"We pull all sorts of fish (on top of the canoe). One, two, a lot, all of them are pulled..."

moror dumur , ŋunimoror, ri ŋgam, ay nʌ ŋare mʌsangat
men *all* *village-men* *garden new* *we it cut* *go Past Prog*
"All men, village men, the new garden, we went to cut it"

ni nan sʌkri dumur tayʌt din
both property *fish Pl* *all* *come up Past Neg* .
"All the fish of both (women) was not piled up"

bʌrip dumur nin ŋgo nʌ poʔ mʌkireʔ
limbum *all* *some* *I it gather R* *pull Pres Prog*
"I pull all the limbum pieces to gather them"

4.2.1.2.3.2. "both, two together": dumni / duni

dumni follows the noun in dual, to express "two together".
It is compatible with the numeral mbuni, that commonly follows the noun in dual.
It may however do without the numeral: the mark of dual already present after the noun and in dumni makes the numeral redundant, especially once the context is established.

Both dumni and duni are accepted.

a mʌrini mbuni dumni num ŋuni sangat ni dumni
this woman Dl *two* *both* *self village* *go Past* *Dl all two*
nʌ vasat
him see Past
"These two women themselves went to the village together, together they saw him"

163

mʌrini   duni   ŋuni saŋgat
woman Dl   both   village go Past
"Both women went to the village together"

me   gwayʌr va?,   ŋʌŋʌ va?   duni kap   moŋgre
they leaves with   leaves with   both   reunion make Pres
"They plait together this type of leaves with, that type of leaves'

Note: This sentence refers to house building, the final step of covering the roof with
different types of sago palm leaves.
gwayʌr and ŋʌŋʌ are two types of sago palm leaves used to cover the roof of the house.
The leaves have undergone two specific processes, dried, cut in half, folded, plaited, and
more; the lexemes gwayʌr and ŋʌŋʌ designate the final products, translated both at best,
at this stage, by the Tok Pisin "morota"

4.2.1.2.4.   n i n "some, a certain"

Following a noun in singular, dual or plural, the undefined **quantifier**   n i n marks a non-
defined reference to some entities of a group.
In an affirmative clause, n i n means "some, a certain".
In opposition to the numeral mbinʌ, "one", n i n expresses undefinition, closer to the
English "some", or to the French "du, de la" or "un certain".
"nothing" may be expressed by re? n i n vanen , where the negative morpheme vanen
immediately follows the **quantifier** .

nʌ ŋga mbarenn sʌk yã nin   ŋgʌr , ŋuni   kiyʌ   mʌkare
he both   eat Pres fish good some take R   village come ch   be at Pres Prog
"He takes the good fish destined to be eaten by both (women), having arrived at the village,
he stays"

martin   nin   kiyʌ,   mo riyʌt
martin   some   come Ch, you look for Past
"A certain Martin came looking for you"

mot   nin kare?
man some be at Pres ?
"Is anybody here?"

meri   mbuni nin   ŋuni   kivʌt
women two   some   village come Past
"Two certain women arrived to the village"

ŋgo ŋuni   kiyʌ,   moror nin vasat
I   village   arrive ch men   some see Past
"As I arrived to the village, I saw some men"

nderi nʌ mbo?gut   nin   ŋgʌnaŋgat din
rat   him betelnut   some   give Past Neg
"The rat did not give him any betelnut"

164

re? nin vanen a tu kare, mot nin kare ndin
thing some Neg this place be at Pres man some be at Pres Neg
"There is nothing in this place, there is no man here"

a vʌvus ngenbã re? nin vanen, mandʌp nendi
this similarity left thing some Neg mangroce only
"In the same way, on the left nothing, mangrove only"

4.2.2. "Selectors": num/nʌmbu, nembi, kembi, nendi

These "selectors" are used to avoid any confusion as to which subject, out of many possibilities, has acted or is commented upon.
They are further used to give complementary information as to the status of the noun with regards to the action; the information supplemented may be, for instance, whether the subject acted alone or in a group.
They all follow the simple and complex substantive.
They all determine substantives in singular, dual and plural, except for nembi that determines substantives in plural only.

The four undefined specifiers are described hereunder in the sequence that they follow if juxtaposed: num, nembi, kembi, nendi.
Speakers, however, prefer not to use more than two of them after one substantive.

4.2.2.1. "self" num/nʌmbo

num indicates a reinforcement of the identity of the selected entity.
It can be translated by "(him)self".

It is also used as a reflexive, when the action expressed by the verb has an impact on the subject itself.

Note: Informants present num and nʌmbo as two variants of the same selector. num is more commonly used than nʌmbo.

mot yandi num kivʌt
man good self come Past
"The good man himself came"

mam num kare tu, ŋgo ni mʌnday
mother self be at Pres place I both show Narr Prog
"Mother's own place, I show it to them both"

ay satri num ay a twã mbuɣut
we fathers self we this talk speak Past
"Our father told us this themselves"

ma? nʌ sat num nan nendi ri?, mam num moŋgre ri? nʌ
boy he father self property only things mother self make Pres things she
nan mõ mʌbinday
property girl learn Narr Prog
"The boy learns the skills of his own father only, the girl (learns) the skills of her mother"

4.2.2.2. "all together": n e m b i

nembi refers to "all of one group (joined) together".
It follows the noun or pronoun in plural or with a plural meaning.
nembi may be opposed to dumur, "all", in that it expresses the added meaning of "all belonging to one group, belonging together"

ŋgura?ri	dumur	mbuɣu	tarot	me	kiɣʌ	vʌkri nembi kye
birds	*all*	*speak LR*	*finish Pasr,*	*they*	*come ch*	*wings together join R*

taro?ɣʌ,	va?,	nʌ	ŋgʌrɣʌ	mʌgey
finish ch	*after*	*him*	*take ch*	*go up Narr Prog*

"After all the birds finished talking, they came, joined their wings together, took him and went up"

tumbʌ	mu,	kwakre	kam	mbinʌ,	ay	nembi	vorɣʌ,	mamar mbuni o
morning	*night*	*rooster*	*voice*	*one*	*we*	*together*	*get up Ch*	*mothers two or*

mbribin o	nendʒi,	nembi	va?	ŋgʌrat
three	*or how much*	*together*	*group*	*take Past*

"At dawn, at cock's crow, we get up together, two or three or how many women, together we form a group"
where nembi va? may be translated by "a group of all together"

morori	nembi	twā	vayɣʌ	va?,	mbop	mʌmoŋgi
men	*together*	*voice*	*hear ch*	*after,*	*maternity house*	*make Narr Prog*

"After the group of men has heard the talk, they build a maternity house"

4.2.2.3. "alone" : k e m b i

kembi is encountered in three different positions, two of which have been described earlier, as preposed specifier of "otherness" (See III.4.1.2.)

When postponed to the noun or pronoun, kembi expresses uniqueness, specificity.
It may then be translated by "alone, on one's own", as opposed to a group, or as "kind, sort", as opposed to another kind or sort.
kembi then isolates the entity or entities it determines, while opposing them to the rest of the group.

ŋgo	ma?mu	kembi	a	kembi	mot	vasat,	ŋgo	vanen
I	*child*	*alone*	*this*	*other*	*man*	*see Past*	*I*	*Neg*

"My child alone saw that other man, I didn't"

ŋgo	kirʌp	kembi	mbare	moŋgre,	sʌk	vanen
I	*vegetable*	*alone*	*eat Pres*	*make Pres*	*fish*	*Neg*

"I would like to eat vegetables only, no fish"

a	re?ri	mamari	ŋgam	kembi	moŋgre
this	*things*	*mothers*	*new*	*alone*	*make Pres*

"These things, only young mothers do"
(as opposed to older or more experienced mothers)

mʌri   nʌ nan   rinik   kembi moŋgre   ri? ŋgʌrat
woman she property garden-inside alone make Pres things take Past
"The woman took the tools for her very own garden itself"
(as opposed to the communal garden)

mʌri   nʌ nan   rinik   moŋgre   ri? kembi ŋgʌrat
woman she property garden-inside make Pres things alone take Past
"The woman took her own garden tools"
(as opposed to garden tools belonging to other women)

nʌ to   vayt   ma?mu   kembi , ay nʌ gi   saŋgre
he before hear Past child   alone   we him behind go Pres
"The first child to memorize, the first one only *(and not the other children)*, we follow
him"

meri   mbɨnʌ kembi yembre   a   ri?   moŋgre,   ndʒye? vanen
woman one   alone know Pres   this things make Pres several Neg .
"One woman only knows how to make these things, not several"

kembi may be opposed to nendi, as described hereunder.

4.2.2.4. "only": nendi

nendi restricts the action or the author of the action with a meaning of "just, only"- that
person only and nobody else, or that action only, and no other action.
nendi follows the singular, dual and plural noun it determines.
nendi isolates or puts emphasis on an entity within a group, and opposes it to other
entities belonging to other groups

a   mʌriri   nendi me ŋuni kɨvʌt,   mot vanen
this women   only   they village come Past   man Neg
"These women only came to the village, no men (came)"
ma? nʌ sat   num   nan   nendi ri?, mam   num moŋgre   ri?
boy he father self property only   things mother self make Pres things
nʌ nan   mõ   mʌbinday
her property girl   learn Narr Prog
"The boy learns the skills of his own father only, the girl (learns) the skills of her own
mother"
where nendi expresses emphasis on the gender of the person who delivers the
knowledge onto the boy or the girl
Note the insistence on sat, mam, expressed through the simultaneous presence of num
and nendi.

a   vʌvus   ŋgenbã re? nin   vanen,   mandʌp nendi
this similarity left   thing some Neg ,   mangrove only
"On the left hand side, nothing either, just mangrove"
(and no other kind of vegetation)

ŋuni tiɣi vasat vʌvus, veɣen a vʌvus nendi
village place see Past similarity nubia this similarity only
"The village looks the same, Nubia is just the same" (as a village)

me a twã nendi, a ŋi mbɨnʌ nendi, mirʌpkam, ay a
they this talk only this story one only ancestor's voice we this
re? twã mbuɣut
thing talk speak Past
"Just this one story, this one story only , the ancestors' voice, they told it to us"

a ma?mu nʌ riɣi nʌ tarot, ŋasʌbuɣun nendi
this child he lie down LR he finish Past banana-stalk only
"This child that was lying there, it wasn't a child anymore, it was only a banana stalk"

Simultaneous use of several selectors:

The four selectors may combine to determine the same noun.
They then appear in a specific order, as in the following example, that is theoretically
acceptable - but considered not elegant:

a meri yã mbribin nin num nimbi kembi nendi kivʌt
this woman good three certain self together alone only come Past
"Only these certain three good women themselves arrived together, on their own"

To make the sequence more easily digestible, the speakers prefer to break the sentence by
using the noun as apposition before the subject, now represented by the substitute *me*:

a meri yã mbuni nin num , me nembi kembi nendi kivʌt
this woman good two some self they together kind only come Past
"These certain two good women themselves, they just arrived together, on their own"

Preferably however, only one or two of the selectors will appear after the substantive.

4.2.3. The interrogative quantifier nendʒi

nendʒi is the interrogative quantifier used to elicit information as to the number of
persons or objects that is referred to.
It may also be used in narration in a rhetorical sense.

nendʒi follows the noun most often in singular , but also in plural; it may not follow the
noun in dual, as the dual ending presupposes that the speaker knows the number of
entities considered , which makes the use of the question word redundant.

Although it does not function in the same way as nendʒu, that precedes the noun (see
III.2.4.1.3), the morphological link between the two question words is obvious.

mot nendʒi kɨbrene?
Man how many come Fut
"How many men will come?"

maʔmu siɣat nendʒi kivʌt
child   small   how many   come Past
"How many small children came?"

sʌk reʔ vat,   tabe,   biris,   mbinʌ,   mbuni,   sʌk   nendʒi   ŋgʌrat
fish thing numerous trevally barracuda one   two   fish how many   catch Past
"Lots of fish, trevally, barracuda, one, two, how many, were caught..."

mʌri   reʔ   vat   dumur kivʌt.   mʌri   nendʒi   dumur kivʌt ?
woman   thing   numerous   all   come Past woman   how many   all   came Past
"A lot of women all came together." "How many women came in total?"

ŋas   reʔ   vat   kare.   mo ŋas   nendʒi   nekreʔ?
banana thing numerous   be at Pres   you banana how many   like Pres
"I have lots of bananas. How many bananas do you want ?"

5. THE GENITIVE PHRASE

5.1. Definition

The genitive phrase is the structure wherein a noun phrase determines another noun phrase.

The noun phrase may consist of a single noun (example 1), or may be more complex and consist of a noun and its determinants, as described earlier.

The modifying noun phrase precedes the head noun phrase.

The modifying noun phrase may in turn be qualified by yet another noun phrase.

The genitive phrase qualifies the noun by providing information as to its location or origin (ex. 2), to its category (ex. 3), to its possessor (5).

5.2. Examples

1. mot   kor   saŋgʌ , tyemʌpar   sʌok   ŋgʌre   moŋgre
   man   canoe   go LR   bamboo leaf/fin   long-nosed fish   take Pres   make Pres
"The man went on the canoe to catch the marlin"
tyem par sʌok is literally translated by "long-nosed fish with bamboo-leaf fin"
where:
– tyemʌpar sʌok is the complete genitive phrase, composed of two subtstantives
- sʌok is the head substantive
- tyemʌpar is its modifyer

2. mondet   ŋuni   mʌri   gur   kivʌt
   over there   village   woman   yesterday   come Past
"The woman from the village over there came yesterday"
where:
- mondet ŋuni mʌri is the complete genitive phrase, subject of verb kivʌt
- mʌri is the head, composed of an isolated substantive
- mondet ŋuni is its modifyer, composed of head noun ŋuni, preceded by space demonstrative mondet

3. ŋgo ɣʌvʌnik   ndumi   rinik   ,   mbrat
   I   redness-inside   sweet potato   garden-inside   plant Past
"I planted red sweet potato in the garden"
where
- ɣʌvʌnik   ndumi   is the genitive phrase, object of verb mbrat
- ndumi is the simple substantive, head of the genitive phrase
- ɣʌvʌnik is the compound noun, modifyer to ndumi

4. ŋgo kembi mot korotɨu?   vasat
   I   other   man   canoe-prow   see Past
"I saw the other man's canoe prow "
where:
- kembi mot korotɨu? is the complete genitive phrase, object of the verb vasat
- korotɨu? is the compound substantive, head of genitive phrase
- kembi mot is its modifying noun phrase, with the noun   mot as head, preceded by
specifier   kembi

5. a   mot   a   mʌri   yandi   korotɨu? siɣat moŋgot
   this   man   this   woman   good   canoe-prow   small   make Past
"This man made this good woman' small canoe prow "
where:
- a mʌri yandi korotɨu? siɣat is the complete genitive phrase, complement to the
verb moŋgot
- korotɨu? is the head of the genitive phrase; it is followed by its postponed determiner,
the adjective siɣat.
– mʌri occupies the headslot in the noun phrase modifying korotɨu? ; mʌri's own
determiners a and yandi are respectively preposed and postponed

6. ande? kembi to vorni venmot   ŋgap num mbrɨt
   this here   other   house big Dl   very   roof itself   collapse Past
"The very roof of these other two very big houses collapsed"
where:
– ande? kembi to vorni venmot ŋgap num is the complete genitive phrase
– ŋgap is the substantive, head of the genitive phrase, followed by its "selector" num
- ande? kembi to vorni venmot is the noun modifying ŋgap
- to, the head of the modifying noun phrase, is respectively preceded and followed by its
determiners , ande? kembi and vorni venmot

7.   to   kor mbʌkmbʌk   nik   sivʌt
      front   canoe   blackness   inside   be full Past
"The front canoe's black inside was full (of water)
where:
- to kor mbʌkmbʌk nik is the complete genitive phrase, subject of verb sivʌt
– nik is its head, preceded by its complement, the noun mbʌkmbʌk
– to kor, the noun phrase modifying nik, is composed of the head kor and of the
preposed complement to

8. ŋgo syandam siɣat num kor yandi monbā vasat
  I *syandam* *small* *self* *canoe good* *over there* *see Past*
"I saw the good canoe of the small Syandam himself over there"
where:
- syandam siɣat num kor yandi is the complete genitive phrase
- kor is the head of the genitive phrase, followed by adjective yandi
- syandam siɣat num is the modifying noun   phrase; its head is the proper noun syandam followed by adjective and determiner siɣat num

5.3. Genitive phrases and special nouns: vʌvus, nan,

vʌvus, nan have been described earlier in III.2.1.4.

Within the genitive phrase, both feature the characteristic of being the sole element of the noun phrase they appear in, without taking any of the determiners allowed by regular substantives.
The examples below illustrate in turn this particularity for vʌvus and nan.

5.3.1. vʌvus "similarity"

vʌvus appears in noun and genitive phrases, to express comparison., similarity.

a maʔmeŋgiri me kwakre siɣat vʌvus saŋgre
this children *they* *chicken* *small* *similarity walk Pres*
"These children, they walk like small chickens"
where:
- kwakre siɣat vʌvus is the complete genitive phrase, complement of the verb saŋgre
- vʌvus is the head of the genitive phrase
– kwakre siɣat is the modifying noun phrase

a meri, nʌ joana vʌvus saŋgre
this woman she *joana* *similarity* *go Pres*
"This woman walks like Joana"
where:
– vʌvus is the head of the genitive phrase complement to the verb saŋgre
– joana is the proper noun, modifying vʌvus

5.3.2. nan "property"

We have seen that nan appears only in genitive phrases, to express ownership (See III.2.1.4.)
nan functions most often as second noun in a genitive phrase composed of three substantives.

It may also fill the head slot in genitive phrase composed of two substantives.
The use of nan prevents confusion by showing the phrase limit formally and semantically.

The following sentence has two possible translations:

ŋgo syandam ŋuni kivʌt
I   syandam village come Past

The translation may be:

ŋgo syandam // ŋuni kivʌt
"My Syandam came to the village"

or

ŋgo// syandam ŋuni //kivʌt
"I come to Syandam's village"

The presence of nan lifts any ambiguity:

ŋgo nan   syandam ŋuni kivʌt
I property syandam village come Past
"My Syandam came to the village" (as opposed to your son Syandam)

ŋgo syandam   nan   ŋuni kivʌt
I syandam   property village come Past
"I come to Syandam's (own) village"

a   mba,   ŋgo   ponme? num   nan , nʌ moyonik   riɣit
this basket my   sister   self property it water-inside fall Past
"This basket that belongs to my sister herself, fell in the water"
where:
- ŋgo ponme? num nan is the complete genitive phrase, apposed to the noun subject mba
- nan is the head of the genitive phrase, preceded by its modifyer, the noun phrase ŋgo ponme? num
- ponme? is the head slot of the modifying phrase, followed by determiner num, and preceded by its complement, the substitute ŋgo

5.4. Genitive phrase and preposed noun determinants: syntactic changes

Special attention goes to syntactic changes brought about in the genitive phrase by the presence   of   preposed   noun   determinants.
Indeed, when the demonstrative a, the space demonstratives mondet, ŋʌndet, monbā, ŋʌnbā, etc, or the specifier of otherness kembi determine the complement, syntactic changes occur: a new clause, a relative clause, is created and apposed to the noun to be determined.
The noun will then be determined by this full relative clause in apposition, rather than by a preposed noun phrase.

In the first example, num is postponed modifier of ŋuni, and genitive phrase word order is respected:

ŋuni   num meri   yandi mbinʌ gur   kivʌt
Village self woman pretty one   yesterday come Past
"One pretty woman of that very village came yesterday"

In the following example, kembi may only be modifierer of meri, and not of ŋuni:

a   kembi ŋuni num meri   gur   kivʌt
this other village self woman yesterday come Past
"This other woman of that very village came yesterday"

In order for kembi to determine ŋuni within the noun phrase, there occurs creation of a new clause, apposed to the noun to be determined:

a   meri,   nʌ kembi ŋuni num nan,   nʌ gur   kivʌt
this woman she other   village self property she yesterday   come Past
"This woman, the one from this other village itself, she came yesterday"

The following are further examples of these syntactic changes:

ŋgo a   meri, nʌ monbã   ŋuni nan,   nʌ vasat din
I   this woman she over there village property her see Past Neg
"I did not see that woman from the village over there"

a   sʌk,   nʌ ŋgembã kwapar nan,   nʌ re? vor pesi
this fish, it left   river   property it thing big indeed
"This fish from the river on the left hand side is very big"

6. THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

6.1. Definition

The relative clause is a verbal clause determining a substantive.

The relative is generally preposed to the noun it determines, as modifiers usually are.
It is compatible with other noun complements that are postponed, but not anteposed.

Only specific tenses, and the indicative mood only, have been encountered in the relative clause: indicative present, past (for a past action affecting the present), perfect (for a past action with no bearing on the present) and future, to express purpose of aim.

The finite relative clause is characterized by two elements:

- the presence of two co-referentials, one noun and one substitute, one in the main clause, and one in the relative clause.
The first co-referent is a noun, the second one is a substitute (personal pronoun or demonstrative)
The second referent may be left out, once the context is established.
Both referentials may be elements of substitution: in that case, one of them has to be either a demonstrative, or the noun nan followed by the pronoun nda to mark the plural.

- the word order: the co-referential element of the relative, that is the head of the relative clause, is postponed to the relative verb, regardless of its function within the subordinated clause.

The relative may be:
- subjective: inside the relative, the co-referential element is subject of the verb
- objective: inside the relative, the co-referential is complement of the relative verb

The noun or the pronoun co-referential of the main clause may have any of the functions usual to a noun or its substitute.
If it is complement of the verb, and particularly direct object, the relative may replace it and occupy its slot within the main clause.
The co-referential element may then be omitted.

The relative may also precede the main clause: in that case the co-referntial element of the principal may be omitted, or may remain present.

6.2.   The subjective relative clause

6.2.1. The coreferential of the main clause is subject of the verb

haussik vasre morori, me kaŋget din
hospital   see Pres   men   they be at Perf Neg
"The men who are in charge of the hospital, they have not been there"

haussik vasre is the complete relative, with head morori coreferential to substitute me, subject of the main verb kaŋget
haussik is complement of vasre

a   tiɣi   taɣʌ   saŋgre maʔmu,   nʌ ŋgo vasat
this   straight   come up LR   go Pres   child   he   me see Past
"This child that walks well, he saw me"

a tiɣi tʌ saŋgre is the complete relative, with head maʔmu, coreferential to substitute nʌ subject of the verb vasat
tiɣi taɣʌ is complement of the verb saŋgre

kur gindʌt   mot   ŋi   vayre   ndin
ear   close Past   man   story   hear Pres   Neg
"A deaf man cannot hear the story" – lit: "the man who closed the ear cannot hear the story"

kur gindʌt is the complete relative, with head mot
kur is complement of gindʌt
The coreferent, subject of of the main verb vayre has been omitted.
The verb of the relative is an imperfect past, that is, a past action, the consequences of which are still felt today.

This may express the idea that the present state of deafness is the result of a past event : "the ear got shut and then, the man became deaf".

ay,   mirʌpsye?   tayʌt   nda,   ay mʌkare
we   ancestor-cloth   put on Past those   we be at Pres prog
"We, those who put on the ancestor's cloth (went through initiation), we are here"

mirʌpsye? tayʌt is the complete relative, with head the pronoun nda, coreferential to ay subject of makare
mirʌpsye? is object of tayʌt
ay appears twice in the sentence, the first time as focalisation, the second time as subject of verb makare

ndendi, ay gi kivʌt   nda,   me   rwē   saŋgre ndin
today   we after come Past those   they   forest   go Pres Neg
"Today, those who come after us (the next generation) do not go to the forest (do not undergo intiation)"

ay gi kivʌt is the complete relative with head the personal pronoun nda, coreferential to me, subject of saŋgre
ay is complement of gi

ma?mu, mam   sat   va?   poroyo   mbirat   nan,   nʌ kembi nʌ
child   mother father   with   meet ch   sit down Past property,   he only   he
a   ri?   yem   ŋgʌryʌ,   moŋgo
this   things   thought   take ch   makeLR
"This child that sits down with his father and mother, only he will get the knowledge to make (the things according to traditional way)"

mam sat va? poroyo mbirat is the complete relative clause, with head nan,
The co-referential substitute nʌ is subject of the verb ŋgʌryʌ
mam sat va? is complement of mbirat
Note that the co-referrential element nan stands within the relative for the noun ma?mu that occupies the topic slot, in sentence-initial position.

6.2.2. The co-referential of the main clause is object of the verb

a   mot , nʌ   rao,   to   moŋgre   ri?   ŋgʌryʌ, saŋgat
this   man   he   sun   house   make Pres things   take ch   go Past
"At dawn,   this man,   he went and took the tools that make the house"

to moŋgre is the complete relative
to is object of moŋgre
The pronoun co-referrential in the main clause has been omitted

a   tiɣi   taɣʌ   saŋgre maʔmu, ŋgo vasat
this straight   come up LR   go Pres   child   I   see Past
"This child that walks well, I saw"

a tiɣi taɣʌ saŋgre is the complete relative, with head maʔmu
tiɣi ta is complement of saŋgre
The coreferent has been omitted

ŋgo a teri   swaʔre   maʔmu   ŋgo nʌ vasat
I this hurry R   run Pres   child   I   him see Past
"This child that runs quickly, I saw him"

a teri swaʔre is the complete relative, with head maʔmu.
The co-referential to the substitute nʌ is object of the verb vasat
teri is complement of swaʔre

meri   mbwiʔ   moŋgre   vʌvus   yembʌt   din
woman fishing net make Pres similarity   know Past Neg
"The woman didn't know the way that makes the fishing basket"

mbwiʔ moŋgre is the complete relative, with head vʌvus
mbwiʔ is complement of moŋgre
The co-referrential element, object of the main verb yembat din, has been omitted

ŋgo a   twã   mbukre   mot   ŋunirʌk   vasat
I   this   talk   speak Pres man   village-centre   see Past
"I saw this loquacious man at the village center" = lit.: "I see at the village center this man who speaks the talk"

a twã mbukre is the complete relative , with head mot
twã is complement of mbukre
a determines mot
The co-referrential element, object of the main verb vasat, has been omitted

mʌriri sʌk ŋgʌre   reʔ ŋgʌrɣʌ, mesindip saŋgat
women fish take Pres thing take ch beach   go Past
"Having taken the thing that takes the fish, the women went to the beach"

sʌk ŋgʌre is the complete relative, with head reʔ
sʌk is complement of ŋgʌre
The coreferent object of ŋgʌrɣʌ has been omitted.

mʌri   mbwiʔ   moŋgre   ŋgʌri, vis,   ŋgʌrat
woman fishing net   make Pres   vine, pandanus take Past
"The woman took the vine that makes the fishing basket, the pandanus vine"

mbwiʔ moŋgre is the complete relative, with head ŋgʌri
mbwiʔ is complement of moŋgre
The co-referrential object of ŋgʌrat has been omitted

6.2.3. The co-referential element of the main clause is complement of the main verb

saŋʌ mi, ŋgo nan   mbẽ   dʒye?, nʌ to   kwapar nu
go LR so, I property old garden go R it before river nearness
kaŋget nan,   ŋgo mʌsaŋʌ
be at Perf property I go LR Prog
"As I go, I go to my old garden, the one which had been before near the river, there I go"

to kwapar nu kaŋget is the complete relative, with head nan
to kwapar nu is complement of kaŋget

6.3.   The objective relative clause

ay ma?mu ,ay sarar   toŋor   moŋgoŋget tap, ay nʌ gi   saŋgre
we child our fathers grandfathers make Perf   custom we it behind go
Pres
"We children, we follow the custom that our fathers and grand-fathers made"

ay sarar toŋor moŋgoŋget is the complete relative, with head tap
ay sarar toŋor is subject of moŋgoŋget

a   ŋaŋar , mamʌri   moŋgre   ŋaŋar, me   nʌ moŋgre
this work   women   make Pres   work   they   it make Pres
"This work, work that is done by women, they do it"

mamʌri moŋgre is the complete relative, with head ŋaŋar
mamʌri is subject of moŋgre
ŋaŋar is object of moŋgre

me   ay moŋgot   tap   moŋgot   din
they we make Past   custom make Past Neg
"This custom that we made, they did not follow "

ay moŋgot is the complete relative, with head tap
ay is subject of moŋgot
The coreferential, object of the main verb moŋgot din, is omitted.

6.4. Special case: the main clause is a non-verbal clause

a   tyʌp, nʌ ŋuni rikre   tyʌp
This road it village   go down Pres road
"This road is the road that goes down to the village"

ŋuni rikre is the complete relative, with head tyʌp
ŋuni is complement of rikre

a   nenep,   nʌ mweys kivʌt   nenep
this rubbish,   it   sea   come Past   rubbish
"This rubbish, it is (drift) rubbish that came by the sea"

mweys kivʌt is the complete relative, with head nenep
mweys is complement of kivʌt
nenep appears in first position of sentence as focalisation, and is repeated through the
personal pronoun nʌ

a   kʌn,   nʌ kor   moŋgrene kʌn, me   nʌ vʌrʌt
this tree, it   canoe make Fut   tree, they it fell Past
"This tree, the one that would make a canoe, they felled it"

kor moŋgrene is the complete relative, with head kʌn
kʌn is subject of moŋgrene
kor is complement of moŋgrene

ay sarar toŋor   moŋgoŋget tap,   nʌ ay   nan
our fathers grandfathers make Perf   custom   it our   property
"The custom of our fathers and grandfathers, it is ours"

ay sarar toŋor moŋgoŋget is the complete relative, with head tap
ay sarar toŋor is subject of moŋgoŋget

CHAPTER IV. SUBSTITUTES

1. INTRODUCTION

Substitutes such as personal pronouns, demonstratives or undefined determinants, may
function as head of noun phrase; they may be followed by such noun determinants
quantifiers or selectors (For determinants of the substantive, see III.4).

- Substitutes may replace any noun and adjective, as present in column 3 and 4, and any
noun phrase:

1. mʌri yandi mbuni kivʌt,   ni kivʌt
   woman good   two   come Past Dl come Past
"Two good women came, both came"

2. a   kembi mʌriri yeŋgi ndʒeʔ kivʌt,   me kivʌt
   this other   women pretty a few   come Past, they come Past
"These other few pretty women themselves came, they came"

-    The personal pronouns may be determined by any numeral and by any undefined
     quantifier , and by any selector.

3. me   mbribin num kivʌt
   they three   self come Past
"The three of them themselves came"

4. me ndʒe? dumur kivʌt
   they few   all   come Past
"The few of them all came"

5. ay mbribin nembi   kivʌt
   we three   together come Past
"The three of us came together"

- Within a question, the subtitutes may be followed by nendʒi; in that case, no quantifier will be allowed, but well any selector.

6. me   nembi   nendʒi   kivʌt
   they together how many come Past
"How many of them came together ?"

- The interrogative substitutes mindi, nay, rire? may replace a noun or a noun phrase:

7. a   meri yandi num kivʌt.   mindi kivʌt ?
   this woman pretty self come Past. Who   come Past
"This pretty woman came herself" "Who came ?"

8. ŋgo mondet   ɲuni vor sangre moŋgre. nay   saŋgre moŋgre?
   I   over there village big go Pres make Pres where go Pres make Pres ?
"I want to go to that big village over there" "Where do you want to go ?"

- The question word nendʒi may replace a noun phrase preferably containing a numeral or at least a quantifier :

9. ŋgo ma?mu siɣat mribin vasat.   nendʒi   vasat?
   I   child small three see Past how many see Past ?
"I saw three small children" "How many did you see ?"

- When replacing the head of the noun phrase, the demonstrative may be determined by any numeral or undefined quantifiers, and by any selector:

a   mbribin kembi kivʌt
this three   alone come Past
"These three came on their own"

kʌn mbuni, ŋgo ɲʌndet mbinʌ num to   vasat
ree two   I   this side one self first see Past
"Two trees, I saw this very one on this side first"

- the numerals and undefined quantifiers may be followed by one or two selectors:

kʌnri reʔ vat, ŋgo mbinʌ num kembi to vasat, nʌ reʔ vor
trees thing numerous I one self alone first see Past it thing big
"Lots of trees, I saw one itself on its own first, it was big"

meri nendʒi, dumur nembi kivʌt
women how many all together come Past
"How many women, they all came together"

2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS :

ŋgo, mo, nʌ, ay, ŋga, ne, me, nda, ni, neni

Personal pronouns are distinguished by
- first and second person as locutor and allocutor, that is, the two participant personal pronouns,
- third person, delocutor, non participant
- by number, as singular, dual and plural

	Sing	Dual	Plural
First	ŋgo	ŋga	ay
Second	mo	ŋga	ne
Third	nʌ	ni	me/nda

reciprocal	neni

The personal pronouns receiving special comments are the pronouns for dual, ni and ŋga, the pronouns for third person, singular and plural, nʌ, and nda, and the reciprocal neni.

2.1. Dual n i

The pronoun ni is delocutive, referring to two persons, objects or actions different from the locutor or the allocutor.
It may also follow the demonstrative substitutes when they substitute for a noun in dual.

kor a ndumi a, ŋgo ni ŋgʌrat
taro and sweet potato and I Dl take Past
"Taro and sweet potato, I took both"

maʔmuni mõ a maʔ a, ni kivʌt, ŋgo ni vasat
child Dl girl and boy and Dl come Past I both seePast
"Both children, the girl and the boy, came, I saw them both"

motni mbuni rwē saŋgʌ, ni mot nin rʌyam vurin raŋgat
man Dl two forest go LR Dl man one pig one of two shoot Past
"Two men went to the forest, one of both men shot one of the two pigs"

ma?muni   saŋgat   ŋgo   ni kwapar nu   vasat
child Dl   go Past   I   Dl   river   nearness   see Past
"Both children left. I saw them both by the river"

ŋgo rʌyam re?   vat   ande?   ni   siyatni, ŋaya   ni
I   pigs   thing numerous this here Dl   small   those there Dl
vor bidi,   miyo   ni vor pesi
big   somewhat   that over there Dl   big very
"I have lots of pigs, the two here small, the two there bigger, the two over there very big"

ŋgo kʌnri vasat,   ŋʌndet   ni   to   vasat,   mondet
I   tree pl   see Past   on this side Dl   before   see Past   on that side
ni gi   vasat
Dl   after   see Past
"I saw trees, the two on this side I saw first, the two on that side I saw later"

to   re?   vat,   monbã   ni   yandini , ŋʌnbã   ni pare?
house thing numerous,   over there Dl   good   Dl   over here   Dl   bad
"Lots of houses, those two in the back, good ones, those two in the front, bad ones "

2.2. Dual ŋga

ŋga is a dual that may refer to two distinct concepts:

- it may be used as a first person plural, the equivalent of "both of us", that is, the speaker, and the allocutor, or the speaker and a third person:

john, ŋga ŋuni   kip
John   Dl village   go SR
"John , let's both go to the village"

john ŋga ŋuni   kivʌt
John Dl   village   go Past
John and me, both of us went to the village"

- it may also be used as the second person dual, that is allocutor and a third person, that is "both of you".
The ambiguity as to whether the speaker is included in ŋga or not is not lifted.

john   ŋga ŋuni   kivʌt
John   Dl   village   go Past
"John and you, both of you went to the village"

mindi ŋga kivʌt ?
who   Dl   come Past
"Who are the two persons that came ?"
(and I know that you are one of them, who is the other one?)

2.3. Third person singular nʌ

The language distinguishes two uses for the third person singular pronoun nʌ:

- the most common one is as the personal pronoun, delocutive, replacing a noun in singular, standing for a person, an object or an event.

a   mot ŋuni   kɨvʌt,   nʌ mareʔ mbare   moŋgre
this man village   come Past he food   eat Pres   make Pres
"This man came to the village, he wanted to eat food"

sʌtʌmʌkʌ nʌ tõ   vor saŋgʌ,   nʌ nʌ ŋasri ŋarγʌ gʌʔ   ŋgureʔ
satamaka he old man big go LR   he him bananas cut ch get up R hang R
"Satamaka, the old man, went, cut his bananas and hung them up"

a   ŋyeʔ, ŋgo nan   neʔ nʌ ŋgurʌʔ mʌkare
this pot   I   property for it   hang R   be at prog Pres
"This pot, it is hanging there for me, for my own use"

a   tu,   me nʌ hansa be   kot
this place   they it hansa bay   call Past
"They called this place Hansa Bay"

2.4. Third person plural nda

nda is the pronoun used as a substitute for a noun in plural with an added meaning of possession "those of..."; indeed, although it is encountered in isolation, it is often preceded - determined - by a noun or a pronoun.
nda may be used in a general sense, as in the first example, but it is also commonly used to refer to the members of one's family, "those of that family, of that clan", as in the second example.

ŋgo tonik   saŋgʌ,   ŋgo nda   ŋgʌrat
I   house-inside   go LR   those things take Past
"I went inside the house and took my things"

ŋgo ŋuni saŋgʌ , martin nda   twã   mbukre
I   village go LR   martin those talk   talk Pres
"I went to the village to talk to Martin's family"

Note the difference in meaning between nda "those of" and me "they" through the next example: me, in apposition after the proper noun, refers to "those of the same age group as Martin" or "the group Martin is part of".

ŋgo ŋuni   saŋgʌ,   martin me   vasat
I   village   go LR   martin they see Past
"I went to the village and saw Martin and his (age) group"

john   nan   ma?muri   a   mut a   saŋgat. ŋgo john nda   kwapar
john   property   children   and wife and go Past   I   John those   river
 nu   vasat
nearness see Past

"John's wife and children left. I saw his family by the river"

– nda has another use: immediately after all demonstratives substitutes described in the next chapter, it is used to mark their plural.

ŋgo rʌyamri re?   vat,   ande?   nda siyatri, ŋaya   nda vor
I   pigs   thing numerous this here those small   that one there those
big bidi,   miyo   nda vor pesi
somewhat that over there those big   very

"I have lots of pigs, these ones here small, those ones there bigger, those ones over there very big"

ŋgo kʌni   vasat,   ŋʌndet   nda me to   vasat,   mondet
I   tree Dl   see Past   on this side those   them before see Past   on that side
 nda me   gi   vasat
those them after see Past

"I saw trees, the ones on this side I saw first, the ones on that side I saw later"

to   re?   vat,   monbã   nda yeŋgi   ŋʌnbã   nda
house thing numerous, over there those good Pl over here those
 pare?
bad

"Lots of houses, the ones in the back good, the ones in the front bad"

2.5. Reciprocal n e n i

neni is used to express reciprocity of action, as subject or object, translated by "each other".
It may be used for first, second or third person plural.

meri mbuni kwapar kayʌ,   morokam   vayyʌ,   neni   vasat
woman two   river   be at Ch , man-voice   hear Ch , each other   look Past

"The two women at the river, heard the man's voice, looked at each other"

morori rʌyamsʌk nin   neni   ŋganʌngat
men   pig-meat some   each other give Past

"The men gave each other some pig meat"

ne   dumur neni   vasat,   neni   par   ŋgʌrat
you   all   each other   see Past each other hand   take Past

"You all heard the man's voice, you looked at each other"

2.6. Determinants of the Substitutes

The personal pronouns may be followed by a number of noun determinants, namely:
- the undefined determinants num nembi kembi nendi dumur dumni
- the numerals
- the question word nendʒi

(See III.3. and III.4.)

These determinants behave after substitutes as they do after substantives for instance, nembi may only follow substantives in plural, dumni, substitutes in dual, etc.

ay   dumur ŋuni   saŋgat
we   all   village go Past
"We all went to the village"

ne   nembi   saŋgre o vanen ?
you together   go Pres   or Neg
"Are you going together or no ?"

me   kembi dumur sʌk ŋgʌre   saŋgat
they alone   all   fish take Pres go Past
"They all went on their own to catch fish"

ŋgo martin nda   num nendi vasat
I   martin those self only see Past
"I saw Martin's relatives themselves only"

ŋgo rinik   saŋgʌ , kirʌp   riɣare,   me nembi   ŋgʌrat
I   garden-inside go LR   vegetable look for Pres them together take Past
"I went to the garden to look for vegetables, I took them all together"

mot siɣat mbribin ŋuni kivʌt,   ŋgo me   mbribin vasat
man small three   village come Past , I them three   see Past
"Three small men came to the village, I saw the three of them"

mʌri   ndʒe? kivʌt.   me kembi gur   kivʌt
woman a few come Past . they alone yesterday   come Past
"Some women came, they came on their own yesterday"

mʌri   re? vat   dumur kivʌt.   nendʒi   dumur kivʌt
woman thing numerous all   come Past how many   all   come Past
"A lot of women all came together" "How many came in total ?"

184

3. DEMONSTRATIVE SUBSTITUTES

3.1. Demonstrative a

As a substitute, a is most often anaphoric, referring to something mentioned by, or known to, the speaker.

a may replace substantives in singular, dual and plural; however, when substituting for substantives in dual and plural, it is most often followed by ni and nda, the personal pronouns described earlier in IV.2.1 and IV.2.4..

ma?mu saŋgat. ŋgo a kwapar nu vasat
child go Past I this river nearness see Past
"The child left. I saw this one by the river"

a ma?meŋgiri mesindip saŋgat . ŋgo a vasʌɣʌ, mu ŋuni mbʌt
this children beach go Past I these see Ch night village come back Past
"These children went to the beach. I saw those came back to the village at night."

ŋgo a tyʌp vasat, a vegen ŋuni mʌndʒye
I this road see Past , this nubia village go R Prog
"I saw the road, the one that goes to Nubia village"

mi rʌpkam, ma?mu nʌ a vayt
ancestor-voice child he this listen Past
"The ancestor's voice, the child listened to that one"

This demonstrative is often used to introduce direct speech of a quote. In that case, it is often followed by the verb mbuɣu "speak", or yeŋgʌ "ask":

ŋgo a mbuɣut:"..."
I this speak Past
"I said this:"........" "

3.2. Space demonstratives

The demonstrative substitutes express a demonstrative value complemented by a value of situation in space.

All space demonstratives, when isolated, substitute for substantives in singular.
When they substitute for substantives in dual or plural form, they are followed by, respectively, ni and nda.
They may followed by nan as a reinforcement in singular.

3.2.1. Demonstrative of proximity: ande?, ŋaya, miyo

These three demonstratives function complementarily, expressing progressive distance from the speaker, while remaining within close range.
ande? is "this one here", ŋaya is "that one there", while miyo is "that one over there".

185

ŋgo kori mbribin, ande? siɣat, ŋaya   vor ,
I   canoes three   this here small   that one there big
bidi,   miyo   vor pesi
somewhat that one over there big indeed
"I have three canoes, this one here small, that one there bigger, that one over there very big"

mo to mbribin vas, ande? nan   ŋgo nan;   ŋaya   nan
you house three   see SR, this here property my   property that there property
ŋgo nan   ndwā miyo   nan,   nʌ mbrit
my   property brother that one over there   property it collapse Past
"See the three houses; this one here is mine, that one there belongs to my brother, that one over there has collapsed"

3.2.2. Demonstratives of localization: ŋʌndet, mondet

ŋʌn and mon have a complementary meanings: ŋʌndet designates what is "this on the side of the speaker", while mondet designates "that on the other side", away from the speaker.

ŋʌndet may be translated by "the one on this side", mondet will be "the one on that side".

ŋgo kʌni mbuni vasat   , ŋʌndet   nʌ to   vasat, mondet
I   tree Dl two   see Past on this side it before see Past on that side
nʌ gi vasat
it after see Past
"I saw two trees, the one on this side I saw first, the one on that side I saw later"

mʌri mbuni mondet   yandi, ŋʌndet   yā vanen
woman two   on that side good,   on this side good Neg
"Two women, the one on that side is nice, the one on this side isn't"

ŋgo kori mbribin, mondet   ni siɣat , ŋʌndet   nan   vor
I   canoes three   on that side two small   on this side property big
"I have three canoes, two over there are small, the one over here is big"

3.2.3. Orientational demonstratives: ŋʌnbā / monbā, gunbā/ŋgenbā

ŋʌnbā/monbā, gunbā/ŋgenbā are four orientational demonstratives of complementary function, both in pairs, and all four together.

In pairs,
- as seen earlier, ŋʌnbā, monbā designate what is "on the side of the speaker", and "on the other side, further away".
– gunbā/ŋgenbā designate what is on the left hand side, and on the right hand side.

For orientation in space, all four demonstratives function in complementarity:
from a *unique* , *single*, point of view, that of the speaker, or that of a person or an object he
is referring to, ɳʌnbā and monbā will refer to the front and the back , while ɳgenbā and
gunbā will refer, respectively, to the left and the right.

to	mbuni,	monbā	yandi	ɳgo	nan,	ɳʌnbā	pare?	mo	nan
house	*two,*	*in the back*	*good*	*I*	*property,*	*in the front*	*bad*	*you*	*property,*

"Two houses, the one in the back is good, it is mine, the one in the front is bad, it is yours"

mot	mbuni,	gunbā	po?	ɳgʌryʌ,	ɳgenbā	kor	pa?	tarot
man	*two*	*right*	*paddle*	*take Ch*	*left*	*canoe*	*push R*	*finish Past*

"Two men, the right one took the paddle, the left pushed the canoe"

mo	ɳgʌrʌsim	kare.	ɳgʌp	pʌur	vas,	ɳʌnbā	nʌ	ɳgo
you	*mountain-top*	*be at Pres*	*mountain*	*four*	*see SR*	*in front*	*it*	*my*

ɳuni	nan,	monbā	nʌ	kembi	ɳuni	nan,
village	*property*	*in the back*	*it*	*other*	*village*	*property*

ɳgenbā	re?	vor	,	nʌ	ponme?	ɳuni	nan,	gunbā	nʌ	ɳgo	ɳuni	nan
left	*thing*	*big*		*it*	*sister*	*village*	*property*	*right* ,	*it*	*my*	*village*	*property*

"You are on top of the mountain, see the 4 mountains: the one in front of you belongs to
my village, the one at the back belongs to another village, the one on the left is big, it
belongs to my sister's village, the one on the right belongs to my village"

4. QUANTIFYING SUBSTITUTES

4.1. Numerals

All numerals may function as substitutes.
Not surprisingly, mbi nʌ, "one", will substitute for a noun in singular, mbuni, "two", for a
noun in dual, and all the other for substantives in plural.

mot	nendʒi	kivʌt	mbinʌ,	pari ?
man	*how much*	*come Past*	*one,*	*ten ?*

"How many men came, one, ten ?"

motni	mbuni	rwē	saɳgʌ,	mbinʌ	rʌyam	raɳgat
man Dl	*two*	*bush*	*go LR*	*one*	*pig*	*shoot Past*

"Two men went bush, one shot a pig"

mot	mbribin	kivʌt,	mbinʌ	re?	kot,	mbuni	tapni
man	*three*	*come Past*	*one*	*thing*	*long*	*two*	*short Dl*

"Three men came, one tall, two short ones"

ɳgo	ndumiri	pʌur	vasat	,	mbuni	yā,	mbuni	pare?
I	*sweet potato*	*four*	*see Past*		*two*	*good*	*two*	*bad*

"I saw four sweet potatoes, two good ones, two bad ones"

```
mot    re?    vat    ŋuni kivʌt,    pari,    mot    vor    vasʌre moŋgre
```
man thing   numerous village come Past   ten   man   big   see Pres   make Pres
"Lots of men came to the village, 10 of them, they wanted to see the chief"

4.2. Undefined quantifiers: n i n, n d ʒ e ?, v u r i n

4.2.1. "some, a certain": n i n

As a substitute, n i n may replace a noun in singular only.
Substantives in dual and plural are respectively substituted by n i and n d a.
In an affirmative clause, n i n means "one", with reference to a context made clear earlier.
In opposition to the numeral mbinʌ, "one", n i n expresses undefinition, closer to the English "some", or to the French "en".

```
ŋgo mesindip kiɣʌ,    kor    mbuni trwʌ?re    vasat. ŋgo sā    vos
```
I   beach   come Ch   canoe   two   drift Pres   see Past   I   go SR   paddle SR
```
nin    nu    mʌndʒyere
```
some nearness   go Pres Prog
"I came to the beach and saw two canoes drifting. I paddled to get close to one of them"

```
meriri    sʌk mʌmu?re    .    nin mbuɣut: "...."
```
woman   fish catch Pres Prog   some say Past :
"Two women were fishing. One said:..."

```
nʌ sʌk vasat,    ŋga mbare    nin ŋgʌr,...
```
he fish see Past ,   both   eat Pres   some take R
"He saw the fish, took the one meant to be eaten by both (women)"

```
ŋgo ŋunimoror kam    vayɣʌ    nin    kwapar nu    vasat
```
I   village-men voice   hear Ch , some   river   nearness seePast
"I heard the voice of village men, saw one by the river"

- In a negative clause, this reference is cancelled by the negation: n i n combined with the negation v a n e n in a verbless clause, or n d i n in a verb clause, is used to express "none".

```
mot nin kare?    .nin    vanen
```
man one   be at Pres ?   some   Neg
"Is anybody here? Nobody"

```
meri    mbribin    rwērʌk    kare    ŋuni nin vanen
```
women   three   forest-middle   be at Pres   village some Neg
"Three women were in the forest; none (were) in the village"

```
nderi nʌ    nin    ŋgʌnaŋgat    din
```
rat   him   some   give Past   Neg
"The rat did not give him any   "

- As a substitute, nin is often encountered in repetition nin...nin..., each time introducing a verbal or non-verbal phrase: "This one... that one..."

mʌri   mbuni tyʌvʌkam kare,   nin maʔmu kot,   nin   kam   neʔ   vayt
woman two   roadside   be at Pres   some child   call Past   one   voice   for   listen
Past

"Two women are on the road, one is calling the child , one is listening for its voice"

4.2.2. "some, a few": ndʒeʔ

ndʒeʔ is used to refer to "some, several, as part of a group".
It refers to part, but not the totality of the group of entities considered.
ndʒyeʔ substitutes for the noun in plural.
The noun vaʔ "group, together, inclusion", may follow to emphasize the togetherness of the group of entities considered.

meri   mbinʌ kembi yembre   a riʔ   mongre,   ndʒeʔ   vanen
woman one   kind   know Pres   this things   make Pres ,   a few   Neg .
"One woman only knows how to make these things, not several"

Like nin, ndʒeʔ is used in repetition, introducing a verbal or non verbal clause:

mot   nan   reʔ   ŋaŋar moŋgo,   ndʒeʔ mesindip saŋgat,   ndʒeʔ   rwē
man property   thing work   make LR,   some   beach   go Past   a few   forest
saŋgat
go Past
"The men do their work, some go to the beach, some go to the forest"

4.2.3. "one of two": vurin

vurin substitutes for a noun in singular, as "one out of two" persons, objects or actions.

mʌrini   mbuni rinik   saŋgat.   rʌyam vurin   vasat
woman Dl   two   garden-inside go Past   pig   one of two   see Past
"Two women went to the garden. The pig saw one of them"

motni   rwē   saŋgʌ.   vurin   rʌyam vor raŋgat
man Dl   forest go LR   one of two   pig   big   shoot Past
"Two men went to the forest, one of them shot a big pig"

ŋgo vurin   kor   vasat
I   one of two   canoe   see Past
"I saw the canoe of one of them (two)"

5. INTERROGATIVE SUBSTITUTES

The interrogative substitutes are: nʌwtʌ "how, nʌwso "which day", nay "where", mindi "who", and rire? "what".
None of them take the mark of dual and plural.

5.1. "How" nʌwtʌ , "Which day" nʌwso

nʌwtʌ is used to elicit information as to the manner in which something has happened or has been done, "how ?".
nʌwso is used to elicit information as to "what day ?" an action or an event is taking place (so means "day")

nʌw has not been encountered in independent use; it may have been an interrogative morpheme in a former stage of the language. Just like nʌwso may be decomposed in nʌw "which" and so "day', nʌwtʌ may be the vestigial form of nʌw tap, literally, "which way, which custom", as tap is a noun meaning "custom, way of doing, tradition".

mo   nʌwtʌ a   ndʒet moŋgot?
You how this basket make Past
"How did you make this basket ?"

me   nʌwtʌ a   kʌn vʌrʌt,   ŋgo yembre   ndin
they how this tree fell Past   I   know Pres Neg
"How they cut downthis tree, I don't know"

mo   nʌwso   dʒyierene?
You what day   go Fut
"What day will you go ?"

5.2. "where": nay

nay is the question word used to elicit information about the place where the action that is referred to is taking place. It may be used to express a location in the expression nay tu or a direction when it is followed by the proposition te? from".

mo   nay saŋgat?
you where go Past
"Where did you go ?"

mo   ŋuni   nay kare?
you village where be at Pres
"Where is your village ?"

mo   mindi nay   vasat?
you who   where see Past
"You saw who where ?"

mo   nay   tuni   saŋgat?
you where place Dl go Past
"Which two places did you go to?"

mo   nay   te?   kivʌt?
you where from   come Past
"Where are you coming from ?"

5.3. "how many" : nendʒi

nendʒi is the question word used to elicit information as to the number of persons or objects that is referred to.

It most often follows the noun designating the person, object or action considered, but may also appear in isolation, once the context is established.

mot   nendʒi   kibrene?
man   how many come Fut
"How many men will come ?"

mot   mbribin kibrene.   nendʒi?
Man   three   come Fut   how many
"Three men will come" "How many?"

- it may feature a rhetorical use in narrations:

sʌk re?   vat,   tabe,   biris,   mbinʌ, mbuni, nendʒi
fish thing numerous trevally barracuda one   two   how many
ŋgʌrat
catch Past
"Lots of fish, trevally, barracuda, one, two, how many did she catch..."

5.4. "who": mindi

mindi is the question word used to elicit information as to the person who is the subject or the object of the action.

It substitutes for the noun in singular, dual and plural form.

It may followed by a personal pronoun and/or focus marker.

For greater accuracy it will be followed by , ni, or ŋga, according to whether the object of the question is several persons, two persons, or two persons including the person to which the question is addressed.

mo   mindi vasat?
you who   see Past
"Who did you see ?"

mindi kivʌt ?
who   come Past
"Who came ?"

nʌ ŋgo mbuyut,   mindi me dumur kivʌt
she me say Past   who they all   come Past
"She told me who all came"

mindi num   kɨvʌt ?
who   self   come Past
"Who "exactly" came ?"

ŋaya   kyao, mindi kyao? miyo   kyao, mindi nan?
This here   dog   who   dog   there over there dog   whom property
"This dog here, whose dog is it? That dog over there, whose is it"

mindi ni num kɨvʌt?
who   Dl come Past
"Which two (people) exactly came ?"
mindi ŋga kɨvʌt
who   Dl   come Past
"Who are the two persons that came ?"
(and I know that you are one of them, who is the other one)

5.5. "what": r i r e?

r i r e? is the question word used to ask about an object or an event.
It generally substitutes a noun or noun phrase in singular, dual and plural.
However, it may also be followed by the noun singular, dual, plural re?, re?ri "thing",
for greater precision. The expression appears as quite rigidified, as r i r e? itself has been
formed from the noun re?, "thing".

mo rire? vasat?
you what see Past
"What did you see ?"

mo   kyao rire? vasat?
you dog   what   see Past
"You saw the dog's what ?"

rire? kare?
What   be at Pres
"What is there ?"

mo rire? re?   vasat?
you what thing see Past
"What thing did you see ?"

mo rire? re?ri vasat?
you what things see Past
"What things did you see ?"

CHAPTER IV. THE VERB

1. INTRODUCTION

As said earlier in the introduction to nominals, the language commonly features nomino-verbals that may take the value of a verb, a substantive or an adjective, according to different modalities and syntax.

Nominals and verbs are little differentiated. The analysis shows the morphological similarities between verb root and nominal root, and it give examples of their respective syntactical use.

Most of the verbs may be nominalised and/or adjectivized, whereas some nouns and adjectives may not be verbalised.

The verb is characterized by:
- the ability to fill the head position in a verb phrase
- the ability to take the conjugation marks for mood and tense
- the ability to take the negation mark characteristic of each mood and tense
- the ability to commute with words belonging to the same category

Examples in III.0 have shown how the same lexical unit may take a verbal, nominal or adjectival value.

2. THE VERB ROOT

The verb root may present various phonological and syllabic structures that will determine the morphological changes.

The following phonemes may occupy the final position in the structural verb root:
- a vowel or semi-vowel
- the glottal ʔ
- the flap r
- the fricative s
- the prenasalised ŋg,mb
- the occlusives k,p,t:

The phonological changes upon realization of the verb root are as follows:

- For the roots ending with a vowel or semi-vowel, and ʔ: no change
dwi "swim"
vay "hear"
paʔ "arrive, push"

The structural roots ending with r, s, mb, ŋg, k, p, t all have two possible realizations: a "long" root, with added vowel, and then consonant alternance if applicable, and a "short" root, similar to the structural root, or ending with nasalized vowel.
The long root is glossed LR, the short root is glossed SR.

The root that offers only one option is glossed R.

- For verb root ending with r,s : a segment may be added: this morpheme is a vowel, harmonized on the vowel of the preceding syllable.

| ŋar | ŋarʌ | "hit" |
| vas | vasʌ | "see" |

- For verb root ending with prenasalised mb, ŋg, two alternatives are available:
    -    suffixation of harmonized vowel, and creation of a "long" root:

| gusgumb | gusgumbu | "be ashamed" |

moŋg	moŋgo	"make "
yeŋg	yeŋge	"ask "
kiŋg	kiŋgi	"cough"
kesuŋg	kesuŋgu	"give back",

thus resulting in a realized long root, LR.

- drop of the occlusive trait, b and g, and nasalisation of the final vowel, except if this vowel is high (rules 11, 12):

ex:	moŋg	moŋ	mo mõ	"make !"
	yeŋg	yeŋ	mo yẽ	"ask !"
	ŋgʌnaŋg	ŋgʌnaŋ	mo ŋgʌnā̃	"give !"
	kiŋg	kiŋ	mo ki	"cough !"
	kesuŋg	kesuŋ	mo kesu	"give back !"

- For verb root ending with occlusives k,p,t: there may occur addition of harmonized vowel , then consonant alternance (rule 5), resulting in a long root LR.

	kip-ʌ		/kivʌ/	"come"
	mbuk-u		/mbuɣu/	"speak"
	kʌt-ʌ		/kʌrʌ/	"cut"

The short root has always been encountered when the root is used as an optative.
Both long and short roots have been encountered for root used as indicative.

3. VERB ROOT SYLLABLE SCHEME

Syllable schemes of realized verb roots encountered are as in the examples below:

Monosyllabic roots:
Most Awar verb roots are monosyllabic

CV	ya "cry" ɣa "sing"
CSV	kye "stand" ŋgya "look back" dʒye "go" ndʒwa "open"
CVS	vay "listen"
CSVC	ŋgwʌʔ "cook" dʒwaŋ "take out"

| CVC | ŋar "hit dʒuk "sew" ŋgʌr "take" |
| CCVC | mbra? "plant" |

Disyllabic roots
Disyllabic verb roots are frequent:

CV.CV	mba.ɣa "flap wings"
	pisã "taste good" ndʌndē "spoil"
CV.CSV	bi.sye "thread"
CV.CVC	gu.rʌ? "hang up"
CVC.CVC	mbʌk.mbʌk "blacken"

Trisyllabic roots
Only few example of trisyllabic verb roots have been encountered, of which two only are short roots. These are the first two among the examples below.
All other trisyllabic roots are disyllabic structural roots whose phonological structure requires vowel addition upon realization.

| CV.CV.CV. | piriɣi "reinforce (a construction)" keriɣi "turn" |
| | kesuŋgu "give back", ŋgʌnaŋgʌ "give", ndʒʌndʒuɣu "dry" |

4. MORPHOLOGICAL RULES

The morphological rules describe how the suffixed marks of moods and tenses, affect the verb root according to its phonological and syllabic structure.

The verb root may end with :
- the oral vowel a,e,i,o,u, the semi-vowel y,
– the occlusive ?, k, p, t,
– the fricative r, s,
– the prenasalised ŋg, mb.

Examples:

- V/semi-vowel y	ex	dwi	"swim" vay "hear"
- glottal ?	ex:	pa?	"arrive, push"
- flap r	ex:	ŋar	"hit"
- dental s	ex:	vas	"see"
- occlusives k,p,t	ex:	kip	"come"
	ex:	mbuk	"speak"
	ex:	kʌt	"cut"
– prenasalised ŋg, mb	ex	moŋg	"make"
	ex:	gusgumb	"be shy, ashamed"

The following morphological rules apply in the formation of inflected verb forms.

rule 1: in a sequence ʔ-t, ʔ is deleted, and t occupies the coda position in the syllable.

rule 2: in a sequence Vʔ-i except if V is i, ʔ is deleted and i becomes part of a complex nucleus.
If the first vowel is i, ʔ is conserved and the last i is deleted

rule 3: between any two consonants, except ʔ, there may occur insertion of a vowel, harmonized on the vowel of the preceding syllable

rule 4:
rule 4a: inserted oral vowels, central high i , medium front and back e,o, and low central a , tend to be replaced by the medium central vowel ʌ
rule 4 b: inserted high front vowel i tends to be replaced by the medium front vowel e

rule 5: upon vowel insertion, the voiceless occlusives k,p,t, in syllable-coda position alternate with, respectively, the voiced fricative ɣ,v, or the flap r, in syllable-onset intervowel position.

rule 6: when the voiceless occlusives k and p, appear before the voiced fricative ɣ, k and p may be deleted.

rule 7: in word-medial syllable-onset position, k and p followed by r may be represented by their voiced equivalent g and b.

rule 8: when preceded by the flap r, the prenasalised velar ŋg may be reduced to the simple nasal velar ŋ, then assimilated on the dental feature of r into the alveo-palatal n

rule 9: when preceded by the nasal n or the occlusive t, the flap r may be assimilated into d

rule 10: a sequence of two identical consonants or vowels is reduced to one.

rule 11: in word-final position, the prenasalised velar ŋg, bilabial mb and alveolar nd are reduced to the simple nasal, respectively velar ŋ , bilabial m and alveo-palatal n

rule 12: in word-final position, the nasal velar ŋ nasalizes the preceding vowel, except if it is a high vowel, then the nasal disappears.

rule 13: the vowel i, suffixed after a vowel, or positioned after any vowel except u in open or closed syllable, may be facultatively semi-vocalised into y

rule 14: the vowel u may be facultatively semi-vocalized in second position of vowel sequence, in open syllable, in word-final position.

rule 15: the vowels i and u are always semi-vocalized into y and w between any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant and any vowel, and between any vowel and any nasal, occlusive or fricative consonant.

rule 16: the prenasalized consonants mb, nd, ŋg preceded by m, n, t, r may be reduced to the corresponding voiced occlusive, respectively, b,g,d.

rule 17: an alveo-palatal occlusive t followed by the velar occlusive g is represented by the flap r

5. DESCRIPTION OF CONJUGATED VERB FORMS

The mood is the expression of the speaker's implication in the speech act.
The progressive aspect reflects the way the speaker presents the unfolding of the action.
The tense reflects the relative position of the speaker in time with regards to the action.

The language features:

- the indicative mood used for the transmission of information:
    - simple indicative present, future, past, perfect, narrative, uncertain future.
    - progressive indicative present, future, past, perfect, narrative.

- the injunctive mood, called here optative, that translates the will or the wish of the speaker: affirmative, negative and apprehensive optative.

- the chain mood: encountered mostly in subordinate clauses, in non-durative and durative aspect.

- the verb root has also been encountered, in durative and non-durative aspect: used as an alternative to the indicative mood, and as element of a verb series.

The progressive aspect is marked by a suffix.
Tenses are marked by suffixes.
All tenses feature the affirmative order. All except uncertain future feature the negative order.

5.1. Indicative

5.1.1. Simple Indicative

The simple indicative is used to describe actions that are habitual or repetitive, while the progressive aspect reflects the unfolding of the action.

The language features the indicative mood, in present, past and future tenses, with progressive aspect, and affirmative and negative order.

The tenses are marked by a specific suffix; the negative aspect is marked by a specific negation immediately after the verb form.

Generally speaking, the indicative is the mood dominating conversation and direct speech, for affirmative and negative statements, and for questions.

In narrations and literary stories, the indicative narrative is featured at the beginning of the story, "to set the stage", and at peak moments.

When appearing in a verb series, the indicative will be the mood of the main/final verb.

5.1.1.1. Present affirmative

Formation
The punctual present affirmative is formed by addition of the mark -re suffixed onto the structural verb root:

- No morphological changes have been observed for verb root ending with V /semi-vowel y, glottal ?, voiceless occlusive k, prenasalised ŋg, mb, and voiceless occlusive k:

ŋgo	dwire	"I swim"
ŋgo	vayre	"I hear"
ŋgo	pa?re	"I arrive"
ŋgo	mbukre	"I speak"
ŋgo	moŋgre	"I make"
ŋgo	gusgumbre	"I am ashamed"
ŋgo	kipre	"I come"

Note: for root ending with prenasalised ŋg: moŋgre features a possible alternative: monde, with an optional application of rules 8 and 9.

- for verb root ending with flap |ŋar-re| ŋgo ŋare "I hit"
Rule 10 applies.

- for root ending with fricative s : the mark of present is suffixed optionally on the long or short root: |vas-re| ŋgo vasre
                                                                                                                    |vas-ʌ-re| ŋgo vasʌre   "I see"

- for root ending with voiceless occlusive t:
                    |kʌt-re| |kʌt-te| ŋgo kʌte "I cut"
                    Rules 9 and 10 apply.

Uses

The present affirmative is used:
- most commonly in direct speech, in conversation, to refer to an action that is happening at the moment .
It is used for statements and questions.

mo   ndendi tonik   saŋgre, e?
you now   house-inside go Pres, e
"You are going home now, e?"

ŋgo tumbʌ ndumi nin   mbare
I   morning potato some   eat Pres
"I eat a potato in the morning"

meri mbinʌ kembi yembre,   a ri?   moŋgre
woman one   alone   know Pres this things   make Pres
"Only one woman knows how to do these things"

- the present , rather than the root form,   is used as the "quotation/citing" form:
upon asked to translate in Awar language, :
"How do you say: "to eat" ?"
the speaker will answer "mbare".

- in the idea of added emphasis, the repetition of a simple present may be used to
express quantity or duration , that is, an action being repeated, or stretching over a long
period of time:

gugayru   pyayɣʌ, mbare mbare,   ru pyayɣʌ   mʌmbare
gugay tree-ripeness climb Ch, eat Pres eat Pres   ripe climb Ch   eat Prog Pres
"Having climbed the ripe gugay tree, they eat and eat, having climbed the ripe tree, they
are eating"

- the present is used as an hortative, that is , to express an order or proposal to a third
person, via the interlocutor, who then becomes the bearer of the message:

nʌ gurʌp   kire
he tomorrow   come Pres
"Let him come tomorrow"

a   mʌri   nʌ yã   nʌ mire
this woman she good it   give birth Pres
"May she give birth well (in good health)"

- the present is used in a question to ask for permission for a first and third person, but
also as an answer to give permission to that third person:

nʌ sʌk mbare, e?   nʌ sʌk mbare!
he fish eat Pres   *he fish eat Pres*
"May he eat the fish ?"   "Yes, he may eat the fish"

For comparison, the next example features, in the answer, the optative used to give
permission to the second person:

ŋgo sʌk mbare, e?   mo sʌk ma !
I   fish eat Pres   *you fish   eat R*
"May I eat fish ?"   "Eat the fish (you may eat the fish)"

- in an exceptional instance, the present is used instead of the second person optative to
express a wish, for the verb kare:
mo yã   nʌ kare
you good it   be at Pres
"Be well " = look after yourself

The verb ka r e has not been encountered as a root form, but only conjugated , with suffix.

- the present may be used with a value of future, if the context is made clear enough, for instance through the use of a time word:

ŋgo gurʌp   ŋuni saŋgre
I   tomorrow village go Pres
"I am going to the village tomorrow"

- the indicative simple present is used to express an habitual truth:

ŋgo sʌk mbare   ndin, ŋgo ndwã   sʌk mbare
I   fish   eat Pres Neg   my brother fish eat Pres
"I don't eat fish, my brother eats fish"(as a habit)

- as far as tense sequencing is concerned, the present is used for the main verb of a clause, to express an intention or a goal after a verb in indicative past or root in clause chaining.
The subject is the same for both verbs, but is however not expressed in the second clause.

ŋgo swaʔreʔ riɣat,   swaʔ takre
I   fire-thing look for Past fire   build Pres
"I looked for firewood to build a fire"

me   nʌ karanik taɣʌ,   madang gʌʔre
they him car-inside lift up Ch   madang go up Pres
"They lifted him into the car, to take him to Madang"

- Still for tense sequencing, the present in a clause before the simple future in the following clause, expresses the action undertaken for the realization of an intention or a goal:

ŋgo swaʔreʔ riɣare,   swaʔ takrene
I   fire-thing look for Pres fire   build Fut
"I look for firewood to build a fire"

- coordinated clauses, each featuring a simple present , express simultaneity of action in the present

ŋgo soɣay   kirʌʔre,   reʔ ŋaŋar moŋgre
I   smoke   pull Pres   thing work   make Pes
"I smoke (while) I work"

5.1.1.2. Present negative

Formation

The mark of the negative present is the negation word ndin immediately after the affirmative present .
This formation does not bring about any morphological changes.

Uses

The present negative expresses events or actions that are commonly or specifically not happening:

mo ndendi   tonik   saŋgre ndin, e?
you now   house-inside go Pres Neg , e
"You are not going home now, e ?"

ŋgo tumbʌ ndumi nin mbare ndin
I   morning potato some eat Pres Neg
"I don't eat a potato in the morning"

ŋgo sʌk   mbare ndin
I fish   eat Pres Neg
"I don't eat fish "

ndendi mɨrʌpkam   moŋgre ndin, mɨrʌpsye? ndʒʌkre ndin
today   ancestor-voice make Pres Neg, ancestor-cloth tie Pres   Neg
"Today, they do not play the ancestor's music instruments, nor put on the ancestor's (initiation) cloth anymore"

5.1.1.3. Future affirmative

Formation

The mark of the indicative future affirmative is -rene, suffixed onto the verb root. This formation brings about the same morphological changes as those described for the formation of the simple present.

Uses

Like the other tenses of the indicative mood, the future is commonly encountered in conversations for questions and statements.
It is used also in stories, when more emphasis is required than that given by the more common narrative form.

The future appears in conversations, to express an action that will take place with certainty in a near or distant future.
We will see however how the indicative uncertain future refers to a future more distant than the simple future.

a tiɣi, ŋgo mare? bit   moŋgrene
this time I   food   a little make Fut
"At that time, I will prepare some food"

ŋga gurʌp   kor ŋgʌr paʔyʌ   vosyʌ   dʒyerene
Dl tomorrow   canoe take R push Ch paddle Ch   go Fut
"Tomorrow , taking the canoe, pushing it into the water , we will both go paddling"

yã, ŋgo a tu   ri   moŋgrene,   mo a tu...
good, I   this place garden make Fut   you this place
"Good, I will make my garden here, you (will make it) there..."

ŋgo mwin nda ay sarari twã mbuyu   mi: ay mirʌpsyeʔ ndʒʌkrene
I   size those we fathers talk say LR so we   ancestor-cloth tie up Fut
"Our fathers tell those of my age group: "Tomorrow we will wear the ancestor's cloth""
(= go through initiation)

nʌ mirene, mbuyu, moŋgi,   nʌ mʌmbey
she bear Fut say LR make Narr she go Narr Prog
"As she is about to give birth, she tells so, having done so, she goes back (to the house)"

mo ki,   gi mʌ,   o. ŋgo gindʒeʔ to   dʒyerene
you come R   after come R   o I   truly   before go Fut
"Come, follow me, o   . Truly, I will go first

mweys reʔ vor, mbombẽ   reʔ vor , ndʒok kor rweʔyʌ
sea   thing big wind   thing big   this way canoe float Ch
rikrene
go down Fut
"If the sea is big, if the wind is strong, if things are that way, the canoe as it goes on water, will sink"

me ay ŋgʌryʌ, rwẽ   mʌriyi,   mirʌpkam   mʌbindʌʔrene
they we take Ch , forest go down LR Prog , ancestor-sound   learn Fut Prog
"They take us, we go down to the forest, to learn the sound (of music) of the ancestors"

- the simple future may be used as the equivalent of an optative, to give an order or make a suggestion:

mo gurʌp tumbʌ, yum riyare   paorosim saŋgrene
you tomorrow morning shell look for Pres stone-top   go Fut
"Tomorrow morning, you will go to the reef to find shells"

- one important function of the future is to express the wish, or the intention of doing something.
It may then be translated with "wanting to do something", or "with the intention of doing, for the purpose of doing something".
For this purpose, it may be used in a relative clause, or after a verb root used as serial.

a kʌn , nʌ kor moŋgrene kʌn,   ay nʌ vʌrʌt
this tree it canoe make Fut   tree   we it fell Past
"This tree, the tree that makes canoes, we felled it"

ŋgo to moŋgrene mʌmonde,   ŋgo to mongre   tu   mʌtao
I house make Fut   make Pres Prog   I house make Pres place tidy R Prog
"I want to build a house (in the future), I am tidying the place to build it"

morori mareʔkram,   veʔkram   ŋgʌrɣʌ, gindʒeʔ,   kanmotri   ŋganʌndene
men   food-basket   sago-basket take Ch   truly   friends   give Fut
"The men take the food basket, the sago basket, indeed to offer to their friends"

mo gurʌp   tumbʌ   paorosim sã,   yum riɣarene
yo u tomorrow morning   stone-top go SR shell look for Fut
"Tomorrow morning, go to the reef , you will look for shells"

me   ay   ŋgʌrɣʌ, rwē   mʌriyi,   mirʌpkam   bindʌʔrene
they us take Ch   forest go down LR Prog ancestor-sound learn Fut
"After they have taken us, we go down to the forest where we will learn the sound of ancestors (music)"

- as far as verb sequencing is concerned, a simple future following an optative, an indicative present, a narrative, or a root as indicative, will express the final purpose of the action undertaken:

me   sʌk   neʔ mbu   mʌriɣay,   me   swaʔriʔ moŋgrene
they fish for heap look for Narr Prog they fire-things make Fut
"They look for (wood) heaps for (drying) fish, to make woodfires"

meri   ndʒeʔ   vanen mʌbindʌʔ,   a   riʔ   mondene
woman several Neg   learn R Prog   this things make Fut
"Only a few women are learning how to do these things"

mo ki,   nandep   ŋgʌrane
you come R   axe   take Fut
"Come to take the axe"
As an alternative, the same meaning may be expressed as in the following construction, with a sequence of two verb roots used as optative:
mo ki,   nandep   ŋgʌr
you come R   axe   take R
"Come and take the axe"

5.1.1.4. Negative Future : Short Verb Root + negative vanen

The indicative future negative does not morphologically belong in this section of the description, as it is not marked by a suffix like the other indicative tenses.
It has been chosen to place it here, for a complete presentation of the indicative tenses.

The root followed by the negation vanen is used to express the negative future in conversation and in narrations.
The punctual future negative is used to express that an action or an event will not take place, in a near or distant future.

maʔmengiri bivimin mesimok rweʔrene ?   me   rweʔ   vanen
children   afternoon sea   bathe Fut   they bathe R Neg
"Will the children bathe in the sea in the afternoon ?" "They won't bathe"

mo gurʌp   ŋuni saŋgrene? ŋgo sā   vanen
you tomorrow village go Fut   I go SR   Neg
"Will you go to the village tomorrow ?" "I won't go"

mo   to   mondene? ŋgo mō   vanen
you house make Fut   I   make SR Neg
"Will you build a house ?" "No, I won't"

ŋgo a miʳini   gi   dʒye? vanen
I   this women Dl after go R   Neg
"I will not follow these two women"

- the root + vanen is also encountered in literary narrations.
Its value is that of the negative of the root used as an indicative main verb.
It appears also to express the negative of verbs in narrative, as indicated in the last two
examples that feature narrative verbs in the affirmative, and root + vanen in the negative.

meys nʌ re? mongot,   kor   nʌ dwi   vanen
sea it   thing make Past   canoe it   sink R Neg
"The sea is rough, the canoe does not sink"

ndendi ma?mu mam   sat   nu   sã   vanen
today   child   mother father nearness go SR Neg
"Today, children do not stay close to their mother and father"

morori saŋga mi, a re?ri mʌmoŋgi,   ŋesi vanen
men   go LR so this things make Prog Narr   tired R Neg
"The men go, they do their work, (they are) not tired"

a   yembe nʌ kor ŋgʌrʌ   mʌsway,   mot nʌ vos   vanen
this   sail   it   canoe take Ch   run Prog Narr man he paddle R Neg
"This sail takes the canoe at great past eed, the man does not paddle"

5.1.1.5. Uncertain future

Formation

The mark of the uncertain future is -rendene suffixed onto the verb root.
It entails the same morphological changes as those brought about by the formation of
the simple future.

Uses

The uncertain future is used to express some reservations as to the certainty of a future
action or event.
It refers to a more distant future than the simple future.
The uncertainty may be caused by external factors, such as rain or lack of transport that
might hinder or prevent the event; or because of the qualities inherent to the actor (too
young, too old...); or by lack of knowledge of the speaker.

The uncertain future is used rather infrequently, although it appears both in conversation and stories.

The uncertain future appears only in affirmative order.

a   mot gurʌp   kirene, e?   mok vanen,   nʌ kirendene
this man tomorrow   come Fut   rain Neg   he come UncFut
"This man will come tomorrow, e?""If there is no rain, he maybe will come"

mok gurʌp   paʔrendene, o, ŋgo sisʌw   paʔre, o ?
rain tomorrow   come UncFut or I   hook   throw Pres
"Maybe the rain will come tomorrow, will I be able to go fishing?

5.1.1.6. Past affirmative

Formation

The past affirmative is formed on the long verb root, onto which the mark of the past −t is suffixed onto the verb root.
The formation of the simple past brings about no morphological changes for verb roots ending
- with vowel/semi vowel:

ŋgo dwit   "I swam"   ŋgo vayt "I heard"

- for root ending with r, s, ŋg, mb:

ŋgo ŋarat   "I hit"
ŋgo vasat   "I saw"
ŋgo moŋgot   "I made"
ŋgo gusgumbut "I was ashamed"

- for root ending with occlusives k,p,t:

ŋgo kivʌt   "I came"
ŋgo mbuyut   "I spoke"
ŋgo kʌtʌt   "I cut"

For root ending with glottal ʔ: ʔ disappears (rule 1)
ŋgo pat |paʔ-t| "I arrived"

Uses

The past referred to with this tense may be a near or distant past.
It may be used for statements and questions.

mo ŋuni   saŋgat,e?
you village   go Past
"You went to the village, e ?"

ore, ŋgo gur   tumbʌ   ŋuni   saŋgat
yes I   yesterday morning   village   go Past
"Yes, I went yesterday morning to the village"

- within a story or a narrative, the use of indicative past adds emphasis to the action, and marks a peak moment, more than would the use , in this context, of a more common narrative verb .

mbẽnik   gurʌʔ   gʌʔɣʌ   vaʔ, me   rwẽ   saŋgat
drum-inside hit R   come up Ch   after they forest go Past
"Having pushed him so that he went inside the drum, they went to the forest"

me   kiɣʌ   vaʔ, ŋgʌr mindʌʔɣʌ , mbẽnik   riɣi   tarot
they come Ch after, take R send Ch   drum-inside go down LR finish Past
"Having arrived, having taken him and pushed him inside, he was lying there inside the drum"

mbẽ   gwar   kirʌʔɣʌ vaʔ,   maʔ nin kaʔpan kirʌt,   nʌ
drum cut in pieces R   pull Ch   after boy some knee   cut Past   him
kaʔpan kʌrʌ   riɣit
knee   cut LR   go down Past
"Having cut the drum in pieces, they cut the man's knee, his knee was cut deep"

nʌ   mʌriɣit,   dwi   vasʌndʒi, pis   veŋget,   ndaɣʌ
he   go down ProgPast swim R in vain   wound hurt Perf   turn back LR
kirʌt
come back Past
"He was going down (into the water), tried in vain to swim, turned and came back"

ndaɣʌ   kirʌʔɣʌ   vaʔ, mandʌpsim   gʌʔ   mbirat
turn back LR   come back Ch after mangrove-top come up R sit down Past
"Having come back , he climbed on a mangrove tree and sat down"

nʌ me mbuɣu mi: " ne   tondeʔ   sã   may, poɣo ŋgo mbiɣʌ
he them say LR so   you Pl long way   go SR Neg meet Ch   me   wait Ch
mbiraʔ".   saŋgat.
sit down R   go Past
"He told them: "Don't go away, sit here together and wait for me". He went."

saŋgʌɣʌ vaʔ, ŋuni gʌʔɣʌ   vaʔ,   nan   sat   roɣormba
go Ch   after village come up Ch after   property   father decoration-basket
ŋgʌrɣʌ gʌʔ   riɣit.   ndaɣʌ   ŋgʌr riɣit
take Ch come up R go down Past turn back LR take R go down Past
"Having gone, having come to the village, he took his father's decoration basket and went down. He took it and went back down"

- the simple past is used to express a wish for a third person
(Reminder: a wish for first and second person is expressed through optative affirmative
- see that mood):

mo mindaʔ   a   maʔmu yã   nʌ mirʌt
you sister   this Child good it give birth Past
"May your sister have this child in good health!"

a   mok rinik   yā nʌ pat
this water garden-inside good it   arrive Past
"May this rain fall well in the garden"

a   maʔmu yā nʌ moŋgot, a   maʔmu yā   nʌ yaoŋgot
this child   good it make Past this child good it grow up past
"May this child do well, may this child grow well!"

a   mʌri ŋuni yā nʌ kivʌt
this woman village good she come Past
"May this woman arrive safe to the village"

- in a verb series, the simple past would be the tense of the main/final verb, after root or chain verb.

ŋandep kʌrʌt   nan   ŋgʌryʌ vaʔ, nʌ saŋgʌ mbuyut:"..."
axe   cut Past   property take Ch   after   he go R   say Past
"After they have taken the one who got cut by an axe, he went, and said:"...""

nʌ tonik . sā   gʌʔ   mbiraʔ kot:.
he house-inside go SR go up R sit down R call Past
"He went, went up in the house, sat down and called:..."

- as far as tense sequencing is concerned, the past in a clause before the present in the next clause features the action undertaken (in the past) for the completion of a goal or intention to be realized subsequently:

ŋo swaʔreʔ riyat,   swaʔ takre
I   fire-thing look for Past   fire build Past
"I looked for firewood to build a fire"

5.1.1.7. Past negative

The past negative is formed by immediately following the past affirmative with the negation ndin.
The addition of ndin only brings about the application of rule 16.

|mot kor ŋgʌrat ndin|

mot kor ŋgʌrat   din
man canoe take Past   Neg
"The man did not take the canoe"

The past negative is used for events or actions that did not take place in a near or distant past.

morori ŋuni saŋgat din, rwē saŋgat
men   village go Past Neg forest go Past
"The men did not go to the village, they went to the forest "

sat   ma?mu ne? koγʌ,   ma?mu kɨvʌt   din
father child for call Ch   child   come Past Neg
"The father called for the child, the child did not come"

5.1.1.8. Perfect affirmative

Formation

The perfect is formed on the long verb root onto which the mark of the indicative perfect affirmative -ŋget is suffixed.

This suffixation does not bring about any morphological changes:
- for the root ending with vowel/ semi vowel, glottal:

ŋgo dwiŋget   "I had swum"
ŋgo vayŋget   "I had heard"
ŋgo pa?ŋget   "I had arrived"

- for root ending with r, s, ŋg, mb:

ŋgo ŋarʌnget   "I had hit"
ŋgo vasʌnget   "I had seen"
ŋgo moŋgoŋget   "I had made"
ŋgo gusgumbuŋget   "I had been shy"

- for root ending with occlusives k, p, t:

ŋgo kɨvʌnget   "I had come"
ŋgo mbuγuŋget   "I had said"
ŋgo kʌrʌnget   "I had cut"

Uses

The perfect is commonly used in both conversation and stories, to refer to an action or an event that has taken place in the past, near or distant, but is finished or has undergone changes since then : the situation is different at the moment when the conversation takes place or the story is told.
The use of the perfect would imply: "Something was happening then, or I was doing something then, and it is finished since then, or it has changed then".

As all indicative tenses, the perfect will be the main verb in a verb series.

mo nay saŋgat?   ŋgo kwapar saŋgʌ, dʒudʒu si?ŋget
You where go Past ?   I   river   go LR, clothes wash Perf
"Where did you go ?" "I went to the river, I had been washing clothes"

tende? moŋgoŋget vʌvus
before make Perf similarity
"This is how they had been doing it before" (Title of a story)

a kondo?, nʌ rʌɣamtrur, nʌ mok nan kaŋget
this snake   it pig- hole   it water property be at Perf
"This snake, it (in the) pig-hole, it had been hiding in the mud (of the pig hole)"

mot nin mbuni mʌdʒye,   me market saŋgʌnget
man some two   come R Prog   they market   go Perf
"Two men were coming, they had been on their way to the market"

ŋuni riɣi   va?, nʌ miri   nʌ mamgeri saŋgʌ kaŋget
village come down R after his wife   his children go LR be at Perf
"They arrived to the village, his wife and his children had gone"

me nʌ meri mbuɣu   mi,   ŋuni kaŋget   ndaɣʌ   swat
they his wife say LR so , village be at Perf   go back LR run Past
"They told his wife, who came back running from the village where she had been"

nʌ mam,   nʌ nʌ kap   kaŋget,   nʌ mare?   ŋgʌr taɣʌ
her mother, she her reunion be at Perf   she food   take R bring up LR
"Her mother, who had been with her, brought her up some food"

mande   tiɣi me madaŋ dʒyʌɣʌ kaŋget
monday time they madang go Ch be at Perf
"On Monday, they had come to Madang and were (still) there"

nʌ mʌriɣit,   dwi vasʌndʒi, pis veŋget, ndaɣʌ   kirʌt
*he go down Prog Past swim R in vain   wound hurt Perf   go back R come back
Past*
"He went down (into the water), tried in vain to swim, the wound had been hurting, he turned back"

a ma?muma?, nʌ mut ŋuni saŋgʌ   kaŋget
this child –male he wife village go LR   be at Perf
"His son, he had gone to his wife's village and was (still) there"

- as far as tense sequencing is concerned, a perfect preceding present in the next clause indicates the completion of an action, leading to the following action as a consequence:

merini   mbuni ŋarɣʌ riɣiŋget,   rʌyam gugayru   mbare
woman Dl two   throw Ch go down Perf, pig   gugay tree-ripe eat Pres
"The two women had thrown (the fruit) down, the pig ate the ripe gugay fruits"

5.1.1.9. Perfect negative

The perfect negative is formed by immediately following the affirmative perfect with the negation ndin
This addition only brings about the application of rule 16.

|mot kor pa?ŋget ndin|

mot kor pa?ŋget din
man canoe push Perf Neg
"The man had not pushed the canoe"

The perfect negative is used for punctual actions that did not take place, in a near or distant past, on a particular occasion, rather than as a repetitious occurrence:

haussik vasre   morori, me   kaŋget   din
hospital look Pres men,   they be at Perf   Neg
"The staff responsible for the hospital, they were not there (when we arrived)"

mʌri gur   tumbʌ kwapar dʒudʒu si?ŋget din
woman yesterday morning river   clothe   wash Perf   Neg
"The woman did not wash the clothe at the river yesterday"

5.1.1.10. Narrative

Formation
The mark of the simple narrative is i , suffixed onto the structural verb root.

- For root ending with r,s, mb, ŋg, : suffix addition occurs onto the structural root, and no morphological change occurs:
ŋari   "he hit"
vasi   "he saw"

moŋgi   "he made"
ŋgusgumbi   "he was ashamed"

- For roots ending with glottal ?: there occurs application of rule 2, then of rule 13 facultatively:

|pa?-i| |pa-i| |pa-y| /pay/ "he arrived"
|su?-i| /sui/ "he scraped"
Note that u and i are both conserved in the pronunciation; neither |swi| nor |suy| are accepted.
A structure of this type does not follow rule15. Only one example has been encountered.

- For root ending with occlusives k,p: suffixation of i onto the structural root, then consonant alternance:

|kip-i| |kiv-i| /kivi/   "he came"
|mbuk-i| |mbuɣ-i| /mbuɣi/   "he spoke"

- For root ending with t : suffixation of i , but no consonant alternance:
|kʌt-i| /kʌti/   "he cut"

The last instance represents an exception in the application of rule 5. Only one example has been encountered.

- For root ending with vowel:
For root ending with vowel i and diphtongue a i : there occurs disappearance of one vowel, as per rule 10, then rule 13 applies facultatively:

| dwi−i | /dwi/   "he swam"
| vai−i | | vai |/vay/   "he heard"

- For root ending with vowel a,ʌ: Rule 13 applies facultatively.
| mba−i | [mbai] "he ate"
| mbʌ−i | [mbey] "he went"
| gurʌ−i | [gurey] "he hung "

The alternance of ʌ in root with e in narrative had been discussed as a special case in I.1.5.
Uses

The narrative, simple and progressive, is the most common tense for main verbs in literary narrations and stories, such as traditional legends, that are perceived and presented as literary pieces (cf . English "Once upon a time", French "Il etait une fois") It features a past value.

It however also appears in conversation language, in rhetorical questions and statements presenting also a certain "vestigial" character, although with a present value.

In a verb series, the verb in narrative is always the main/final verb.

The progressive narrative, described later, is more frequent than the simple narrative.

mot vor sangʌ, nʌ nʌ nasri ŋaryʌ gʌʔ   gurey.
man big go LR   he his banana cut Ch   take up R hang up Narr
"The big man having gone, having cut his bananas, he went up (to the village) and hung them up"

ri   ŋar tarot,   ay reriʔ mongi?
garden cut R finish Past , we what   make Narr
"After the garden is cut, what do we do?"

5.1.2. Progressive indicative

5.1.2.1. Introduction

The language features the progressive aspect that reflects the way the speaker presents the unfolding of the action.
Featured both in conversation and in narration, the progressive is used to express that the action is being carried out, is "in progress", at the moment where the speaker is

The language features the progressive aspect that reflects the way the speaker presents the unfolding of the action.

Featured both in conversation and in narration, the progressive is used to express that the action is being carried out, is "in progress", at the moment where the speaker is talking, or in simultaneity with other events mentioned in the speech; in short, "is viewed as temporarily not limited" (Routledge Dictionnary of Language and Linguistics)

It may confer or reinforce the immediate and unique aspect of the events narrated, and, in this, it is comparable to the -ing form in English.

Within a narration, the progressive is most often encountered at the beginning, to "set the stage", then later at the "peak moments", to underline the development of the action.

The mark of the progressive form is mʌ- prefixed to the non-progressive form.

This prefixation does not bring about any morphological changes.

The mark of progressive has been encountered prefixed on the tenses of the indicative on the narrative and on the root used as indicative.

5.1.2.2. Progressive present

In a narrative, that is, in a traditional story , as opposed to a conversation, the indicative progressive present is used for particular emphasis on a action or a happening , as an alternative to the more commonly encountered narrative or root as indicative.

In narration, the progressive present really has the value of a past tense of extended duration, expressed through a present tense.

merini   mbuni mbit   muʔɣʌ   mʌsaŋgre
woman Dl two   shrimp   catch Ch   go Pres Prog
"Two women set out to catch shrimp" (first line of a traditional legend)

nʌ   mbʌɣʌ,   mam   nʌ   kap   kʌkaɣʌ,   nʌ mʌyeŋgre: "mirit, e?"
she come back Ch , mother   she reunion   be at Dur , she ask Pres Prog   " give birth Past ?"
"As she has gone back (into the house), as she is staying there with her mother, (we) are asking her: " Did she give birth?"

me   saŋgʌ mi,   kit   mʌŋare
they   go LR so   pandanus   cut Pres Prog
"They are on their way to cut pandanus leaves"

rao tiɣi, morori   me   ri   mʌŋare.   ri   ŋar   taroʔɣʌ vaʔ,
sun time   men   they   garden cut Pres Prog garden   cut SR finish Ch   after
mʌmbʌre
come back Pres Prog
"At dry season, the men are cutting the garden, When the cutting of the garden is finished, they are coming back"

gugay   ru pyayɣʌ,   mbare   mbare,   ru pyayɣʌ   mʌmbare
gugay tree ripe climb Ch , eat Pres   eat Pres   ripe climb Ch   eat Pres Prog

ŋgo to moŋgre mʌmonde, ŋgo to moŋgre tu mʌtaore
I house make Pres make Pres Prog I house make Pres place tidy Pres Prog
tao vaʔ ŋgo tomak mʌkyere
tidy R after I house-mark stand Pres Prog
"I want to build a house now, I am tidying the place the house will be built on. After having tidied, I erected the marks of the house"

taroʔɣʌ mi, me kar neʔ mʌmbi. kar neʔ mbire.
finished Ch so , they car for wait R Prog . car for wait Pres
kʌkaɣʌ, kar mʌkire
be at Dur, car come Pres Prog
"That being done, they are waiting for a car. They wait for a car. They have been there a while, a car was coming"

- The progressive present may be used with the value of an optative, to give an injunction:
nʌ nʌ yum neʔ mbuyu: "mo paoroturi vasyʌ mʌkire"
she her shell for say LR: you reef-places see Ch come Pres Prog
"She told her about the shells: "Come to have a look at the reef" "

5.1.2.3. Progressive future

As for all progressives, the progressive future is used to emphasize the development of an action or an event that, in this case, will take place in the future.

ŋgo gurʌp tumbʌ ŋuni saŋgrene, tõ a tay a
I tomorrow morning village go Fut old man and old woman and
swaʔnu mbiraʔ mʌkarene
fire-nearness sit down R be at ProgFut
"I will go to the village tomorrow morning, Grandfather and Grandmother will be there sitting next to the fire"

5.1.2.4. Progressive past

The use of progressive past emphasizes the development of the action, as it took place in a near or distant past.

morori ŋuni mʌsaŋgat
men village go Past Prog
"The men were going to the village "

mʌrini kwapar kʌkaɣʌ, dʒudʒu mʌsit
woman DL river be at Dur clothes wash Past Prog
"The two women being at the river for a long time, were washing clothes"

5.1.2.5. Progressive perfect

The progressive perfect has been encountered on only one occasion in a text.
It is used to express a situation that was in progress at the time of the story, has however changed since then.

The progressive perfect has been encountered on only one occasion in a text.
It is used to express a situation that was in progress at the time of the story, has however changed since then.

ŋgo ŋuni kɨvʌt, morori me mbiraʔ mʌkaŋget, me ŋgo mbi
I village come Past men   they sit R be at Perf Prog they me wait R
mʌkaŋget
be at Perf Prog
"I arrived at the village, the men had been there sitting, they had been waiting for me"

5.1.2.6. Progressive narrative

The progressive narrative is more frequent than the simple narrative in literary narrations, where it emphasizes the "immediate" character of the narration:

ni gugayru   vasyʌ, swaʔyʌ gʌʔ,   ni gugayru   mʌpyay
Dl gugay-tree-ripeness see Ch, run Ch get up R Dl gugay tree-ripeness climb
Narr Prog
"Both having seen the ripe gugay tree, having run to it, both were climbing the tree with the ripe fruit"

gugayru   pyayyʌ, rʌyam vor pesi mʌkivi
gugay tree-ripe climb Ch pig   big very come Narr Prog
"After they had climbed the gugay tree, a very big pig was arriving"

kyayar nin   mbʌyayʌ   mʌkivi
bat   some   flap wings Ch come Narr Prog
"A certain bat was arriving flapping her wings"

gurʌʔ   taroʔyʌ   vaʔ, nʌ ŋuni mʌkʌvi
hang up R finish Ch after he village come Narr Prog

saŋgʌyʌ   vaʔ, maʔmuri siyatri a ŋasruri   mʌmbay
go Ch   after boys   small   this banana-ripe eat Narr Prog

mba   tarot,   me mʌkʌvi
eat R finish Past they come Narr Prog

"Having hung them up, he was coming back to the village.
After he had gone, small boys were eating the ripe bananas.
Having finished eating, they were coming back to the village"

ay kɨ,   ri moŋgre tu mʌriyay,   gʌʔyʌ ,   mʌvasi
we comeR garden make Pres place look for Narr Prog , go up Ch see Narr Prog
"We came, looking for a place to make a garden, Going up, we were looking around"

- in conversation, the progressive narrative is used in rhetorical questions:
ay mʌsangi, e?
we go Narr Prog , e?
"We are going now, eh ?"

214

5.2. Chain Mood

The chain mood has been encountered in non-durative and durative aspect.

5.2.1. Non-durative chain mood

Formation

The mark of the non-durative chain mood is - ɣʌ, suffixed onto on the verb root.

This suffixation does not bring about morphological changes for root ending with vowel, with semi-vowel y, with glottal ʔ:

[dwiɣʌ] "having swum"
[vayɣʌ] "having heard"
[paʔɣʌ] "having arrived"

- for root ending with occlusives p, t: the suffixation occurs on the short root:

[kʌtɣʌ] "having cut"
[kipɣʌ] "having come"

Note: the last verb presents an alternative chain form: kiɣʌ
These two forms for chain are in the line of the two forms accepted for root: kip, ki.
These alternatives may point to a basic form of kip, and its acceptable shortened alternative ki.

- For root ending with r, s: the suffixation may occur on both short and long roots:

| ŋarʌɣʌ | ŋarɣʌ | "having hit" |
| vasʌɣʌ | vasɣʌ | "having see" |

- For root ending with prenasalised ŋg, mb and occlusive k: suffixation occurs on long root:

moŋgoɣʌ	"having made"
gusgumbuɣʌ	"habing felt shame"
mbuɣuɣʌ	"having spoken"

Uses

The chain is an important mood, featured in both narrative and conversation styles, but for different uses and purposes.

It has been called "chain" because of the part it plays as "chain" link in the tail-head linkage: the tail-head linkage is a narrative device common in Papuan languages; it consists in repeating the end of a sentence at the beginning of the following sentence, while altering it so that it may be recognized as the expression of a finished action – in a subordinated clause - heralding the next action in the main clause.
The chain mood is used for the action that is repeated – and finished.
Even though the denomination of "chain" may not be the most appropriate one, it has been chosen here to underline the "linking" character of this verb form, that most often, as a dependent verb, links successive or concomitant actions.

kwakre raŋgʌ mbas gʌt;   raŋgʌyʌ, mbas gʌʔyʌ,
chicken jumpR dry sand come up Past jump Ch   dry sand come up Ch

yerim riyit ,   kivʌt; kiyʌ   vaʔ, me neni mbuyi :"…
rat   go down Past come Past come Ch after they rec say Narr

"The chicken jumped and landed on dry sand; having jumped and landed on dry sand,
the rat went down (into the water), and came swimming (ashore); having come, they
said to each other:"…""

kyayar nin   mʌkivi;   kiyʌ,   ni nʌ mbuyut:"…"
bat   some come Prog Narr come Ch Dl it say Past
"A certain bat came; after she had arrived, both (women) told her"…""

saŋgʌyʌ vaʔ, ŋuni gʌʔyʌ   vaʔ, nan   sat   royormba
go Ch   after village come up Ch after property father decoration-basket
ŋgʌryʌ riyit.   ndayʌ   ŋgʌr riyit
take Ch go down Past come back LR take R go down Past
"Having gone, having gone up to the village, having taken his father's decoration basket
he went down. Going back, he took it and went down"

mot vor saŋgʌ, nʌ nʌ ŋasri ŋaryʌ gʌʔ   gurey.
man big go LR he his banana cut Ch take up R hang up Narr

gurʌʔ   taroʔyʌ vaʔ, nʌ ŋuni mʌkʌvi
hang up R finish Ch after he village come Prog Narr

saŋgʌyʌ vaʔ, maʔmuri siyatri a ŋasruri   mʌmbay
go Ch   after boys   small this banana-ripe eat ProgNarr

"The big man went, cut his banana and hung them up.
After having hung them up, he was going back to the village.
After he went, small boys were earing the ripe bananas."

According to its relation to other verbs, the chain form is also found in the following
uses:

- immediately preceding a main verb in root or indicative , the chain is used to express
simultaneity of action; such instance is common in narrative as well as conversational
style.

kyayar nin   mbʌyayʌ   mʌkivi,   mbayʌyʌ   mʌsaŋgʌ
bat   some flap wings Ch   come Prog Narr flap wing Ch   go Prog LR
"A certain bat came, flapping her wings, and went, flapping her wings"

maʔmu nʌ swaʔyʌ kivʌt
child he run Ch come Past
"The child came running"

morori me yayʌ saŋgat
men   they sing Ch go Past
"The men went away singing"

ŋgavimeri   tiɣʌ   vayt
witch-woman stand up Ch   listen Past
"The witch was listening standing up"

ay mbiɣʌ   mʌkare
we wait Ch   be at ProgPres
"There we are, waiting"

ŋgo   nan   string ŋgʌrɣʌ   va?, kirʌ?ɣʌ tru?ɣʌ   dʒyerene
My   property string   take Ch   after   pull Ch   drift Ch   go back Fut

"Having taken my line, I go back to the village, pulling my line, drifting"

- Used in a clause preposed to another one with verb in "main mood", the chain mood
may be used to express a causative meaning

ŋgo mok   ŋgʌrɣʌ,   ŋye? sivʌt
I   water take Ch   pot   fill up Past
"As I had taken water, the pot became full" = the pot was full because I poured the water

mok pa?ɣʌ,   kʌn pare? tarot
rain arrive Ch tree bad   finish Past
"As the rain had arrived, the tree became bad" = the rain made the tree rot

tamumok pa?ɣʌ,   tyʌp   pare? tarot
rain   arrive Ch road   bad   finish past
"As the rain had arrived, the road became bad" = the rain damaged the road

- the chain form followed by the postponed verb modifier mi has been encountered as
main verb, mostly in traditional stories told by old people.
In these instances, the chain mood was always within the narration, thereby announcing
that there is more narration to come.
For the complete description of mi, see VI.1.1.9.
This structure may be an older form of the language.

mbira   kʌkaɣʌ   va?, mbisbimri ki   nu   dʒyʌɣʌ mi
sit down R be at Dur after   birds   come SR nearness   come Ch so
"After he had been there for a long time sitting down, the birds drew near and so came"

mbimbis kiɣʌ,   nu   dʒyʌɣʌ   mi; nʌ me koyo mi: "..."
birds   come Ch nearness come Ch   so   he them call Ch so:..
"The birds having come, they so drew near; he told them so:"...""

sʌsaŋgʌ, ŋgavimeri gʌ?ɣʌ,   nʌ par nin kro? kirʌ?ɣʌ mi
go Dur   witch-woman get up Ch   his hand some tear R   pull Ch   so
"As she had gone, the witch having got up, she pulled and tore off the (child's) finger"

a   ri?   taro?ɣʌ   mi, ve? taro?ɣʌ   mi.
this things finish Ch   so sago finish Ch so
"These things were finished, the sago was ready"

- the verb t a r o ʔ features a special function when it appears in chain form before a verb in root, indicative or narrative

In those instances, t a r o ʔ indicates that whatever action was in progress is finished, and the subject "is about to, is "ready" to do something else.

The action that was in progress and is now finished may be omitted.

yembi   kɨre.   rʌyam   taroʔyʌ,   mbrat   mareʔ riʔ   paʔ   veʔ
wet season come Pres   pig   finish Ch   plant Past food   things   push R   spread R
mʌsaŋgi
go Prog Narr

"The rainy season comes. The pig is ready to go and spread all these things planted for food"

maʔmu taroʔyʌ   skul   mʌdʒyere
child   finish Ch   school go Pres Prog

"The child is ready to go to school"

mot taroʔyʌ   reʔ ŋanar   moŋgre
man finish Ch   thing work   make Pres

"The man is ready to work"

ŋgo taroʔyʌ   niɣiriʔ   mʌyembi,   gi nʌ, ŋgo taroʔyʌ mʌŋgoy
I   finish Ch   inside-things think Prog Narr after it   I   finish Ch   sleep Narr Prog

"I am ready to think about the things for inside the house, after that I am ready to sleep"

dusɣʌn ndeʔ taroʔyʌ   rik   rin
shrimp place   finish Ch   go down SR   Appr

"(For fear that) the shrimp is about to go down its hole"

5.2.2. Durative chain

Formation

The durative chain is formed by total or partial reduplication onto the simple chain mood of the first syllable of the root.

- when the first syllable has a CV structure, the reduplicated syllable will be CV, where C is the same consonant, and V the same vowel or its centralized equivalent:

kaɣʌ   kʌkaɣʌ "stay for a long time"
veɣʌ   veveɣʌ "hurt for a long time"

- when the first syllable has a C1 V C2 structure, the prefixed reduplicated syllable will be C1 V, where the onset and nucleus of the syllable are conserved, and the coda dropped

paʔɣʌ   pʌpaʔɣʌ "having pushed for a long time"
kɨpɣʌ   kɨkɨpɣʌ "having come for a long time"

218

- when the nucleus of the first syllable is complex, only the first part of the nucleus is reduplicated:

dwiɣʌ   dudwiɣʌ   "having swum for a long time"

Uses

In instances similar to the ones associated with the non-chain mood, the durative aspect underlines the duration of the action, the fact that it lasts for a long time.
According to the context, the durative chain may have the value of a present or of a past tense.

kondo? nʌ   bye,   ve   re? vor.   veveɣʌ,   nʌ mbira?   mʌkare
snake   him   bite R   pain thing big.   hurt Dur,   he   sit R   be at Pres Prog
"The snake bit him, the pain is great. Having suffered for a long time, he is there sitting down"

nde?   a   ri   re?   vor   ay   nʌ   momoŋgo   mi
place   this garden   thing   big   we   it   make Dur   so
"At this place we are going to work for a long time on this big garden"

sʌsaŋgʌɣʌ,   ŋgavimeri   gʌ?ɣʌ,   nʌ par   nin kro?   kirʌ?ɣʌ mi
go Dur   witch-woman   get up Ch   his   hand some tear R   pull Ch   so
"(The mother) having for for a long time, the witch having got up, she pulled and tore off the (child's) finger"

5.3. Optative mood

The optative mood is one of the conjugated verb forms allowed for the main verb. Hereunder are described the optative affirmative, the optative negative, and the optative apprehensive.

5.3.1. Optative affirmative.

Formation

The optative is formed on the short root preceded by
- the personal pronoun of the first person singular ŋgo, dual ŋga and plural ay.
- the personal pronoun of the second person singular mo, dual ni, and plural ne.

Examples:

moŋg	mo mõ	"make !"
yeŋg	ne yẽ	"(you all) ask !"
ŋgʌnaŋg	ŋga ŋgʌnã	"(You two) ask !"
kiŋg	mo ki	"cough !"
kesuŋg	ŋgo kesu	"(let) me give back !"
gusgumb	ay gusgum	"shame on us !"

Note:

Two verbs present an irregular optative form:

mba	"eat"		mo	ma	"eat!"
mbʌ	"come back"		mo	mʌ	"come back!"

Uses

The optative affirmative is used to give an order or to express a wish for an action to be done, by one or several people.

It may however not be used for the hortative, that is the third person optative "let him have a safe journey", that is expressed through the indicative present .

The optative is commonly used in conversation, and in the parts of traditional stories that feature direct style.

- the optative is used to express a wish to the second person, singular, dual and plural, or to oneself:

ŋgo   yã   nʌ sã
I   good it   go SR
"Let me have a safe journey"

mo   yã   nʌ sã
you good it   go SR
"May you have a safe journey"

ne   yã   nʌ ŋgo
you Pl good it   sleep R
"(You all) sleep well"

- the optative is used to express an order:

mo   sã,   swaʔreʔ riɣa
you go SR   fire-thing look for R
"Go and look for firewood"

ne   a   tu   ki
you Pl this place come SR
"Come to this place"

mo   ki,   gi   mʌ
you come R after come back R
"Come and go back afterwards"

mo   korotɨuʔ   dʒye
you canoe-prow go R
"Go to the front of the canoe"

- the optative is used to give permission to the second person singular, dual and plural:

ŋgo sangre, e?   mo sã
I go Pres, he?   you go SR
"Shall I go ?"   "Yes, go"

ŋga   a sʌk mbare, e? ŋga   nʌ ma
we Dl this fish eat Pres   you Dl it eat R
"Shall we two eat this fish ?" "You two eat it"

ay mʌsangi,   e ? ne   sã
we go Narr Prog e   you Pl go SR
"(May) we go ?" "You (all) may go"

mo   a ma?mu yã   nʌ mir
you this child good it give birth R
"May you give birth to this child in good health!"

ŋga   ŋuni yã   nʌ kip
you Dl   village good it come SR
"May you two arrive safe to the village!"

ŋgo a ma?mu yã nʌ mir
I this child good it give birth R
"Let me give birth to this child in good health!"

5.3.2. Optative negative

The optative negative is formed with the optative affirmative followed by the negation may. It is used to express forbiddance.
It has been encountered in direct and indirect speech.

mo   mare? ma   may
you food eat R Neg
"Don't eat the food"

nʌ me mbuɣu   mi: "ne   tonde? sã   may, poɣo ŋgo mbiɣʌ
he them say LR so you Pl long way go SR Neg meet Ch me wait Ch
mbira?".   saŋgat.
sit down R go Past
"He told them:" Don't go away, (sit here) together and wait for me." He went."

ŋgo mo mbuɣu , mo rinik   sã   may
I you say LR   you garden-inside go SR Neg
"I told you not to go to the garden"

ŋgo mo mbuɣu , mo a mare?   ma   may
I you say LR you this food   eat R Neg
"I told you not to eat this food"

```
mo   sā   may ,   mo mbira?  mʌkare
```
you go R   Neg,   you sit R   be at Prog Pres
"Don't go, you remain seated here"

- The root +negative may is used to express a forbiddance to a third person in indirect style:
```
ŋgo nʌ mbuɣu ,   nʌ rinik         sā     may
```
I   him say LR   he garden-inside go SR Neg
"I told him not to go to the garden"

Reminder: an order to a third person singular in indirect style is expressed through the indicative present:
```
ŋgo nʌ mbuɣu ,   nʌ rinik         saŋgre
```
I   him say LR   he garden-inside go Pres
"I told him to go to the garden"

5.3.3. Optative apprehensive

The optative apprehensive is formed on the optative affirmative immediately followed by the mark of apprehensive r i n.
This form is used to warn about possible adverse effect or outcome of an action in the future, near or distant.
The result may be adverse to the speaker, to the addressed person, or to another person.
This verb form would be equivalent to the English "for fear something should happen ", and to the Tok Pisin "nogut yu..."...

This form is not very common in the language, but is however attested in conversation and in literary texts.

```
mo   sā   rik   rin
```
you go SR fall SR Appr
"Go, (be careful) lest you should fall"

```
mo   vas   rin
```
you see SR Appr
"(Don't look there) lest you should see"

```
mo   moɣondʒʌndʒē raŋgʌ   sā   rin!
```
you water-strength   throw LR go SR Appr
"Lest you should spill the beer!"

```
mo   gi   kip   rin
```
you   before come SR Appr
"Lest you should come after/late"

```
mot   ndendi kor  ŋuni  saŋgre   mongre,  mbombē tik       rin
```
man now   canoe village go Pres make Pres wind   get up SR Appr
"The man wants to go to the village in canoe now, for fear that the wind should get up"

dusɣen mu?ɣʌ,   dusɣen nde? a   tu   ndyet   rik   rin
shrimp   catch Ch   shrimp   place   this   place side   fall SR   Appr
"Catching shrimps, the place for shrimps is here, lest this side of the (reef) spot should collapse"

5.4. Verb root used as alternative for indicative

The language often features the root as an alternative for the indicative.
In these instances, the root encountered was in punctual and progressive aspect.

5.4.1. Root as alternative for simple indicative

The root is very commonly used as a simple indicative; in a narrative, the root appears as the verb form most commonly encountered for the main action, together with the narrative mood.
In this use, the root takes on a "narrative" value, similar to the narrative present in French, - a formally present tense with a past value.
Either long or short root may be found in this function.

ŋgo ndumi   ŋgʌr   ŋye?   pa?
I   sweet potato   take R   pot   put R
"I put the potato in the pot"

kor gʌ?ɣʌ,   ŋgo nʌ   kʌt, ŋgʌr,   riɣi,   ŋgo nʌ mba
taro come up Ch   I   it   cut,R   take R,   go down LR,   I   it   eat R
"The taro having come up, I cut it, took it, brought it down to the village, and ate it"

me   tiɣi   taɣʌ   vas
they   straight   come up LR   look SR
"They look with attention"

sat   gʌ?,   vu   mʌmoŋgi,   ŋgo sā,   gʌ?,   vu   mō
father get up R   basket make Prog Narr   I   go SR   get up R   basket   make SR
"Father gets up, to (go and) make the basket, I go, get up, to (go and) make the basket"

mbombē   dʒɣʌɣʌ,   nʌ sā,   nan   ŋuni   saŋgi,   ŋgo ki,   nan
wind   come Ch   she go SR   property   village   go Narr   I   come R   property
ŋuni   mbʌ
Village   come back R
"The wind having risen, she goes, she goes to her village, I come, arrive back to my village"

- The long roots mbuɣu,"tell" ,and yeŋgʌ "ask" may be used to express a factitive with the value of "making somebody do":

nʌ ŋgo mbuɣu , ŋgo ŋuni kirene
he   me   say LR   I   village   come Fut
"He told me to come to the village"

nʌ   mo mbuɣu mi, mo a   mare?   ma
he you say LR so you this   food   eat R
"He told you to eat this food"

nʌ   nʌ yeŋgʌ mi,   nʌ   ŋuni kare
he   her ask LR so   she   village be at Pres
"He told ner to stay at the village"

ŋgo may mbuɣu , nʌ nan   rum   si?re
I   mai   say LR   he property   room   clean Past
"I told Mai to clean his room"

5.4.2. The progressive stem as alternative for progressive indicative

The root with progressive prefix mʌ-, here called progressive stem, has been
encountered most often as a main verb in a narrative that has been told and repeated
several times already, and that is, as a consequence, on its way to becoming literary.

In a narration or traditional story, the progressive stem has the same status as the
narrative as the form most frequently encountered for main verbs.
Indeed, some speakers, especially the older ones, tell the whole legend using almost
exclusively the progressive stem.

Here also, both long and short roots have been found.

ŋgo to   moŋgre   mʌmonde,   ŋgo to   mongre   tu   mʌtao.
I   house make Pres make Pres Prog   I   house make Pres place tidy R Prog
tao   va?, ŋgo tomak   mʌkye
tidy R after   I   house-mark stand R Prog
"I am wanting to build a house, I am tidying up the place the house will be built on.
Having tidied it up, I am erecting the marking posts"

nʌ mba   taro?ɣʌ   va?, nʌ tan   mʌdʒye
she eat R finish Ch   after, she outside go R Prog
"After having finished eating, she is going outside"

ni kyaɣargaɣʌr ŋgʌrɣʌ, gugayru   mʌbisye.   bisye, bisye,
Dl bat - bone   take Ch   gugay tree-ripeness thread R Prog thread R thread R
bisye , tarot
Thread R finish Past
"Both (women) having taken the bat bone, they are threading the ripe gugay fruit. They
thread and thread and thread, (until) it is finished"

mbʌtu?ɣʌ,   kwa? riɣi   keŋge riɣit.   a   rʌɣamvot
swallow Ch   block R go down LR   stop R   go down Past this pig-throat
twa?ɣʌ,   nʌ ndʒok mʌriɣi.   mʌmoŋgo,   nundu? ndaɣʌt
block Ch   it so   go down R Prog make R Prog   die R   go down Past
"(The pig) having swallowed (the fruit), it blocks (the throat), goes down, stops down.
Having blocked this pig's throat, so it is going down that way. Doing this, the pig falls
down, dead"

224

ŋgavimerini   po?.   riɣi   mi, nʌ   mʌgware;
Witch-woman Dl   meet R   go down LR   so it   cut in pieces ProgPres
ŋgʌr   gwarɣʌ va?,   gwar   kirʌ?ɣʌ   va?,   ma? nin ka?pan kirʌt
take R cut Ch after   cut R   pull Ch   after   man some knee   cut Past
"The two witches meet. (The drum) lying down this way, they are cutting it in pieces;
having taken it and having cut it to pieces, they cut deeply the man's knee"

swa? ŋar   taro?ɣʌ   va?, gʌ?   va?, mʌgondi.
fire   hit SR   finish Ch   after   come up R   after   turn ground Prog Narr
gon   taro?ɣʌ   va?, gʌ?,   rao mʌkirʌ?,
turn ground R   finish Ch   after   come up R sun pull Prog R
a   vʌvus   pʌkri mʌsʌre?
this similarity patches draw Prog R
"The fire having burned the ground, having got up , we are turning the ground. Having
finished turning the ground, we get up, we are leaving it in the sun, in the same way (s
explained previously) we draw (dividing lines) for the patches"

taro?ɣʌ   mi, me kar ne? mʌmbi.   kar ne? mbire.   kʌkaɣʌ, kar
finished Ch so,   they car for   wait R Prog . car for   wait Pres   be at Dur, car
mʌkivʌ
come LR Prog
"That being done, they are waiting for a car. They wait for a car. They have been there a
while, a car is coming..."

taro?ɣʌ   va?, me swa? pa?   gʌ?   mʌmindʌ?
finish Ch   after,   they fire   prepare R come up R   send Prog R
"When that is finished, a fire is prepared, that flares up and is sent (to burn the dried
grass)"

- the progressive stem may also be used to announce direct quotations:
ŋgo morori vasɣʌ, twã mʌmbuɣu : "..."
I   men   see Ch , talk   say Prog R: "..."
"Having seen the men, I am telling them:"..."

5.4.3. Durative Verb Stem

The verb stem has been encountered in a durative aspect in two examples.   Further
investigation would be required for a full analysis of this structure.
In both instances encountered, the stem in durative served to indicate the passing of time
between two actions of the narrative.
Both long and short roots have been encountered in this function.

ay ri   kuva?re. kuva? kuva? kuva?
we garden   check Pres check R check R check R
sʌsaŋgʌ,   keri parʌmbã, ndumi, mi, kor, dumur kare
go LR Dur   moon five   potato yam taro all   be at Pres
"We checked, we checked, we checked, 6 months pass, potato, yam, taro, all are there"

mam   ma?mu vas.   sʌsã,   ma?mu re? kot moŋgot
mother child see SR go SR Dur   child   thing big make Past
"The mother looks after the child. (Time) passes, the child has grown big"

5.5. Other uses of the verb root

5.5.1.Verb root used in verb series

Another important function of the root is its place in the verb series, very commonly featured by the language.

The verb root in verb series may function as the main verb, but also as a secondary verb, taking a "preceding" meaning, as the steps - in chronological order - leading to the main action.

Both long and short roots have been encountered in this function.

For full description of verb series, see IV.6.4.

mbʌrip pa?   ŋgʌrɣʌ   va?, mot tɨm   mbot
limbum push R take Ch   after man opening close Past
"After having pushed and taken the limbum (tree bark), the man closed the opening (of the drum)"

taro?ɣʌ   va?, swa? pa?   gʌ?   mʌmɨndʌ?
finish Ch after, fire prepare R come up R send Prog R
"Once that is finished, a fire is prepared that flares up and is sent (to burn the dried grass)"

me   rwẽ sã   vas.   saŋgʌ vasɣʌ,   ŋuni mbʌt
they forest goSR look SR go LR look Ch   village come back Past
"They went to the forest to look; having gone and looked, they came back to the village"

5.5.2. Repetition of the verb root

The root may be repeated to underline the duration or the repetition of an action or an event, or the effort it requires:

kirʌp   ŋgʌr, bʌ?nik   taɣʌ,   ay nda kuva?re. kuva?   kuva?
vegetable take R fence-inside put up LR we those check Pres check R check R
kuva?   sʌsaŋgʌ,   keri parʌmbã
check R go LR Dur   moon five
"Having taken the vegetables, having planted them within the fence, we (came and) checked them. We checked, we checked, we checked, check and check again, 6 months (pass)"

me   nʌ ŋgʌrɣʌ, kirʌ? kirʌ? kirʌ?, ŋgʌr   gʌ?   mok kirʌt
they it take Ch   pull R pull R pull R take R take up R   water pull Past
"After having taken (the fishing line), they pulled and pulled, they took it, took it up, pulled it (out of the water)"

gon	gon	gon,	taro?γʌ	va?,	gʌ?,	rao
turn ground R	*turn ground R*	*turn ground R*	*finish Ch*	*after*	*come up R*	*sun*

gʌ?   taγʌ
put R put up R

"We turned and turned and turned the groung; when that was finished, we got up, we left it in the sun"

ŋgo	sā̃	vos	vos	vos,	nin	nu	dʒyere
I	*go SR*	*paddle SR*	*paddle SR*	*paddle SR,*	*some*	*nearness*	*go Pres*

"I go, paddle, paddle, paddle, come near one (canoe)"

5.5.3. Verb root + vasʌndʒi "in vain"

The root is used in a structure where it is immediately followed by vasʌndʒi, "in vain", to express the lack of results of an action
The full description of vasʌndʒi is found in VI.2.2.

nʌ	ŋgun	reru	reru	vasʌndʒi
he	*tail*	*shake R*	*shake R*	*in vain*

"He shakes and shakes its tail in vain"

nan	ŋgun	gʌ?γʌ	yit	moŋgo	vasʌndʒi
property	*tail*	*get up Ch*	*movement*	*make LR*	*in vain*

"He lifts its tail and moves it in vain"

me	mbi	mbi	vasʌndʒi
they	*wait R*	*wait R*	*in vain*

"They wait and wait in vain"

6. SIMPLE AND EXPANDED VERB BASE

6.1. Introduction

All verbs may function in a simple base, as autonomous units. The language, however, features a relatively small number of verb roots.
As a consequence, the expression of specific actions and states will revolve around ways to optimize the use of this limited number of verbs available to the speaker.

The analysis of the texts has shown that this is done through three main devices:
- polysemic character of the verb: one same verb may express a variety of different meanings
- verb and adjunct: usually substantive + verb
- verb series: verbs are combined in a serial construction to express a variety of meanings

6.2. Polysemic character of the verb

6.2.1. General examples

In this use, the verb base is constituted of only one verb, on its own, and its meaning varies with the context.

Andrew Pawley (1993) has labeled "generic verbs" these verbs that are distinguished in the language by frequent use and multiplicity of meanings.
Such verbs are : moŋgre "make, become, build..." vayre "perceive, hear, smell...", pa?re "push, arrive, prepare..." kirʌ?re "cut, cross, pull..."
Hereunder a few examples illustrate this characteristic.
Other verbs of similar function will be presented in the following sections.

Note that all verbs encountered feature different meanings according to whether they are use transitively or intransitively.

moŋg "make, become"

- The first example features the verb and direct object, in its most common use, meaning "to make, to do":

mot to   mʌmoŋgre
man house make Pres Prog
"The man is building the house"

- moŋg is the only verb with an adjective allowed as direct complement. In this case, it expresses the meaning of "to become":

mot simza? moŋgot,   mut biŋga moŋgot
man heavy make Past   wife light   make Past
"The man became heavy, the wife became light"

Similarly, in the next construction, the verb introduces a complement with the value of an attribute, to indicate an equative relation between subject and object.

sʌk dumur pan re? vor moŋgot
fish all   head thing big make Past
"The fish formed a big school"

ma?mu re? kot moŋgot
child thing big make Past
"The child became big"

vay "perceive, feel"

vay has been encountered with direct object to express a number of meanings:

ma?mu gʌmbar vayre
child   urine   feel Pres
"The child passes urine"

ŋgo ŋi vayre
I story hear Pres
"I listen to the story"

ŋgo swaʔŋi vayre
I fire-smell feel Pres
"I smell the fire"

pa? "prepare, arrive, push"

pa? appears in intransitive use, in the first example as "arrive", and transitive uses in the next two sentences, as "prepare" or "push".
In these last instances, it expresses a causative meaning of "make arrive".

tamumok paʔre
above-water arrive Pres
"The rain falls down"

ŋgo mareʔ paʔre
I eat-thing arrive Pres
"I prepare food"

morori dumur kor vor mesimok paʔ tarot
men all canoe big sea arrive R finish Past
"The men pushed the big canoe into the sea"

kirʌ? "pull, cut"

kirʌ? is used in a general sense of "pulling or cutting through, across". It has been encountered in transitive uses.

ŋgo ŋi kirʌʔre
I story pull Pres
"I tell the story"

ŋgo kor mbasmbʌ kirʌt
I canoe dry beach pull Past
"I pulled the canoe to the dry part of the beach"

ŋgo ŋgʌri kʌt kirʌt
I vine cut R pull Past
"I cut the vine through and through"

ŋgo soɣay mʌkirʌʔre
I smoke pull Pres Prog
"I am smoking"

ŋgo kwapar kirʌ? gʌt
I river pull R come up Past
"I cut across the water towards the village"

Other examples of sentences featuring the transitive and intransitive use of the same verb:

The examples hereunder feature the same verb used twice within the same sentence, once in a transitive, once in an intransitive use.
The transitive use expresses a causative meaning of "making something go down or go up"

ŋgo ŋasru ndayʌ   riɣit,   ŋgo ŋuni ndayʌ   mbʌt
I banana take down R go down Past   I village go down R go back Past
"I brought down the bananas and walked back to the village"

kʌŋgit mut tayʌ   gʌt,   ni ŋuni tayʌt
husband wife bring up R come up Past, Dl village came up Past
"The husband brought the wife up here, both came up to the village"

ŋgo mo ne? twã riɣi,   ŋgo rwẽ   rikrene
I you for talk send down R   I forest go down Fut
"I sent a message for you, that I would come down to the forest"

ŋgo mot re? kot gʌt,   ŋgo ŋuni gʌt
I man thing big come up Past I village come up Past
"I grew up, I went up to the village"

ŋgo tonik   tayʌ   tikre,   mo sya ŋgʌr   tik
I house-inside come up R stand up Pres you chair take R   stand up SR
"I stand inside the house, take the chair and stand it up"

ŋye? sivʌt,   mok   nye?nik sivʌ   ndayʌt
Pot fill up Past water   pot-inside fill up R go down Past
"The pot was filled up, water filled up the pot"

6.3. Verb and nominal expansion

In another way to compensate for the paucity of verbs, the verb may be accompanied, actually immediately preceded, by a substantive with which it functions as one lexical unit.
This association noun + verb functions as an expression, the meaning of which is more than "the sum of the two components".

The characteristics of this verbal entity are that:
- the substantive may not be replaced by a pronoun or by the question word re?ri
- the substantive may not take the mark of dual nor plural, lest the meaning should be altered.
- it may not take any of the substantive complements, lest the meaning should be altered.

However, the intensity of the action may be amplified by adding the complement re? vor, "thing big", to the substantive .

The whole unit adjunct + verb appears in bold in the examples hereunder.

Hereunder some examples of common verb and nominal expansion:

moŋg   "make, become"

ŋgo kanmot poɣo,   ay   neni   par moŋgre
I   friend   meet Ch   we   each other   hand make Pres
"I meet my friend, we wave to each other"

motni   mbuni   prē   moŋgre
man Dl   two   stick   make Pres
"The two men fight (with a stick)"

morori kap   re?   vor moŋgot
men   meeting   thing big   make Past
"The men had a big meeting"

ma?mu gumbu   moŋgre,   gumbu   re? vor moŋgre
child   flesh   make Pres   flesh   thing big   make Pres
"The child is sick, very sick"

ŋgʌr   "take"

ŋgo mba   ŋgʌre
I   basket   take Pres
"I take the basket"

ay sʌk   ŋgʌre   morori, me ay sim   ŋgʌre,   me ay sim   re?
we fish   catch Pres men   they us ontop   take Pres   they u s ontop thing
vor   ŋgʌre
big   take Pres
"We fishermen, they praise us, they praise us highly"

ma?mu ɣare,   ay   sʌnɨm ŋgʌre
child   sing Pres we   base   take Pres
"The child (takes the lead in) sings, we repeat (as a chorus)"

ay ɣare moŋgre,   mot vor pan   ŋgʌre
we sing   make Pres   man big   head   take Pres
"We want to sing, the big man takes the lead"

ŋgo yem   ŋgʌrɣʌ   ŋuni saŋgrene
I   thought   take Ch   village   go Fut
"I have decided (made up my mind), to go to the village"

saŋg   "go"

ay kor mbombē   gi   saŋgat
our canoe wind   after   go Past
"Our canoe went following the wind"

ay ŋuni kap saŋgre
we village meeting go Pres
"We go to the village for a meeting"

ŋuni kar ay to saŋgat
Village car us front go Past
"The village car went before us"

tak "come up, put on"

nʌ mareʔ bidi mbi taɣʌ kirʌʔ ŋgʌr taɣʌt
she food some part come up R pull R take R bring up Past
"Having shared some of the food, she pulled it out (of the pot), took it, and brought it up"

me nʌ ŋgʌrɣʌ, tiɣi taɣʌ saŋgat kor, yembe mwin taɣʌt,
they it take Ch straight come up LR go Past canoe sail size come up Past

yamʌŋgʌŋgir, a reʔri mwin taɣʌ moŋgo tarot
rudder-stick this things size come upLR make LR finish Past
"Having taken it, the canoe that sailed well, they took the measure of the sail, of the rudder-stick, of these things they finished taking the measures"

ni neni taɣʌ mi, nʌ nʌ mut moŋgo mi, nʌ nʌ kʌŋgit mi
Dl each other come up LR so , she his wife make LR so, he her husband so
"They marry each other, she becomes his wife, he becomes her husband"

menam saŋgʌɣʌ nu taɣʌ vasʌɣʌ mi, bisaŋ nu taɣʌ
manam take Ch nearness come up LR see Ch so boisa nearness come up LR
vasʌɣʌ mi
see Ch so
"Going to Manam, so approaching (it), they looked, so they saw Boisa appearing near"

ŋgo a vegen mʌri mut taɣʌt
I this nubia woman wife come up Past
"I took this Nubia woman as my wife"

ŋgo nik takre
I belly come up Pres
"I am pregnant"

maʔmu ndendi tiɣi taɣʌ saŋgre
child now straight come up LR go Pres
"The child now walks well"

6.4. The Verb Series

One other way used by the language to compensate for the small number of verbs is by combining at least two verbs, to express an original meaning.
Verb series, that is, the verb in serial construction, is a very common construction of Papuan languages, and of Sepik languages in particular.

Whether in conversation or narrative style, the language systematically features verb series, whereby a single action is broken down in different "sequential actions".

Where, for instance, English would have one verb: "bring the axe"
Awar has:

mo   ŋandep ŋgʌr   ki
you axe   take R   come R
"Take the axe, come"

English: "The man sat down inside the house"
Awar:
mot tonik   gʌʔ   mbirat
man house-inside   get up R   sit down Past
"The man went up inside the house, sat down"

6.4.1. Characteristics of the verb series

The verb series follow a number of strict syntactic and morphological rules:

- the verb series is composed of at least two verbs; the "main " verb occupies the final position, after the "intermediate " verb in initial position.
- the successive verbs represent the sequential actions, the final verb expresses the final action, or the final position, or the degree of completion of the final action.
- all verbs of the series have the same subject, and the subject appears only once, in its usual position.
- each verb of the series may have its own complement, most often a nominal . No example has been encountered where a verb part of a verb series had more than one complement.
- the verb series negates as a unit, through the presence of a negation immediately after the main verb.
- the intermediate verbs are always in root form, long or short. The main verb may take different moods and tenses, as described next.

6.4.2. Composition of verb series and choice of main verb

The intermediate verbs of the verb series are always in the root form.

The main verb may be:

- a root used as an indicative or an optative, positive, apprehensive or negative:

1. mo ŋuni saŋgʌ   vas
   you village go LR see SR
According to the context:
"You go to the village to see"
"Go to the village to see"

2. mo gʌʔ   mbira   rin
   you get up R sit R   Appr
"(For fear that) you should sit up"

3. mo ŋuni sã   vas   may
   you village go LR see R Neg
"Don't go and see to the village"

- a marked indicative, - of any tense:

4. ŋgo tonik   gʌʔ   mbirat
   I   house-inside get up R sit down Past
"I went up and sat down inside the house"

- a narrative:

5. ay tonik gʌʔ mbiray,   e !
   we house inside get up R sit Narr e
" Let's go inside the house and sit down, he"

- less frequently, a chain form followed by mi:

6. mot kor paʔ   vos   margat gʌʔɣʌ mi
   man canoe push R paddle R margat go Ch so
"The man pushed the canoe and so paddled to Laing Island"

6.4.2.1. Elements influencing the choice of main verb mood and tense within a verb series

The choice of the mood and tense for the main verb appears to depend on the following factors:
- conversation vs. literary style
- the speaker's age

6.4.2.1.a. Conversation vs. literary style, and type of narrative

The chapter on verb conjugation has already specified which moods and tenses apply preferably for conversation or for narration.
In short:

- the conversation style is used to address a specific interlocutor; the exchange is specific to one situation at one time, taking place only once.
This style preferably features the marked indicative and the root used as indicative or optative.

- the narration style is featured in texts telling of events to an audience less restricted in number, more "a la cantonnade".
The narrative style is the feature of "the repeatable narration", a narration that may and will be repeated to a large, unspecified audience.

The narrations feature a more "literary style", and preferably features such verb forms as:
- root as an indicative, or narrative for the main verb,
- marked indicative for the beginning of the narration, "to set the stage", and at peak moments of the narration.

Among the texts recorded so far, we can distinguish three categories:

- traditional legends, spoken almost as a recitation, making almost systematic use of narrative mood, together with root and chain forms as main verbs; the language of this type of narration appears as rather rigidified.
The use of marked indicative and optative is restricted to the parts of text that reproduce direct, conversational style

- stories concerning the passing of information: how to build a boat, a house, make a garden.
Although less rigidified than the preceding type, these stories still feature a high proportion of verbs in narrative mood, together, however, with a higher number of indicative verbs.

- narration of recent anecdotes, events, in the style of everyday conversation among speakers in the village. These stories feature the most common occurrence of verbs in the indicative mood, yet tend to become rigidified, for instance if the anecdote is worth repeating a number of times, with then a larger number of verbs in narrative.

6.4.2.1.b. The speaker's age

The speaker's age definitely plays an important part in the way the language is used, as the culture and therefore the language, is evolving rapidly.
Older people have been found to use more narrative and root forms, even in conversation, while younger people use more indicative forms.
Older people also use a different - richer- vocabulary, especially featuring traditional events or objects.

235

Younger people borrow more words, from Tok Pisin, and from English: for instance "car" rather than the neologism duri?re re?. "the thing of turning", or rʌɣam "pig", used by older people to describe this "big thing with four legs".

Also, younger people introduce Tok Pisin verbs – and concepts - like "mas" for "must", previously unknown to the language.

6.4.3. Verb Complements within verb series

Within the verb series there appears to be a preference for one complement only per verb. Verb modifiers are allowed.

The examples hereunder features verb series with a direct object (ex. 1) , complement of place (ex. 2), direct object and verb modifier (ex. 3)

1. ŋgo kor pa? riɣi dʒyet
   I canoe push R go down R go Past
"I pushed the canoe down (in the water) and went"

2. ay sã rwē rik, ma?ri dumur mʌsã
   we go SR forest go down SR boys all go SR Prog
"We went, went down to the forest, all boys were going"

3. mʌri mare? bidi kirʌ? ŋgʌr taɣʌt
   woman food somewhat pull R take R bring up Past
"The woman pulled out some food (out of the pot) and presented it (to the other woman)"

6.4.4. Uses of verb series

The language uses the verb series for the following purposes:

- the most common use is to describe the sequential actions partaking in the accomplishment of a main action:

mot sya ŋgʌr tik kare
man chair take R stand up LR be at Pres
"The man took the chair and make it stand up"

gurʌp ay rik, swa? ŋgʌr tuva?rene
tomorrow we go down SR fire take R set fire Fut
"Tomorrow we'll go down to set fire (to the grass)"

nʌ a twã mbuɣu sã dʒyet
he this talk say LR go SR go back Past
"He said this, then went back"

- verb series are characteristic for expressing a value as a unit, that is "more than the value of the separate parts", thereby clearly compensating for the lack of verbs to express specific concepts. Such expressions are extremely numerous in the language.
A few examples hereunder show how a particular series equates a particular concept.

236

mot ŋgavimʌri ŋar vot
man witch   hit R bury Past
"The man killed the witch"
Used independently ŋar means "hit", and vo? means " bury"
ŋar vo?re is used specifically to describe the killing of a human being.

ma?mu tonik   gʌ?   pa?   mindat
child   house-inside come up R arrive R send Past
"The child came up to the house and squatted down"
Used independently pa? means "push, arrive", and minda? means "send"
pa? minda? is the expression that describes the action of squatting down on one's
heels.

ŋgo ma?mu ŋar   yã   moŋgrene
I   child   hit R   good make Fut
"I will look after the child well"
Used independently so means "hit", and moŋgre means "make"
ŋar yã moŋgre expresses, in a euphemism, the action of looking well after a person or
an object, literally "making it well by hitting it".
Euphemisms are frequent in the language.
ŋuni ŋar   tayʌ,   ay mu?re   saŋgat
village hit SR   come up LR   we fish Pres   goPast
" At dawn, we go fishing"
Used independently so means "hit", and tayʌt means "come up"
ŋar tayʌt is the expression that refers to daybreak, the moment where the first light
"hits"the village.

ay   divit swa?   ŋgʌr   vot
We   grass   fire   take R   bury Past
"We set fire to the grass"
Used independently ŋgʌr means "take", and vo? means "bury"
ŋgʌr vo? is the expression that specifically applies to setting fire to the tall grass in dry
season.

- verb series are particularly frequent, almost systematic, when it comes to expressing
movement. In those cases, indeed, the language will feature a series of at least one verb
expressing movement, and the final verb expressing the final position.

The following examples show how the combination of verb expresses the different
meanings:
the four sentences feature the verb mbira? "to sit"; in each example , mbira? is
combined with another verb to express:

- the situation
ŋgo tonik   mbira? kare
I   house-inside sit R   be at Pres
" I sit inside the house"

237

- the movement up from lying down

ŋgo   taroʔɣʌ, maʔmu gʌʔ   mbirat
sleep R   finish Ch   child   get up R   sit Past
"Having finished to sleep, the child sat up"

- the original position

mot mbiraʔ   gʌʔ   saŋgat
man sit R   get up R   go Past
"The man got up from sitting and went"

- the final position

mot kɨ   gʌʔ   mbirat
an come R   get up R   sit Past
"The man came, went up to the house and sat down"

The verbs that may be combined in this type of series, either in intermediate or in final position, are such as:
- for movement: gʌʔ "to get up", rik "go down"; saŋg "to go"; mbʌ "to go back"; dʒye "go and come back" , sivʌ "be or become full"...
- for position: mbiraʔ "to sit"; gurʌʔ, "hang", tik "stand"; tak " be up" , ndak "be down, be deflated", kare "be at"...

Hereunder some examples of possible combinations:

me   kor   riɣi   marengen   mʌgey
they canoe   bring down LR   island   go Narr Prog
"They brought down the canoe (into the water) and were going to the island"

ŋgo vu   kirʌʔ   ŋgʌr korosim taɣʌ   kʌvaʔre
I   fishtrap pull R   take R   canoe-top   come up LR   check Pres
"I pull the fish trap aboard the canoe to check (its content)"

ŋgo ŋasru ŋgʌr gurʌt; ŋasru tonik   gurʌʔ mʌkare   gi nʌ
I   banana   take R hang Past banana   house-inside   hangR be at Pres Prog   after it

nʌ ŋgʌr   riɣit
it   take R   go down Past
"I hung up the bananas; the bananas are hanging inside the house. Later, I took them down"

ŋgo mok ruɣʌ,   mok ŋyeʔnik sivʌ ndaɣʌt,   nyeʔ sivʌt
I   water   pour Ch   water   pot-inside   fill LR   go down Past   pot   fill Past
"Having poured the water, the water filled up the pot, the pot was full"

mam   maʔmu tonik   ŋgʌr   taɣʌt,   nʌ num gʌʔ   taɣʌt
mother   child   house-inside   take R   put up Past   she self go up R   come up Past
"The mother lifted the child up to the house, she herself walked up"

238

- instrumental construction: a verb series is used to express an instrumental verb complement, where the verb ŋgʌr, "take", is used to describe the intermediate action:

mot po? ŋgʌr rʌɣam raraŋgat
man spear take R pig shoot Past
"The man shot the pig with the spear"

ŋgo vos ŋgʌr mʌmbey
I paddle take R go back Narr Prog
"I went back paddling"

meri prē ŋgʌr ri mongot
woman stick take R garden make Past
"The woman dug the garden with the stick"

kamdoŋ ndiɣar ŋgʌr, a sʌkni rã
kamdong spear take Ch this fish Dl hit SR
"Kamdong took the spear, shot these two fishes"

- comitative construction: a verb series is used to express a comitative construction, where the verb ŋgʌr "take" is used here also, to express accompaniment:

ni nan sʌkri dumur ŋgʌr sã mbʌt
Dl property fishes all take R go SR go back Past
"Both went back with their fish"

meri ma?mu ŋgʌr ŋuni kivʌt
woman child take R village come Past
"The woman took the child to the village"

6.4.5. Special final verbs in verb series:

Such verbs as: ka "to be at"; tak "to come up, get up""; ndak "to deflate, go down", taro? "to finish", may occupy intermediate position in these series, but appear most often in final position.

6.4.5.1. ka "to be at"

ka, "to be at", expresses a general meaning of situation together with duration.. At the end of a verb series, it emphasizes the fact that the action or the state described in the preceding verb is still actual at the moment of speech. It may be considered as equivalent to the English – ing form.

ŋgo tonik mbira? mʌkare
I house-inside sit down R be at Pres Prog
"I am sitting inside the house"

ŋgo ŋuni saŋgʌ kare
I village go R be at Pres
"I went to the village and am still there"

```
karok   tonik        gurʌʔ  kare
```
hook   house-inside hang R be at Pres
"The hook is hanging inside the house"

```
maʔmu  tonik        mbiraʔ  mareʔ  mbare    kaŋget
```
child   house-inside sit R   food   eat Pres be at Perf
"The child had been sitting inside the house eating food"

6.4.5.2. t a k "to get up" and n d a k "to get down"

Both t a k and ndak are complementary as antonyms, in their general meaning of, respectively,

- as intransitive, "swell up, appear, rise up " and "go down, lie down (after a fall) ,
- as transitive, with a causative meaning, "erect, bring up, put on" and "bring down, make fall, hammer down, bury".

Both verbs are extremely frequent, both independently and within verb series. However, t a k has been encountered most often independently than in verb series.

In final position of a verb series, they may be described as "positionals", giving precision as to the final position or appearance - horizontal or vertical, erect or flat - of the considered person or object.

```
ay  saŋgʌ, vargem ŋuni, ŋuni siɣat gʌʔ       taɣʌt
```
we go LR awar village , village small get up R come up Past
"We walked, Awar village, the small village, appeared"

6.4.5.3. n d a k "to go down"

ndak has been encountered in root and indicative simple past form: ndaɣʌ, ndaɣʌt
In isolation, it is used with the meaning of "go down"or "send down":

```
me   twãŋgʌri  mʌndaɣʌt
```
they vine-talk bring down Past Prog
"They were sending down a telephone message"

ndak is used frequently after such verbs as : r i k "to fall down", nunduʔ "to die", voʔ "plant, bury", ŋgo " sleep", s i vʌ "to be full"

```
kor  mʌnwey.       mok gʌʔɣʌ  koronik      sivʌʔ   ndaɣʌt
```
canoe sink Narr Prog water get up Ch canoe-inside fill up R bring down Past
"The canoe was sinking, the water went up, filled the inside of the canoe, brought it down"

```
maʔmu  ŋgo       ndaɣʌt
```
child   sleep R   lie down Past
"The child lies down asleep"

```
kam  mwin taɣʌt     din, nʌ riɣi        nunduʔ  ndaɣʌt
```
voice mark come up Past Neg he fall down LR die R   go down Past
"No sound came out (of his throat), he fell down and dropped dead"

ŋgo mareʔ   mbraʔ   ndayʌ   mi
I   food   plant R   go down LR so
"So I planted some food down in the ground"

- The next example shows that people – or chairs -, which have a contact to the ground, fall down differently than pots or other objects: riɣi is used when people and chairs fall down, riɣi ndayʌt, when objects fall from a certain height.

ŋgo   riɣit,   ɲeʔ riɣi   ndayʌt
I   fall down Past   pot   fall down LR   go down Past
"I fell down, the pot fell down "

- In chain form before a verb expressing a direction, ndak expresses the meaning of "turning back, going back'

me kar   ŋgʌrɣʌ,   dʒyʌyʌ , nando tiɣi ndayʌ   mbʌt.
they car   take Ch   go Ch   again time go down Ch go back Past
"Having taken the car,having gone, later, it was time, they went back"

6.4.5.4. t a r o ʔ "to finish"

In its independent use, taroʔ expresses a perfective aspect, emphasizing that the action has finished or has come to an end.

ŋi   tarot
story finish Past
"The story is finished" (this is the usual way of ending a traditional story)

- at the end of a verb series, taroʔ indicates that the preceding action, event or state has come to an end:
taroʔ then appears in any of the moods and tenses allowed for the main verb, while the "main" action appears as root.

nʌ ŋguraʔri dumur mbuɣu   tarot,   me kiɣʌ mi
he birds   all   say LR   finish Past they go Ch ..so
"After he had told all the birds, so they went...."

japan reʔ vat   a   tu   nunduʔ tarot
japan thing numerous this place   die R finish Past
"Lots of Japanese died in this place"

kare. ŋi tarot
be at Pres story finish Past

"We had gone to the forest, we go to the garden; after having gone , after the afternoon sun is setting, (we) prepare the sago, we finish eating it, we (just) stay there. The story is finished"

- Another special use of t a r o? in chain form has been described in V.5.2.1.

6.5. Other verb sequences

We have seen how the paucity of verbs in the language is compensated by polysemy, verb and nominal adjunct, and verb series.
The language features other verb sequences for different purposes.
These sequences are analyzed hereunder:
- chain form before other verb
- indicative + final verb

6.5.1. Chain form + main verb

A chain form may combine with another verb immediately following it.
That other verb may be a final verb, in any of the mood and tense allowed for final verb.
The chain form may also appear before an intermediate verb within a verb series.

In such a construction, the sequence expresses the simultaneity of the action expressed in chain form, and the one expressed by the verb immediately following.

ŋgo nʌ ne? riɣaɣʌ kiɣʌ   mi
I him for find Ch come Ch so
"I came to find him"

ma?mu swaɣʌ mbʌt
child run Ch go back Past
"The child ran back" = "The child came back running"

mot soɣay kirʌ?ɣʌ   re?ŋaŋar moŋgot
man smoke pull Ch   thing-work make Past
"The man worked while smoking"

6.5.2. Indicative + final verb

This type of sequences involves one subject and at least two verbs: either the verb moŋg, "to make", or a verb expressing movement, after another indicative.

6.5.2.1 moŋg "to make"

moŋg is used in verb sequence final position in a desiderative construction, to express the subject's intention or wish.

For this specific purpose, it immediately follows the verb that expresses the wished or intended action. This first verb has been encountered most often in the indicative present, and in one instance in the indicative future.

moŋg may appear in any mood or tense allowed for main verb.

When the sequence features twice the use of moŋgre, once with the meaning "to make", the second with the meaning "to wish", the second one will appear with the alternative ending monde (See I.2.8.1.)

ŋgo re? ŋaŋar taro?re moŋgre
I thing work finish Pres make Pres
"I want to finish the work"

ŋgo a twã, ay nan ŋuni kare vʌvus, twã mbukre moŋgot
I this talk we property village be at Pres similarity talk say Pres make Pres
"This story, the ways of our village, I wanted to tell it"

meri dumur rinik re? ŋaŋar moŋgre nʌ saŋgre moŋgre
woman all garden-inside thing work make Pres it go Pres make Pres
"All the women want to go to the garden to work"

a mot nʌ to moŋgrene mʌmonde
his man he house make Fut make Pres
"This man wishes to build a house"

6.5.2.2. Expression of situation or movement

A sequence of a verb in the indicative, followed by a verb of situation or of movement, is used in a purposive clause to express the subject's intention to go and perform an action, or to go and witness the action performed.
The first verb has always been encountered in the indicative present.
It is immediately followed by a verb expressing a movement, or a position such as: saŋg, "go", mbʌ "come back", rik "go down", tikre "go up", kare "be at" etc. in sequence final position.
That second verb may be in any form allowed for main verb.

ŋgo ma?mu vasere saŋgre
I child see Pres go Pres
"I go to watch over the child"

ŋgo nʌ kuva?re mʌmbʌt
I him check Pres go back Pres Prog
"I am on my way to check on him"

ay rwẽ mʌkare, mirʌpkam binda?rc kare
we forest be at Pres Prog ancestor's voice learn Pres be at Pres
"We are staying in the forest, we stay to learn the ancestors' voice"

The last example features a combination of the two types of sequences described in this chapter: the desiderative construction using moŋgre, and the construction expressing movement, combined in a sequence of three verbs:

ŋgo morori vayre saŋgre moŋgre
I   men   hear Pres go Pres make Pres
"I want to go listen to the men singing"

6.5.2.3. Simultaneity in the present

A sequence of verbs in the indicative present express the simultaneity of the actions expressed by the verbs:

mot soɣay kirʌʔre reʔŋaŋar moŋgre
man smoke pull Pres   thing work make Pres
"The man smokes while working"

maʔmu ŋi   kirʌʔre roŋgre
child story pull Pres laugh Pres
"The child laughs while telling the story"

7. ANNEX: ORIENTATION IN SPACE ACCORDING TO AWAR

It is worth describing here the precise use of verbs of movement by the language to feature movements around the three villages.

Indeed, the speakers get oriented facing the sea. Hansa Bay, along which the villages are set, faces north-east. To walk along the beach, you go north-west or south-east. To go to the gardens, one leaves the coast and walks inland, towards the west.

The main verbs referring to movements around the villages are: gʌʔ "go up" (towards the north-east), rik "go down" (towards the forest). The speakers use dʒye "go" (with the intention of coming back), and mbʌ "come back" (to your point of origin), when going north or south.

As a consequence, one can gʌʔ "go up" from the village towards the islands of Margat, Manam and Boisa, in the bay, and towards the open sea. Afterwards, to come back to the village, one will rik "go down ".

One will rik "go down" to the gardens that are situated in the direction of the forest, away from the sea. One will also rik "go down" towards the village of Boroi – in a northeasterly direction, but along the same road, and further still , along the villages of Botbot, Marengis, Watam, towards the rivers Ramu and Sepik; technically all these locations are almost of the village, but they are accessible through the same road starting towards the gardens.
To come back to the village from all these places, one will gʌʔ "go up ".

One goes down, rik, to the beach, then gʌʔ back up again to the village.

From the village, one follows the beach to go to the north or south point of the bay. In both cases, one will dʒye "go" (with the intention of coming back to the point of origin), then mbʌ "come back" (to the point of origin). One will go further to Bogia, then Madang, and back, still dʒyeʔ "go" and mbʌ "come back" . All this, provided your point of origin, of residency, is in the village of Awar. Inhabitants of Madang will do the reverse, and dʒye "go" from Madang to the village, then mbʌ "go back" to town afterwards.

Movements between the three villages reflect the fact that Awar is considered the "main" village: Awar is the place one always "goes back to", mbʌt, even if one lives in Nubia and goes to Awar for a visit only. As a consequence of this cultural dominence, leaving your Nubia or Sisimagum home, you would mbʌt to Awar for your visit, then dʒye back to your house. An Awar inhabitant will dʒye in the direction of Nubia or Sisimagum, and mbʌt back home.

It is interesting to note also that the angle changes from Laing Island – in the middle of the bay: one would still gʌʔ "go up" to Boisa and Manam, and rik "go down" to come back, but one would gʌʔ and rik "go up" and "go down" to Bogia (South) (rather than dʒye and mbʌ "go" and "go back" as one would by land, from the village). Within the island in the middle of the bay, the same orientation is respected: from the middle of the island, one goes up towards the south point and down towards the north point.

The point of view changes also, depending if one is a person on a boat, or a piece of driftwood carried by the tide: in the second case, the movement is "reversed", and one gʌʔ "go up " from the sea to the beach, and rik "go down" from the beach to the sea.

Along the Ramu and Sepik rivers, one will go up and down with the current, as expected.

Finally, as far as winds are concerned:
- var, mbunum are both winds coming from the Sepik, that is from northeast: like people, they will gʌʔ "go up" towards the village.
- gʌmi is the wind that comes from the east: it will mbʌ "come back" towards the village.
- gʌw comes from the hills towards the south, and will rik "go down"– from the hills

map 3.

Hansa Bay and Awar area

N

Boisa Island

Manam Island

Towards Marangis Botbot
rivers Ramu /Sepik

Awar

Laing Island

Hansa Bay

Road to gardens
Boroi
rivers Ramu /Sepik

Sisimangum   Nubia

Towards Bogia

0   0 km

CHAPTER VI. MISCELLANEOUS WORDS

This chapter features the description of various types of words that qualify the verb or the phrase: verb modifiers of manner and of time, sentence modifiers, answer particles, coordinators, postpositions and conjunctions.

1.VERB MODIFIERS

The language features verb modifiers, that reflect the intensity of the action or of the state expressed by the verb.

Hereunder first described are the verb modifiers of manner preposed to the verb: gindʒeʔ, bidi, nʒok, nando, vanen, yã, tiɣɩ, teyteʔ; then one postponed to the verb: mi.

All verb modifiers have been encountered with the main verb, and mi after both main and subordinated verb.

The following section deals with verb modifiers of time: ndendi "now", dumdu "today", and tendeʔ "before".

1.1. Manner: gindʒeʔ "truly", bidi "somewhat", ndʒok "so", nando :repetition, vanen :ineffectiveness, yã "well", tiɣi "straight", teyteʔ :rapidity

All verb modifiers except bidi are compatible with verbs in affirmative and negative. bidi appears only before verbs in the affirmative.

If the verb has a complement, the complement may appear between gindʒeʔ, ndʒok, nando, teyteʔ, and the verb.

bidi, vanen, yã, tiɣɩ, however, will always appear immediately before the verb.

gindʒeʔ, bidi, ndʒok are mutually exclusive.
All other modifiers are mutually compatible.

1.1. 1. Thoroughness: gindʒeʔ "truly"

gindʒeʔ is used to express the thoroughness, the "complete" aspect of the action or state expressed by the main verb.

gindʒeʔ also functions as adjective modifier, with a similar meaning. (see III.3.6)
It most often appears after the subject of the verb, and before possible verb complements.

```
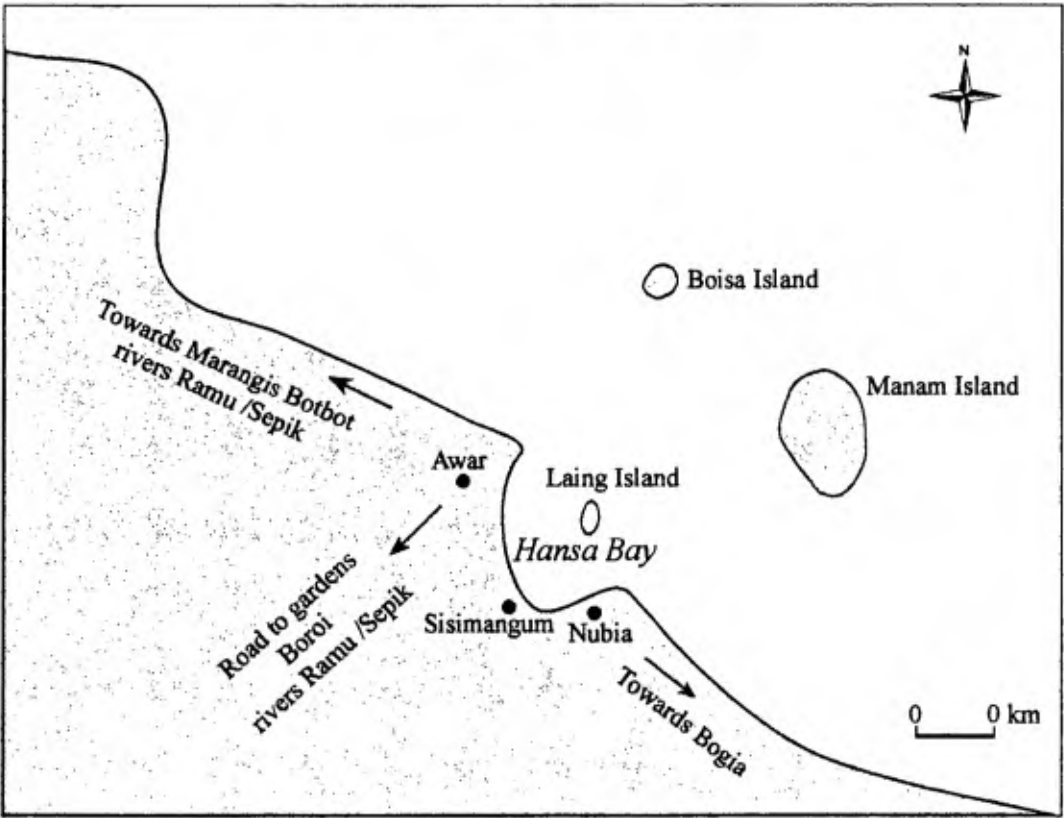ay gindʒeʔ  gʌʔɣʌ     mi
we truly     come up Ch  so
```
"Truly, so we grew up"

mʌri   gindʒeʔ   tonik   nʌ mbiraʔ mʌkaŋget
woman truly   house-iside   it sit R   be at Perf
"The woman was truly sitting inside the house"

veʔkram   ŋgʌrɣʌ,   gʌʔɣʌ,   taɣʌ   mi, gindʒeʔ ŋganandene
sago-basket take Ch,   lift up Ch, put up LR so , truly   give Fut
"Having taken the sago basket, having lifted it, they put it (in the canoe), truly to give it (as a present)

ŋgo gindʒeʔ to   dʒyerene, mo gi   ki
I   truly   before go Fut   you after come SR
"I really will go first, you come after"

nando,   nin gindʒeʔ mʌkʌvi
again   some truly   come Narr Prog
"Again, in truth, (another) one arrives"

1.1.2. Approximation: b i d i "somewhat"

b i d i is used to express the fact that the state or action considered is not entirely thorough, or has not been achieved completely, with the meaning of "somewhat" or "almost"
It appears just before the verb it modifies.
b i d i has not been encountered frequently.

As for g i n d ʒ e ʔ, b i d i has been described earlier as adjective modifier, with a similar meaning.

ŋgo market   bidi   saŋgat
I   market   almost   go Past
"I almost went (all the way) to the market"

mo   bidi   sā
you almost go SR
"Go a bit (further)"

1.1.3. Similarity: ndʒok "so, this way"

ndʒok is encountered frequently in narratives, and may be used for two purposes.
In both cases, it may be translated by "so, this way" and appears just before the verb it reinforces or completes.

- it may reinforce what has just been said – or done - and apply it to the verb immediately following, as in examples 1 to 3
In that case, it often precedes such verbs as moŋgot "made".

1. ŋgo nan   mam   mʌbinda?, ŋgo nan   mba   ndʒok moŋgot
   I property mother teach R Prog I property basket so   make Past
"(The way) my mother taught me, so I make the basket"

2. mbwi?   moŋgre ri?, ŋgo nan   sat twã ndʒok vayɣʌ   mi
   fishing basket make Pres things I property father talk so   listen Ch   so
"The things about making fishing basket, so I listen to my father's talk"

3. miller tiŋgin   nʌ ŋarat,   nʌ ndʒok nʌ nundu? ndaɣʌ   riɣit
   miller   back of head he   hit Past he so   he   die R   go down LR lie down
   Past
"He hit Miller at the back of the head, so dropping dead, he fell down, lying down"

- it may announce what is going to be said or done, most often after the verb , as in example 4 to 6. In this case, it often immediately precedes such verbs as mbuɣut "speak", or yengʌ "ask".

4. mba ŋgʌr   taɣʌ   va?, ndʒok mbuɣu mi
   basket take R come up LR after so   speak LR so
"Having taken the basket, so he spoke: "..." "

5. nʌ ndʒok mbuɣu   va?, ndʒok mongot
   he so   speak LR after so   make Past
"Having spoken that way, so he did the following: ..."

6. ma?mu tay   ndʒok yengʌt:
   Child old woman so   ask Past
"The child asked the old woman this way:" ...."

1.1.4. Repetition: nando "again"

Immediately before the verb, nando expresses the repetition of the action or the fact that an action is resumed after an interruption.

Note that in that case, the verb is repeated but the object may be left out.
It may be translated by the English word "again".

mu   taɣʌt.   taɣʌɣʌ,   gurʌp, nando ŋuni ŋar taɣʌ,   nando
night come up Past come up Ch tomorrow again village hit SR come up LR again
dʒyet
go Past
"The night came. Having come, the next day (came), again dawn came, again (we) went"

nando nin ŋgʌr. vurin   nando mbinʌ ŋgʌrat
again some take R one of two again one   take Past
" "Have another one" . "One of the two women took one again"

saŋgʌ, saŋgʌ,   nando kot:.....
go LR go LR   again call Past
"He went and went, again he called:"......"

ŋgo sʌk vor taɣat   din, ŋgo nando nan   string pirʌ   tarot
I fish big come up Past Neg I again property string let go LR finish Past
"I haven't caught a big fish, again I cast my string to its full length"

- before the verb ndaɣʌt "go down" , mbʌt, "go back" , or the verb series ndaɣʌ
mbʌt, "turn back", nando reinforces the idea of return already expresses by the verbs.

ŋgo moɣoporvok vasʌɣʌ mi, nando ndaɣʌ   mbʌt
I water-storm see Ch so again go downLR go back Past
"Having seen a big sea storm, I turned back to the village"

ŋgo nando mas ndaɣʌ   mʌ
I again must go down LR go back R
"I have to go back (to the village)"

A word, nando functioning as a "sentence modifier", is described in VI.2.1.

1.1.5. Ineffectiveness : vanen " in vain"

In a few instances, vanen has appeared after the subject, as verb complement indicating the lack of success of the endeavor expressed by the verb; the action has been realized, but has brought no benefit, it has been "for nothing".

ŋgo vanen nʌ ŋuni   saŋgat, mot kare   ndin
I Neg it village go Past man be at Pres Neg
"I go to the village for nothing, the man wasn't there"

ma?mu nʌ vanen marasin mbat,   nʌ murʌk   nundut
child it Neg medicine eat Past it night-middle die Past
"The child drank the medicine for nothing, he died during the night"

1.1.6. "Well": yã

The modifier yã appears immediately before the verb to express that the action described has been carried out well.
In this use, yã is invariable. It may be amplified by adjunction of the adjective vor, described earlier as an adjective modifier (see III.3.6)

mo   yã   moŋgot !
you good   make Past
"You did well!"

mo kʌri yã   vasat
you keri   good   see Past
"You looked well after Keri"

mot vor a twã   yã   mbuɣut
man big this talk   good speak Past
"The old man told the story well"

1.1.7. "Straight" : tiɣi

tiɣi has been described earlier as a special substantive (see III.2.4.)
Immediately preceding taɣʌ,"come up" in long root, it forms a verb phrase meaning "well, correctly" .
Immediately before the verb, this verb phrase functions as a verb modifier , expressing the manner in which an action is carried out.

ma?mu tiɣi   taɣʌ   saŋgre
child   straight   come up LR   go spr
"The child walks well"

mʌri   ŋunikam   tiɣi taɣʌ   twã   mbukre
woman   village-sound   straight stand LR   talk speak Pres
"The woman speaks well the local language"

There is a negation to this structure that features the main verb in the negative:

mʌri   ŋunikam   tiɣi   taɣʌ   twã mbukre   ndin
woman village-sound   straight stand LR   talk   speak Pres Neg
"The woman does not speak the local language well"

1.1.8. Rapidity   teyte?

The verb modifyer teyte? has been encountered only once in the text, and seems to be used more in conversation than in narratives.
It expresses the fact that the action occurs quickly, over a short period of time.

ɑy mʌri dumur teyteʔ gʌʔ, sʌk muʔre riʔ ŋgʌryʌ, saŋgat
We woman all quickly get up R fish catch Pres things take Ch go Past
"All of us women quickly got up, took our fishing gear, and went"

1.1.9. Postponed modifier mi "so"

The postponed modifier mi is extremely frequent in narratives and in conversation. It appears in two main instances, after a verb and after a pronoun.
A general meaning may be "so , this way", or more specifically "there it is"
mi may function as a narrative device, confirming the speaker's last enunciation, and slowing down the rhythm of the narrative, for an easier comprehension of the audience.

After a verb:
- mi introduces direct speech. In this case, it most often immediately follows such verbs as mbuyu, "speak", or yeŋgʌ "ask", and may be reinforced by the verb modifier ndʒok "so, this way, thus" .

maʔmu kɨ, sat ndʒok mbuyu mi: ...
child come SR father this way say LR so: "... "
"The child came to his father, and said thus: "..." "

ŋuni kɨyʌ, mot vor yeŋgʌ mi: ...
village arrive Ch , man big ask LR so
"Arriving to the village, they ask the chief thus: " ..." "

– mi has often been encountered as part of the "tail-head" linkage, in the place of vaʔ:(See IV.5.2):

ni mareʔ mʌpay. paʔyʌ mi, me nʌ mba
Dl food prepare Narr Prog prepare Ch so they it eat R
"Both were preparing the food. Thus having prepared it, they ate it"
morori nembi twã vayyʌ mi, mbop mʌmoŋgi. moŋgo
men together talk hear Ch so maternity house make Narr Prog make LR

taroʔyʌ mi, kɨuʔri paʔ tayʌ mʌkare
finish Ch so beds prepare R come up LR be at Prog Pres
"After the men have heard the talk, they prepare the maternity house. Thus, when it was finished, the beds were prepared and put up"

kamdong vasʌyʌ mi, nʌ nu gʌʔyʌ mi, nʌ mbuyu mi: ...
kamdong see Ch so him nearness come up Ch so him say LR so
"She saw Kamdong, came near him, said to him: "..." "

kʌka,   nʌ maʔmu vasɣʌ   mi, tarot,   maʔmu reʔ vor moŋgot
be at Dur she child   watch Ch so finish Past child   thing big   make Past
"Time passes, she looks after the child, finished, the child has grown big"

- mi   appears   frequently   in   sentence-final   position,   after   the   final   verb,   thereby
emphasizing the main action.
In this instance, it has often appeared after the verb taɣʌ, "come up", and ndaɣʌ, "go
down", as the final position.

ŋi   taroʔɣʌ   mi
Story   finish Ch   so
"So the story is finished"

ŋgo mo neʔ riɣaɣʌ kɨɣʌ   mi
I   you for   look Ch   come Ch so
"I came to look for you"

mot rʌɣam rangʌ,   nʌ num nunduʔ ndaɣʌ   mi
man pig   shoot LR   it self   die R   fall down Ch so
"The man shot the pig, (the pig) itself died and fell down"

sʌk ŋgʌrɣʌ,   koronik   taɣʌ   mi
fish take Ch   canoe-inside   put up LR   so
"She took the fish, put it in the canoe"

nʌ ŋgʌrɣʌ,   nʌ noɣo   mi.   noɣʌ   vaʔ   serim paʔɣʌ   mi
she take Ch   it cut small Ch   so   cut small Ch   after   soup   prepare Ch   so
"She took (the fish), cut it small. After having cut it, she prepared soup"

- mi appears at the end of an exclamation, underlining the tone of the speaker:

mo andeʔ kare   mot mi !
you here   be at Pres   man so
"So! You are the man who lives here !"

yerim, mo num nʌ mi !
rat,   you self it   so
"So! Rat, you are the one (who did it)!"

twã vayre   maʔmu yã   mi !
talk listen Pres   child   good so
"So! What a good child that listens to (his parents') talk !"

sʌk reʔ vor pesi mi !
fish thing big very   so
"So! What a big fish!"

1.2. Verb modifiers – temporal:

ndendi **"today"**, duṁbu **"now"**, tende? **"before"**

ndendi "today", dumbu "now", tende? "before" are invariable words functioning for the orientation in time with regards to the moment of speech.
They are most often used independently; they may occupy a sentence-initial position, or appear after the subject. In both cases, they affect the sentence as a whole.
They may also appear as modifier within a noun phrase.

ma?meŋgiri dumbu mesindɨp te? ŋuni mʌmbʌ
children   now   beach   from village   come back R Prog
"The children are now coming back to the village from the beach"

tende? moŋgoŋget vʌvus
before   make Perf   similarity
"The way they were doing things before" (Title of a story)

a   tap,   nʌ ndendi tap   vanen,   nʌ tende? tap
this custom   it   today   custom   Neg   it   before   custom
"This custom, it is not a custom of today, it is a custom of before"

2. SENTENCE MODIFIERS

The language features a number of words that function as sentence modifier; they appear either in sentence-initial or in sentence-final position, to affect its overall meaning.
These modifiers are nando "later" , vasʌndʒi "in vain" , and the interrogative to.

2.1. Time lapse: nando

In sentence-initial position, nando indicates that some time has elapsed between the event described in the preceding sentence, and the one in the sentence it introduces.
In the last two examples, "later" has come to refer to the present moment, "today"

ŋgo ma?mu siɣat kaŋget.   nando ŋgo ma?mu re?   kot moŋgot
I   child   sma   be at Perf   later   I   child   thing   big   make Past
"I was a small child. Later, I had grown into a big child.."

nando ay tiɣi ma?meŋgiri   a   ri?   tarot
later   our   time   children   this things   finish Past
"Later, the children of our time do not have these things"

nando me mɨrʌpkam   moŋgre   ndin
later   they ancestor-voice   make Pres   Neg
"Later they don't play the ancestor's voice anymore"

2.2. Unsuccessful attempt : vasʌndʒi

vasʌndʒi appears in clause-final position, as a modifier after the main verb.
vasʌndʒi is used to express that an attempt at an action has been made, that has been cut short, or that an action has taken place, but has not brought the expected result.

yerim nan   ŋgun gʌʔɣʌ,   yit moŋgo,   vasʌndʒi
rat   property tail lift up Ch shake make Pres in vain
"The rat lift up its tail, shook it, in vain"

yerim ŋgun reru   reru, vasʌndʒi
rat   tail   shake R shake R in vain
"The rat shook and shook its tail, in vain"

kaʔpan kʌt kirʌʔɣʌ,   mot moɣonik riɣit,   dwi , vasʌndʒi
knee   cut R pull Ch   man water-inside go down Past , swim R in vain
"His knee having been cut, the man went in the water (tried to) swim, in vain"

mbʌnbin vor pesi, ŋgʌrɣʌ, ŋgo ŋgʌsem voʔ   voʔ,   vasʌndʒi
trevally big very take Ch I   basket push R push   in vain
"A huge trevally, I catch it, try to fit it in the basket, in vain"

2.3. Possibility with uncertainty: to

The interrogative to immediately after the verb in the affirmative indicates the possibility of the action being completed, with , however, some uncertainty.
The verb may be in root form, and in indicative simple present and simple past.
The construction appears most often in a question.

mo ŋesire   to?
You be tired Pres interr
"Are you tired (or not)?"

mok paʔre   to?
Rain arrive Pres interr
"Will the rain come?" (or not)

3. ANSWER PARTICLES

3.1.ore "yes" and vanen "no"

Awar features words that are meant to replace a whole sentence, either by confirming it, or by infirming it.
The first two are answers to questions: positive with ore, "yes" , negative with vanen, "no".
Both may be used alone, but may also have a rhetorical value in narrative.

```
mo   ŋgo  vaʔ mbʌre        moŋgre ?     ore, ay mʌsaŋgi
you  me   with  go back Pres make Pres  ? yes  we  go Narr Prog
"Do you want to go back with me ?"        "Yes, let's go"


mo   ŋgo nan      maʔmu vasat ?   vanen, ŋgo nʌ  vasat  din
you  I   property child  see Past  no     I   him  see Past Neg
"Did you see my child ?" " No, I didn't see him""


nʌ kʌn pyayyʌ,  rʌyam vasʌre,  vanen, kare ndin
he tree climb Ch  pig    see Pres  no,    be at Neg
"He climbs the tree to look for pig,    No, there aren't any"
```

3.2. Interrogative vaʔ

vaʔ has also been encountered alone in a limited number of examples, where it indicates that an action expected has been completed.

In the following example, the speaker has been expecting the birth of a baby, after the woman went into labor:

```
mirʌyʌ,         tanbā nda nʌ mʌyengi:       vaʔʔ kare,o? mirit,e?
give birth Ch  outside those it  ask Narr Prog  after  be at Pres give birth Past
```
"After she has given birth, those outside ask: "" Is it it? Is the baby there? Has she given birth?"

4. COORDINATORS

4.1. Additive a

The additional a functions as part of the substantive phrase only in an enumeration, that is, if there are more than one substantive involved.

a has been encountered after each substantive of the enumeration, and "binds" them together by expressing an "additional" meaning, equivalent to the English "and".

a always appears after all other complements of the substantive, at the end of the noun phrase.

No example has been encountered where more than two substantives were linked by a.

Note that this additional is also used to express numeric additions – the only mathematical operation expressed by the language.


```
vegen a  sirgem a  mʌriri a  tu kivʌt.      nendʒu mʌri  saŋgat?
nubia and sisimagun and women  this  place come Past . what  woman  go Past
```
"Women from Nubia and Sisimagun arrived to this place. Which woman left?"

mot rwē sangʌ, mut a maʔmu a   riɣare
man forest go R   wife and child   and   look for Pres
"The man went to the forest to look for his wife and child"

kor a   ndumi   a,   ŋgo ni ŋgʌrat
taro and sweet potato and   I   both take Past
"Taro and sweet potato, I took both"

ŋas mbɨnʌ a   ŋas   mbɨnʌ a, ŋasni   mbuni
Banana one   and banana one   and, banana Dl two
"One banana plus one banana makes two bananas"

4.2. Exclusive o

The exclusive o may join two nouns, or two determinants.
It expresses a meaning of exclusion between the different substantives, equivalent to the English "or".
This exclusive o may be a loan from Tok Pisin o "or".

tumba   mu, kwakre kam mbɨnʌ, ay nimbi vorɣʌ,   mamar   mbuni o
morning night rooster voice one   we together get up Ch   mothers   two   or

mbrɨbɨn o nendʒi,   nembi   vaʔ ŋgʌrat
three   or how much together group take Past
"At dawn, at cock's crow, we get up together, two or three or how many women, together we form a group"

nʌ niɣɨŋgɨn   mʌmoŋgi,   mam siɣat nin   o, mam vor nin
her lower abdomen make Narr Prog mother small a certain or mother big a certain
o   nʌ ŋgʌrɣʌ mʌmbey
or her take Ch go Narr Prog
"As she gets the contractions, her small mother or big mother takes her away"

o may also appear between two verbs, or between a verb and the negation vanen, to indicate that one or the other action will take place.

kondoʔ nundu ndaɣat   o, saŋgat o, ay yembre   ndin.
snake die R fall down Past or go Past or we know Pres Neg
""The snake died, or escaped, we don't know"

mʌri ŋuni kare,   nʌ gurʌp   krene, o vanen, o ?
woman village be at Pres she tomorrow   come Fut or Neg   o ?
"The woman is at the village, will she come tomorrow or won't she ?"

257

5. POSTPOSITIONS

The verb complement is most often not marked by a particular morpheme. Its function may be identified through its position in the phrase, and through its meaning combined with the particular meaning of the verb.

Some verb complements however use a postposition after the complement.

These complements and their morpheme are: accompaniment va? "with" , deprivative va? vanen "without" , benefactive/purpose ne? "for" , and origin ɩe? "from".

5.1. Accompaniment: va?

The postposition of accompaniment is va? " with" .

The complement of accompaniment is structured around a particular use of the special substantive va?, (see also III.2.4, V.3.3 and V.6.1)

In the complement of accompaniment, the postposition va? immediately follows the substantive that is part of the "inclusion" : it may then be repeated several times, if the accompaniment is composed of several substantives.

va? may be preceded by a substantive, a substantive phrase, with any determiner or complement, or by a substitute.

ma?mu mam va? ŋuni taɣʌ kare
child mother with village come up LR be at Pres
"The child stays in the village with his mother"

mam ma?mu mõ va? ma? va? mesindɨp saŋgat
mother child girl with boy with beach go Past
"The mother went to the beach with the girl and the boy"

mo nin va? mbare moŋgre ?
you some with eat Pres make Pres
"Do you want to eat some more ?"

mam sʌrim kirʌp va? sʌk va? pa?rene
mother soup greens with fish with prepare Fut
"My mother will prepare soup with greens and fish"

mam yare ma?mu va? ŋuni mbʌt
mother cry Pres child with village go back Past
"The mother went back to the village with the crying child"

5.2. Deprivative va? vanen

The use of va? vanen may be considered a variant of the preceding complement .
The construction va? vanen, literally "with no", is positioned immediately after the substantive that represents the deprivation undergone by the subject. It is used to express the meaning of "without" (something)

a   sʌrim mesimok va?   vanen, pisã yã vanen
this soup   salt   with   Neg ,   taste good Neg
"This soup is without salt, the taste is not good"

ŋgo ma?mu va? vanen ŋuni sangre, ŋgo kembi
I   child   with   Neg village go Pres   I   only
"I go to the village without the child, only me"

ŋgo ŋuni   sangre, yare   ma?mu va? vanen, ŋgo kembi
I   village go Pres   cry Pres   child   with   Neg   I   only
"I go to the village without the child, only me"

5.3. Benefactive/purpose: ne?

The complement of goal or intention expresses the subject's will through the benefactive ne? immediately following the substantive.
It may be translated by "for, with the intention" or "with the purpose of", or "for the benefit of" .

- The complement may be a noun, a noun phrase with any determiner or complement, including a relative clause.

1. ay   mare?   ne? ri   sangrene
  we food   for garden go Fut
"We will go to the garden for food"

2. ay ki,   ri   moŋgre   tu   ne? mʌriɣay
  we come SR   garden make Pres   place for   look for Narr Prog
"We come to look for a place to make a garden"

3. ay   ŋgʌriri kramri   ne? mʌŋgwey
  we   vines   baskets   for   take Narr Prog
"We take the vines to make baskets"

4. ŋasru   ŋgo nan   ne? me   gurʌ? mʌkare
  banana-ripe I   property for they   hang R   be at Pres Prog
"The bananas, they are hanging there for me"

- The complement may be a substitute, although first and second person substitutes have been mostly encountered, and third person substitutes have appeared only infrequently, in context where confusion is not possible.

5. mʌri   nʌ nan   kʌŋgit riɣa,   nʌ ne? kore
   woman she property husband look for LR   him for   call out Pres
"The woman is looking for her husband, she calls out for him"

6. me   kar ne? mbire   kare;   nʌ ne? mbire   kʌkaɣʌ, kar kivʌt
   they   car for wait Pres be at Pres it for   wait Pres be at Dur car come
Past
"They are there waiting for the car; having been there waiting for it for a long time, the car arrived"

7. miri nʌ mbuɣu,   gurʌp   nʌ paorosim sangʌ,   yum ne? riɣarene
   woman her say LR   tomorrow   she reef   go LR   shell for   find Fut
"The woman told her to go the next day to the reef to look for shells"

8. ŋgo rose mbuɣu,   nʌ   maykam ne? vayrene
   I   rose say LR   she   may-voice for   hear Fut
"I told Rose to put an ear for Mai's voice"

- Examples 9 and 10 illustrate the difference introduced by the facultative presence of the intentional.

In example 9, the woman calls out with the intention of reaching the recipient that might be out of sight.

9. mʌri   mo ne? koŋget
   woman you for   call out Perf
"The woman had called out for you"

In example 10 she directly addresses her, calling rather than speaking. The complement is a direct complement.

10. mʌri   mo koŋget
    woman you call Perf
"The woman called you"

Example 11 features the only instance where the roots rik "go down", and gʌ? "go up", have been encountered as nouns:

11. mbombē kor rik   ne? gʌ?   ne? ŋuni tayʌt
    wind   canoe go down for   get up for village take up Past
"The wind took the canoe up and down the waves to the village"

5.4. Origin: t e?

The complement of origin is marked by the word t e? immediately following the complement and preceding the verb.

It expresses the origin or original position of the subject, and may be translated by "from".

The complement of origin may precede any of the verbs of movement or location.

The mark of complement of origin presents a formal resemblance to the complement of intention n e? described above.

ŋgo ŋuni te? dʒyet
I village from go Past
"I went from the village"

mo   gur   ŋuni te?   rwē   riɣit?   ore, ŋgo gi nʌ rwē   te?
you yesterday village from   forest go down Past yes, I after it forest from
ŋuni gʌt
go up Past
"Did you go down from the village to the forest yesterday?" " Yes, later I went back up from the forest to the village"

a   kar nʌ nay tu   te?   kivʌt ?   nʌ mbʌri te?   dʒyet
this car it where place from   come Past   it   boroi from   come Past
"Where did this car come from ?" "It came from Boroi"

5.5. Attributive: r a?

The attributive r a? appears after a substantive or a substitute to mark it as the recipient of an attribution.

r a? is most often encountered in narration, as an introduction to direct speech, to link the speaker and his enunciation.

It may also appear in conversation, to mark belonging. In this, it is close to the use of the special substantive nan.

yerim mbuɣu mi: kwakre, mo gi   mbira?.   kwakre ra?: yā
rat   say R so chicken you after sit down R   chicken attr good
"The rat said thus: "Chicken, go and sit at the back" . As for the chicken (he said): "All right"

mam   ŋasru ma?mu mõ ŋganaŋgat. ma?mu ma?: ŋgo ra?
Mother banana child girl give Past child boy   me attr
"The mother gave a banana to the girl. As for the boy (he said): "And mine?" "

6. CONJUNCTIONS

The language features two conjunctions, postponed to the verb phrase, that introduce notions of anteriority of action, on the one hand, and of hypothetical realization, on the other hand.

6.1. Conjunction of anteriority: va?

va? functions as postposition, at the end of the subordinated verb phrase that constitutes the "head" part of the "tail-head linkage" .

va? appears in clause final position, immediately after the chain verb, and – here with the meaning of "after"- confirms that the subordinated action is finished.
Its presence heralds the next - main- action in the following main verb phrase.

The chain verb is the repetition of the main verb of the preceding sentence.
The change of mood for the verb and the presence of va? are the salient features of this narrative device meant to insure the audience's comprehension

The function of the chain verb within the "tail-head" linkage has been described in V.5.2.

kwakre raŋgʌ mbas gʌt;   raŋgʌɣʌ va?, mbas gʌ?,
chicken jump LR dry sand come up Past jump Ch after dry sand get up R;

gʌ?ɣʌ va? yerim riɣi, dudwiɣʌ mʌkire;   kɨɣʌ va?,
get up Ch after rat go down LR swim Dur come Pres Prog come Ch after

me neni mbuɣi :" ...⁻
they each other say Narr
"The chicken jumped and landed on dry sand; having jumped and landed on dry sand,
the rat went down (into the water), and came swimming (ashore); having come, they said
to each other:" ..." "

nʌ ŋuni sā gʌ?. saŋgʌɣʌ va?, ŋuni gʌ?ɣʌ   va?, nan
he village go SR get up R go Ch after village come up Ch after property

sat roɣormba ŋgʌrɣʌ gʌ? riɣit. ndaɣʌ ŋgʌr
father decoration- basket take Ch come up R go down Past come back LR take R
riɣit
go down Past

"Having gone, having come to the village, he took his father's decoration basket and
went down. He took it and went back down (to the forest)"

mot vor sangʌ, nʌ nʌ nasri ŋarɣʌ gʌ? gurey.
man big go LR he his banana cut Ch take up R hang up Narr
taro?ɣʌ va?, nʌ ŋuni mʌkʌvi
finish Ch after he village come Narr Prog
"The big man went, cut his banana and hung them up.
After having hung them up, he went back to the village"

ŋgavimʌri dwiɣʌ   gʌʔ   taroʔɣʌ vaʔ, mot mʌriɣit,   dwi
witch   *swim Ch   come up R   finish Ch   after   man go down Past Prog   swim R*
vasʌndʒi
in vain

"The witch having swum ashore, the man was going down, tried to swim, in vain"

mot ndaɣʌ   kirʌt.   ndaɣʌ   kirʌʔɣʌ gʌʔɣʌ   vaʔ, mandʌp
man go back LR come Past come back LR cut Ch   get up Ch   after   mangrove
sim gʌʔ   mbirat
top   get up R   sit down Past

"The man returned. Having returned, having crossed and got up, he sat on top of a mangrove tree"

dudwiɣʌ,   madu kiɣʌ   vaʔ,   ŋgʌrʌɣʌ ŋgʌrɣʌ,   yerim   madusim tiɣʌ
swim Dur   turtle come Ch   after   backside take Ch   rat   turtle-top stand Ch
mi
so

"Having swum for a long time, a turtle having arrived, he grabbed her back, so the rat stood on top of the turtle"

In one instance, vaʔ has been encountered to announce direct speech, in a position usually filled by the presentative mi

me   kiɣʌ   vasʌɣʌ   vaʔ: yerim,   mo gʌʔ   ki .....
they   come Ch   see Ch   with: "*rat,   you get up R   come SR*

"Having come, they see: "Rat, get up and come " "

6.2. Conjunction of hypothetic: t o

The mark of possibility t o may appear after the affirmative verb, in final position of the first of two juxtaposed phrases: this construction expresses the value of the hypothetic: "If" or "whether" .
The verb has been encountered in root form, and in indicative simple present and simple past.

meri   saŋgat   to, ŋgo nʌ vasat   din
woman   go Past   if   I   it   see Past Neg
"Whether the woman went, (or not), I didn't see"

ŋgo ŋesi   to, ŋgo reʔ ŋaŋar moŋgre   ndin
I   be tired R   if   I   thing work   make Pres Neg
"If I am tired, I don't work"

mot kire   to, ŋgo nʌ vaserene
man come Pres   if   I   him see Fut
"If the man comes , I will see him"

me   nay   saŋgat   to,   ŋgo me   vasat   din,   ŋgo yembre   ndin
they where   go Past   if   I   they see Past   Neg   I   know Pres   Neg
"Where they may have gone, I didn't see, I don't know"

ma?mu   a   twā   vayt   to,   ŋgo yembre   ndin
child this   talk   listen Past   if   I   know Pres   Neg
"Did the child obey (to what had been said to him), I don't know"

yumuŋi

shell-story

"The story of the shell"

mʌri   nin   ma?mu miryʌ   kaŋget.   nʌ   nan   mam   mbuyu
woman some   child   give birth ch   be at Perf   her   property   mother say LR
"A woman had given birth to a baby.   Her mother said so:

mi: mo gurʌp   tumba   mu   nʌ ki.   kiyʌ,   ŋga   yum riyare,
So: you tomorrow   morning night it come SR   come Ch Dl   shell look for Pres
"Tomorrow early morning, come here.   After you have come, both of us will go to the

paorosim saŋgrene.   ŋgavi mʌri   nʌ   tiyi   vayt.   vayyʌ
stone-top go Fut   witch woman   she   stand LR   listen Past.   Listen Ch
reef to look for shells".   A witch woman listened standing up.   After having listened,

va?,   ŋuni   ŋar   tayʌ,   mbʌre   nʌ   kivʌt
after   village   hit R   come up LR   go back Pres   she   come Past
when the light hit the village, she came back, she came (to the village).

kiyʌ   va?,   mʌri   nʌ   vorot,   a   mbuyu mi:
come Ch after   woman   she   wake up Past, this one   say LR   so:
Having come, she woke up the woman, she told her:

mo   gʌ?,   ŋuni   ŋar   tayʌt,   ŋga   mʌsaŋgi.
You get up R village   hit R   come up Past   Dl   go Narr Prog
"You get up, morning has broken, you two are going"

ŋuni   taro?yʌ   ŋar   tayʌt,   ni   saŋgat.
Village finish Ch   hit   come up Past Dl   go Past
Dawn having come to the village, the two went.

ni   saŋgʌ,   nʌ   nan   ma?mu kram   ŋgʌryʌ,   nʌ   ŋganaŋgʌyʌ va?,
Dl   go LR   she   property   child   basket   take Ch   her   give Ch   after
As the two were going , (the mother) took her child's basket, gave it (to the witch),

nʌ   nʌ pro?yʌ   mi, nʌ num mi   yum   ne? mbuyu: paorosim turi
she   it put on head Ch   so her self so   shell   for   say LR: stone-top places
so the witch having put it on her head, said to that (woman) about the shells: " Go now

265

vasʌyʌ mʌkire   sʌsaŋgʌyʌ va?,   ŋgavi mʌri gʌ?yʌ,   nʌ par
see Ch go Pres Prog go Dur Ch after   witch woman get up Ch it hand
look at the places on the reel. After they have gone for a while, the witch gets up, so she

nin   kro? kirʌ?yʌ mi.   ma?mu yare.
Some tear R   pull Ch   so   child cry Pres
tears and pulls one of (the child's) fingers. The child cries.

mam ra?: a ri? moŋgot?
Mother attr this things make Past
The mother (says): "What is happening?"

ŋgavi   mʌri   ra?: vanen, o gʌrigis, o raŋas,   vor pesi

Witch   woman attr no   o sandfly o sandfly big very
The witch (says): "No, sandfly (type), sandfly (type), a lot (of them)"

yare   nando sʌsaŋgʌyʌ   va?, nando nin   par ŋira?ri dumur
cry Pres again go Ch Dur after again some hand fingers all
(The child) cries. Again, they having gone, (she does it) again, having finished all the

taro?yʌ   va?,   nando rweŋira?ri riyit   riyi   va?, nda
finish Ch after   later foot-toes   take down Past take down LR after those
fingers of one hand, later she goes down to the toes. Having gone to the toes, having

dumur mba taro?yʌ   va?, nando dumbu sʌkri a   nda dumur ndʒwa?
all   eat R finish Ch after later   all meats this those all   tear out R
finished eating them all ,   later all the flesh, all those (parts), she tears out,

ŋgʌryʌ   tarot.   taro?yʌ va? pan vor nendi keŋge   mi
Take Ch finish Past   finish Ch after head big only left Narr   so
having taken them, she finishes them. Having finished, so only a big head is left.

keŋge, saŋgʌ, ŋasʌŋgun vor nin kʌtʌyʌ ŋgʌr kiyʌ   kramʌnik   vot
*left R   go LR banana-tail big some cut Ch take R come Ch basket-inside put in
Past*
As it is left, she goes, cuts a big banana stalk, takes it and coming back, puts it inside the
basket.

ma?mu taro?yʌ   ya   taro?yʌ mi.   mam   yum riya   taro?yʌ
child finish Ch   cry R finish Ch so   mother shell look for R finish Ch
The child is finished, it has stopped crying.   His mother having finished looking for
shell

gʌʔɣʌ,   nʌ yeŋgʌ mi: maʔmu ŋgʌr ki.   maʔmu kram nik   taɣʌ,
get up Ch she ask LR so child take R come SR child basket-inside take up LR
having got back up (to the house), so she asks: "Take the child and come". Taking the

mam   a maʔmu vasat   vus,   a maʔmu nʌ taɣʌ   riɣi   nʌ
mother this child see Past similarity this child it   come up LR go down LR it
child out the basket, so the mother sees the child, the child that is there lying down, it

tarot   taɣʌ   ŋasʌŋgun nendi. mam   raʔ: o, ŋgo nʌ ma twā
finish Past come up LR banana-stalk only   mother atttr o I   it eat R talk
is finished, it is only a banana stalk.   The mother (says): "Oh, I did not tell you to

mbuɣut   din
speak Past Neg
eat it"

gʌʔɣʌ,   nʌ mʌŋgwi.   ni neni   ŋgu ŋgu, a ŋgavi mʌri
get up Ch she hit Narr Prog Dl each other hit R hit R this witch woman
She gets up, and is hitting her Both fight (and) fight ,   the witch

mʌkimaŋgʌ   saŋgʌ, yamʌtu mbʌt .   yamʌtu mbʌɣʌ,
run away LR Prog go LR   tree-place go back Past Prog   tree-place go back
Ch
is running away, as she goes, she comes back to the "gam" tree. Having come back to

nʌ num riɣi   mi,   keŋge mi. keŋge, a mʌri   ŋuni saŋgʌ,
she self go down LR so   left LR so   left LR this woman village go LR
"gam" tree, so she herself goes down, so she stays there. As she is staying there, the

nʌ kʌŋgit mbuɣut: ŋgo a vʌvus   a   vʌvus .   nʌ mʌgʌʔ
she husband say Past I this similarity this similarity he get up R Prog
woman goes to the village and says to her husband: " I am so so". He is getting up,

teʔ mbinʌ, pateʔ, paoroteʔ, nʌ ŋa   ŋgʌrɣʌ saŋgʌ, a kʌn vor,
axe one   axe stone-axe he reach R take Ch go LR   this tree big
having reached to take an axe, a stone axe, he goes (to) a big tree,

yamʌkʌn,   vʌrʌ ŋgʌr kirʌt.   kirʌʔɣʌ vaʔ, sʌnim taɣʌ
tree type-tree fell LR take R pull Past pull Ch after base come up LR
(to) a "gam" tree, he fells it and pulls it down. Having pulled it down, the base appears,

kʌtʌɣʌ mʌmbey,   mam vor pesi vasʌɣʌ mi. mot raʔ: a ndeʔ
cut Ch come back Narr Prog woman big very see Ch so   man atttr this place
he goes on cutting,   and sees the big woman. The man (says): "Here

nʌ num nʌ mi! nʌ ŋgure ŋgure ŋgu ŋgu , ŋar voʔɣʌ,
she self she so he hit Pres hit Pres hit R hit R hit R bury Ch
she is herself!" He hits, hits, hits, hits , he kills (her),

ŋgʌr swaʔ kirʌʔɣʌ tarot ŋi tarot
Take R fire pull Ch finish Past story finish Past
Takes (her), throws (her) in the fire. It is finished. The story is finished

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anceaux, J. C. 1965. The Nimboran Language, Phonology and Morphology, 'S-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff.

Bussmann, Hadumod. 1996. The Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics, Reference, New York

Foley, William. 1986. The Papuan Languages of New Guinea. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foley, William. 1997. Anthropological Linguistics, Blackwell, Oxford

Hoeltkoer, Georg. 1947. Die Maritime Ortung bei einigen Staemmen in NordNeuGuinea. Encyclopedia Helvetica, 192-205.

Katamba, Francis. 1989. Introduction to Phonology. Longman, London.

Katamba, Francis. 1994. Morphology, McMillan, Houndmills.

Longacre, Robert. 1972. Hierarchy and universality of discourse constituents in New Guinea languages. Georgetown University Press, Washington.

Parrish, David. 1988. Grammatical Description of Bore, Pioneer Bible Translators, Madang (not published).

Pawley, Andrew. 1987. "Encoding events in Kalam and English: different logics for reporting experience." In R. Tomlin (ed.), Coherence and Grounding in Discourse, 329-360. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Pawley, Andrew. 1993. "A language which defies description by ordinary means." In W. Foley (ed), The Role of Theory in Language Description, 87-129. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Reesink, Ger P. 1987. Structures and their Functions in Usan, John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Z'graggen, John. 1971. Classificatory and typological studies in languages of the Madang Distirict. Pacific Linguistics C19.

Z'graggen, John. 1972. Comparative Wordlist of the Ramu Language Group, New Guinea. Alexishafen, Madang Province, PNG: Anthropos Institut.

Other References

Aikhenwald, Alexandra. 1996. Physical properties in a gender system: A study of Manambu. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 27.175-187.

Allen, J. and P. Hurd. 1972. Manambu phonemes. *Te Reo* 15.37-44.

Bailey, D. 1975. Abau language: Phonology and grammar. *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages* 9. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Bowden, Ross. 1997. A dictionary of Kwoma. Pacific Linguistics C134.

Bruce, Leslie. 1984. The Alamblak language of Papua New Guinea (East Sepik). *Pacific Languistics* C81.

Capell, Arthur. 1952. Languages of the Bogia district, New Guinea. *Oceania* 22.130-47, 178-207.

Conrad, Robert. 1972. Distribution and internal structure of some Iwam noun phrases. *Linguistics* 79.5-30.

Conrad, Robert. 1976. Batteries of transformations in May River Iwam. *Linguistics* 184.4-44.

Conrad, Robert. 1993. Pronoun systems in Sepik Iwam oral narratives. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 24.19-38.

Dye, Wayne, Patricia Townsend, and William Townsend. 1969. The Sepik Hill languages: A preliminary report. *Oceania* 34.146-156.

Feldman, Harry. 1986. A grammar of Awtuw. *Pacific Linguistics* B94.

Feldpausch, Tom and Becky. 1992. Namia grammar essentials. *Data papers on Papua New Guinea Languages* 39.1-97. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Foley, William. 1991. The Yimas Language of New Guinea. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Foley, William. 2000. The languages of the New Guinea region. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29.357-404.

Foreman, Velma. 1974. Grammar of Yessan-Mayo. *Language Data, Asian-Pacific Series*, 4. Santa Ana, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Freudenberg, A. 1975. The dialects of Boiken. *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages* 16.81-90. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Freudenberg, A. and M. 1974. Boiken phonemes. *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages* 4.97-128. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Gewertz, Deborah. 1983. *Sepik River Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kooyers, Orneal. 1974. Washkuk grammar sketch. *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages* 6.5-74. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Kooyers, Orneal. 1975. Hierarchy of Washkuk (Kwoma) clauses. *Linguistics* 147.5-17.

Laycock, Donald. 1965. The Ndu language family (Sepik District, New Guinea). *Pacific Linguistics* C1.

Laycock, Donald. 1968. Languages of the Lumi sub-district (West Sepik District), New Guinea. *Oceanic Linguistics* 7.36-66.

Laycock, Donald. 1973. Sepik languages – checklist and preliminary classification. *Pacific Linguistics* B25.

Laycock, Donald and John Z'graggen. 1975. The Sepik-Ramu Phylum. *Pacific Linguistics* C38.731-763.

Manabe, Takashi. 1981. A study of illocutionary force expressed through verbal suffixes and modal particles in Kwanga. In K. Franklin, ed., *Syntax and Semantics in Papua New Guinea Languages*, 29-68. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Mead, Margaret. 1935. *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. New York: Morrow.

Nettle, Daniel. 1999. *Linguistic Diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nichols, Johanna. 1992. *Linguistic Diversity in Space and Time*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pryor, John. 1990. Deixis and participant tracking in Botin. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 21.1-29.

Schmidt, Josef. 1953. Vokabular und Grammatik der Murik-Sprache in Nordost-Neuguinea. *Micro-Bibliotheca Anthropos* 3.

Shopen, Timothy. 1985.Language typology and syntactic description. *Cambridge University Press*, Cambridge

Staalsen, Philip. 1969. The dialects of Iatmul. *Pacific Linguistics* A7.69-76.

Staalsen, Philip. 1972. Clause relationships in Iatmul. *Pacific Linguistics* A31.45-68.

Staalsen, Philip. 1975. The languages of the Sawos region (New Guinea). *Anthropos* 70.6-16.

Stanhope, John. 1972. The language of the Kire people, Bogia, Madang District, New Guinea. *Anthropos* 67.49-71.

Stanhope, John. 1980. The language of the Rao people, Grengabu, Madang Province, Papua New Guinea. *Pacific Linguistics* D18.

Wilson, Patricia. 1976. Ambulas dialect survey. *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages* 16.51-80. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Wilson, Patricia. 1980. Ambulas grammar. *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages* 26. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Wurm, Stephen, ed. 1975. New Guinea area languages and language study, volume one: Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene. *Pacific Linguistics* C38.

Wurm, Stephen. 1982. *The Papuan Languages of Oceania*. Tübingen: Narr.