

A GRAMMAR OF ULWA

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a grammatical description of Ulwa [ISO 639-3 yla, Glottocode yaul1241], a severely endangered language spoken by fewer than 700 people in the Angoram District of the East Sepik Province in Papua New Guinea. This is the first grammatical description of any member of the Ulmapo family, which consists of Ulwa, Mwakai [mgt, mong1344] and Pondi [lnm, lang1328].

Ulwa is spoken by elder residents of four villages: Manu, Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul. Whereas the Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul communities speak versions of Ulwa that are all rather similar to one another, the Manu version is considerably different. Ulwa may thus be said to consist of two major dialects. The focus of this grammatical description is the Manu dialect, which has about 70 fluent speakers (roughly 10% of the total Ulwa-speaking community).

The data underlying this work have been gathered during eleven months of field research that I conducted over the course of three trips to Manu village between 2015 and 2017.

This work aims to provide a basic description of Ulwa's phonology, morphology, and syntax. While this dissertation attempts to analyze and describe all the main features of Ulwa grammar, there remain some features that are not treated here, mostly because they do not occur in the corpus I have collected. There are also some phenomena that remain unclear. I attempt to mention these where possible, though they receive no specific attention in this dissertation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Wherever possible, the conventions of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>) are followed. The following is a complete list of abbreviations used in the glosses of the Ulwa language.

1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
COND	conditional
DEP	dependent (marker)
DETR	detransitivized
DU	dual
EXCL	exclusive
FOC	focus
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INDF	indefinite
INT	intensive
INTERJ	interjection
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
NEG	negative/negator
NMLZ	nominalizer
NSG	non-singular
OBL	oblique
PART	partitive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfective
PROH	prohibitive
PST	past
Q	question particle
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SPEC	speculative

Abbreviations used in examples taken from Tok Pisin (or used in glossing loans from that language) are presented below. These abbreviations do not necessarily apply to the grammar of Ulwa.

HAB	habitual
PRED	predicate (marker)
TR	transitive

Finally, the following is a list of other abbreviations found in this grammar.

A	the more agent-like argument of a transitive clause
ELAR	Endangered Languages Archive
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
LLG	Local-Level Government area
NP	noun phrase
O	object
P	the more patient-like argument of a transitive clause
PARADISEC	Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures
PP	postpositional phrase
R	recipient
S	subject (or, the single argument of an intransitive clause)
sp.	species (not necessarily used in a scientific sense)
T	theme
TAM	tense-aspect-mood
TP	Tok Pisin
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
X	oblique

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This is a reference grammar of Ulwa [ISO 639-3 yla, Glottocode yaul1241], a severely endangered language spoken by fewer than 700 people in the Angoram District of the East Sepik Province in Papua New Guinea. Ulwa belongs to the small Ulmapo family, consisting of itself, Mwakai [mgt, mong1344], and Pondi [lnm, lang1328]. This is the first description of any member of the language family.

The main purpose of this grammar is to provide as complete as possible a description of the grammar of this otherwise undescribed language (Ulwa), which is a member of an otherwise undescribed family (Ulmapo).

The documentation and description of Ulwa is hoped to be of value not only to the speakers themselves (in particular, to the speakers of the Manus dialect), who wish to revitalize their language, but also to the wider scholarly community. In particular, the grammar is expected to be of value to the fields of theoretical, typological, and historical linguistics.

Grammatical theories—whether or not they presuppose some form of Universal Grammar—can be supported or falsified only with evidence from real languages. It has become common knowledge in the field of linguistics that data from small, remote, and frequently endangered languages often shed new light on theoretical issues, at times even refuting formerly cherished assumptions. Many of the grammatical features described in this grammar will conform to theoretical expectations, thereby bolstering certain linguistic hypotheses. Some grammatical features described herein, however, may pose challenges to some issues in current theory or may engender new thinking about old concepts. Of particular interest may be Ulwa's syntactic passive constructions (see section 13.8).

The description of Ulwa's grammar—even of aspects of the language that may lack any particular relevance to specific theoretical claims—will also be of broad typological value. Typologists can always benefit from a wider linguistic sample. Indeed, much earlier typological theory was based on a sample that was biased toward European or otherwise well-described languages and language families; even when examples from Papuan languages are now being

taken into consideration, most of them are taken from the rather large Trans New Guinea family (as understood in Pawley & Hammarström 2018). The documentation and description of Ulwa, however, will provide data and analyses not only from a previously unknown language, but from an entire language family that has never before been considered in any typological studies, obviously so since no descriptive materials on any of its languages existed previously.

In addition to being of synchronic value, this dissertation will lead to diachronic insights. Lexical analysis of Ulwa's two sister language, Mwakai and Pondi, will provide the basis to help reconstruct phonological and lexical aspects of the proto-language, in turn helping to reconstruct the linguistic prehistory of the Sepik-Ramu Basin, considered by some to be the most linguistically diverse region in the world (Aikhenvald 2004:97; Evans 2012:124; Foley 2005:109). Moreover, since the region constitutes a uniquely complex linguistic ecology, a better understanding of its linguistic history may inform theories of language change in general.

Finally, it is hoped that this first attempt at a grammatical description of Ulwa will be of value to the Ulwa-speaking community, many members of which would like to revitalize their language. Of particular importance in this regard will be the Ulwa-English lexicon (Chapter 17) and the set of transcribed and translated texts (Chapter 18)—the former can be used in classrooms to help children learn Ulwa (as well as English) vocabulary; the latter can be used to preserve a record of traditional stories as well as of the language as spoken by older speakers, and can provide reading materials for children and other language learners, useful in pedagogical efforts.

1.2 Previous research on the language

There has been essentially no documentation of Ulwa before I began fieldwork in 2015. The language was first identified (by linguists, that is) by Laycock (1973:36), who—based on short word lists collected in the region in 1970–71—classified Ulwa as belonging to a small family, which he called “Mongol-Langam” (Laycock’s word lists of the languages in the family contain about 200 items each). Laycock’s unpublished field notes are accessible through the PARADISEC online archive (<http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/DL2/items/034>).

In addition to Donald Laycock’s survey work in 1970–71 (presumably in Yaul village, since he decided to christen the language “Yaul”), there are four audio recordings of Ulwa

available on PARADISEC (<http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/JM1>), collected in 2005 by James McElvenny, a student at the University of Sydney, who, during two months of fieldwork on Mudukumo [bwm, biwa1243] (also known as Biwat or Mundugumor), was able to record some speakers of “Yaul” and “Dimili” [= Ulwa]. The collection consists of 1) an elicitation session (1 hour and 29 minutes) of basic vocabulary and sentences conducted in Dimiri village, 2) a story told in Ulwa and Tok Pisin (under 3 minutes), recorded in Dimiri village, 3) an elicitation session (about 40 minutes) of basic vocabulary and sentences conducted in the Biwat-speaking Kinakaten village with an Ulwa speaker from Yaul village, and 4) a story told in Ulwa by the same speaker (about 3 minutes), also recorded in Kinakaten village.

1.3 Methodology of research on the language

All the data that I collected were recorded in the field. I have worked with native speakers, ages 30 and older, who were born in an Ulwa-speaking village and—for most speakers—have spent most their lives there. Most consultants were middle-aged-to-older men and women (between 40 and 60 years old) who were born in Manu village, although data were also collected from speakers from other villages and from some speakers older than 60. These older speakers were particularly helpful in telling traditional stories.

Attention has been paid to technological concerns and to ensuring that a high-quality record of the language is produced and preserved. All audio has been recorded as uncompressed WAV files at 48 KHz, 24-bit resolution, using a solid-state Zoom H4n Handy recorder. Since the Ulwa community has absolutely no ethnographic record at all (aside from my linguistic audio recordings), digital video recordings have also been made.

These recordings (both audio and video), as well as transcriptions and translations of texts annotated in ELAN and other materials on the language that I collected or produced are archived with the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (SOAS) (<https://wurin.lis.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1035105>) and with the Kaipuleohone Language Archive at the University of Hawai‘i (<http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/37432>).

The data upon which all descriptions and analyses are based come from a total of eleven months spent in Manu village, divided among three research trips—two months in 2015 (June to

August), six months in 2016 (June to December), and three months in 2017 (April to June). In total, I recorded over 60 hours of audio (including about 6 hours of video). Almost all of my time was spent in Manu village, but a few days' worth of research was also conducted in the three other Ulwa-speaking villages (Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul). Research was also conducted in the three villages of Ulwa's two sister languages—Mwakai (in Mongol and Kaimbal villages) and Pondi (in Langam village). While comparative data from the sister languages are considered, and certain dialectal differences among the four Ulwa-speaking villages are noted, this is, foremost, a grammatical description of the Manu dialect of the Ulwa language as spoken by older speakers. (The reason for this focus on the Manu dialect is a practical one. I have had the greatest access to Manu villagers and, accordingly, the most of my data come from this dialect. It is hoped that future research will examine the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect more carefully.)

The data gathered during these three field trips to Manu village consist of various types: elicited words and sentences, grammaticality judgments, prepared texts, and texts of more naturalistic speech, both monologues and conversations. As much as possible, an effort has been made to base descriptions on actual language use—that is, analyzing the language based on a corpus of naturalistic speech. Most examples in this grammar are thus drawn from a corpus of about 6 hours of transcribed, translated, and glossed texts. Nevertheless, elicited sentences and grammaticality judgments offer invaluable insights into the nuances of certain grammatical distinctions; and sets of elicited sentences often provide the most illustrative examples of grammatical phenomena. Accordingly, in addition to examples culled from a recorded corpus of texts, there are a number of example sentences taken from elicitation sessions. All examples, however, elicited or not, have been vetted by native speakers for their grammaticality (or, in the case of starred sentences, for their ungrammaticality).

My analysis of the language is not limited to or by any one particular theoretical framework. Rather, my overarching goal in writing this grammar has been to describe the language “in its own terms” (Dryer 2006:211), drawing insights from different approaches where appropriate, in keeping with the best practices of typologically informed descriptive linguistics, the primary concern being to make the description and analysis clear and accessible to a broad range of linguists and others who may have interest in this language.

1.4 Organization of the dissertation

This reference grammar is organized as follows. First, after prefatory matters and a discussion of Ulwa's orthography (1.5), there is an introduction to the language and its speakers (1.6), followed by information on its level of endangerment (1.7), classification (1.8), and a typological overview of the language (1.9), offering descriptions of the most salient aspects of Ulwa's phonology, morphology, and syntax.

Following this introductory material is the main body of the grammar, which proceeds from describing the phonetics and phonology of the language (2) to describing its major parts of speech (3-8) and detailing their morphological features. The grammar then describes Ulwa's syntax, beginning at the phrase level (9-10), preceding to the clause-level (11), covering complex sentences in (12) and additional topics in syntax in (13). This is followed by a discussion of some topics in semantics (14). Like many minority languages in the world, Ulwa is confronted by a rapid decline in the number of proficient speakers; the structural consequences of such language loss are discussed in (15). The grammatical description concludes with proposed directions for further research (16).

Following this grammatical description are a selection of three texts from the corpus of texts, transcribed in Ulwa with interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glossing and translated into English (17); and a lexicon containing 1,277 entries, included as both Ulwa-English and English-Ulwa (18).

Finally, following the texts and lexicon are word lists (Swadesh and SIL-PNG) for comparative purposes, a glossary of Tok Pisin words encountered in this dissertation, a list (with metadata) of all Ulwa texts referred to in examples, an account of the Ulwa people's traditional origin stories, and a bibliography of references.

Throughout the work, numbered examples are presented in four lines. The first line consists of the utterance in Ulwa as written in the orthography, replete with capitalization, punctuation, and the spelling of all words reflecting any (word-internal) phonological rules they have undergone.

The second line is the morpheme-by-morpheme morphological analysis of the utterance: morphemes are separated such that (tabbed) spaces are placed between all (phonological) words,

an equal sign (=) is placed between clitics and their host words, and an en-dash (-) is placed between bound morphemes within a single word.

The third line is the morphological gloss of the utterance. In glossing the language, wherever possible, the conventions of the Leipzig Glossing Rules have been followed. Lexical items are given a basic English translation. If more than one English word is required to gloss a single Ulwa morpheme, then a period (.) is used to separate the words in a gloss (as in, e.g., <older.brother> for *atma*). Functional morphemes are glossed with a standard abbreviation, written in SMALL CAPITALS (consult the LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, xiii). When a single morpheme encodes more than one grammatical feature, these, too are separated in the gloss by a period, as in, e.g., <1PL.EXCL> for the first person plural exclusive pronoun *an*.

Finally, the fourth line is a translation of the utterance into English, usually designed to be as literal as possible, though still flowing. Although these translations are almost entirely in English, an occasional word from Tok Pisin will be used (in *italics*), when it provides a clearer or more accurate translation of the Ulwa word (e.g., Tok Pisin *bilum*, instead of English ‘net bag’ or ‘string bag’ to translate Ulwa *ani*). A glossary of these words is found following the Ulwa-English lexicon at the end of this work. Sometimes the Ulwa word is maintained in the English translation (also in *italics*), generally only when it refers to something particular to the Ulwa culture, for which an English equivalent is not readily available (e.g., ‘*mīnkin* grub’ for a particular variety of edible sago grub).

Where further clarification or context is deemed helpful, this is provided parenthetically, following the translation. Loan words from Tok Pisin (TP) that are not identified as such elsewhere are identified in parentheses. Also, more literal alternate translations may be provided within parentheses in this fourth line as well. Examples taken from elicitation sessions are not marked in any special way. Examples taken from recorded texts, however, are signaled by a text number, marked in parentheses in the fourth line, following the English translation (and any other parenthetical explanations, if provided). An index of these text numbers is found in the appendix to this work.

Ungrammatical utterances are indicated by an asterisk (*) at the start of the first line of the example. If there is a particular element in the utterance that is responsible for the ungrammaticality, this is preceded by an asterisk in the second line. (Note, however, that reconstructed forms are also indicated by an asterisk—there is an unfortunate homography in the

conventions of theoretical and historical linguistics.) A sentence preceded by a question mark (?) is taken to be somehow doubtful: it may be grammatically acceptable but semantically bizarre, or some speakers may be uncertain about whether it is grammatical or not.

Morphemes, words, or phrases of particular relevance to a point at hand are emphasized—in both the first and second lines of the numbered examples—by **bold** font. When an example is too long to fit on a single line, it is broken into two (or more) lines; the continuation among lines is signaled by an ellipsis (...) at the end of one line and another ellipsis at the beginning of the next line. Prosody is generally not reflected in the transcriptions of examples.

Outside numbered examples, when reference is made to forms in Ulwa, these forms are written in *italics*. Where necessary, slashes (/.../) are used to enclose phonemic transcriptions and square brackets ([...]) are used to enclose phonetic transcriptions. Angle bracket (<...>) are used when presenting a form exactly as written by someone else or when needed to draw special attention to the orthographic spelling of a form.

Although I have striven to be as accurate and consistent as possible in transcribing and translating Ulwa, there are bound to be some errors or inconsistencies. I hope, however, that as research continues on the language, these will ultimately be found and corrected.

1.5 Orthography

Before research on the language was begun in 2015, Ulwa had never been written. In developing the orthography used here, I have had a number of interests in mind. First, as much as possible, I have tried to maintain an isomorphic relation between sound and symbol. Indeed, each phoneme can be written in only one way. There is thus exactly one grapheme for every phoneme and one phoneme for every grapheme. Second, the practicalities of reading and writing the language have been taken into consideration. Thus, unusual characters have mostly been avoided. The Ulwa alphabet consists of 19 letters, almost all of which are basic Latin characters, found both in English and in Tok Pisin, and are easily typed on any keyboard. The one exception is the grapheme <i>, which represents the high central vowel (written in the IPA as <i>). Although it would be preferable to avoid diacritics entirely, there is no readily available alternative to this form (which contains a dieresis), since all five basic vowels of the Latin

alphabet are used to represent other phonemes in Ulwa's orthography. The form <i> was chosen over the IPA form <i>, since it is easier to type (on a PC: Alt 139; on a Mac: option u + i) and perhaps also less easily confused with the form <i>.

Aside from <i>, the phonemic values of Ulwa's 19 letters should not be difficult for a general audience to intuit. The only digraphs are the four used to represent the language's three prenasalized voiced stops and one prenasalized voiced affricate. On phonemic grounds, these could have been written more logically as *<b, d, g, j> as opposed to <mb, nd, ng, nj>, since there are no contrasts between prenasalized and plain voiced stops (in other words, the model of the orthographies of some other languages of the Pacific, such as Samoan, could have been followed). (Similarly, there is no need to write the voiceless stops—all of which are aspirated—as *<p^h, t^h, k^h>, since there is no contrast between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops.) Nevertheless, the decision was made to represent the nasal gesture in these phonemes (i.e., the nasal sub-segments) overtly in the orthography with a digraph, so as to avoid any possible mispronunciation. As the language faces attrition, younger speakers and language learners may fail to note the prenasalized quality of all voiced stops, and they are likely to read Ulwa by following Tok Pisin and English spelling conventions, not those chosen explicitly for Ulwa, thus pronouncing <b, d, g> as [b, d, g], rather than with their prenasal gesture as [ᵐb, ᵐd, ᵐg]. Indeed, whereas the oldest speakers are inclined to pronounce plain voiced stops in Tok Pisin as prenasalized voiced stops (e.g., **ndok* for Tok Pisin *dok* 'dog'), younger speakers (whose first language is usually Tok Pisin, do just the opposite—that is, they fail to pronounce the nasal portion of Ulwa's voiced stops, especially when word-initial (e.g., **dunduma* for Ulwa *ndunduma* 'great-grandparent'). Also, regarding these graphemes, it may be noted that the phonetic realization of <ng> is [ŋg]—that is, with a velar (not alveolar) nasal element. However, since there is no phonemic velar nasal in the language, since writing one would require an unusual character, and since a natural phonological process assimilates alveolar nasals to the place of following velar stops (i.e., /nk/ → [ŋk]), there is no need to write this grapheme with an engma. It should be noted, though, that <ng> is always pronounced /ᵐg/ and never */ŋ/ or */ŋ.g/ (as in, say, English, *singer* or *finger*)—again, there is no phonemic velar nasal in the language. (Similarly, the <n> of the grapheme <nj> represents a palato-alveolar nasal gesture, not an alveolar nasal gesture.)

When a proper noun (such as the name of a person or place) begins with a prenasalized stop (or affricate), however, *only* the stop (or affricate) gesture of the phoneme is written. Thus, for example, the personal names /mbanjiwa, ndamnda, nganmali, njukan/ are written <Banjiwa, Damnda, Ganmali, Jukan>. This is in keeping with earlier Ulwa name-writing practices, which were themselves likely influenced by the perceptions or preferences of the Australian officials charged with taking census and writing names. Whatever its origin, however, this practice is maintained throughout this work, since it is in keeping with the preferences of current Ulwa speakers. But since the present work also maintains the convention of capitalizing the first letter of proper nouns, the graphemes <B, D, G, J> may simply be viewed as representing [ᵐb, ᵐd, ᵐg, ᵐdʒ].

There is one further point to make concerning proper nouns: while the liquids [l] and [r] are almost always in free variation—allophones of the phoneme /l/—there is a strong demand among speakers that certain proper nouns be pronounced with an [r] and never with an *[l] sound (even though speakers themselves, in casual speech, may pronounce the sound in question as [l] in these names). Since many names (of both people and places) are apparently shared by neighboring language communities, it is not unreasonable to assume that such names are loans from a language or languages with a phonemic distinction between /l/ and /r/. Regardless of the history of these names, however, the orthography presented here—following speakers' wishes—represents such names with the grapheme <r>: for example, the proper names <Gambri, Guren, Yaruwa>.

When a phonological rule changes the underlying form of a word, the orthography reflects the phonological realization, not the underlying form. Thus, when the shape of one or more morphemes in the underlying forms alters due to a phonological rule that occurs within a phonological word, the resultant phonological realization is written. In practice, this mainly only affects verbs, which take a number of TAM suffixes. Object markers, though properly proclitics (and not prefixes), are nevertheless so closely connected to the following verb, that they are written immediately preceding the verb, without any space. Phonological rules that apply across this clitic boundary are also reflected in the orthography.

Changes that occur between two (phonological) words, however, are not indicated in the orthography. Especially in rapid speech, there is a strong tendency for there to be elision and

coalescence of vowels between words. Discrete words are nevertheless always written with spaces on either side, such that the integrity of their underlying forms is preserved in the text.

Finally, the basic English (and Tok Pisin) conventions of capitalization and punctuation have been adopted for Ulwa.

1.6 Ulwa: the language and its speakers

Ulwa is one of many languages spoken in the linguistically fertile Sepik-Ramu Basin of Papua New Guinea. The following sections detail some of the most important sociocultural features of the language and its speakers.

1.6.1 The name of the language

The endonym for the language—agreed upon by most speakers from all four villages where the language is spoken—is Ulwa. When Laycock conducted his survey work of the Sepik area in 1970–1, he recorded the name of this language as “Yaul”, which is actually the name of one of the four villages, presumably the one where he conducted his research. In doing so, Laycock (1973:3) seems to contravene one of his principles in choosing language names: “5. The name should not be that of a village, clan or locality that is significantly smaller than the language area, or that is not accepted by the whole group without feelings of rivalry”. This name continues to appear in *Ethnologue* (21st ed.) and has lent itself to the formation of the ISO code [yla] and the Glottocode [yaul1241]. Nevertheless, it is not used to refer to the language described by this grammar—first, since it is not the preferred name for the language among its speakers; and second, since the term “Yaul” creates confusion between reference to the village (and dialect) of that name and reference to the language as a whole. That is, I agree with the principle of not naming a language for a village, particularly in cases such as this one, in which the language is also spoken in several other villages. (Foley 2018:206 refers to Ulwa as “Yaul-Dimiri”, which is indeed more inclusive, but still does not cover the two other villages where Ulwa is spoken.)

As is common among languages of the Sepik (and is, indeed, attested in various languages across the globe), the glottonym *Ulwa* is based on a word that means ‘no’ or ‘nothing’.

The language of study in this grammar should not be confused with another Ulwa, the Nicaraguan language [ulw, ulwa1239] of the same name (also known as Ulúa and Sumu, and considered to be a dialect of Sumu by many).

I may here also discuss the name of the family to which Ulwa belongs: Ulmapo. This name is my own invention, composed by combining the beginning sounds of the three member languages: **Ulwa**, **Mwakai**, and **Pondi** (with the **w** of *Mwakai* omitted for ease of pronunciation). Like the name Ulwa, the name Mwakai is an endonym, likewise based on a word meaning ‘no’ or ‘nothing’ in the language (“Mongol” is a problematic name for Mwakai, since this language is spoken not only in Mongol village, but also in Kaimbal village—to say nothing of potential confusion with the Central Asian ethnic group). The name Pondi is also an endonym, apparently derived from the name of a legendary ancestor (some speakers prefer the name Mwa—which means ‘no’ or ‘nothing’—but this causes undue confusion with the name Mwakai). Pondi is only spoken in Langam village. *Ethnologue* 21st ed. refers to Ulmapo as “Mongol-Langam”, presumably taken from Laycock (1973). *Glottolog* 3.2, on the other hand, uses the name “Koam”, presumably based on Foley (2018:205f.).

1.6.2 The environment

The Sepik-Ramu Basin, where Ulwa is spoken, is known for its long, serpentine river and dense, tropical forest. All four Ulwa villages are at some remove from the Sepik River itself, instead being positioned on considerably smaller tributaries, where they are confronted by less boat traffic (although small canoes can and do ply their waters) and where there is a reduced threat of attack by saltwater crocodiles. The Keram River tributary passing along Manu village is a source of fish, turtles, prawns, and other seafood, as well as a place to bathe and (during the dry season, when rainwater cannot be collected) a source of drinking water. The villages of Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul, however, face harsher conditions, since the Yuat River tributary that passes near their villages becomes completely desiccated during the dry season. During the rainy season, the entire area becomes swamp.

1.6.3 The four villages

Ulwa is spoken in four villages located in Angoram District, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. On Map 1 below, the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea is highlighted in red on the island of New Guinea.



Map 1. East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea
Adapted from Google Maps (Map data ©2018 GBRMPA, Google).

Map 2 (on the following page) shows the location of Ulwa within the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea.



Map 2. The location of Ulwa in the East Sepik Province
Adapted from Google Maps (Map data ©2018 Google).

Manu village is located in the Keram Rural Local-Level Government area (LLG). The village sits along the Keram Black tributary to the Keram River, which is itself a tributary to the Sepik. There are no other villages upstream of Manu on the Keram Black; the inhabitants of villages downstream of Manu (including its nearest neighbor Yamen) speak Ap Ma as their traditional language. On the main Keram River are found villages whose inhabitants traditionally speak Kanda. The Keram leads to the Sepik, meeting this larger river around Angoram, the nearest town connected by road (to Wewak). Manu's GPS coordinates are: 4°29'0"S, 144°0'55"E (-4.483, 144.015). The Ulwa name for the village of Manu is *Nimalnu* (perhaps derived from *nimal* 'river' plus *nu* 'near'). The region immediately surrounding Manu village is known to Ulwa speakers as Bulon.

The other three Ulwa-speaking villages—Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul—form a small triangle in the Yuat Rural LLG, west of Manu village. These three villages are closer to the Yuat River, another tributary of the Sepik. The Yuat lies west of the villages and is at times accessible from them by creeks. The nearest neighbors on the Yuat speak Bun (upstream) and Biwat (downstream). The GPS coordinates for Maruat are 4°25'20"S, 143°54'40"E (-4.422, 143.911);

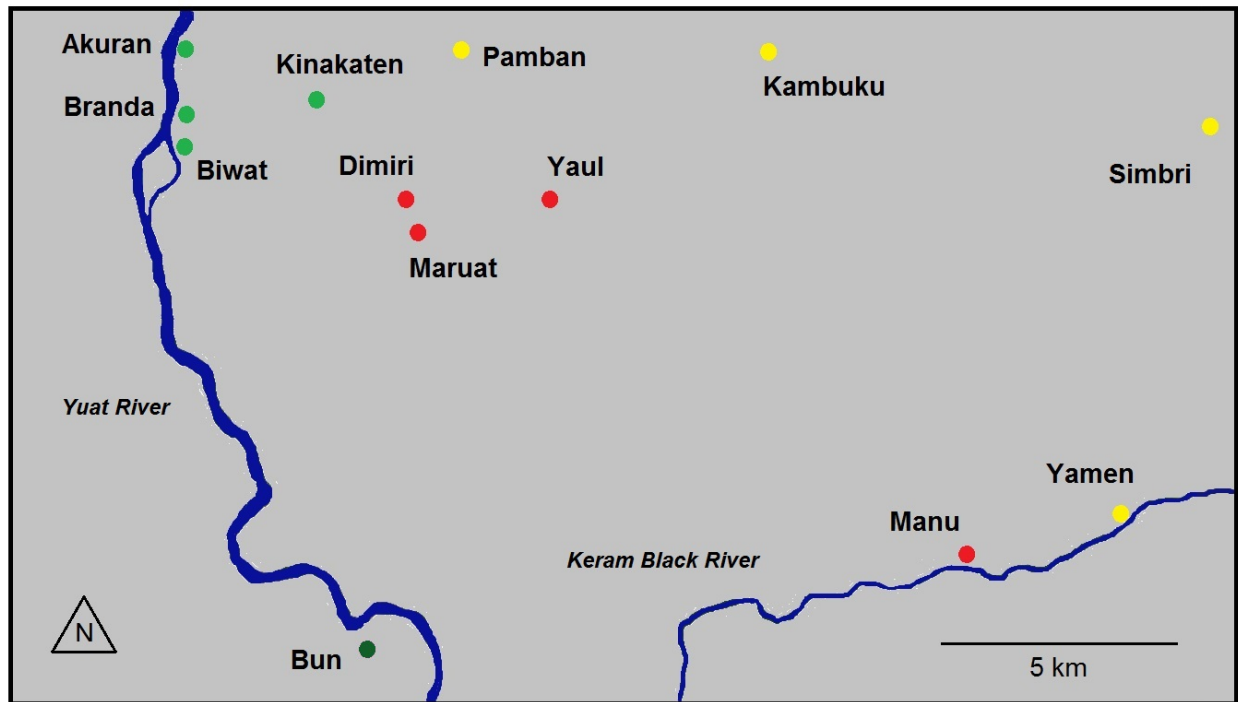
the GPS coordinates for Dimiri are 4°24'55"S, 143°54'30"E (-4.415, 143.908); and the GPS coordinates for Yaul are 4°24'55"S, 143°56'10"E (-4.415, 143.936). In Ulwa, Maruat village is known as *Mamala*, Dimiri village is known as *Andimali*, and Yaul village is known as *Mosombla*.

The villages of Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul are all within an hour's walk of one another, and they share an elementary school located roughly in the middle of the three. Manu is considerably farther from the other three villages. In the dry season (roughly June to November), it is at least a four-hour hike away from any of them; in the wet season (roughly December to May), however, when the jungle paths are mired in swampy water, the journey is much less tractable.

The closest neighbors to Manu, the residents of Yamen village (as well as those of all other villages downstream from Manu), speak an unrelated language, Ap Ma [kbx, apma1241] (also known as Botin or Kambot, an isolate or member of the Ramu family), a considerably larger language with approximately 10,000 speakers (*Ethnologue* 21st ed.). Yamen village is only about 3.5 km (2.2 miles) away, and many Yamen children walk to Manu each day to attend the village's elementary school. North of Manu are other Ap Ma villages, which are accessible by foot. Southeast of Manu—and not very accessible—are villages that speak Banaro [byz, bana1292] (an isolate or member of the Ramu family) (2,480 speakers, *Ethnologue* 21st ed.). Farther to the west—also with no connection by river—are speakers of Bun [buy, bunn1240] (Yuat family) (480 speakers, *Ethnologue* 20th ed.), and to the southwest are speakers of Miyak [kql, kyen1243] (also known as Kyenele, Yuat family) (1,250 speakers, *Ethnologue* 21st ed.). The other three Ulwa-speaking villages are about 13 km (8 miles) to the northwest of Manu.

To the west of the three villages of Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul are villages that speak Biwat [bwm, biwa1243] (also known as Mudukumor or Mundugumor), another relatively large, unrelated language, this one with perhaps 3,040 speakers (*Ethnologue* 21st ed.). Biwat's closely related sister language Bun is spoken to the southwest of Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul. To the north and east are a number of Ap Ma-speaking villages. And to the southeast is Manu.

Map 3 (on the following page) illustrates the relative locations of the four Ulwa-speaking villages and their neighbors.



Map 3. The four Ulwa villages and their neighbors

Ulwa-speaking villages are in red, Ap Ma-speaking villages are in yellow, Biwat-speaking villages are in light green, and Bun (which speaks a language related to Biwat) is in dark green.

1.6.4 The people

The subsistence pattern of the Ulwa people is a combination of hunting, gathering, fishing, horticulture, and husbandry.

The primary staple carbohydrate is sago, a starch that must be painstakingly extracted from certain palm species and then prepared either as a jelly (*ay* in Ulwa) or as a chewy pancake (*we* in Ulwa). Traditionally, this entire process was the work of women alone, though now men often help in extracting the pulp from the trees—that is, felling the palm, stripping the bark, and hacking the wood into the splinters through which water may subsequently be passed to collect a starchy water for processing the sago flour. While men nowadays assist in the felling of the sago palms and beating of the sago pulp, it is still generally considered the work of women to press the pulp to extract the starchy water, to carry the starch back to the village, and to cook the sago into *ay*, by pouring boiling water onto the dry flour. When men wish to cook the sago starch, it is

more socially acceptable to prepare *we*, which is made without adding water to form the jellied sago (*ay*) that only women tend to cook.

The second most-prevalent source of carbohydrates is the banana, of which, according to the folk taxonomy, there are 13 indigenous varieties. There are, in addition, various introduced varieties. Most of the commonly consumed bananas are of the starchy plantain variety that must be cooked (usually boiled), but some are sweet and may be eaten raw when ripe. While sago and bananas account for the bulk of the Ulwa diet and are the only traditional starches, some people today also grow and harvest root crops, such as yams, *kaukau* (sweet potato), taro, and cassava (tapioca). This is more common in Manu village than in Maruat, Dimiri, or Yaul, whose territory is swampier.

Another traditional staple on which the Ulwa people rely greatly is the coconut. Coconut milk is integral to the preparation of most meals; and coconut water may also be drunk, an especially helpful source of water during the dry season. Also grown in gardens are various leafy green vegetables, string beans, corn, and sugarcane, among other crops (including non-food cash crops, such as tobacco and betel nut).

The most important source of protein is fish (especially during dry season, when the lowered river levels facilitate fishing with nets); other sources of protein include bandicoot, pig, lizard, the occasional crocodile, turtle, prawns, wild and domesticated fowl, sago grubs, and eggs. Fat in the diet comes from coconut meat and milk as well as from animal sources. Vegetables are both grown and gathered.

Fishing is a common daily activity, often undertaken by children. A number of small species of fish are caught and then typically boiled, but sometimes (especially during times of great yields) they may be preserved by smoking. Fish, as well as the occasional prawn or turtle, are caught either by net or by hand.

Hunting is the domain of men. It is usually undertaken at night, though this depends on the quarry—bandicoot, lizard, and crocodile are usually hunted at night, whereas pig is more commonly hunted during the day. All animals are hunted by spear. At night people are aided by flashlights (which have replaced traditional flame torches). During the day (that is, to hunt pig) the hunters are assisted by dogs. Birds are also hunted, often by slingshot. This is one of the favorite pastimes of children.

Two species of grub are harvested from palm trees—the relatively large *siwi* and the smaller *minkin*, the latter of which is often worked into sago pancakes (*we*). A third species of grub, *mundun*, is taken from the trunks of other (dead) tree species.

Few animals are raised, but some people do keep chickens, ducks, or larger fowl, which are used for eggs as well as meat. Despite the inefficiency and cost, some prominent villagers also raise the occasional pig for slaughter. As elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, pigs are very valuable and are important in paying bride prices.

A number of vegetables are gathered from the jungle, mostly leafy greens, such as *aibika* (*Abelmoschus manihot*) and *tulip* (*Gnetum gnemon*).

Men, women, and children thus spend much of their day gathering vegetables and insects, fishing and hunting, processing sago, tending their gardens, and cooking (generally two or three meals a day). Since there is limited food preservation, it is common to eat large meals when food is plentiful (and, of course, do without when food is scarce). People also very commonly share with other families in the community. A butchered pig will provide meat for more than just the hunter's family; leftovers are commonly offered to anyone who happens to be around.

The economy is thus fairly self-contained—much to the benefit of the villagers, especially since the nearest store is in the town of Angoram, about six hours away by outboard motor, a trip that requires an expensive amount of fuel. That said, money does indeed enter the villages and especially Manu, which is more prosperous than the other three villages. Betel nut (the seed of the *Areca catechu* palm) and tobacco (a crop introduced many generations ago) are grown, both for personal consumption and to be sold in town for the domestic market. Betel nut is especially popular among highland populations, who cannot grow areca palm trees in the mountains. Cocoa is also grown for sale, ultimately to enter the international market. People use cash to buy commodities such as pots and pans, batteries (for flashlights), razors, metal nails, soap, clothing, and nonperishable food goods, such as rice, noodles, canned fish and meat, palm oil, processed sugar, and salt.

Houses are built from jungle materials (timber, woven bamboo, and vine ropes), but store-bought nails are occasionally used as well. Houses are raised on stilts, and may contain multiple rooms as well as outdoor verandas. They typically need to be rebuilt every five to seven years, an effort that can involve much of the community, who, working together, are able to finish constructing a house in about seven to ten days (although this process can take longer,

especially if resources are limited). People sleep inside store-bought mosquito nets, which are especially important during the rainy season, when malaria-carrying mosquitoes plague the villages. (Traditionally, people slept in meshwork enclosures made from bark, the insides of which would become sweltering hot, especially when shared by multiple people.) Malaria carried by mosquitoes is probably the single greatest health risk that the villagers face.

Households can be large, as it is not uncommon for married couples to have six or more children, and grandparents and other relatives commonly live in the same household. Houses in Manu have about five people on average living in them, whereas those in Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul tend to have more.

Manu village has a single elementary school, attended by most of the children in the village, as well as by many children from the neighboring Yamen village, whose native language is Ap Ma, and a few children from other, more distant, villages as well. Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul share an elementary school, situated roughly in the middle of the three villages. The two schools provide instruction up through the eighth grade. Few students proceed with their education past that grade, since doing so would require them to live away from home in a larger town (such as Angoram), a financial burden and logistical difficulty.

The villagers are predominantly Christian, many of them devout and regular churchgoers. Manu and Maruat each have a single Catholic church; Yaul has one Catholic and one Revival church; and Dimiri has four separate churches—Catholic, Jehovah’s Witness, Lutheran, and Seventh Day Adventist. Nevertheless, traditional beliefs in jungle spirits and magical powers persist. There are, however, no traces remaining of the old ancestral worship houses, in which earlier generations of young men were initiated into sacred—often cannibalistic—rites.

In addition to fishing and hunting birds, children divert themselves by swimming in the river or playing sports—mostly soccer for boys, and volleyball and basketball for girls. Annual soccer competitions—to which teams from other villages are invited—are a major source of entertainment for young and old alike.

Many other important community activities revolve around the church, which hosts prayer meetings for women, youth gatherings, and occasional feasts for special occasions, during which many families come together for pot-luck-style meals. A death in the family is occasion for a long period of mourning (called a *hauskrai* in Tok Pisin—common among Melanesian cultures), and—depending on the circumstances of the death—may require compensation to be

paid to the bereaved. Many community conflicts are resolved by paying monetary (or equivalent) compensation, often brokered through the help of respected village leaders. (If, for example, a dispute results in a physical altercation, and one party is injured or killed, the assailant will be expected to pay a certain amount to the victim or the victim's family.)

Marriage, too, is a major cause for celebration. The family of the groom is typically required to pay (in money or goods—often pigs) the family of the bride (i.e., a bride price as opposed to a dowry). Nowadays in Manu, people are usually married by the Catholic church. Traditionally, marriage among Ulwa speakers was exogamous and patrilocal: it was customary for a man to marry a woman belonging to a different *amba* 'clan' (literally, 'men's house, spirit house'), and for the woman to leave her clan to live with her new husband. Today, however, people practice both exogamy and endogamy. Clan distinctions are no longer recognized, and men and women alike are permitted to marry people from other villages (and of different language backgrounds); sometimes Ulwa speakers will leave the Ulwa village to live with their spouses, and other times the spouses will move to the Ulwa village (these marriages are neither exclusively patrilocal nor matrilocal). Due to such exogamy, there are a number of speakers of other languages living in (otherwise-)Ulwa-speaking villages. Most marriages, however, are endogamous. Formerly, people paid close attention to their clan affiliation (Manu village used to consist of seven clans, which were later reduced to four): it was forbidden to marry within one's clan. Now, however, people abide by the simpler rule of avoiding marriages with first cousins or any more closely related kin.

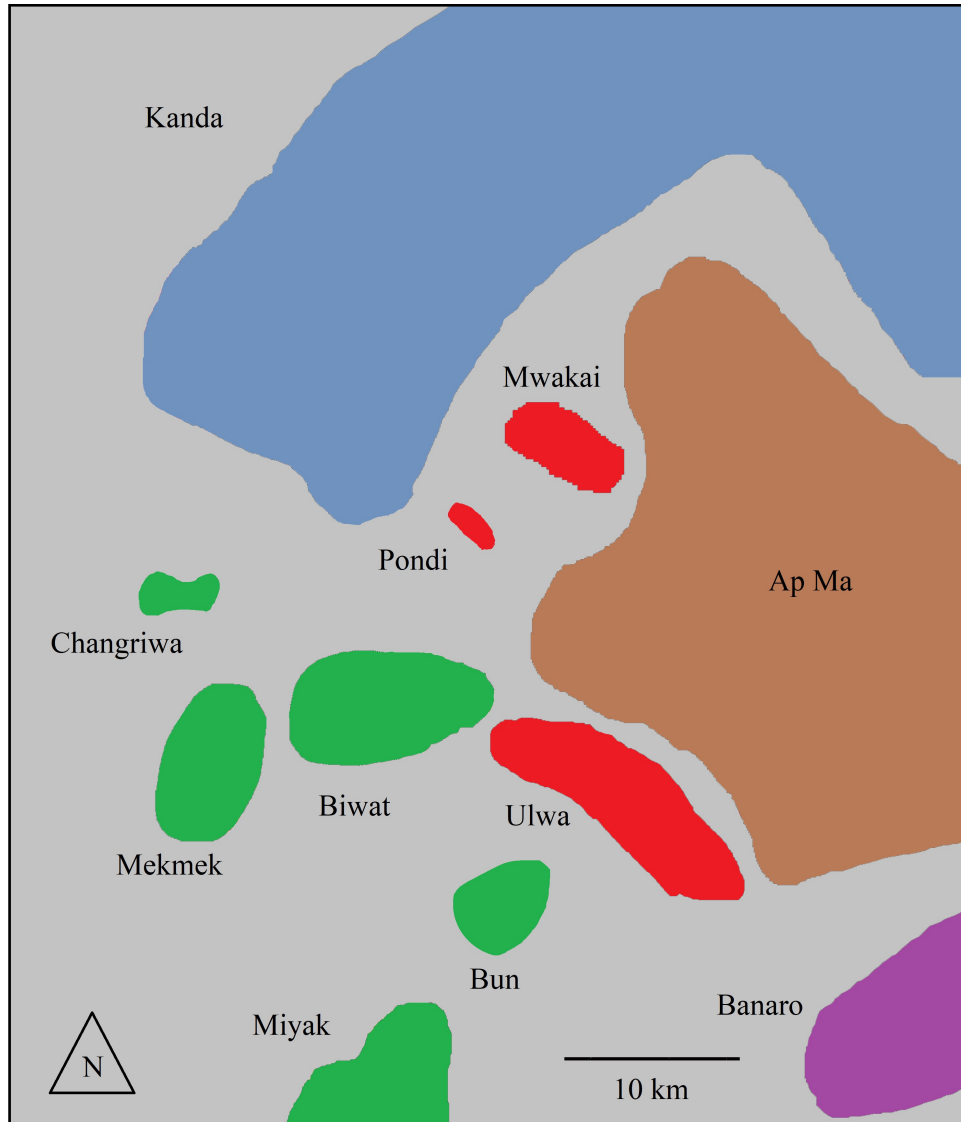
1.6.5 Relationships with neighboring villages

Ulwa is a relatively small language, surrounded by languages that are at once more vital and more widely spoken. All of Manu's closest neighbors are Ap Ma-speaking villages. Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul's closest neighbors (excluding each other, of course) speak Biwat. While it is common (especially among older men) for Ulwa speakers to have some familiarity with Ap Ma or Biwat, very few Ap Ma or Biwat speakers have any facility with Ulwa. Although tribal warfare was once a regular part of life among villages in the area, now the Ulwa villages enjoy mostly peaceful relations with their neighbors. Children from neighboring Yamen village attend the Manu Elementary School, it is not uncommon for travelers to overnight in neighboring

villages, people buy and sell goods as they pass each other's villages on the river, and soccer teams from different villages play against each other in friendly competition.

Manu shares a local representative (ward councilor) with the Ap Ma-speaking village of Simbri, which is about 11 km (7 miles) northeast of Manu.

Map 4 below illustrates the relative locations of the language communities that are nearest to Ulwa.



Map 4. Ulwa and its neighbors

Ulwa, Mwakai, and Pondi are members of the Ulmapo family; Kanda belongs to the Lower Sepik family; Biwat, Bun, Changriwa [cga, chan1319], Mekmek [mvk, mekm1240], and Miyak [kql, kyen1243] (also known as Kyenele) are members of the Yuat family; Ap Ma and Banaro are each either isolates or members of the Ramu family.

1.6.6 Borrowing

A number of lexical items in Ulwa are identical or similar to those in other languages of the Sepik, namely Ap Ma, Biwat, Kanda [aog, angol255] (also known as Angoram), and perhaps others. Since these languages are all largely unstudied, it is hard to know just how much of Ulwa's lexicon is shared with those of other languages. It is also not always clear the direction of borrowing, although it is generally assumed—since the other languages are socially much more dominant—that Ulwa has adopted lexical items from its neighbors more than vice versa. Where possible, however, comparative evidence may be used from Ulwa's two sister languages, Mwakai and Pondi, to try to tease out native versus inherited vocabulary (although it must be conceded that this methodology may be confounded by the possibility of borrowings made by the proto-language or by the possible presence of more recent borrowings that have managed to enter into multiple Ulmapo languages).

Some of the strong resemblances between words in Ulwa and words in nearby languages may reflect a history of cultural diffusion. Most notably, the word *sokoy* 'tobacco' is very similar to words for this plant in many languages of the Sepik and even into the Highlands of New Guinea. Ulwa's sister languages exhibit the words *sakwe* (Pondi) and *soke* (Mwakai) for 'tobacco', but it is unlikely that there was a Proto-Ulmapo word for 'tobacco', unless the proto-language was still spoken at the time of the plant's introduction to the region. Ulwa's closest neighbors exhibit as words for 'tobacco' the following: *sakwe* (Biwat, Yuat family), *soke* (Ap Ma, isolate or Ramu family), and *sokwe* (Kanda, Lower-Sepik family). Indeed, very many languages of New Guinea have similar words for 'tobacco': these forms perhaps all derive from Malay *sugeh* or *sogeh* or *sugi* "quid (of tobacco ...)" (Wilkinson 1959:1128).

Among the apparent loans from Biwat is the word *kalim* 'cassowary' (< Biwat *karim*). The Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect seems to have more loans from Biwat than does the Manu dialect, such as: *kita* 'frog' (< Biwat *kitak*, cf. Manu dialect *womotana* 'frog'), *mbalanji* 'person' (< Biwat *baranjik*, cf. Manu dialect *ankam* 'person'; note also the Manu dialect meaning of the form *mbalanji* 'enemy', an interesting semantic shift, though not a surprising one, considering the traditional animosity between Manu village and Biwat village), and *sakanma* 'axe' (< Biwat *sakanma*, cf. Manu dialect *tana* 'axe').

From Ap Ma, Ulwa has apparently adopted the word *ay* ‘jellied sago’ (< Ap Ma *an*; Ulwa lacks the velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/, but it is not exactly clear why this sound would become /y/ in Ulwa as opposed to, say, /n/). Also *mbatmbat* ‘tilapia’ (an introduced fish species) is likely from Ap Ma *mbatmbat*. An alternate term for ‘grandmother’ used in Manu, *mom*, also likely comes from Ap Ma (*mom* ‘old woman’). The Manu dialect form *aw* ‘betel nut’ is also likely from Ap Ma *aw* (cf. Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect *awm*, which is more likely cognate with Pondi *kamu* and Mwakai *amu*, although it is probable that terms for ‘betel nut’, much like those for ‘tobacco’ have been circulating along with the actual traded good for many generations).

Another source of borrowing is Tok Pisin [tʰpi, tokp1240], the English-based creole that serves as Papua New Guinea’s primary *lingua franca*, and is rapidly becoming the first (and only) language for more and more Papua New Guineans. Some Tok Pisin words are used to refer to novel referents for which there is no native word (e.g., *koko* for ‘cocoa’), although coinages are also possible (e.g., *asimu* ‘grass seed’ for ‘rice’), as are metaphorical extensions of existing lexemes (e.g., *apin* ‘fire’ for ‘matches, lighter’) (see 14.9).

Tok Pisin forms are also sometimes used where native vocabulary would also be possible. Even among the oldest speakers there is frequent code-switching between Ulwa and Tok Pisin, and speech in all registers is commonly peppered with Tok Pisin words, such as *olsem* ‘thus’, *nogat* ‘no’, and *tok* ‘talk’. Some Tok Pisin function words are used where there is no equivalent in Ulwa, such as *na* ‘and’ and *o* ‘or’ (see 12.2 on coordination).

Loan words may be naturalized to the phonotactics of Ulwa. In practice, this most commonly results in pronouncing loan rhotics as laterals and pronouncing loan plain voiced stops and prenasalized voiced stop.

While many of the aforementioned borrowings may be viewed as natural forms of linguistic change (that is, the type typically experienced by languages that are not endangered), there have also been influences on Ulwa that likely correlate strongly to its recent decline in usage and current state of severe endangerment (see Chapter 15 for the effects of endangerment on Ulwa’s grammatical structure).

1.6.7 Dialects

As mentioned, there are two major dialects of Ulwa. One is spoken in Manu village, while the other is spoken in Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul. Although there are some differences among these latter three villages as well, they are each much more similar to one another than any one of them is to Manu. Speakers from all four villages consider all four communities to speak the same language, although each village notes how other villages “change” the language slightly.

The two dialects are mutually intelligible, although they share just around 80% of their basic lexicon (according to my estimates based on rather limited information from the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect). Many speakers are aware of some of these lexical differences, as well as some phonological differences, such as a sporadic correspondence between /n/ in Manu and /l/ in Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul. Basic investigation has also suggested differences in verbal morphology, but the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect is essentially unstudied, so further research is needed in order to determine the exact nature of this and other dialectal differences. Unless otherwise noted, all data in this grammar have been gathered from speakers of the Manu dialect.

1.7 Language vitality

Ulwa is a severely endangered language. Although the population of all four Ulwa-speaking villages is swelling, the language is not being transmitted to children. It is estimated that there are fewer than 700 fluent speakers of Ulwa, plus an additional 1,200 to 1,300 semi-speakers (more on these numbers below).

If they were to be naïvely compared to earlier reports of speaker numbers, then these figures could, perhaps, appear relatively high—that is, as if the language were thriving. Earlier counts of Ulwa speakers, however, may be misleading. When Laycock (1973:36) first reports the existence of the language, he offers the number 814. As is often the case with apparent speaker number counts, however, this is not the purported number of Ulwa speakers, but rather the combined population of the villages where Ulwa is spoken, in this case, the “population (estimated or censused) as at 1 January 1970” (ibid., 3).

Official census numbers from the Papua New Guinea government are also problematic. The most recently released census—from 2011—lists 669 inhabitants for Manu, 424 for “Muruat” (sic, for Maruat), 1,111 for Dimiri, and nothing for Yaul (2014 National Statistic Office). Not only does the census suffer from misspellings and omissions—the figure of 669 for “Manu” seems to include also the population of the neighboring Simbri village, which shares a government representative with Manu, but whose population speaks the unrelated Ap Ma language.

Ethnologue (21st ed.), which refers to Ulwa as “Yaul”, lists 1,210 speakers, citing the information as “(2003 SIL)”, but this figure is highly dubious. According to a staff member of SIL-PNG (2014, personal communication):

“At some point, a past surveyor pencilled language codes next to a number of census points on the register. There is no record of how this person decided which code matched with which census points. ... The code [yla] was pencilled next to Manu (pop. 198), Maruat (pop. 342), Dimiri (pop. 345), and Yaul (pop. 325), giving a total pop. of 1,210. I’m completely baffled as to where this unknown person got their information from. The database says that Mongol and Yaul have never been surveyed.”

Censuses conducted by villagers in 2017 at my behest yielded the following population figures:

Manu	Total population:	369	
	Age 0–19	186	50%
	Age 20–40	113	31%
	Age 40+	70	19%
Maruat	Total population:	832	
	Age 0–19	406	49%
	Age 20–40	234	28%
	Age 40+	192	23%
Dimiri	Total population:	1399	
	Age 0–19	728	52%
	Age 20–40	446	32%
	Age 40+	225	16%
Yaul	Total population:	1299	
	Age 0–19	636	49%

Age 20–40	459	35%
Age 40+	204	16%

Thus, the total population of the four Ulwa-speaking villages in 2017 was 3,899. While some inhabitants of these villages originally come from other language communities, there is also a comparable number of ethnic Ulwas who have moved out of these four villages (there are, of course, also migrants from one Ulwa village to another). Thus, this rough estimate of 3,900 people can be taken as the total ethnic population of the Ulwa people.

There are very, very few people younger than 40 years old who are fluent speakers of the language. Ethnic Ulwas who are between the ages of 20 and 40 tend to be semi-speakers. Their comprehension of spoken Ulwa is typically very good, but they often have difficulty producing speech comfortably, fluidly, or without grammatical errors or frequent borrowings from Tok Pisin. Of course, the category of “semi-speaker” is not a uniform designation, and the borders between “speaker” and “semi-speaker” (as well as between “semi-speaker” and “non-speaker”) are not absolute. There are essentially no Ulwa speakers younger than 20. While a number of people younger than 20 who live in these four villages understand and use some basic formulaic expressions, this demographic group can nevertheless be described as consisting exclusively of non-speakers. Thus, given these assessments of speaker proficiency, the data above yield the following speaker numbers for the ethnic Ulwa population: 691 speakers (17.72% of the population), 1,252 semi-speakers (32.11% of the population), and 1,956 non-speakers (50.17% of the population). Since these figures should not, however, be taken as precise counts, the following estimates may be given for speakers of Ulwa.

- Fewer than 700 fluent speakers of Ulwa
- Between 1,200 and 1,300 semi-speakers of Ulwa

Although it is impossible to give precise figures for speaker numbers, it is nevertheless readily apparent that the language is in rapid decline. Less than half of the ethnic population speaks the language to any degree, and less than one-fifth of the ethnic population is fluent.

The most important indicator for the decline in vitality of Ulwa is the utter lack of intergenerational transmission. Even though most people older than 40 are fluent, they nevertheless communicate almost entirely in Tok Pisin. Some elders regularly use Ulwa, but even among members of this demographic group there are no monolinguals, and elders often rely

heavily on Tok Pisin as well. For those who do speak Ulwa, code-switching with Tok Pisin is common. Even attempts at “pure” speech (offered for the benefit of the researcher) are usually riddled with Tok Pisin loan words.

Thus, the most influential other language is, by far, Tok Pisin, which is spoken by everyone in the community. English is ostensibly the language of instruction at the two elementary schools, but teachers often resort to using Tok Pisin, and students do not seem to be acquiring English; or, if they are at all, then they are developing a passive knowledge at best. There are perhaps just a handful of adults with a passing knowledge of English. Some of the older generation are also conversant in one or more of the neighboring languages. As Manu village is quite near a number of Ap Ma-speaking villages, some residents have a familiarity with this language. Similarly, Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul are not far from the Biwat language community, and some villagers there can speak this language as well.

Tok Pisin is the primary language in almost every domain. Church services, classroom instruction (alongside English), sporting events, communication with other villages, and even family discussions are typically all conducted in Tok Pisin. Most parents exclusively use Tok Pisin when addressing their children.

While some adults overestimate the linguistic abilities of the younger generation, assuming that they will naturally become speakers of Ulwa once they become older, many villagers are becoming concerned about the fate of their language, noting the fast decline in intergenerational transmission. There is interest in introducing Ulwa into the Manu school classrooms, but this could prove very difficult, if not impossible, in part due to the dearth of language materials in Ulwa, but mainly due to the presence of a non-ethnically-Ulwa student majority (slightly more than half the students commute from the nearby Ap-Ma-speaking Yamen village). Furthermore, most teachers in the Manu elementary school come from other parts of Papua New Guinea entirely, such as the Highlands, and are therefore not speakers of Ulwa.

There have been a number of frameworks proposed for assessing language vitality. The following sections offers assessments of Ulwa’s vitality with respect to UNESCO’s nine factors (1.7.1), the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (1.7.2), and the Language Endangerment Index (LEI) (1.7.3).

1.7.1 UNESCO's nine factors

Based on UNESCO's (2003:7ff.) framework, Ulwa would be considered "severely endangered". The following assessments of Ulwa are made according to each of the nine "major evaluative factors of language vitality".

Factor 1: Intergenerational language transmission

Ulwa's status: grade "2": severely endangered

"The language is spoken only by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may still understand the language, they typically do not speak it to their children" (UNESCO 2003:8).

This description holds fairly well for Ulwa. Almost everyone over 40 years old is able to speak the language. It is very uncommon, however, for parents to speak Ulwa to their children, aside from in a few set formulae (e.g., *umbenam anma* 'good morning', *u anggo mana?* 'where are you going?', *aw kot ninan!* 'please pass betel nut!') or as nouns referring to culturally salient items (e.g., *ay* 'jellied sago', *we* 'sago starch', *ani* 'bilum, net bag').

Factor 2: Absolute number of speakers

Ulwa's status: "at risk"

"It is impossible to establish a hard and fast rule for interpreting absolute numbers, but a small speech community is always at risk" (UNESCO 2003:8).

UNESCO does not provide any guidelines for assessing what constitutes a "small" versus a "large" speech community, but—with fewer than 700 speakers—Ulwa is considered here to be small and therefore at greater risk than other languages, much more so than some of its nearest neighbors, Ap Ma (10,000 speakers *Ethnologue* 21st ed.), Biwat (3,040 speakers, *Ethnologue* 21st ed.), and Kanda (8,220 speakers, *Ethnologue* 21st ed.).

Factor 3: Proportion of speakers within the total population

Ulwa's status: grade "2": severely endangered

"A minority speak the language" (UNESCO 2003:9).

Even including the estimates of semi-speakers along with those of fully fluent speakers, only 1,943 people out of the four villages' total population of 3,899 (49.83%) speak Ulwa.

Factor 4: Trends in existing language domains

Ulwa's status: grade "2": used in "limited or formal domains"

"The non-dominant language is used only in highly formal domains, as especially in ritual and administration. The language may also still be used at the community centre, at festivals, and at ceremonial occasions where these older members of the community have a chance to meet. The limited domain may also include homes where grandparents and other older extended family members reside, and other traditional gathering places of the elderly. Many people can understand the language but cannot speak it" (UNESCO 2003:10).

Ulwa is not used for festivals or in the "community centre". It is, however, mostly just used by the elderly, and usually only when they are among members of their own generation.

Factor 5: Response to new domains and media

Ulwa's status: grade "0": an "inactive" response

"The language is not used in any new domains" (UNESCO 2003:11).

As the Ulwa-speaking villages lack electricity, phone service, and the internet, there is little contact with media of any sort. Occasional newspapers find their way into the village (often to be used for rolling cigarettes), however, and these are all written either in English or in Tok Pisin. When Ulwa speakers are in town with access to modern media, the languages of these domains are also exclusively English and Tok Pisin.

Factor 6: Materials for language education and literacy

Ulwa's status: grade "1"

"A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written" (UNESCO 2003:12).

Speakers in Manu village have been adopting the orthography that I have devised with suggestions from the community. There is not, however, much being written by community members in this (or any) language.

Factory 7: Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use

Ulwa's status: grade "5": equal support

“All of a country's languages are valued as assets. All languages are protected by law, and the government encourages the maintenance of all languages by implementing explicit policies” (UNESCO 2003:13).

This factor in the UNESCO framework seems mostly to apply to countries that have a dominant language, represented by a particular ethnic or social group that maintains power and to which other languages (associated with minority groups) are subjugated. Papua New Guinea, however, is a nation of indigenous peoples. While Tok Pisin, English, and Hiri Moto, represent official languages of government, they are not associated with dominant ethnic groups. The nation indeed values its diversity. The constitution of Papua New Guinea calls for:

“recognition that the cultural, commercial and ethnic diversity of our people is a positive strength, and for the fostering of a respect for, and appreciation of, traditional ways of life and culture, **including language**, in all their richness and variety, as well as for a willingness to apply these ways dynamically and creatively for the tasks of development” (Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea, Preamble §5, point 3, emphasis mine).

Furthermore, while English was once the sole language of education in schools, in 1989 the parliament of Papua New Guinea approved a Literacy and Awareness Program, designed to encourage the use of vernaculars in education programs throughout the country. It must be noted, however, that—despite such nominal support of vernaculars—funds to support programs for most of the smaller languages like Ulwa are completely lacking, and there is little or nothing that the government is doing (or perhaps can do) to abate language loss.

Factor 8: Community members' attitudes toward their own language

Ulwa's status: grade "4"

“Most members support language maintenance” (UNESCO 2003:15).

Ulwa fairs well according to this metric, as the overall popular view of the vernacular is positive. Many lament the lack of intergenerational transmission, as well as the loss of traditional ecological knowledge that is seen as being strongly bound to linguistic knowledge. Although a number of community members have aspirations of economic advancement and, as such, support

the use of dominant languages, Ulwa is not viewed as a hindrance to progress. Rather, there is a common view that the spread of Tok Pisin has been an unnecessary step in the process of globalization, many wishing their children to be fluent in just two languages, English and Ulwa, the former for reasons of socioeconomic betterment and cross-cultural communication, the latter for reasons of cultural preservation and identity.

Factor 9: Amount and quality of documentation

Ulwa's status: transitioning from grade "0" (undocumented) to grade "3" (fair)

“There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient numbers of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation” (UNESCO 2003:16).

While Ulwa lacked any documentation before the appearance of this dissertation and associated archived materials, it is hoped that this present work will offer “an adequate grammar” of the language, although—admittedly—it is not clear how doing so has a direct bearing on the language’s state of endangerment.

When viewed with respect to the eight factors that have “grades” associated with them (that is, excluding “Factor 2”), Ulwa averages a grade of 2.375 / 5.000, which is taken to represent severe endangerment.

1.7.2 EGIDS

According to the EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) (Lewis and Simons 2010), Ulwa may be assumed to be either “Level 7: shifting” or “Level 8a: moribund”. If semi-speakers are admitted into the set of people who “can” use the language, then “Level 7” applies (“The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children”). If, however, a higher proficiency in the language is required to qualify one as a speaker, then “Level 8a” seems more appropriate (“The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older”).

1.7.3 LEI

Finally, Ulwa's vitality may be assessed according to the LEI (Language Endangerment Index) (Lee & Van Way 2018).

LEI factor 1: Intergenerational transmission

Ulwa's status: 3 – endangered

“Some adults in the community are speakers, but the language is not spoken by children” (Lee & Van Way 2018:68).

LEI factor 2: Absolute number of speakers

Ulwa's status: 3 – endangered

“100-999 speakers” (Lee & Van Way 2018:69).

LEI factor 3: Speaker number trends

Ulwa's status: 4 – severely endangered

“Less than half of the community speaks the language, and speaker numbers are decreasing at an accelerated pace” (Lee & Van Way 2018:70).

LEI factor 4: Domains of use

Ulwa's status: 4 – severely endangered

“Used mainly just in the home and/or with family, and may not be the primary language even in these domains for many community members” (Lee & Van Way 2018:70).

In the LEI system of assessment, intergenerational transmission is valued twice as strongly as each of the other three factors.

LEI calculation: $3(x2) + 3 + 4 + 4 = 17$

$17 / 25 = 68\% =$ severely endangered (61–80%).

1.8 Classification

Provided in the following sections are notes and observations on the genetic classification of Ulwa.

1.8.1 Papuan languages

First a note on so-called Papuan languages is in order. This oft-used category of languages does not refer to a single language family, since its members are not all demonstrably genetically related. Instead, it is a negative classification, referring to all the indigenous (non-sign) languages spoken within a particular area of the southwest Pacific that *do not* belong to the Austronesian language family. Foley (2000:357), using the term “New Guinea region”, defines this area as roughly running “from the easterly Indonesian islands of Halmahera, Timor, and Alor in the west (125°E), to the westerly island group of New Georgia in the Solomon Islands in the east (155°E), a land area of approximately 850,000 km²”. This heterogeneous group of non-Austronesian languages consists of numerous families: even the most liberal counts (in terms of a researcher’s willingness to accept evidence for genetic relatedness) posit no fewer than 32 Papuan families and isolates (e.g., Ross 2005:30). The most conservative counts, on the other hand, could allow 125 or more Papuan families and isolates (see, for example, the distinct families and isolates in *Glottolog* 3.2). Moderate estimates could be closer to 80 families and isolates (Palmer 2018, for example, identifies 43 families and 37 isolates).

These families and isolates are found on the island of New Guinea (Indonesia, Papua New Guinea) and its smaller satellite islands, the Bismarck Archipelago (Papua New Guinea), the Solomon Islands Archipelago (Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands), North Maluku (Indonesia), and the Alor Archipelago (Alor, Pantar, and Kisar [Indonesia] and Timor [Indonesia, East Timor]). Additionally, one Papuan language is spoken within the territory of Australia—Meriam [ulk, meri1244], an Eastern Trans-Fly language spoken on the Torres Strait. The extinct language isolate Tambora [xxt, tamb1257] of the Indonesian island of Sumbawa has been claimed to have been Papuan (i.e., non-Austronesian) as well (Donohue 2007).

All told, there are perhaps 862 indigenous spoken non-Austronesian languages in this “New Guinea region” (Palmer 2018:7). For whatever reason, these Papuan languages have

suffered from the zealous efforts of comparative linguists to fit them all into a small number of large language families (cf. Greenberg's 1971 "Indo-Pacific" hypothesis and Wurm, Voorhoeve, and McElhanon's 1975 proposed "Trans-New Guinea Phylum"). But the overly broad claims of genetic affiliations that have been made over the years have failed to garner the support of any rigorous application of the comparative method. While it is certainly possible that all Papuan languages descend from just a few proto-languages (or even just a single proto-language), it may simply be impossible (given current methods and the nature of the data available at least) to prove this. The reason for this is simply the great time depth. The ancestors of the modern Papuan peoples migrated to the island of New Guinea perhaps more than 49,000 years ago (Summerhayes et al. 2010), and, given their subsequent dispersal into areas that are environmentally quite isolating, their languages were allowed multiple millennia during which to diversify. Perhaps many sister languages have diversified to the point that any cognacy (if it were ever present) is now irrecoverable due to the extensive amount of language change over such an extensive amount of time.

1.8.2 Language families of the Sepik-Ramu Basin

Viewed in terms of number of language families and isolates, the Sepik-Ramu area is perhaps the most linguistically diverse region of New Guinea. A number of relatively large language families surround Ulwa and its two sister languages. To the west are languages of the Yuat family; to the east and north are languages of the Lower Sepik-Ramu family (as well as Ap Ma and Banaro, which may be part of this family or may be isolates); and to the south (at some remove) are languages of the Piawi family (perhaps itself part of the larger Upper Yuat family).

The two major language families near Ulmapo are thus the Lower Sepik-Ramu and the Yuat. The Lower Sepik-Ramu is a family of 30 to 35 languages (*Glottolog* 3.2 includes 30, Foley 2018 includes 35). There is immense linguistic diversity within this family, and the two primary subgroups (Lower Sepik and Ramu) share very few cognates. The Yuat family, on the other hand, consists of five closely related languages.

1.8.3 The Ulmapo family

The Ulmapo family consists of three languages: Ulwa, Mwakai, and Pondi. As described above (1.6.3), Ulwa is spoken in four villages. Mwakai is spoken in two villages in the Yuat LLG (Kaimbal and Mongol), which lie about 17 km (10 miles) north of Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul (past several intervening Ap Ma-speaking villages). The GPS coordinates for Kaimbal are 4°16'30"S, 143°57'15"E (-4.275, 143.954). The village is known in Mwakai as *Wæmbə*. The GPS coordinates for Mongol are 4°15'40"S, 143°55'5"E (-4.261, 143.918). The village is known in Mwakai as *Awkula*. Pondi is spoken in just one village in the Yuat LLG (Langam), which lies about 13 km (8 miles) northwest of Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul and about 7 km (4 miles) southwest of Kaimbal and Mongol. The GPS coordinates for Langam are 4°18'15"S, 143°53'5"E (-4.304, 143.885). The village is known in Pondi as *Amonam*.

The first identification of the Ulmapo family was by Laycock (1973:36), who dubbed it “Mongol-Langam”, after two of its members (in Laycock’s terminology). The classification of this family was based on Laycock’s unpublished handwritten field notes, which consist of 24pp for “Yaul” (Ulwa), 29pp for “Mongol” (Mwakai), and 21pp for “Langam” (Pondi). These notes are mostly scarce scribbles made during Laycock’s extensive survey of Sepik languages in the early 1970s, and the transcriptions (most without glosses) are likely far from perfect. Nevertheless—and even without the rigorous application of the comparative method—it has since 1973 been apparent that Ulwa, Mwakai, and Pondi are all related to one another (i.e., there are a sufficient number of basic vocabulary items in the three languages that—as transcribed—appear to be very similar).

In the following word lists, data from Ulwa are compared with data from Mwakai and Pondi, which I gathered during field trips in 2016 (for comparative purposes, all words are transcribed using the IPA).

gloss	Ulwa	Mwakai	Pondi
‘ear’	kikal	kikar	kakal
‘sun’	ane	arila	ale
‘person’	ankam	akam	alka
‘good’	anma	anum	almon
‘house’	apa	kapo	kapa
‘fire’	apin	apu	apn

‘spirit’	na ^m bana	a ^o gəlo	na ^m ban
‘my’	ni ⁿ dʒi	nə ⁿ dʒi	ni ⁿ dʒin
‘canoe’	num	ni ^m ba	nim
‘husband’	numan	numun	numon
‘two’	nini	ɲim	inin
‘thing’	ⁿ dʒi	ⁿ dʒi	ⁿ dʒin

The above sample was selected to show readily apparent cognates. There are not, however, altogether many obvious cognates, even among word lists of multiple hundreds of items. Furthermore, even in the selection above, it is not clear what—if any—regular sound correspondences exist among the three sets of words. Still, it is taken as self-evident that these three languages form a family, sharing a common ancestor, referred to here as Proto-Ulmapo.

1.8.4 Evidence for broader genetic affiliations?

Despite his limited data, Laycock ventured a broader affiliation for the family, writing that the three languages “clearly form a separate stock within the Ramu Sub-Phylum” (1973:36). This family (the “Ramu Phylum”) was first postulated by Z’graggen (1971:73ff.), who used lexicostatistical counts of “probable cognates” to generate theories of genetic affiliation, following Swadesh’s (1954:326) system of considering 81–100% cognate vocabulary to constitute a single language, 36–81% to constitute a “family”, 12–36% to constitute a “stock”, and 4–12% to constitute a “phylum”. Although he notes that “[s]ound correspondences were taken into consideration whenever detected” (1971:6), Z’graggen’s approach was far from rigorous, relying on an impressionistic notion of “similarity in form”, rather than the strict application of the comparative method. The result was the proposed Ramu family, consisting of perhaps 25 languages, of which three—Banaro [byz, bana1292], Aion (Ambakich) [aew, amba1269], and Kambot (Ap Ma) [kbx, apma1241]—were included only quite tentatively. Z’graggen did not himself include Mongol-Langam in his classification, but he writes: “Between the Biwat and Kambot languages the following villages were said to have languages of their own: a) Mangol [sic], Kamba [sic], b) Dimiri, Yaul, Manu, Maruwat [sic]” (1971:88). Mongol and Kaimbal are the two Mwakai-speaking villages; and Dimiri, Yaul, Manu, and Maruat are the four Ulwa-speaking villages; the village (Langam) of the third language (Pondi) in the family is not mentioned.

Laycock (1973:19ff.), adopting Z'graggen's Ramu family, includes it as a subgroup of a larger family, which he calls the "Sepik-Ramu Phylum". Laycock and Z'graggen (1975:758) ultimately place Mongol-Langam within the "Yuat Super-Stock" of the "Ramu Sub-Phylum" of this rather large "Sepik-Ramu Phylum", which consists of some 97 languages. An abbreviated tree diagram of the proposed family is presented in Figure 1 below.

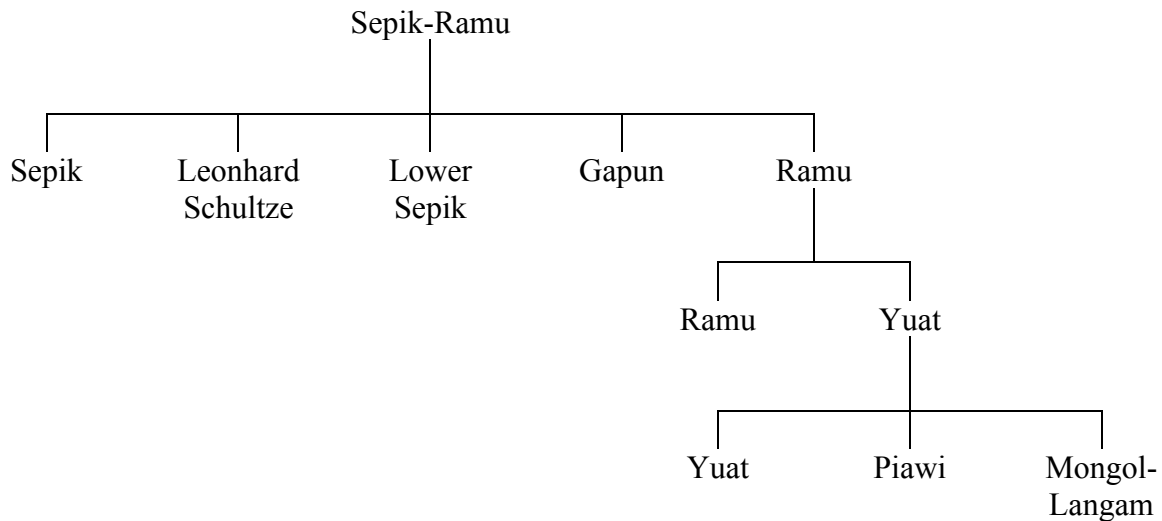


Figure 1. Laycock and Z'graggen's "Sepik-Ramu Phylum"

Many of these early zealous attempts at identifying far-reaching families in Papua New Guinea, however, are no longer widely accepted. Among the allegedly related subgroups depicted above, for example, Ross (2005:30, 38f.) finds no evidence for forming groupings of anything less than five families: Sepik (composed of the Sepik and Leonhard Schultze subgroups), Ramu-Lower Sepik (composed of the Lower Sepik subgroup and the Ramu "super-stock", but not the Yuat "super-stock" of the Ramu "sub-phylum"), Yuat, Piawi, and the isolate Taiap (Gapun) [gpn, taia1239]. Ross, however, makes no mention at all of "Mongol-Langam" or the languages associated with it. Likewise, Foley (2005:109ff.) argues against a Sepik-Ramu phylum, showing that many of these languages belong either to a Sepik family or to a Lower Sepik-Ramu family, but that these two families are not demonstrably related to each other.

Foley's (2018:206) most recent classification includes Ulmapo (which he calls "Koam") as a subgroup within the Ramu branch of the Lower Sepik-Ramu family. The relevant portions of his classification of the Lower Sepik-Ramu family are presented in Figure 2 (on the following page). Some of the subgroupings are included more tentatively than others.

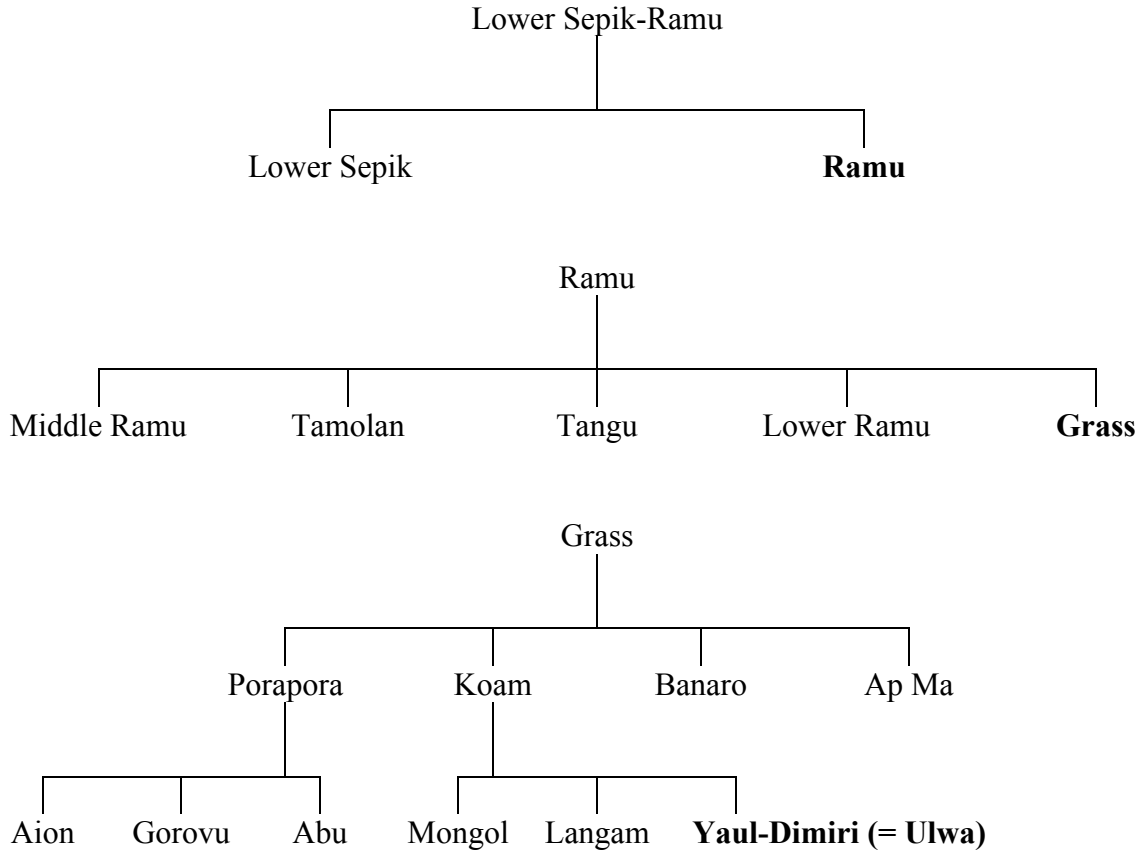


Figure 2. Foley’s classification of the Lower Sepik-Ramu family

Although Foley (2018:205) places the Grass family within the Ramu subgroup, he explains that this is very tentative: “Although its membership within the larger Lower Sepik-Ramu family seems secure, its inclusion within the Ramu family is debatable.” Admitting the dearth of cognate vocabulary, Foley bases his hypothesis on morphological and (to a lesser extent) typological evidence.

I conclude this section by examining the possibility that Ulmapo may belong to a larger language family, namely the Lower Sepik-Ramu family.

Unsurprisingly, there is very little to go on in terms of lexical evidence. Indeed, the two major branches of the Lower Sepik-Ramu family share only four identified cognates in their vocabulary (Foley 2005:122):

	Proto-Lower Sepik	Proto-Ramu
tongue	*miniŋ	*mi(m)
ear	*kwand-	*kwar

lime	*awi(r)	*awi(r)
eat	*am(b)	*am(b)

Still, it may be investigated whether there are any possible cognates between Ulmapo and the Lower Sepik-Ramu family, in particular the Ramu branch, which is proposed to be superordinate to Ulmapo. The list below includes Foley's (2005) Proto-Lower Ramu forms, which may be compared with my transcriptions of words in the three languages of the Ulmapo family. For comparative purposes, I present also an extremely tentative stab at Proto-Ulmapo forms, created merely by making general guesses whenever there appear to be cognates within the set of three Ulmapo forms (again, for comparative purposes, I do not use Ulwa's working orthography, but rather here follow Foley's orthographic conventions).

gloss	Proto-Ramu	Proto-Ulmapo?	Ulwa	Mwakai	Pondi
'two'	*mbuniŋ	*nin	nini	ɲim	inin
'sun'	*ra(u)	*ale	ane	arila	ale
'tooth'	*nda(r)		ambla	alum	awmo
'bone'	*(a)gar	*kuma	uma	kumal	kulumbun
'tongue'	*mi(m)	*milim	minim	məliməla	milim
'ear'	*kwar	*kakal	kikal	kikar	kakal
'eye'	*rəmeak		limndi	ndzini	ilan
'nose'	*ŋgun	*kip	ip	kəpa	kip
'leg'	*or ?	*pis	wuti	pisi	pis
'bird'	*ŋgwarak		uta	weme	awal
'leaf'	*rapar	*papa	wapa	papen	papa
'yesterday'	*ɣur		awal	ɲangə	meyamba
'betel nut'	*mbok	*kamu	aw	amu	kamu
'lime'	*awi(r)		i	pali	patale
'sago'	*veak	*kwe	we	pe	ke
'name'	*v/ɣi	*kwi	wi	pi	ki
'mosquito'	*ŋgit	*nangun	yangun	nongun	nangun
'hear'	*varak		wana-	sil-	ole-
'eat'	*am(b)	*ama-	ama-	ame-	ama-
'sit'	*mbirak	*asi-	asi-	yapsil-	asiya-
'stand'	*-tik	*səna-	tane-	təp-	sina-
'black'	*mbəkmbək		mbunmana	imal	kalami

There are certainly some apparent similarities here, but not much to instill confidence in a *prima facie* grouping of Ulwa with the Ramu languages.

Next may be considered the morphological evidence. Foley (2018:203f.) provides the following diagnostics as the best morphological indicators of membership to (or at least the existence of) the Lower Sepik-Ramu family:

- “complex and often irregular plural formatives for nouns”
- “third person pronouns built on a near-distal deictic stem *m-*”
- “dual (perhaps paucal) pronominal formative in *(ŋ)g*”
- “ablauting pattern of front vowels versus back vowels for non-singular for first and second person pronouns respectively”.

Furthermore, for Ramu languages, he (ibid.:204f.) offers:

- 1SG **(ŋ)go*
- 2SG **nu*
- second person non-singular pronouns with stem in **n-*
- dative case-marker **mV*.

First, while Ulwa lacks plural noun morphology, its sister languages Mwakai and Pondi do show some inflections for singular versus plural nouns. There are a number of seemingly irregular plural forms in these languages, but—among the plural suffix allomorphs—there is not much from which to make strong claims for cognacy with Lower Sepik-Ramu languages. If there is anything of plural morphology that can be reconstructed in Proto-Ulmapo, it is a set of forms in *-l* or *-i ~ -e*; these forms are not known to be cognate in the Lower Sepik-Ramu languages, and—even if similarities can be found—they are too phonologically impoverished to use for convincing claims of genetic affiliation.

There is no dative case-marker in Ulmapo languages, so this cannot be used as evidence. The Ulwa oblique marker (11.5.1), which is perhaps similar in function in some ways to a dative marker (11.5.2), is of the form *=n* (i.e., not resembling **mV*).

The remainder of the morphological evidence for the Lower Sepik-Ramu languages concerns pronouns, so these may be considered next. The pronouns for the three languages of the Ulmapo languages are presented below, with (very speculative) reconstructions for Proto-Ulmapo (all in IPA).

	Ulwa	Mwakai	Pondi	Proto-Ulmapo?
1SG	ni	ni	nye	*ni
1DU.INCL	^h gunan			
1DU.EXCL	^h gan		wanin	
1PL.INCL	unan			
1PL.EXCL	an	kani	an	*kan
2SG	u	wi	o	*u
2DU	^h gun			
2PL	un	uni	wan	*un
3SG	mi	mə	me	*me
3DU	min		min	*min ?
3PL	ⁿ di	ⁿ də	ⁿ din	* ⁿ di

First it may be noted that two of the third person pronouns (singular and dual, but not plural) are built on a stem of *m-*. While dual pronouns (of the first person and second person) in Ulwa are indeed built on stems of *ɲg-*, these look like recent innovations (likely borrowings from a neighboring, perhaps Lower Sepik-Ramu, language), especially since each is transparently composed of the formative *ɲg-* plus the corresponding plural form and since dual forms in the first person and second person do not exist for Mwakai or Pondi. The third person dual forms (present in Mwakai and Pondi) do not contain *ɲg-*. Next, non-singular first person pronouns in Proto-Ulmapo do not have front vowels; non-singular second person pronouns do, however, have the back vowel *u*, but this does not seem too suggestive of genetic affiliation. The first singular form **ni-* does not bear a strong resemblance to Proto-Ramu **(ɲ)go*, nor does the second singular form **u* seem convincingly related to Proto-Ramu **nu*. Finally, the second person non-singular form **n-* in Proto-Ramu does not seem all that similar to the Proto-Ulmapo forms **min* 3DU or **ndi* 3PL.

Foley (2018:205), does, however place Ulmapo within the Grass subfamily of Ramu, noting that “Grass family languages exhibit two major divergences in their pronominal systems, **ni* 1SG and **re* 3SG”. Still, while Proto-Ulmapo **ni* 1SG may bear some resemblance to the former, Proto-Ulmapo **me* is not much like the latter. Furthermore, when it is considered that *n* and *m* are both unmarked and extremely common elements in the morphology of the languages of the word and that nasals, as the most perceptually salient of consonants, tend to appear in the most important morphemes, such as first person pronominal forms, then the similarity between **ni* and **ni* is less impressive (see Campbell 1994 for discussion of similar issues in Native American languages).

Thus, although the morphological features of Ulmapo do exhibit a few similarities to those of the Lower Sepik-Ramu languages, there is nothing fully convincing of genetic affiliation.

In addition to lexical and morphological evidence, the typological features of Ulmapo may be examined to help test theories of broader genetic affiliation. Of course, caution is needed when considering typology, since, as is well known, typological similarities can be more indicative of areal features (or of commonplace tendencies and universals in languages generally) than of common linguistic ancestry. Nevertheless, for the sake of completeness, I provide below an examination of Ulmapo's grammatical features in light of the typological traits of the Lower Sepik-Ramu family. The following phonological and morphological features are taken from Laycock and Z'graggen (1975:732).

1. "Low number of vowel phonemes: never more than seven". Proto-Ulmapo likely had either five or six vowels (depending on the phonemic status of a non-low central vowel found in its daughter languages). Also, the tacit definition of a "low" number of vowels as "seven or fewer" is problematic: more than two-thirds of Maddieson's (2013b) sample of 564 languages have *six* or fewer vowels.
2. "Occurrence of a schwa-phoneme which is only quasi-phonemic". Ulwa indeed has a (high) central vowel /i/, that, while clearly phonemic (there are minimal pairs contrasting it with other vowels), nevertheless does pattern differently from other vowels and seems to be used epenthetically to break up consonant clusters. Mwakai has a similarly quasi-phonemic vowel /ə/. (This central vowel could also be an areal trait, as is found also in the Balkan *Sprachbund*.)
3. "Frequent occurrence of a palatal series of stops and nasals". There is no palatal nasal in Ulwa or Pondi, but there is one in Mwakai. It is not clear whether it is reconstructible for Proto-Ulmapo. Also, there is no palatal stop in any of the languages, but there does exist the prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ⁿdʒ/. The single fricative /s/, which is often palatalized to [ʃ] before high front vowels, could conceivably be viewed as the voiceless counterpart to /ⁿdʒ/, filling the voiceless palatal gap, as it were.
4. "Basic opposition ... between plain and pre-nasalised stops". This is present in Ulmapo, but is a feature also known to exist in many unrelated languages of the region.
5. "No vowel sequences (if [i] and [u] are treated as consonantal phonemes /y/ and /w/)". This holds at least for Ulwa, where [ai] and [au] are treated as /ay/ and /aw/ (see 2.6.1).

6. “Lack of complex suprasegmental systems”. This, too, holds, although it is not particularly telling.
7. “Nasal vowels rare”. This is also true for Ulmapo (and also for most of the world’s languages).
8. “Fairly transparent affixation, with few complex morphophonemic changes”. The object markers in Ulmapo are fairly transparent as are the possessive pronominal forms. There are not too many morphophonemic changes (although some are certainly present), but this apparent lack of complex morphophonemic changes could simply reflect the fact that Ulwa has comparatively little bound morphology to begin with.
9. “Predominance of suffixation in morphology”. This is not particularly true for Ulmapo. Although TAM morphemes are all suffixes, the object-agreement markers (although not technically prefixes) are proclitics. More notably, however, there is indeed a verbal prefix in Ulwa (a detransitivizing marker). Nevertheless, even though Ulwa *does* predominantly use suffixes in its morphology, the presence of suffixes is to be expected among SOV languages, and the Ulmapo languages (as well as many other languages of various families in New Guinea) have SOV basic constituent order.
10. “Strong tendency for indication of subject in verbs (by suffixes), with object-marking less frequent”. This runs completely counter to Ulmapo, which indicates objects (by proclitics), but does not index subjects on verbs in any way.
11. “Sentence-medial verb marking rudimentary or absent”. Certain constructions consist of more than one verb-like element, often with one of these occurring in sentence-medial position. While typically not exhibiting inflection for TAM, these can indeed be marked for object agreement.
12. “Widespread occurrence of a two-gender system in nouns and pronouns”. There is no gender system among Ulmapo languages.

To summarize: several of these so commonplace around the world that they should not count as very useful as evidence of affiliation; many of these are potentially or even likely to be areal traits; and most of these violate Meillet’s (1914) requirement of sound-meaning isomorphism in traits used to support genealogical claims, since they identify similarities either only in sound or only in meaning.

Furthermore, Foley (2018:205) provides a description of the basic consonant phonemes of Ramu languages (as represented by Ap Ma’s phonemic inventory). It is presented in Table 1.1 (all forms have been converted into IPA).

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless stops	p	t		k
Prenasalized voiced stops	^m b	ⁿ d		^ŋ g
Prenasalized voiced affricate			^ɲ dʒ	
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
Liquid		r ~ l		
Fricative		s		
Glides	w		j	

Table 1.1 Basic consonant inventory of Ramu languages

Foley’s (ibid.:208) reconstruction of Proto-Ramu vowels is presented in Table 1.2.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

Table 1.2 Proto-Ramu vowel inventory

The basic Ramu phonemic inventory actually resembles that of Ulmapo quite closely, the only major difference among the consonants being the lack of the palatal and velar nasals. The vowel inventory for Proto-Ulmapo is probably smaller than that for Proto-Ramu (in that it likely lacks the contrast between /i/ and /ɨ/).

Foley also offers that Ramu languages have verb-final clauses, adjectives that follow their nouns heads, agglutinative suffixation, and unaffixed imperative forms corresponding closely to the root: all these features (aside from the last) are true for Ulmapo. He also mentions, however, that in “none of the Ramu languages are verbs inflected with pronominal agreement affixes for any core arguments”, which—depending on one’s analysis—may be untrue in Ulmapo. Object arguments *do* appear to be indexed on verbs in Ulwa, but these pronominal markers are probably better described as proclitics than prefixes. Also—admittedly—even if Ulwa’s object markers

were to be analyzed as pronominal agreement affixes, it would be simple enough to view this feature as an innovation unique to the language or (sub-)family.

Thus the claims for typological unity among Ramu languages do not add sufficient support to any grouping with Ulmapo. First, they are mostly so broad as to include features that are common among all Papuan languages, if not all the languages of the world. Second, although some of the more unusual features are indeed shared by Ulmapo, there exist, additionally, features said to be present in Ramu languages that are absent in Ulmapo and features said to be absent in Ramu languages that are present in Ulmapo. Finally, claims of genetic affiliation based on typological similarities are inherently flawed, since so many of these shared features could just as easily be explained by areal diffusion and general typological trends in languages generally.

To conclude: it remains possible that the languages of the Ulmapo family descended from the same proto-language that is the forbear to Lower Sepik-Ramu languages such as Yimas [yee, yima1243] and Rao [rao, raoo1244], but there is—as yet—no persuasive evidence of such a relationship.

1.9 Typological overview

Before examining Ulwa’s grammatical features in greater detail, I provide in the following sections a general description of its phonology, morphology, and syntax, placing Ulwa’s traits in a crosslinguistic context.

1.9.1 Phonetics and phonology

Ulwa has a rather small consonant inventory: 13 consonants, compared to an average of 22.7 in Maddieson’s (2013a) sample of 562 languages. Such a small consonant inventory is not, however, unusual among languages of the region. Ulwa’s vowel inventory, composed of 6 vowels, is closer to the crosslinguistic average of “just fractionally below 6” (Maddieson 2013b). Ulwa thus has a “moderately low” consonant-to-vowel ratio of 2.17. There is nothing particularly unusual about either the consonant inventory or the vowel inventory. The only gap in the consonant inventory is caused by the presence of the (prenasalized) voiced palato-alveolar

affricate /ⁿdʒ/ without a voiceless counterpart (i.e., no /tʃ/ or /ʃ/). Otherwise, there are no unusual contrasts (or the absence of common contrasts) among phonemes. Ulwa distinguishes plosives in three places of articulation: labial, alveolar, and velar. In each place of articulation, there is a contrast in voicing. Somewhat less common in Ulwa (but not particularly unusual for the region), however, is the fact that the voiced stops are all prenasalized. Thus, Ulwa's version of the set of typologically common stops is manifested as: /p, t, k, ^mb, ⁿd, ^ŋg/. There is, however, no contrast in voicing among fricatives (in fact, the only fricative is the voiceless alveolar /s/). There are no uvular consonants, nor are there glottalized consonants nor others with secondary manners of articulation. There is one lateral consonant: a voiced alveolar /l/. There is no phonemic velar nasal, although this sound occurs phonetically (as part of the prenasalized voiced velar stop and when an underlying alveolar nasal precedes the voiceless velar stop). The vowel inventory is likewise fairly typical, consisting of the five standard vowels plus the high central vowel /i/. The two back vowels are rounded; and the two front vowels are unrounded. There are no nasal vowels.

Ulwa generally has a simple syllable structure, but the phonotactics of the language do occasionally permit structures as complex as CCVC (typically only when the CC cluster is composed of a velar-plus-labial-velar or a bilabial stop-plus-liquid). However, consonant clusters are not common.

There is no phonemic tone in Ulwa; nor is stress phonemic.

1.9.2 Morphology and word classes

Ulwa is a mostly analytic (or isolating) language, in that it has a relatively low morpheme-to-word ratio. Although there is not much inflectional morphology, it is not absent altogether in the language: there are TAM suffixes on verbs and oblique markers on NPs. Since these affixes tend to express one grammatical feature each, Ulwa can be considered more agglutinative than fusional.

Ulwa employs the morphological process of suffixation, both on verbs and on noun phrases. The only known prefix is a detransitivizing marker that affixes to verbs. Object markers, while properly proclitics and not prefixes, have a close phonological affinity with their following host verbs. Although almost entirely suffixes, some TAM affixes take forms resembling

circumfixes. There are no known processes of infixation, stem modification, suprasegmental modification, or reduplication. Some verbs have suppletive forms for certain TAM distinctions. Derivational morphology includes nominalizing suffixes that derive nouns from verbs. Verbs, in a sense, may be derived from other parts of speech through the use of a copular suffix.

There is little agreement marking between heads and dependents in Ulwa, but based on what does exist, Ulwa can be considered a dependent-marking language: in a postposition phrase, a 3SG object (dependent) takes a form that reflects its status as object; similarly, in possessive noun phrases, the possessor (dependent) argument can be marked as such by a suffix. (If object markers are indeed undergoing a process whereby they are fusing to following verbs, and thereby becoming prefixes, then clauses may be considered to be becoming head-marked.)

Nouns in Ulwa are not marked in any way for person, number, gender, or case. Subject and object NPs do, however, receive subject markers and object markers, determiners which indicate person and number (singular, dual, or plural). Also, non-core NPs can be indicated by an oblique-marker enclitic. Possession is generally marked by a separate possessive adjective, but it can be signaled by an oblique-marking enclitic instead. There are no obligatorily possessed nouns (i.e., no inalienable possession).

The basic paradigm of personal pronouns consists of 11 items. There is a three-way number distinction among singular, dual, and plural forms (in which the category of “plural” can, in broader usage, refer to exactly two referents as well as to more than two). Among first person non-singular pronouns there is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms. Gender is not marked in any way in pronouns, nor are there any politeness distinctions made among pronouns. There is polysemy between indefinite and interrogative pronouns, as well as between reflexive and reciprocal pronouns.

Determiners are largely represented by subject markers and object markers, which are free lexemes that follow their respective NPs, marking them for number. They are not obligatory, nor do they necessarily mark NPs for definiteness. There are also a few demonstratives, which serve deictic function. There are no numeral classifiers.

Verbs are marked for various tense, aspect, and mood distinctions by suffixes. There is a basic three-way contrast among imperfective (often unmarked), perfective, and irrealis forms. There is generally no grammatical evidentiality (but epistemic possibility can be expressed with

a speculative suffix). There is also a conditional suffix that marks the verb in the protasis of a conditional statement.

There are no coordinators and no (obligatory) subordinators in Ulwa. There is, however, a verbal suffix that signals that a given clause is dependent (i.e., it anticipates a following clause, either the independent clause of the sentence or another dependent clause).

1.9.3 Word order and syntax

The basic order of basic constituents in Ulwa is SOV. This order is fairly rigid: there is essentially no variation from this pattern in active-voice main clauses. Oblique phrases follow the subject of the clause and precede the verb (and object if there is one) (i.e., SXOV). Negators occur between subjects and objects as well (S-NEG-O-V). (Although negators must thus always precede verbs, it is possible to have double negation as well, in which there is a second negative element that follows the verb.) Adpositions always follow their NPs (that is, there are only postpositions, no prepositions, in Ulwa). In possessive constructions, the possessor (genitive) precedes the possessum (possessed). Adjectives follows the nouns that they modify. Demonstratives and numerals also follow nouns. Relative clauses precede their respective head nouns. Ulwa thus conforms very neatly to the typological expectations of OV languages.

Ulwa has nominative-accusative morphosyntactic alignment. There are no indications of ergativity, whether morphological or syntactic, in any aspect of Ulwa grammar. Although it is useful to differentiate intransitive and transitive verbs in Ulwa, there is no evidence that any verb is ditransitive—that is, a verb may never have more than two core arguments: a subject and a (direct) object.

Ulwa does not employ a robust set of serial verb constructions (as compared to many Papuan languages). There are, however, a number of discontinuous verbs in the language, which contain at least one light verb element, and which function much like adjunct-plus-verb constructions.

Ulwa does not exhibit any particular comparative or superlative construction, relying instead exclusively on positive adjectives.

Both nouns and adjectives can function as predicate complements, either with a null copula or with a copular suffix, which may inflect for tense (past) or for mood (irrealis).

Questions are formed simply by applying a rising intonation to a declarative statement. That is, there is no *wh*-movement. Polar ('yes/no') questions generally employ no question particle; content (*wh*-) questions contain their question word in the syntactic slot to be expected from the standard SOV order of declarative sentences—that is, the so-called *wh*-word is not preposed to the beginning of its clause.

Ulwa may be considered a pro-drop language, in that subjects can be omitted from clauses without creating ungrammaticality.

Passives are formed in a novel, syntactic way—instead of relying on verbal morphology to promote the more patientive argument of a transitive verb to the grammatical subject of a clause, Ulwa inverts the word order to achieve this effect (VS instead of SV). The more agentive argument of this passive sentence may be encoded as an oblique phrase, preceding the verb (i.e., XVS). There is also a verbal prefix, *na-* that functions to reduce the valency (or transitivity) of a verb and may, in a sense, be considered a means of forming antipassive constructions.

Causatives in Ulwa are periphrastic, always composed of two clauses. They are of the sequential, not the purposive variety—that is, the two clauses are juxtaposed without any linking element: first the clause of the cause and second the clause of the effect. There are no overt applicative constructions in Ulwa.

Only subjects are accessible to relativization. Relative clauses in Ulwa may be analyzed alternatively as employing either the gap strategy or the non-reduction strategy with internally headed relative clauses.

(Note that above—and throughout this grammar—syntactic phenomena are often described as processes, whereby one underlying clause type *becomes* another clause type. Alternatively, these could be described as pairs of separate clause types that happen to be related.)

Chapter 2

Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present an analysis and description of Ulwa's phonetics and phonology. The basic phonemic inventory of Ulwa consists of 19 segments, including 13 consonants and 6 vowels.

2.2 Consonants

Table 2.1 shows the 13 consonants of Ulwa, presented in the practical orthography; where this differs from the conventions of the IPA, the IPA equivalent is also given (in parentheses). The form [r] is generally an allophone of /l/, but is the preferred pronunciation in some proper nouns.

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless stops	p	t		k
Prenasalized voiced stops	mb (^m b)	nd (ⁿ d)		ng (^ŋ g)
Prenasalized voiced affricate			nj (ⁿ dʒ)	
Nasals	m	n		
Liquid		l, [r]		
Fricative		s		
Glides	w		y (j)	

Table 2.1 Ulwa consonants (in practical orthography)

2.2.1 Voiceless stops

There is a three-way place distinction that exists among voiceless stops in Ulwa: labial /p/, alveolar /t/, and velar /k/. These are all quite similar to their English equivalents; the /p/ is bilabial, like English /p/; the alveolar /t/ is like English /t/; and the velar /k/ is like English /k/.

They are all slightly aspirated. The following sets of minimal pairs illustrate contrasts among voiceless stops.

/p/ versus /t/

pal	‘palm shoot’	tal	‘tail feather’
apa	‘house’	ata	‘up’
upa	‘mosquitofish’	uta	‘bird’
wop	‘sleep [PRF]’	wot	‘younger (sibling)’

/p/ versus /k/

palam	‘cane grass’	kalam	‘knowledge’
nopal	‘coconut frond’	nokal	‘beak’
nuku	‘flatus’	nupu	‘base’

(There are no minimal pairs contrasting /p/ and /k/ in word-final position, since /k/ does not appear word-finally.)

/t/ versus /k/

ta	‘already’	ka	‘peak’
tukul	‘fish trap’	kukul	‘sago basket’
akal	‘tinea’	atal	‘anus’

While /p/ and /t/ may appear in all word positions (that is, word-initially, word-medially, or word-finally), /k/ may not appear word-finally. The following words all begin with voiceless stops.

Word-initial voiceless stops:

piya	‘banana sp.’
pul	‘piece’
tembi	‘bad’
tongan	‘mosquito-swatter’
kuman	‘large wildfowl’
kwe	‘one’

The words in the list below all have voiceless stops in medial position.

Word-medial voiceless stops:

mapu	‘ <i>Oxyeleotris</i> fish’
------	----------------------------

nipum	‘ <i>kunai</i> grass’
nīte	‘ <i>kundu</i> drum’
aweta	‘friend’
yakal	‘insect sp.’
luke	‘too’

The following words all end with voiceless stops.

Word-final voiceless stops:

ip	‘nose’
nap	‘arrow’
moniwot	‘croton shrub’
nīkit	‘lizard’

2.2.2 Prenasalized voiced stops

There is also a corresponding three-place prenasalized voiced stop series: labial /^mb/, alveolar /ⁿd/, and velar /^ŋg/. In the practical orthography used in this grammar, these are written <mb>, <nd>, and <ng>, respectively. These stops are all prenasalized—that is, they are preceded by a homorganic nasal. There are many reasons for treating these complex articulations as single phonemes, rather than as sequences of nasal-plus-stop. First, no voiced stop ever occurs without a preceding nasal (although a nasal may appear without any adjacent stop). Second, when asked to syllabify a word, native speakers never place a syllable boundary between a nasal and a following voiced stop. Thus, for example, *umbenam* ‘morning’ is broken into [u.^mbe.nam], and never into *[um.be.nam]. Note that, while CC onsets are possible in Ulwa (2.4), there are no known nasal-plus-(heterorganic) stop onsets; therefore, the interpretation */u.mbe.nam/ is highly unlikely). Also, it may here be noted that the syllabification of words with prenasalized stops can be affected in language attrition, as it has been noticed that children, when asked to syllabify Ulwa words, follow the phonotactics of Tok Pisin, producing forms such as [um.be.nam] for ‘morning’.) Third, in loan words from other languages that have a simple voiced-stop series (such as Tok Pisin), these phonemes are very frequently realized in Ulwa as prenasalized voiced stops. Thus, for example, the Tok Pisin word *nogat* ‘no’, which is often used in Ulwa discourse, is pronounced [no.^ŋgat]. The following sets of minimal pairs illustrate contrasts among prenasalized voiced stops.

Minimal pairs, contrasting voiceless stops and prenasalized voiced stops:

amba	‘men’s house’	apa	‘house’
andana	‘left’	atana	‘older sister’
nga	‘this’	ka	‘thus’

Minimal pairs, contrasting prenasalized voiced stops and simple nasals:

mbi	‘here’	mi	‘he/she/it’
ndi	‘they’	ni	‘I’
nga	‘this’	na	‘talk’

The velar nasal component of /ng/ (as seen in the third example) has no simple nasal equivalent, as /ŋ/ is not a separate phoneme in Ulwa. It occurs only phonetically, in the prenasalized voiced velar stop and in the realization of /n/ when preceding /k/ (i.e., the nasal assimilates in place of articulation). Thus, the final example above actually contrasts /ng/ with /n/.

Finally, nasal segments can precede voiceless stops. In these instances, there are in fact two distinct segments, as seen in the following:

/np/

inpu	‘elbow’
wonp	‘cut [PRF]’

/nt/

nongontam	‘ <i>kaukau</i> (sweet potato)’
wenta	‘bird sp.’

/nk/

inkaw	‘mountain’ (phonetically [iŋkaw])
minkin	‘sago grub sp.’ (phonetically [miŋkin])
ankam	‘person’ (phonetically [aŋkam])

/mp/

impul	‘piece of wood’
kalamp	‘know’ (literally, ‘be knowing’)

/mt/

lemta ‘spade’
nīmtu ‘bird sp.’

/mk/

ilumka ‘a little’
yamkwe ‘sago fried with banana and coconut’

It should be noted that—except in very slow speech—the sequence /nk/ is realized as [ŋk], the nasal assimilating in place to the following velar stop, a typologically very common process. Interestingly, the sequence /np/ (as in *inpu* ‘elbow’ and *wonp* ‘cut [PRF]’, is *not* realized as *[mp]—that is, /n/ does not assimilate in place to the following bilabial stop /p/.

Since it is possible for homorganic nasals to precede voiceless stops, it is thus also possible to find (pseudo-)minimal pairs such as /mb/ versus /mp/, /nd/ versus /nt/, and /ng/ versus /nk/. It must be maintained, however, that the phonetic sequences [ᵐb], [ᵐd], and [ᵐg] are each monophonemic, whereas the sequences [mp], [nt], and [ŋk] each consist of two phonemes. There are not many known examples of such putative minimal pairs; however, the contrast between the single phoneme /ng/ of one word, and the consonant cluster of /nk/ in another is seen in the following pair:

angin ‘vine sp.’ ankīn ‘vegetable sp.’

Prenasalized voiced stops may occur word-initially or intervocalically (as illustrated above), but cannot close a syllable, and thus never appear word-finally—at least not in surface forms. There is at least one lexeme, however, that seems to end in a prenasalized voiced stop, the verb /kamb-/ ‘shun’, which ends (underlyingly) in a prenasalized voiced bilabial stop /mb/. When followed by vowel-initial suffixes, this verb stem does not undergo any phonological change, as in [kambe] ‘shun [IPFV]’ (from underlying /kamb-e/). When no (phonemic) vowel follows, however, either (a) an epenthetic *i* is added to the root (yielding [kambī]), as in the conditional form [kambīta] (from underlying /kamb-ta/), or (b) the stop gesture of the final phoneme *mb* is lost (yielding [kam]), as in the perfective form [kamp] (from underlying /kamb-p/). While this second change may seem conditioned by the following homorganic *p*, it also occurs when the root *kamb-* appears in isolation (i.e., [kam]).

- (a) $\emptyset \rightarrow \text{i} / \text{mb} _ \text{C} [-\text{labial}]$
 (b) $\text{mb} \rightarrow \text{m} / _ \{ \text{C}^{[+\text{labial}]} \#$

The change of /mb/ to [m] (especially in word-final surface forms) is particularly interesting, since it implies the splitting of a single segment (/^mb/) into a sequence of phonemes (/mp/)—a morphophonemic change.

2.2.3 The prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar affricate /ⁿdʒ/

There is one affricate in Ulwa, the prenasalized voiced palato-alveolar /ⁿdʒ/, which has no voiceless affricate counterpart (and no voiceless fricative counterpart either). As with the three prenasalized voiced stops, the sole voiced affricate is analyzed here as a single phoneme (with multiple articulatory gestures), rather than as a sequence of nasal-plus-affricate (or nasal-plus-stop-plus-fricative). In the practical orthography, it is written <nj>. It is illustrated in the following words.

Word-initial affricate:

nji	‘thing’
njukuta	‘small’

Word-medial affricate:

lanjin	‘ariid catfish’
tambanji	‘bird sp.’

Like the prenasalized voiced stops, the prenasalized voiced affricate is not found word-finally.

Since almost every instance of [nj] precedes a high vowel (/i, u/), it could be argued that the affricate is not a distinct phoneme, but rather a palatalized allophone of /nd/. Arguing against this hypothesis, however, are the following minimal (and near-minimal) pairs.

anji	‘our [EXCL]’	andi	‘OK’ (alternate pronunciation of <i>ande</i>)
njukuta	‘small’	ndukumbu	‘palm sp.’
nīnji	‘my’	nīndiwe	‘sago palm sp.’

Additional examples of /nd/ occurring before high vowels are included below.

mündit	‘yellow’	lamndu	‘pig’
mondin	‘fruit sp.’	mundu	‘animal, food’
tondiway	‘plant sp.’	ndunduma	‘great-grandparent’
wondi	‘bandicoot’	unduwani	‘head’

An alternative hypothesis could be that [nj] is actually a palatalized version of the cluster /ny/, since this cluster is found only before low vowels (/a/), as in:

yamanyawi	‘bird-of-paradise’
minyam	‘feces’
kunya	‘yam sp.’

It should be noted, however, that /ny/ is a very uncommon surface form, whereas /nj/ is relatively common. Also, it is possible that /n/ and /y/ in these examples fall across a morpheme boundary (or at least a syllable boundary).

(There is, however, at least one instance of /ny/ not falling across a syllable boundary: *wotnya* ‘bird sp.’ Since the language does not permit CCC consonant clusters within a syllable, this word must syllabify as *wot.nyā*. This word, however, is almost certainly onomatopoeic, since the bird is described as having the call *wotnya wotnya*.)

Also, despite its limited distribution, it is not altogether impossible for /nj/ to occur before a low vowel. While the form *lumnjap* ‘Sepik garfish’ is said to be a loan word from Ap Ma, the form *minja* ‘speech’, which—despite perhaps having derived from an older form that contained the word *nji* ‘thing’—is certainly native to Ulwa; it is quite common in speech and not analyzable as polymorphemic. Also, it is not unusual for the series [nja] to occur in rapid speech, as in [njala] for /nji ala/ ‘those things’). Therefore, it is most parsimonious to accept the existence of /nj/ as a phoneme, but one whose distribution is (mostly) limited to environments directly preceding high vowels.

2.2.4 Nasals

There are two phonemic nasals, a bilabial /m/ and an alveolar /n/. The following sets illustrate their distribution.

Word-initial nasals:

mī	‘he/she/it’	nī	‘I’
mil	‘sugarcane’	nil	‘body hair’

Word-medial nasals:

ame	‘sago basket’	ane	‘day’
mama	‘mouth’	mana	‘spear’

Word-final nasals:

um	‘neck’	un	‘you [PL]’
utam	‘yam’	utan	‘cough’

The two nasals can also occur in sequence, either as /mn/ or as /nm/, although the former is not especially common. Whenever these sequences do occur, the set of two nasals are always split by a syllable boundary, as in the following words.

nam.na	‘afraid’
num.na.ta	‘earthquake’
an.ma	‘good’
won.mi	‘hair’
an.mo.ka	‘snake’

Also, it may be noted that the alveolar nasal /n/ may precede the prenasalized labial stop /mb/, as in forms such as the following:

ken.mbu	‘heavy’
wan.mbi	‘daka pepper’
un.mbi	‘buttocks’

Likewise, the labial nasal /m/ may precede the prenasalized alveolar stop /nd/.

imnde	‘basket for straining sago’
līmndī	‘eye’
lamndu	‘pig’

There is at least one known instance of /m/ preceding /ng/:

kītimngīle	‘banana sp.’
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There are no occurrences of /n/ preceding /ng/. If these ever occur underlyingly, the alveolar /n/ assimilates to the prenasalized velar stop.

Furthermore, it is not possible to have a nasal preceding a homorganic voiced stop or affricate. The phonetic realization of such a series would theoretically include an extra-long nasal articulation. These do not occur phonetically in any word. Moreover, there are no known environment in which to test what happens (synchronously) across a morpheme boundary between a nasal and a homorganic stop—that is, to test the phonetic realization of an underlying nasal-plus-homorganic stop series. Among the possessive pronominal forms, however, it can be seen—at least diachronically—that the form /nnj/ has been reduced to /nj/, producing homophony between *unji* ‘your [SG]’ and *unji* ‘your [PL]’, which derive from *u + nji* (‘you [SG]’ + ‘thing’) and *un + nji* (‘you [PL]’ + ‘thing’), respectively (see 6.3). It must be assumed, of course, that the alveolar nasal has first assimilated—slightly—in place to the prenasalized palato-alveolar affricate.

The labial nasal /m/ may precede the palato-alveolar affricate /nj/ without assimilating, as in *inimnji* ‘water spirit’.

There are no sequences of prenasalized voiced stop (or affricate) before a nasal, whether homorganic or heterorganic (i.e., *mbm, *mbn, *ndm, *ndn, *njm, *njn).

2.2.5 The liquid /l/

The single liquid in Ulwa is usually realized as a voiced alveolar lateral approximant [l], but can—for some speakers, in some environments—be realized as a rhotic, either an alveolar flap [ɾ] or an alveolar trill [r]. The lateral phone occurs more frequently overall and in more environments (the rhotic variants do not occur word-finally, nor can they act as syllabic consonants). Therefore, because of its greater distribution, /l/ is chosen here to represent the basic liquid phoneme. (And, as further justification for choosing /l/ over /r/ as the basic phoneme, it may be noted that many Ulwa speakers produce [l] for /r/ in Tok Pisin (i.e., [lausim] for Tok Pisin *rausim* ‘rid’), but will rarely (if ever) produce [r] for /l/ (i.e., never *[raikim] for Tok Pisin *laikim* ‘like’). The distribution of the liquid /l/ is shown below in the following sets.

Word-initial liquids:

lamndu	‘pig’
lemetam	‘large hardwood tree’
li	‘down’
limndi	‘eye’
luke	‘too’

Word-medial liquids:

ilom	‘day’
ulet	‘dish’
wala	‘rat sp.’
mili	‘tall ginger’

Word-final liquids:

minal	‘taro’
mil	‘sugarcane’
wal	‘ribs’

Liquids in consonant clusters:

a.mbla	‘tooth’	al.mba	‘hornbill bird’
am.la	‘tree sp.’	wol.mu	‘nipple’
sak.lup	‘broom’	wol.ka	‘again’
nī.plo.pa	‘flying fox’	mol.pan	‘tree spirit’
mat.laka	‘rat sp.’	al.sa	‘scorpion’

(Syllable breaks are included in the last list above, to show that not all of these clusters are within single syllables.)

Although liquids may follow both labial and velar stops (whether voiceless or prenasalized voiced), they may not follow alveolar stops, as suggested by the contrast between two forms of the word for ‘awaiting’: whereas the form *a.ngla* ‘awaiting’ is simply disyllabic, with a consonant cluster at the onset of the second syllable, the alternate form *a.ndi.la* ‘awaiting’ requires an interceding vowel between the alveolar stop and the liquid (i.e., **ndl*).

Finally, laterals may be syllabic. In words in which this is the case, there is almost always variation between a form with syllabic /l/ and one with preceding /i/ (i.e., /il/). In other words, it is common for forms with underlying /il/ to be realized with only [l], undergoing syncope of the underlying unstressed high central vowel, as in the examples below.

[andl]	for	/andil/	‘careful, slow, quiet’
[iwɪ]	for	/iwil/	‘moon’
[t̪imbl]	for	/t̪imbil/	‘fence’
[n̪ipɪ]	for	/n̪ipil/	‘vine’

2.2.6 The fricative /s/

The single fricative in Ulwa is a voiceless alveolar /s/. It is usually pronounced as an alveolar fricative [s], but may be realized as a palato-alveolar [ʃ] when before a high front vowel [i], as in [ʃiwi] for *siwi* ‘sago grub sp.’, [ʃina] for *sina* ‘small knife’, or [wʃim] for *wusim* ‘crocodile’. Palatalization is an optional rule—that is, for speakers who have this rule, there is free variation among the forms they use:

s → (ʃ) / _ i (optional)

The following sets of words illustrate the distribution of the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in Ulwa.

Word-initial /s/:

sawi	‘saliva’
sikal	‘fly sp.’
siminda	‘banana sp.’
sokoy	‘tobacco’

Word-medial /s/:

asi	‘grass’
isi	‘salt’
misam	‘brain’
nokosam	‘Java almond tree’
yangusole	‘stinging nettle sp.’

The fricative /s/ does not occur very frequently word-finally. In fact (excluding verb stems, e.g. *asa-* ‘hit’ and *si-* ‘push’, which may (apparently) lose their final vowels, 4.3), only one word has so far been found, /angos/ ‘what?’. Likewise, clusters containing the fricative are non-existent in my database.

2.2.7 Glides

There are two glides (or semivowels/approximants) in Ulwa, a labial-velar /w/ and a palatal /j/. In the practical orthography used here, they are written <w> and <y>, respectively. While /w/ has a fairly wide distribution, /y/ is more restricted, mostly just occurring word-initially and only rarely word-medially. The following words all begin with glides.

Word-initial glides:

wa	‘village’	ya	‘coconut’
wi	‘name’	yīwa	‘mound’
wol	‘breast’	yot	‘machete’
wusim	‘crocodile’	yuname	‘bird sp.’
we	‘sago starch’	yeta	‘man’

While there are a number of words that begin with underlying glides, there is also an optional rule among many speakers that generates word-initial glide epenthesis in words that otherwise would not begin with glides. Thus [w] may be inserted before /u/, and [y] (IPA [j]) may be inserted before /i/, producing forms such as [wulum] for /ulum/ ‘sago palm’ and [yip] for /ip/ ‘nose’:

∅ → ([-syl, -cons, αback]) / # _ [+syl, +high, αback] (optional)

The following words contain glides in medial position.

Word-medial glides:

awal	‘afternoon’	ngaya	‘far’
aweta	‘friend’	kayanmali	‘lizard sp.’
awi	‘shoulder’	asiya	‘string’
iwil	‘moon’	iyo	‘yes’
malaliwa	‘snake sp.’		

While the distribution of /w/ is fairly broad (it seems to be permitted before or after any vowel), /y/ is markedly much more restricted. It occurs rarely in medial position, and when it does, the only permissible preceding vowels are /a/ and /i/ (and perhaps also /o/, see below). The status of glides (or semivowels) in Papuan languages poses a notoriously difficult problem, and the line between vowels and glides is often blurred, especially in languages (like Ulwa) that

exhibit the high central vowel [i] (see Foley 1986:50ff. for some possible analyses).

Nevertheless, it is here assumed that /y/ exists as a phoneme in Ulwa (i.e., it is not, say, strictly underlyingly [i]), even though it has a more limited distribution than /w/, since otherwise it would be necessary to admit vowel sequences (which otherwise seem not to exist) into Ulwa's canonical forms.

A glide may also be preceded by a consonant. Although apparently any consonant may occur before /w/, the only attested consonant to appear before /y/ is the alveolar nasal /n/, as seen below.

mīnwata	'wet'	minyām	'feces'
ipwat	'front'	kunya	'yam sp.'
atwana	'question'		
ulwa	'nothing'		

As discussed in 2.2.3, /ny/ is a very uncommon surface form. It may (at least in some words) derive from an earlier palatal nasal *ɲ, which persists, at least, in Ulwa's sister language Mwakai (cf. Ulwa *minyām* 'feces' and Mwakai *ɲeri* 'feces').

In each of the words presented in the list above, there is a syllable break preceding the glide (e.g., /mīn.wa.ta/, /min.yam/, etc.). It is also possible for the labial-velar glide /w/ to occur as the second member of complex onset (/y/ does not occur as the second element in CC onsets), as in the following list.

kwa	'one'
mwa	'opening'
i.ngwa	'spider'

Finally, word-final glides may be examined. The following words all end in either /w/ or /y/.

Word-final glides:

aw	'betel nut'	ay	'jellied sago'
maw	'correct'	may	'eel-tailed catfish'
wowaw	'fish scale'	way	'turtle'
kaw	'song'	langay	'bird sp.'
wopaw	'ball'	sokoy	'tobacco'
nataw	'brown gecko'	tomoy	'insect sp.'

As the examples above suggest, word-final glides appear almost exclusively after the low vowel /a/. The two examples of /-oy/ above, however, of course run counter to this. There are no examples of /w/ following /o/, though, and these two examples of /-oy/ (two of only a few known to exist in the Ulwa lexicon) may be problematic. First, the pronunciation of *sokoy* ‘tobacco’ varies greatly among speakers, many pronouncing the word as *sokay* or *soke*. This variation is perhaps due to the presence of many similar-sounding words for ‘tobacco’ in neighboring languages. The origin of *tomoy* ‘insect sp.’ is unclear, although it is known that many terms for flora and fauna have been borrowed from other languages (cf. *samnaŋ* ‘yam sp.’ and *lumnjap* ‘Sepik garfish’). A third known word to end in /-oy/, *sinokoy* ‘crop’, may be derived from *sokoy* ‘tobacco’; finally, the adverb *woyambin* ‘pointlessly, fruitlessly’, seems to have been derived from other words (see 8.3.5 for a possible etymology).

In the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect, there also exists a labiodental approximant [ʋ], which seems to be an allophone of /w/. It is perhaps borrowed from the influential neighboring language Biwat, which contains this sound phonemically, and has exerted a greater influence on the lexicon of Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul (as evident in the number loan words in that dialect) than it has on that of Manu. Thus there are Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul forms such as [avi] ‘shoulder’ (cf. Manu [awi]) and [ve] ‘sago starch’ (cf. Manu [we]). These are usually in free variation with the labial-velar glide.

2.2.8 The glottal stop [ʔ]

Finally, while there is no phonemic glottal stop [ʔ] in Ulwa, it appears quite often before vowels when they are utterance-initial, as is typologically quite common. The following examples illustrate the phonetic realization of vowel-initial words in unconnected speech.

/anma/	[ʔanma]	‘good’
/apa/	[ʔapa]	‘house’
/im/	[ʔim]	‘tree’
/itom/	[ʔitom]	‘father’
/ulum/	[ʔulum]	‘sago palm’
/utal/	[ʔutal]	‘worm’

As seen above, it is possible for the glottal stop to occur before /i/ or /u/, in addition to occurring before /a/, but this is often bled by epenthetic glides that often appear before initial /i/ or /u/ (i.e., [yim], [yitom], [wulum], [wutal]) (see 2.2.7).

2.3 Vowels

There are six vowels in Ulwa with relatively wide distribution, as well as two basic diphthongs.

2.3.1 Monophthongs

Table 2.2 below presents the six vowels of Ulwa. Most graphemes in the practical orthography currently match their IPA equivalents. The main exception is <ĩ>, which represents IPA /i/ (with another—slight—exception of <a>, which—as is common in linguistic literature—represents a low central vowel, and not a low front vowel, as the IPA vowel chart might suggest). The seventh form in the table below, <æ> is included in brackets (and represents IPA /æ/): it is likely not a full-fledged phoneme in Ulwa (see below).

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ĩ (i)	u
Mid	e		o
Low	[æ] (æ)	a	

Table 2.2 Ulwa vowels (in practical orthography)

While the phonetic realizations of these vowels may occasionally approximate those of the cardinal vowels (especially in careful speech), they are more often pronounced somewhat more centralized. Thus, tense vowels may be lax, especially when occurring in closed syllables. Accordingly, the high front unrounded vowel /i/ has the allophone [ɪ]; the high back rounded vowel /u/ has the allophone [ʊ]; the mid front unrounded vowel /e/ has the allophone [ɛ]; and the mid back rounded vowel /o/ has the allophone [ɔ]. Similarly, the low central unrounded vowel /a/ may be raised to [ʌ].

Since the lax pronunciations of /o/ and /a/ approach each other somewhere in the middle of the vowel space, and since a preceding labial-velar [w] has the effect of rounding a following non-front vowel, the phonetic realizations of /o/ and /a/ after /w/ are often identical, i.e.:

o, a → ɔ / w _

Indeed, it is often near impossible to deduce the underlying form of /o/ or /a/ following /w/ simply from hearing an utterance, and many native speakers themselves seem to have difficulty producing the phoneme underlying what is often phonetically something like [ɔ].

That said, there are minimal pairs contrasting /wo/ and /wa/ (even if both can be phonetically [wɔ]), as seen in the following:

wol	‘breast’	wal	‘ribs’
won	‘penis’	wan	‘sago shoot’
wonmbi	‘tusk’	wanmbi	‘daka pepper’
wopa	‘all’	wapa	‘leaf’
wot	‘younger sibling’	wat	‘ladder’
wowal	‘chicken’	wawal	‘hive’

Additional sets of minimal pairs, distinguishing different pairs of vowel phonemes follow.

Minimal pairs distinguishing high from mid vowels:

wi	‘name’	we	‘sago starch’
asi	‘grass’	ase	‘no’
li	‘down’	le	‘kanda (rattan)’
ilum	‘little’	ilom	‘day’

Minimal pairs distinguishing front from back vowels:

ngin	‘net’	ngun	‘you two’
ande	‘okay’	ando	‘there’

The high central vowel and low central vowel also show phonemic contrasts, as in the following:

nĩ	‘I’	na	‘talk’
til	‘husk’	tal	‘tail feather’

The high central vowel can further be shown to be distinct from other high vowels, both front and back, as in:

mī	‘he/she/it’	mu	‘fruit’
nī	‘I’	nu	‘near’
mī	‘he/she/it’	mi	‘splinter’
nī	‘I’		(cf. nil ‘body hair’, nim ‘nest’, nin ‘thorn’, nip ‘die [PRF]’)
nīnil	‘sago palm sp.’		(cf. nini ‘two’)

As mentioned above, this vowel very often serves an epenthetic role. For example, the verb stem for the word meaning ‘dig, cut’ seems underlyingly to be *nki-*, which (alone) is unpronounceable given the phonotactics of the language. Thus there are surface forms like *nikap* ‘dig [PRF]’ and *nikina* ‘dig [IRR]’—that is, with an epenthetic *i* inserted between the two consonants. But forms with certain object markers preceding them (see 7.4), such as *mankap* ‘dig it [PRF]’ or *ndinkap* ‘dig them [PRF]’, which can be syllabified as [man.kap] and [ndin.kap], respectively, do not require this epenthetic *i*. (It could, of course, be argued instead that the underlying root is **niki-* and that the vowel may be elided. Since, however, even in the most careful speech, this vowel never emerges to create forms such as **manikap* or **ndinikap*, this is not taken to be the case.)

There is one last vocalic phone in Ulwa that demands attention: a lax low front unrounded vowel [æ], which has been observed in just a handful of words. It is only found, moreover, in the Manu dialect (it has not been observed in the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect). It is distinctly lower than /e/ and fronter than /a/. So far, four words have been found with this vowel sound:

mae	‘shovel’
maep	‘bird sp.’
waembil	‘white’
waenkīn	‘plant sp.’

In at least some cases, this vowel may derive from sequences of /e/ + /a/— at least this is a folk-linguistic explanation that has been provided for some of these curious-sounding words. The plant species *waenkīn* is described as being similar to the species *ankīn*, only having leaves with the (off-)white color of *we* ‘sago starch’ (i.e., *waenkīn* ‘plant sp.’ < *we* ‘sago starch’ + *ankīn* ‘plant sp.’)

Likewise, the word *mae* ‘shovel’ is seen as being connected to the word *me* ‘*limbum* palm’ (from which the shovel is made). The etymology of this word would thus be: *mae* < *me* ‘*limbum* palm’ + *a* [unknown element].

The word *waembil* ‘white’ (as *waenkin* ‘plant sp.’ above) also likely contains *we* ‘sago starch’, but here the resulting [æ] may be the product of a (formerly) underlying /e/ phonetically nasalizing (due to the following nasal articulation) and consequently lowering (first in perception, then in production) to [æ] (this process may also have played a role in the formation of [waenkin]). The other dialects of Ulwa lend some insight. In Dimiri, ‘white’ is [veⁿdum] (cf. *ve* ‘sago starch’), and in Yaul ‘white’ is [we^mbal]. The meanings of forms *ndum* and *mbal* is obscure, but at least the latter is found in the Manus dialect word *anembal* ‘light (color)’, which clearly contains *ane* ‘sun’. Thus, it may be hypothesized that Manus *waembil* ‘white’ derives from *we* ‘sago starch’ + *mbal* ‘color (?)’, the *a* in the second syllable having reduced to *i*, and the *e* in the first syllable having lowered to *ae* (see 14.5 for more on color terms in Ulwa).

The word *maep* ‘bird sp.’, however, offers no ready etymology. It does not seem to be connected in any way with *me* ‘*limbum* palm’. The word could be onomatopoeic, as are the names of some other fauna (cf. *wotnya* ‘bird sp.’ in 2.2.3).

Given the extremely limited occurrence of [ae] and the fact that it can (almost) always be explained away as having different underlying vowels, it is not treated as a separate phoneme in this grammatical description. It is, however, written distinctly from both /a/ and /e/, since there are minimal (and near-minimal) pairs contrasting [ae] with both /a/ and /e/, as shown below.

/ae/ versus /e/

mae ‘shovel’ *me* ‘*limbum* palm’

/ae/ versus /a/

mae ‘shovel’ *ma=* ‘3SG’ *mama* ‘mouth’

There are some rather interesting phonotactic constraints placed on vowels. Most notably, the only permissible vowels in syllables without consonant onsets are /a, i, u/. Furthermore, since many speakers insert epenthetic glides before word-initial /i/ and /u/ (namely, /y/ and /w/, respectively, 2.2.7), the only permitted onset vowel in some idiolects is /a/. Since all vowel-

initial syllables begin phonetically with a glottal stop [ʔ] (when utterance-initial, 2.2.8), it could further be argued that the language lacks V(C) syllables altogether, at least phonetically.

The high central vowel /i/ patterns differently from the other vowels. As mentioned above, this vowel seems to serve an epenthetic function, breaking up certain consonant clusters. (Or, taking the contrary view, it can be considered to be elided when occurring underlyingly between certain consonants.) Examples with potentially syllabic alveolar liquids (otherwise following /i/) are provided above (2.2.5). There are similar examples in which alveolar nasals may either follow /i/ or be syllabic, as in the examples below.

[apn]	for	/apĩn/	‘fire’		
[simnda]	for	/simĩnda/	‘banana sp.’		
[mĩtn]	for	/mĩtĩn/	‘egg’		
[mnkn]	or	[mnkĩn]	for	/mĩnkĩn/	‘sago grub sp.’

Like the syllabic liquids, the alveolar nasals in these and similar words are always transcribed in this grammar with the accompanying vowel <ĩ>, except where attention is drawn explicitly to the optional alternative pronunciation that lacks *ĩ* and has a syllable liquid or nasal, as in the examples above.

2.3.2 Diphthongs

The two primary diphthongs in Ulwa are /aw/ and /ay/, each formed through the combination of the low central vowel /a/ and one of the two glides, /w/ and /y/. (On the status of [oy], which may be underlyingly /oj/, see 2.2.7.)

2.4 Syllable structure

Ulwa permits a variety of syllable shapes: syllables may or may not have onsets, codas, or both. Complex onsets are, however, quite limited, and complex codas are absent altogether. The following set shows clear examples of V-only syllable structure (single-vowel words). It should be noted that V-onsets exist only at the underlying level, since otherwise they start with glottal stop (2.2.8), or—optionally—those with initial /i-/ or /u-/ may become [yi-] and [wu-], respectively (2.2.7).

Syllables without onsets or codas (V):

i	‘hand, arm’	u	‘you [SG]’
i	‘lime’	u	‘ditch, creek’
i	‘go [PRF]’	u	‘in, at, from, around, along’

(Note also the high degree of homophony in both the forms pronounced /i/ and the forms pronounced /u/, see 14.3).

The next set consists of longer words with initial simple V syllables. Since prenasalized voiced stops do not occur in coda position, it can be assumed in each example that each stop is serving as onset to the second syllable.

Syllables without onsets or codas (in longer words) (V):

a.mbi	‘big’	a.nda	‘that’
i.mba	‘night’	i.nga	‘in-law’
u.mbo.pa	‘stomach’	u.nda	‘put [IRR]’

The following set shows clear examples of CV syllables, since each word is monosyllabic, beginning with a consonant. Note that glides may form the onset of a CV syllable.

Syllables with simple onsets (CV):

li	‘down’	le	‘kanda (rattan)’
mae	‘shovel’	me	‘limbum palm’
mī	‘he/she/it’	mu	‘fruit’
nī	‘I’	tī	‘take’
na	‘talk’	ka	‘at, in, on’
pe	‘[DEP marker]’	se	‘cry [IPFV]’
mbī	‘here’	ndī	‘they’
nga	‘this’	nji	‘thing’
ya	‘coconut’	wa	‘village’
we	‘fresh sago’	wi	‘name’

Syllables may also contain codas. The following set contains examples of syllables with no onset, but with codas (which may be glides). Disyllabic words may have initial VC syllables, as illustrated by examples such as *anma* ‘good’ below.

Syllables with simple coda and no onset (VC):

im	‘tree’	ip	‘nose’
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al	‘mosquito net’	un	‘you [PL]’
ay	‘jellied sago’	aw	‘betel nut’
ip.ka	‘before’	un.mbī	‘buttocks’
al.mba	‘hornbill bird’	an.ma	‘good’

The following set consists of monosyllabic CVC-words.

Syllables with both onset and coda (CVC):

lam	‘meat’	ndam	‘bridge’
tin	‘dog’	ngin	‘net’
ngan	‘we [DU.EXCL]’	ngun	‘you [DU]’
nil	‘body hair’	tul	‘bird sp.’
pul	‘piece’	kot	‘break’
nap	‘arrow’	nip	‘die [PRF]’
wal	‘ribs’	wan	‘sago shoot’
wat	‘ladder’	wen	‘handle’
wol	‘breast’	won	‘penis’
wot	‘younger’	wun	‘fan’
yom	‘heart’	yot	‘machete’ (for some speakers)
kaw	‘song’	law	‘ti plant’ (<i>Cordyline fruticosa</i>)
maw	‘correct’	may	‘eel-tailed catfish’
way	‘turtle’		

Finally, complex onsets and codas may be considered. The only permissible CC onsets found so far are 1) velar-plus-labial-velar (i.e., /kw-/ or /ngw-/), 2) bilabial stop-plus-liquid (i.e., /mbl-/ or /pl-/), and 3) bilabial nasal-plus-labial-velar (i.e., /mw-/), as illustrated in the set below.

Syllables with complex onsets (CCV or CCVC):

kwa	‘who?’	i.ngwa	‘spider’
mbla.ndu	‘water rat’	na.mbli	‘feather’
a.mbla	‘tooth’	ko.mblam	‘chair’
wo.plo.ta	‘lungs’	nī.plo.pa	‘flying fox’
a.pla.tam	‘table, shelf’	mwa	‘opening’

In an alternative analysis, at least some of these apparent CCs could be treated instead as consisting of single (complex) phonemes, such as labialized velar stops [k^w, ʎg^w] or a labialized bilabial nasal [m^w]. If these are in fact separate phonemes in Ulwa, then they have very limited representation in the lexicon. The forms [k^w, ʎg^w, m^w] are, however, much more common in Ulwa’s sister languages and may indeed be reconstructible as phonemes of the proto-language.

No onsets of more than two consonants have been found, nor have any complex codas at all. Even the phonetically complex prenasalized voiced stops are prohibited in coda position.

2.5 Stress

Stress in Ulwa is not phonemic. In single-word utterances, disyllabic words may receive stress either on the ultima or on the penult, although there is perhaps a slight preference for penultimate (trochaic) stress. In longer words and phrases, pragmatic factors play a significant role in stress assignment, although there is nevertheless a tendency for stress to fall on alternating syllables. Ulwa may be considered a syllable-timed language.

There is no phonemic tone, nor are there other suprasegmental phonemic distinctions found in the language.

2.6 Morphophonemic processes

As there is minimal affixation in Ulwa, there are few opportunities to witness phonological alternations occurring between related word forms. Nevertheless, while most morphophonemic processes occur within lexemes (or across clitic-host boundaries), almost any such process is possible across lexeme boundaries as well. Still, for the sake of clarity, phonological changes are noted below as they occur within words or clitic-host pairs, where possible.

2.6.1 Glide formation

Sequences of /a + u/ and /a + i/ coalesce into series of vowel-plus-glide. That is, high vowels /u, i/ fortify to approximants [w, y] when following a low vowel. There are no contexts in which the high central vowel /i/ follows a low vowel (or any vowel, for that matter). Glide formation in Ulwa may be symbolized as follows:

V [+high] → [-syl] / V [+low] _

This phonological process is clearly revealed by the addition of object-marker proclitics, which index person and number. In the following examples, a glide is formed wherever the object-marker clitic ends in /a-/ (as in *ma*= ‘3SG’) and the verb stem host begins with a high vowel (/i/ or /u/).

/ma=ti-/ 3SG=take	[mati-]	‘take it’	/min=ti-/ 3DU=take	[minti-]	‘take two’
/ma=ita-/ 3SG=build	[mayta-]	‘build it’	/min=ita-/ 3DU=build	[minita-]	‘build two’
/ma=uta-/ 3SG=grind	[mawta-]	‘grind it’	/min=uta-/ 3DU=grind	[minuta-]	‘grind two’

Mid vowels /e, o/ generally do not condition this fortification. Instead, epenthetic glides break up forbidden vowel sequences such as *[eu, ei, ou, oi], producing forms such as [eyu, eyi, owu, owi]. There is one partial exception, however. Although the series /o + i/ tends to become [owi] when occurring across a word boundary, it is possible for a glide to occur when this series falls across a clitic boundary (yielding [oy]), i.e.:

$i \rightarrow y / o _]\#$

This change can be witnessed when the indefinite object-marker proclitic *ko*= (7.4) precedes a verb beginning with /i-/, as in:

/ko=ita-/ INDF=build	[koyta-]	‘build a’	/ko=ti-/ INDF=take	[kotī-]	‘take a’
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Also, although /ou/ generally becomes [owu] when the vowels fall across a word boundary, it is possible within a word for the /u/ to be elided, producing simply [o], i.e.:

$u \rightarrow \emptyset / o _]\#$

This, too, occurs with the indefinite object-marker proclitic *ko*=, as in the following example.

/ko=uta-/ INDF=grind	[kota-]	‘grind a’
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High vowels /i, i, u/ also do not condition the fortification seen above. Here, too, epenthetic glides are formed to break up vowel sequences, as in the perfective form of the verb ‘fall’, /li-u/, in which an epenthetic [y] (IPA [j]) separates the sequence of two high vowels, producing [liyu].

2.6.2 Monophthongization

Sequences of /a + w/ and /a + y/ may optionally become [o] and [e], respectively, when not followed by a vowel. Thus, for many speakers, *yawt* ‘machete’ is pronounced [yot]. The word for ‘time’, borrowed from Tok Pisin *taim*, has been fossilized as [tem]. This change can occur even when the underlying forms are /a + u/ or /a + i/ (that is, this monophthongization rule can apply after the glide formation rule, 2.6.1), as detailed below.

aw → (o) / _ {^C # (optional)
 ay → (e) / _ {^C # (optional)

The following examples illustrate this monophthongization as it occurs across morpheme boundaries.

/min=ul/ 3DU=with	[minul]	‘with two’	/ma=ul/ 3SG=with	[maw] or [mol]	‘with it’
/min-in/ 3DU=in	[minin]	‘in two’	/ma-in/ 3SG=in	[mayn] or [men]	‘in it’
/i/ go.PRF	[i]	‘went’	/na-i/ DETR-go.PRF	[nay] or [ne]	‘went away’

2.6.3 High vowel gliding

The high back vowel /u/ becomes a glide when before a vowel occurring in the same syllable, i.e.:

u → w / _ V]_σ

Consider, for example, the following object-marker clitics as they appear in the verbs /asa-/ ‘hit’ and /ama-/ ‘eat’, where this change is seen in the ‘you [SG]’ forms:

/min=asa-/	[minasa-]	‘hit two’
/ngun=asa-/	[ngunasa-]	‘hit you [DU]’
/un=asa-/	[unasa-]	‘hit you [PL]’
/u=asa-/	[wasa-]	‘hit you [SG]’
/min=ama-/	[minama-]	‘eat two’
/ngun=ama-/	[ngunama-]	‘eat you [DU]’
/un=ama-/	[unama-]	‘eat you [PL]’
/u=ama-/	[wama-]	‘eat you [SG]’

This rule should not, however, suggest that the glides (or at least /w/) are not phonemic in Ulwa. That is, it would be implausible to treat every syllable with a glide in the onset as underlyingly /uV/ or /iV/. First, this would create undesirable and unlikely vowel clusters in the underlying forms and would even create double vowels in forms such as [wusim] ‘crocodile’ and [wulis] ‘platform’, which would have to be assumed to be underlyingly */uusime/ and */uulis/, respectively, despite a total surface absence of (or, indeed, prohibition against) sequences of identical vowels (i.e., no long vowels). (It does not seem that forms such as [wusim] and [wulis] are the product of the optional glide epenthesis rule, since they are always pronounced with /w/.) Furthermore, there are minimal pairs (and near-minimal pairs), distinguishing words with initial /u-/ from words with initial /wu-/, as seen in the following:

uta	‘bird’	wuta	‘shell’ (for some speakers)
un	‘you [PL]’	wun	‘fan’
utīl	‘refuse’	wutī	‘leg, foot’

Indeed, for purposes of differentiating these *wu*-initial words from their *u*-initial near-homophones, some speakers pronounce them with initial [v], as in [vuta] ‘shell’ versus [uta] ‘bird’. (This [v] sound sometimes colors the following high back vowel, producing forms such as [vīta] ‘shell’.)

It would of course also seem likely—insofar as the other glide /y/ patterns like /w/—that there would exist a process of high front vowel gliding as well. However, there are no examples of proclitics or prefixes ending in /i-/, and thus no way of knowing how this would apply within phonological words. When /i-/ precedes a vowel across a word boundary, though, a number of phonological changes are possible. If the following vowel is a mid vowel, then the /i/ may delete

(2.6.4). If the following vowel is high, then an epenthetic glide (*y*) may break up the following sequence. If the following vowel is low, however, is possible for the /i-/ and /-a/ to coalesce to [e] (2.8).

2.6.4 Vowel elision before mid vowels

All vowels are deleted before an immediately following /e/ or /o/, that is:

$V \rightarrow \emptyset / _ V [-\text{high}, -\text{low}]$

Since neither of these vowels occurs word-initially (2.3.1), the only environments in which this process may be observed are within phonological words. The elision of vowels before /e/ may be witnessed when verbs are followed by the dependent marker *-e* (12.3.1) or the nominalizer *-en* (3.3). In the following examples, the final vowels of the respective verb stems are lost before the dependent marker *-e* in the imperfective forms (in which the vowel immediately precedes /e/) but not in the perfective forms (in which a consonant intercedes between the vowel and /e/).

/asa-Ø-e/	[ase]	‘hit [IPFV-DEP]’
/asa-p-e/	[asape]	‘hit [PRF-DEP]’
/me-Ø-e/	[me]	‘sew [IPFV-DEP]’
/me-p-e/	[mepe]	‘sew [PRF-DEP]’
/ni-Ø-e/	[ne]	‘act [IPFV-DEP]’
/ni-p-e/	[nipe]	‘act [PRF-DEP]’
/moko-Ø-e/	[moke]	‘take [IPFV-DEP]’
/moko-p-e/	[mokope]	‘take [PRF-DEP]’
/li-Ø-e/	[le]	‘put [IPFV-DEP]’
/li-p-e/	[lipe]	‘put [PRF-DEP]’

Among regular verbs, there are no environments in which to observe the deletion of /u/ before /e/. The irregular verb *li-* ‘fall’, however, has a perfective form /li-u/ [liyu], which, when followed by the dependent marker /-e/ is realized as [liye]—that is, the underlying /u/ is deleted before /-e/.

The following examples illustrate the loss of vowels before the nominalizing suffix *-en*, which affixes to the verb stem.

/ita-en/	[iten]	‘builder’
/wana-en/	[wanen]	‘cook’
/uni-en/	[unen]	‘shouter’

There are hardly any environments for testing the phonological outcome of the mid vowel /o/ following another vowel. The interjection -o (8.4), may, however, affix to certain words, especially demonstratives, as in the following examples, which demonstrate the loss of the vowel /a/ before /o/.

/anda/	[anda]	‘that’
/anda-o/	[ando]	‘that [INT]’
/ala/	[ala]	‘those’
/ala-o/	[alo]	‘those [INT]’

Since all known examples of vowel-elision occurring before /o/ consist of the loss of /a/, it may not be determined whether or not this is actually just the process of central vowel elision, described below (2.6.5). If so, then the process of “vowel elision before mid vowels” may actually be a more specific process of “vowel elision before /e/”.

2.6.5 Central vowel elision

Another productive phonological process in Ulwa is the deletion of a central vowel /a, ɨ/ when immediately followed by any other vowel—that is, central vowels elide not only before mid vowels (2.6.4), but whenever immediately preceded by any other vowel, i.e.:

V [-back, -front] → Ø / _ V

In the following examples, the vowels /i/ and /a/ are deleted when they occur at the end of object-marker proclitics that precede vowel-initial verb stems.

/asa-/	[asa-]	‘hit’
/nɨ=asa-/	[nasa-]	‘hit me’
/ndɨ=asa-/	[ndasa-]	‘hit them’
/ma=asa-/	[masa-]	‘hit it’
/ita-/	[ita-]	‘build’
/ndɨ=ita-/	[ndita-]	‘build them’

Note that this rule must be ordered after the glide-formation rule, which bleeds the otherwise possible change of */ai/ → [a]. Thus the form /ma=ita-/ ‘build it’ is pronounced as [mayta-] and not as *[mita-]. (Alternatively, it could be argued that the deletion of /i/ and /a/ only takes place before certain vowels, but not before /i/, thus not requiring rule ordering.)

The fact that the two central vowels in this language pattern distinctly both from front and from back vowels supports the use of the (sometimes discredited) distinctive feature [+/-front] in addition to the traditional feature [+/-back] (such that a central vowel /a, i/ may be described as [-front, -back]). Alternatively, however, the feature [+/-front] could perhaps be avoided, if this rule may be broken into two separate rules. In such an analysis, there would be one vowel degemination (or shortening) rule, and one /i/-elision rule, as follows:

1. $V_i \rightarrow \emptyset / _ V_i$
2. $\ddot{i} \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \bar{V}$

Combined with the diphthongization rule above, the first rule here would account for all alternations involving /a/. Since the only vowels permitted in onset are /i, u, a/, the only possible low-vowel initial vowel combinations would be */ai/, */au/, and */aa/. While the first two sequences would be diphthongized, the last would undergo the reduction (deletion of one vowel) suggested by the rule above. Thus the vowel elision rule would only need to apply to the high central vowel. In this analysis, /i/ behaves uniquely among vowels. Perhaps this is even preferable considering the distinct behavior of /i/ described elsewhere.

2.6.6 High central vowel assimilation

Another (clearer) case in which /i/ behaves uniquely involves the presence of glides. When occurring before the high back glide /w/, this vowel often assimilates in both roundness and backness, being realized as the high back rounded vowel [u]. This rule, which is optional for most speakers, may be written as follows:

$\ddot{i} \rightarrow (u) / _ w$ (optional)

The following verb forms containing glide-initial stems illustrate this assimilation.

/ma=wana-/	[mawana-]	‘cook it’
/ndi=wana-/	[nduwana-]	‘cook them’
/u=wali-/	[uwali-]	‘hit you [SG]’
/ni=wali-/	[nuwali-]	‘hit me’
/min=we-/	[minwe-]	‘cut two’
/ndi=we-/	[nduwe-]	‘cut them’

This assimilation is most likely primarily one of rounding and not backness (with backness tagging along, since the only available high rounded vowel in the language is also [+back]). If, however, this were a case of place-assimilation and not rounding-assimilation, then it could also be postulated, as above, that the high central vowel /i/ would also assimilate in place to a following high front glide /y/—that is:

? $\bar{i} \rightarrow i / _ y$

Although the sequence /iy/ never occurs within a single word, it is possible for one word ending in /-i/ to precede another beginning with /-y/, as in the examples below.

<i>nī ya</i>	‘I ... coconut ...’
<i>mī yana</i>	‘he ... woman ...’

Crucially, this sequence is never pronounced [iy]. That is, there is no place assimilation of /i/ preceding a high front glide. Thus, the analysis above of /i/ → [u] as constituting *rounding* assimilation is preferable.

2.6.7 Local vowel assimilation of /a/ to /o/

All of the rules above (which have been shown to apply within phonological words) may also apply across word boundaries, and thus seem to reflect general phonetic preferences in the languages. Accordingly, gliding often occurs in rapid speech when a word ending in a low vowel /a/ is immediately followed by one beginning with a high non-central vowel /i, u/. Likewise, the elision of central vowels, the gliding of /u/ to [w], and the deletion of vowels preceding like vowels can occur across word boundaries, all of which are illustrated in the following examples.

/nĩ 1SG	amun/ today	[namun]	‘Today, I ...’
/u 2SG	amun/ today	[wamun]	‘Today, you ...’
/u 2SG	umbe/ tomorrow	[umbe]	‘Tomorrow, you ...’

Processes such as these are generally more likely to occur when one of the elements involved is a clitic or affix, and this may indeed be the case above, if all pronominal markers in Ulwa may be analyzed as such. Nevertheless, these alternations are still possible with full lexical items, suggesting a strong phonetic basis for these phonological rules.

The change of underlying /a/ to [o], however, is extremely limited in its scope, and perhaps purely morphologically conditioned. It has only been observed to occur with one morpheme, the 3SG object marker /ma=/. The allomorphy of this morpheme has already been seen when it is followed by a high non-central vowel (i.e., [may=] or [maw=], 2.6.1) as well as when followed by another low vowel (i.e., [m=], 2.6.5). The allomorph [mo=] occurs when the proclitic is immediately followed by a syllable containing a mid back vowel /o/, i.e.:

a → o / _ C₀V [-high, +back], when in the proclitic /ma=/

Thus, instead of *[ma=], the surface form [mo=] is found in the following verbs containing this 3SG object marker.

/ma=kot-/	[mokot-]	‘break it’
/ma=toplĩ-/	[motoplĩ-]	‘throw it’
/ma=moplĩ-/	[momoplĩ-]	‘tie it’
/ma=poplĩ-/	[mopoplĩ-]	‘sweep it’

No other vowel in the following syllable will condition this change; nor does any similar process occur in the object markers containing other vowels (/i, i, u/), as seen below.

/min=koti-/	[minkoti-]	‘break two’
/u=toplĩ-/	[utoplĩ-]	‘throw you [SG]’
/un=moplĩ-/	[unmoplĩ-]	‘tie you [PL]’
/ndĩ=poplĩ-/	[ndĩpoplĩ-]	‘sweep them’

Even more interestingly, no process like the one just mentioned affects other object markers with the same vowel /a/, as illustrated below.

/anda=kot-/	[andakot-]	‘break that’
/an=topli-/	[antopli-]	‘throw us [PL.EXCL]’
/ala=mopli-/	[alamopli-]	‘tie those’
/nga=popli-/	[ngapopli-]	‘sweep this’

The result is that this process is restricted to the single morpheme /ma=/. It could thus be argued that this process is morphologically conditioned. If, however, it is indeed a phonologically conditioned process, then the most likely explanation is that it is the labialness of the /m/ combined with the presence of /o/ in the following syllable that together are influencing /ma/ to become [mo], as suggested by the following possible rule:

$a \rightarrow o / C [+labial] _ C_0V [-high, +back]$

This very well may be the case. It is, of course, difficult to argue from absence of evidence, but—to date—there have been no words found containing the low vowel /a/ immediately following a labial consonant /p, mb, m/ and preceding a syllable with the mid back vowel /o/ (i.e., *paCo, *mbaCo, *maCo). It is thus possible that this rule is not morphologically conditioned at all, but rather applies to every environment in which an underlying /a/ follows a labial consonant and precedes a mid back vowel, the preceding labial and following rounded vowel conspiring to condition the change.

2.6.8 Degemination

There is a process in Ulwa by which geminate consonants are reduced to single segments, that is:

$C_i \rightarrow \emptyset / _ C_i$

This is mostly observed across word boundaries in rapid speech. There are few instances in which identical consonants would occur underlyingly across a morpheme boundary, but the oblique marker =n (11.5) can follow words ending in -n. Although this marker has the allomorph

[in], which could bleed a possible degemination, it is also possible for the sequence of *n + n* to reduce to a single *n*, as seen below.

/t in =n/	[t in]	‘with the dog’
/un= n /	[un]	‘with you [PL]’
/unduw an =n/	[unduw an]	‘with the head’
/ng in =n/	[ng in]	‘with the net’

It is also possible to witness degemination within words when certain separable verbs occur with their elements unseparated (see 9.3.1). Compare the forms below.

/tumul= ka /	[tumul ka]	‘bend [PRF]’
/tumul= la-ka-na /	[tumulakana]	‘bend [IRR]’

Finally, degemination also occurs between object-marker proclitics that end in *-n* and verb stems that begin in *n-*, as illustrated by the examples below.

/un= na-n /	[un an]	‘give you [PL] [PRF]’
/an= na-n /	[an an]	‘give us [EXCL] [PRF]’
/un= ni-p /	[un ip]	‘beat you [PL] [PRF]’
/an= ni-p /	[an ip]	‘beat us [EXCL] [PRF]’

2.6.9 Lexically determined alternations and rules

A few interesting lexically determined phonological alternations or rules may also be noted. Some common words vary between two pronunciations, even within the speech of an individual speakers. Thus, ‘woman’ may be pronounced either as [yena] or as [yana] and—similarly—‘man’ may be pronounced either as [yeta] or as [yata].

There may also be dialectal differences, even within the rather small Manu dialect (which is the focus of this dissertation). For example, some speakers of Manu Ulwa use the form *angla* ‘awaiting’, whereas other speakers use the form *andila* for the same postposition.

There also appear to be generational differences. For example, older speakers of the Manu dialect prefer the form *namndu* ‘pig’, whereas younger speakers prefer *lamndu*. Indeed, the form *namndu* is also used by speakers (of all ages) of the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect. Although there are often correspondences of *l : n* between the two dialects, they usually occur in

the opposite manner—that is (when there is a difference between the two dialects), typically an /l/ in the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect corresponds to an /n/ in the Manu dialect. The form *lamndu* may thus be a recent innovation of the Manu dialect, the result perhaps either of hypercorrection or of folk etymology (based on a perceived connection between *namndu/lamndu* ‘pig’ and *lam* ‘meat’).

The verb *li-* ‘put’ shows great variability. It may even be the case that, for some speakers, the stem-final vowel *i* is underlyingly /u/; and that, for some other speakers, this vowel is underlyingly /i/—at least it is realized as such by these speakers, at least in some environments. Often the vowel is lost entirely when the root directly follows a vowel and precedes *-p* (the perfective suffix, 4.3), as seen in the following examples, in which the vowel is lost following *ma=* ‘3SG’ and *ndi=* ‘3PL’ in the perfective forms, but not following *min=* ‘3DU’ and not in the irrealis forms:

/ma=li-p/	[malp]	‘put it [PRF]’
/min=li-p/	[minli̯p]	‘put two [PRF]’
/ndi=li-p/	[ndilp]	‘put them [PRF]’
/ma=li-nda/	[malinda]	‘put it [IRR]’
/min=li-nda/	[minlinda]	‘put two [IRR]’
/ndi=li-nda/	[ndilinda]	‘put them [IRR]’

The above deletion is a mandatory rule for many speakers. For some speakers, additionally there is an optional rule to delete this same vowel *i* in the irrealis forms as well, provided that there is a vowel preceding the verb stem. Thus, the form [malinda] may at times be produced for the underlying form /malinda/ (but never, e.g., *[minlinda] for /minlinda/, as this would create an phonotactically forbidden cluster).

2.7 Metathesis

Sometimes speakers invert the order of two phonological segments in a word. Some such instances of metathesis may be simple speech errors, but others reflect free variation in the pronunciation of certain words or combinations of phonemes. This latter class does not seem to show any phonological or morphological conditioning (hence the designation as free variation).

First are considered some instances of sporadic metathesis. They may be simple speech errors. The first example below shows the local reversal of two consonants. The second shows

the change in order of consonant and vowel. The third shows a long-distance (non-contiguous) swapping of consonants (/l/ and /n/). The change between /l/ and /n/ is of particular interest given the sporadic correspondences between these two phonemes in the two main dialects of Ulwa.

[amnopa]	for	/anmopa/	‘tulip greens’ (T24)
[umne]	for	/mune/	‘throw’ (T30)
[malan]	for	/manal/	‘hot water’ (T11)

Unlike these very unusual changes, there is one case of metathesis that is much more common. The postposition *ul* ‘with’ is sometimes realized as [lu]. There is no clear conditioning for this change, and so [lu] is taken to be an alternate form of /ul/. (That said, it seems that [lu] *never* occurs when following certain forms—namely the object markers *ma=* and *ndi=*, among others). Compare the following forms:

unanul	‘with us [INCL]’ (T01)
unanlu	‘with us [INCL]’ (T20)
ip ul	‘with the nose’ (T32)
Yakap lu	‘with Yakap’ (T11)
yena ul	‘with the woman’ (T05)
mangusuwa lu	‘with the poor thing’ (T32)

Where these two phonemes (/l/ and /u/) occur elsewhere in succession, it is also possible (although not necessarily common) to metathesize them.

[luwa]	for /ulwa/ ‘nothing’ (T24)
[ulwa]	for /luwa/ ‘place’ (T27)
[ulke]	for /luke/ ‘too’ (e.g., T11)
[nolnda]	for /na-lu-nda/ ‘will put’ (e.g., T33)

Note that in the last example above, the metathesis must precede a monophthongization process (2.6.2)—i.e., /nalunda/ > naulnda > [nolnda].

2.8 Phonetics and phonology of connected speech

This chapter may be concluded with an impressionistic note on the sounds of connected speech in Ulwa. Similar to the *sinalefa* of Spanish (and similar phenomena in other languages),

in Ulwa there is a tendency for words to blend together, such that it is often impossible (on phonetic grounds) to separate one word from the following. Specifically, sound changes such as elision and coalescence of vowels at word boundaries are common in rapid speech. Sometimes two vowels coalesce when one might otherwise expect an epenthetic glide. For example, the sequence /i#a/ may be realized as [e] instead of [iya], as in [ambenda] for /ambi anda/ ‘that big (man)’ (the form [ambiyanda] would also be possible).

Finally, some phonological phenomena are only observable at the utterance level. For example, many speakers employ an occasional utterance-final epenthetic alveolar nasal /n/. This can cause confusion between nominalized verb forms, which end in /-en/ (3.3), and verbs that end (underlyingly) with the dependent (or imperfective) marker /-e/ (4.6, 12.3.1), but which also take this utterance-final epenthetic -n, resulting in the homophonous ending [-en].

Chapter 3

Nouns

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the morphosyntactic attributes of nouns in Ulwa. First, however, a note on word classes is in order. It is often not a simple matter to define word classes, whether using semantic or syntactic criteria. Given the goals of this grammatical description of Ulwa, an effort is made here to use language-internal structural and distributional criteria to define different grammatical categories and assign words to each. Still, complications inevitably arise.

The single, simplest division that can be made among lexemes in the Ulwa lexicon is one between verbs and non-verbs, since only verbs can bear certain TAM suffixes. Still, there are defective verbs that do not always reflect all these suffixes (4.4), and there are non-verbal word classes that can receive verbalizing morphology (4.15). Nevertheless, this distinction can be taken as a useful starting point from which may be identified two major open word classes in the language: nouns and verbs. These two categories can be defined both by reference to crosslinguistic patterns found among parts of speech (and their typical respective semantic features) and by reference to language-internal structural and distributional criteria.

Nouns comprise a large, open class of words in Ulwa. There is no canonical syllabic structure peculiar to nouns beyond the general syllable-structure patterns (described in Chapter 2). Nouns can vary in length from being monosyllabic (even monophonemic) to being rather long polysyllabic words—although most nouns are two or three syllables long.

In Ulwa, nouns can be defined by their distribution. Nouns (or pronouns) alone can serve as subjects or objects of verbs. In practical terms, this means that the first word in a basic indicative sentence will be either a noun or a pronoun, since the unmarked SOV word order demands a sentence-initial subject (although see 11.2 on pro-drop), and only nouns and pronouns can serve that role (although see 5.4 on substantive, i.e., nominal uses of adjectives; and 8.3 on adverbs, whose freer word order allows sentence-initial placement). In transitive clauses that have expressed objects, there will also typically be a noun immediately preceding the verb (again, in accordance with the demands of SOV word order). Nouns, moreover, always precede

subject markers or object markers (when present), although not always immediately—longer noun phrases, with postnominal modifiers, may contain words intervening between the noun and its person/number marker. Nouns alone may be modified by adjectives, which almost always follow the noun. Nouns alone may immediately follow possessive pronouns. Nouns are not inflected for number or gender. They may precede the oblique marker =*n*, however, which may be thought of as filling certain semantic case functions (11.5.2).

The following sentences exemplify the use of nouns (in **bold**), illustrating their position with respect to verbs, subject markers, object markers, and adjectives.

(3.001) **Alum** mĩ se.

alum	mĩ	sa-e
child	3SG	cry-DEP

‘The baby is crying.’

(3.002) **Tĩn** ndĩ **mĩnda** ndamap.

tĩn	ndĩ	mĩnda	ndĩ=ama-p
dog	3PL	banana	3PL=eat-PRF

‘The dogs ate the bananas.’

(3.003) **Sina** mĩ **lam** maweyunda.

sina	mĩ	lam	ma=we-u-nda
knife	3SG	meat	3SG=cut-put-IRR

‘The knife will cut the meat.’

(3.004) An **Wopata** mape.

an	Wopata	ma=p-e
1PL.EXCL	[place]	3SG=be-DEP

‘We were at Wopata.’ (T11)

(3.005) **I** anma mĩ keka **itom** alol i.

i	anma	mĩ	keka	itom	ala=ul	i
way	good	3SG	completely	father	that.SG=with	go.PRF

‘Good behavior has completely gone with (our) fathers.’ (T27)

(3.006) **Na** ndĩ tĩngĩnpe.

na	ndĩ	tĩngĩn-p-e
talk	3PL	many-be-DEP

‘There are many arguments.’ (T32)

As seen above, noun may refer to humans (3.001), non-human animates (3.002), inanimate objects (3.003), places (3.004), and abstract concepts (3.005 and 3.006).

Although there is no nominal inflection in Ulwa (3.2), nouns that are derived from verbs bear derivational (that is, nominalizing) morphology (3.3), and multiple nouns can be joined together to form compounds (3.4). There does not seem to be any productive process of reduplication, but the question of the nature of nouns that seem to be composed of reduplicative elements is discussed in 3.5.

3.2 Nominal inflection

There is no nominal inflectional morphology in Ulwa. Nouns are not marked in any way for gender, number, case, or other grammatical attributes. However, some nouns have inherent gender, semantically determined by the natural gender of the referent, such as *yeta* ‘man’ versus *yena* ‘woman’ and *atma* ‘older brother’ versus *atana* ‘older sister’. Also, number can be signaled by postnominal subject markers or object markers. Although there is no grammatical case, an oblique marker, which indicates that an argument is functioning as an adjunct, can appear to affix to nouns (although, properly, this marker is an enclitic that follows entire NPs).

The following examples illustrate the lack in contrast in nouns referring to different numbers or grammatical relations. Note, however, that (optional) subject markers and object markers can reveal number, and—among third person singular forms—there is a distinction in these markers between subject and object forms—that is, a postnominal distinction between nominative and accusative roles.

(3.007) **Uta** mī im may.
uta mī im ma=i
 bird 3SG tree 3SG=go.PRF
 ‘The bird [singular subject] flew to the tree.’

(3.008) Itom mī **uta** nduwalinda.
 itom mī **uta** ndi=wali-nda
 father 3SG bird 3PL=hit-IRR
 ‘Father will shoot the birds [plural object].’

(3.009) Nī limndī **ankam** ambi mala.
 nī limndī **ankam** ambi ma=ala
 1SG eye person big 3SG=for
 ‘I saw the big person [singular object].’

- (3.010) **Ankam** ndi awal imba wondi anglalop.
ankam ndi awal imba wondi angla-lo-p
 person 3PL yesterday night bandicoot await-go-PRF
 ‘The people [plural subject] hunted bandicoot(s) [unmarked object] last night.’

3.3 Derivational morphology: nominalization

Nouns can be derived from verbs to denote the agent of the action indicated by the verb. These agent nouns (*nomina agentis*) bare the derivational suffix *-en*. This suffix may perhaps be further analyzable as consisting of the (somewhat polysemous) suffix *-e*, which can either mark imperfective aspect (4.6) or signal that a clause is dependent (12.3.1), followed by a derivational suffix *-n*, which could itself be related to the oblique marker of the same form (11.5). The nominalizing morphology in most instances affixes to the end of the verb stem, as in (3.012) below, which may be compared to a sentence illustrating a conjugated form of the verb (3.011).

- (3.011) Nĩ indap.
 nĩ inda-p
 1SG walk-PRF
 ‘I walked.’

- (3.012) Nĩ **inden**.
 nĩ inda-**en**
 1SG walk-NMLZ
 ‘I am a walker.’

The nominalized verb (functioning as a noun) may be followed by a subject marker (or an object marker). In the following examples, the verb stem is the suppletive perfective form (*i*) of the verb *ma-* ‘go’.

- (3.013) Raikos **iyen** mĩ mat ngata lanji anda.
 Raikos i-**en** mĩ ma=ta ngata alanji anda
 Rai.Coast go.PRF-NMLZ 3SG 3SG=say grand that.PL.POSS that.SG
 ‘The one who went to the Rai Coast said: “That belongs to those grandparents.”’
 (*Raikos* < TP; literally, ‘the having-gone-to-the-Rai-Coast [one] ...’) (T11)

- (3.014) Ndī mo tinanga ngap **iyen** ndī.
 ndī ma=u tinanga nga=p i-en ndī
 3PL 3PL=from arise this.SG=be go.PRF-NMLZ 3PL
 ‘They were the ones who got up from there and came to this place.’ (Literally, ‘They were the getting-up-from-there-and-coming-to-this-[place] ones.’) (T02)

As the translations of the two sentences above suggest, clauses with nominalized verb forms are in some ways akin to (subject) relative clauses (see 12.4).

In the example below, the nominalized verb form is followed by the demonstrative *anda* ‘that’.

- (3.015) mundu nīpat **amen** anda
 mundu nīpat ama-en anda
 food giant eat-NMLZ that.SG
 ‘that glutton’ (Literally, ‘that giant-food-eater’) (T32)

Nominalized transitive verbs can maintain their objects. The entire nominalized VP (object plus verb) can function as the predicate nominative (3.017), subject (3.018), or object (3.019) of a sentence, as illustrated below.

- (3.016) Nīnji nungol mī apa ite.
 nīnji nungol mī apa ita-e
 1SG.POSS child 3SG house build-DEP
 ‘My son is building a house.’

- (3.017) Nīnji nungol mī **apa iten**.
 nīnji nungol mī **apa** **ita-en**
 1SG.POSS child 3SG house build-NMLZ
 ‘My son is a house-builder.’

- (3.018) **Apa iten** mī nip.
apa **ita-en** mī ni-p
 house build-NMLZ 3SG die-PRF
 ‘The house-builder died.’

- (3.019) Nī limndī nipe **apa iten** mala.
 nī limndī ni-p-e **apa** **ita-en** ma=ala
 1SG eye die-PRF-DEP house build-NMLZ 3SG=for
 ‘I saw the dead house-builder.’ (Literally, ‘I saw the house-builder that died.’)

As can be seen in the last example, the suffix *-e* marks verbs in clauses in a dependent relation to the matrix clause (see 12.3), here marking ‘die’ as the main verb of a relative clause.

There could thus be some relationship (whether diachronic or synchronic) between the *-e* component of the nominalizing suffix and this dependent-marking suffix *-e*. That is, *apa iten mi* ‘the house-builder’ could in effect be (or have evolved from being) a phrase meaning something like ‘the one that builds houses’. Since the suffix in question consists of *more* than just *-e*, however, (that is, the form is *-en*) it is treated as something other than (or at least more than) a relativizer. Furthermore, the nominalized forms in *-en* behave in every way syntactically as nominal elements, receiving subject (or object) marking, preceding adjectives that modify them, and exhibiting all other distributional properties of nouns.

In the following sentence, the nominalized verb is modified by an adjective, *wutota* ‘tall’, and the entire NP is marked as the subject of the clause by the subject marker *mi* ‘3SG’.

- (3.020) **Ulepawen** wutota mi liyu.
 ulep-aw-**en** wutota mi li-u
 jump-put.IPFV-NMLZ tall 3SG fall-PRF
 ‘The tall jumper fell.’

In the following sentence, the nominalized verb is the head of an NP that is serving as direct object and receives the object marker *ma=* ‘3SG’.

- (3.021) Nĩ limndĩ mĩnda **amen** wutota mala.
 nĩ limndĩ mĩnda ama-**en** wutota ma=ala
 1SG eye banana eat-NMLZ tall 3SG=for
 ‘I saw the tall banana-eater.’

As NPs, these phrases formed with nominalizations can also be possessed—that is, modified by possessive words preceding them (see 6.3, 9.2). The following example is a bit unusual in showing perfective marking on the verb.

- (3.022) manji inom **mokotpen**
 manji inom ma=kot-p-**en**
 3SG.POSS mother 3sg=break-PRF-NMLZ
 ‘his biological mother’ (Literally, ‘his him-bearing mother’) (T01)

The nominalizing suffix may affix to the copular suffix, which can derive verbs from other parts of speech (10.3), as in:

- (3.023) Li **mapen** ndī wopa wa i.
 li ma=p-en ndī wopa wa i
 down 3SG=be-NMLZ 3PL all village go.PRF
 ‘The downstream people all came to the village.’ (Literally, ‘the being-down ones’)
 (T29)

Nominalized verb forms are useful for defining or describing people’s characteristics or habits, often defined in the negative, as in the first two examples below.

- (3.024) Nī angō ay nīpat **amen**.
 nī angō ay nīpat ama-en
 1SG NEG sago giant eat-NMLZ
 ‘I’m not a giant-sago-eater.’ (i.e., ‘I don’t eat large quantities of sago.’) (T11)

- (3.025) Nambi angō alanji wandam **unden** me.
 nambi angō alanji wandam unda-en me
 1SG.FOC NEG that.PL.POSS jungle go-NMLZ NEG
 ‘As for me, I’m not one to go around in other people’s jungles.’ (T32)

- (3.026) Anambi aw **amen** alawa.
 anambi aw ama-en alawa
 1PL.EXCL.FOC betel.nut eat-NMLZ that.PL.INT
 ‘As for us, we’re really betel-nut-chewers.’ (T32)

- (3.027) Nī wandam ngape **wowen**.
 nī wandam nga=p-e wo-en
 1SG jungle this.SG=be-DEP sleep-NMLZ
 ‘I live in this jungle.’ (Literally, ‘I am an in-this-jungle sleeper.’) (T01)

Nominalized verb forms also commonly indicate habitual action, whether in the present (3.028 and 3.029) or the past (3.030 and 3.031).

- (3.028) Nambi angō ndiya **mawnden**.
 nambi angō ndī=iya ma=unda-en
 1SG.FOC NEG 3PL=toward 3SG=go-NMLZ
 ‘As for me, I don’t go around to them there.’ (T32)

- (3.029) Mangusuwata angō niya **mbunden**.
 mangusuwata angō nī=iya mbi-unda-en
 3SG.poor NEG 1SG=toward here-go-NMLZ
 ‘The poor thing doesn’t come around here to me (anymore).’ (T27)

(3.030) Ala mundun amblol **inden**.
 ala mundu=n ambla=ul inda-**en**
 that.PL food=OBL PL.REFL=with walk-NMLZ
 ‘They were ones who walked around with food with each other.’ (T11)

(3.031) An ango ndiya amba **unden**.
 an ango ndi=iya amba unda-**en**
 1PL.EXCL NEG 3PL=toward haus.tambaran go-NMLZ
 ‘We didn’t go to them in the *haus tambaran* (men’s house).’ (T14)

In the example below, the speaker uses a Tok Pisin aspectual marker *save* (literally, ‘know’), which indicates habitual action, along with a nominalizing suffix. For more on the structural influences of Tok Pisin on Ulwa, see Chapter 15.

(3.032) Nambi save anmoka ala **namnapen**.
 nambi save anmoka ala namna-p-**en**
 1SG.FOC HAB snake for afraid-be-NMLZ
 ‘As for me, I am afraid of snakes.’ (T30)

While typically forming agentive nouns, the *-en* nominalizer suffix may also be used to create more patientive nouns (*nomina patientis*), which are derived not from the logical subject of the verb, but rather from the direct object. Compare the following:

(3.033) apa **mayten** ankam mĩ
 apa ma=ita-**en** ankam mĩ
 house 3SG=build-NMLZ person 3SG
 ‘the person who is building the house’

(3.034) **iten** apa mĩ
 ita-**en** apa mĩ
 build-NMLZ house 3SG
 ‘the house that is being built’

There can therefore at times be ambiguity, as in:

(3.035) **iten** mĩ
 ita-**en** mĩ
 build-NMLZ 3SG
 (a) ‘the one building’
 (b) ‘the one being built’

Usually, however, the nature of the derivation is clear from context. Further examples of patientive nominalizations follow.

- (3.036) Ambawanam Ngata ankam ambi anda ...
 Ambawanam Ngata ankam ambi anda
 [name] grand person big that.SG
 ‘Ambawanam Ngata is that big person, ...’

... ankam ango limndī **uten** me.

ankam ango limndī uta-**en** me
 person NEG eye grind-NMLZ NEG

‘... a person who has never been seen.’ (this could also technically mean ‘a person who has never seen [something/anything]’) (T07)

- (3.037) **Nungunupen** ndī ngamana.
 nungun-u-p-**en** ndī nga=ma-na
 break-put-PRF-NMLZ 3PL this.SG=go-IRR
 ‘The broken ones will go here.’ (T11)

As mentioned above, the nominalizing suffix may serve certain aspectual functions. Often, however, it is difficult to discern which particular function the *-en* ending is serving. Moreover, it may be that speakers sometimes employ a paragogic /n/ at the end of clauses, especially those marked by the dependent marker *-e*, as in the following sentences.

- (3.038) Ala yotnī mase mī **nipen**.
 ala yot=nī ma=asa-e mī ni-p-e-**n**
 that.PL machete=OBL 3SG=hit-DEP 3SG die-PRF-DEP-n?
 ‘They hit him with a machete and he died.’ (T34)

- (3.039) Ndī ango kīkal **nīwanen**.
 ndī ango kīkal nī=wana-e-**n**
 3PL NEG ear 1SG=feel-DEP-n?
 ‘They weren’t listening to me.’ (T32)

3.4 Compound nouns

Although lacking inflectional morphology, nouns can nevertheless be polymorphic— if, that is, they are formed by combining two or more lexical roots in a single compound word. In most instances, such compounds are formed exclusively from nouns, although it is also possible for compounds to include non-nominal elements. Some compounds are readily analyzable as being composed of two distinct lexical elements (or conjuncts), whereas the sources of others are

obscured somewhat by sound changes, and still others contain at least one entirely obscure element.

Compounds may be written as multiple words (with a space between conjuncts) or as single orthographic units. This decision is not always easy. When a phonological change (especially an irregular or strictly historical one) has obscured one or more elements of the compound, then it is written as one word. When the complete phonological integrity of all the conjuncts is maintained, however, then the conjuncts may be written with spaces between. Complications arise, however, when regular phonological processes occur where two conjuncts meet: this is especially common when one ends with a vowel and the following begins with a vowel. In the following list of fully transparent nominal compounds, most are written as multiple orthographic words, but others are written without any spaces, reflecting, in part, speaker preferences.

<i>apa ini</i>	‘floor’ (< <i>apa</i> ‘house’ + <i>ini</i> ‘ground’)
<i>apaka</i>	‘roof’ (< <i>apa</i> ‘house’ + <i>ka</i> ‘peak’)
<i>asiyot</i>	‘grass knife’ (< <i>asi</i> ‘grass’ + <i>yot</i> ‘machete, knife’)
<i>im nambi</i>	‘bark’ (< <i>im</i> ‘tree’ + <i>nambi</i> ‘skin’)
<i>im nangin</i>	‘branch’ (< <i>im</i> ‘tree’ + <i>nangin</i> ‘tongs’)
<i>inimnji</i>	‘dew’ (< <i>inim</i> ‘water’ + <i>nji</i> ‘thing’)
<i>limndi inim</i>	‘tear’ (< <i>limndi</i> ‘eye’ + <i>inim</i> ‘water’)
<i>nil nopa</i>	‘beard’ (< <i>nil</i> ‘body hair’ + <i>nopa</i> ‘cheek’)
<i>unduwān apin</i>	‘headache’ (< <i>unduwān</i> ‘head’ + <i>apin</i> ‘fire’)
<i>wala uta</i>	‘bat’ (< <i>wala</i> ‘rat’ + <i>uta</i> ‘bird’)
<i>won inim</i>	‘semen’ (< <i>won</i> ‘penis’ + <i>inim</i> ‘water’)
<i>wuti mu</i>	‘toe’ (< <i>wuti</i> ‘leg, foot’ + <i>mu</i> ‘fruit, seed’)
<i>wuti yombam</i>	‘sole’ (< <i>wuti</i> ‘leg, foot’ + <i>yombam</i> ‘palm’)
<i>ya inim</i>	‘coconut milk’ (< <i>ya</i> ‘coconut’ + <i>inim</i> ‘water’)
<i>yawe</i>	‘sago pancake cooked with coconut’ (< <i>ya</i> ‘coconut’ + <i>we</i> ‘sago’)

Most of these are completely literal, endocentric compounds—e.g., a ‘roof’ is the ‘peak of a house’, ‘bark’ is the ‘skin (i.e., outside covering) of a tree’, a ‘grass knife’ is a ‘knife for (cutting) grass’, etc. While the head is almost always the second element, it is also possible for the head to come first, as in *nil nopa* ‘beard’, in which *nil* ‘body hair’, precedes *nopa* ‘cheek’. While many compounds are completely literal, some contain a (slightly) metaphorical element—e.g., a ‘branch’ is the ‘tongs of a tree’, a ‘headache’ is ‘fire of the head’, a ‘toe’ is the ‘fruit of the foot’, etc. Also, not all compounds are strictly endocentric. The word *yawe* ‘sago pancake cooked with coconut’ is copulative, since it is composed of the two main ingredients: *ya* ‘coconut’ *we*

‘sago’. The word for ‘bat’ is an exocentric compound (unless *uta* in the Ulwa taxonomy means more ‘flying non-insect animal’ than ‘bird’, in which case the word for ‘bat’ is a regular endocentric compound, with the second element serving as the head).

Further compounding is possible—that is, compound nouns may consist of more than two lexical conjuncts, such as the word for ‘thumb’, *imu unduwan* (< *i* ‘hand, arm’ + *mu* ‘fruit, seed’ + *unduwan* ‘head’ = ‘head fruit of the hand’), or, similarly, the word for ‘big toe’, *wutimu unduwan* (< *wuti* ‘leg, foot’ + *mu* ‘fruit, seed’ + *unduwan* ‘head’ = ‘head fruit of the foot’).

Compounds of this sort can be (or at least have not long ago been) used productively to coin words for novel things, such as introduced foods. The word for ‘rice’, for example, is *asimu*, derived from *asi* ‘grass’ plus *mu* ‘fruit, seed’—that is, ‘seed of grass’ (see 14.9).

Sometimes, compounds are easily analyzable into two discrete lexical conjuncts, but the semantic derivation is obscured. That is, it is not always clear how the meanings of two component morphemes interact to produce the resultant exocentric compound, as in the examples below.

<i>im nali</i>	‘stick’ (< <i>im</i> ‘tree’ + <i>nali</i> ‘small star’)
<i>apa imot</i>	‘veranda, awning’ (< <i>apa</i> ‘house’ + <i>imot</i> ‘log’)
<i>nipum amba</i>	‘grassland’ (< <i>nipum</i> = <i>kunai</i> grass + ‘ <i>amba</i> ’ = ‘men’s house, spirit house’)

Some compounds, however, have undergone (historical) sound changes that have altered the shape of one or both constituent lexemes, as in the following compounds.

<i>apep</i>	‘front of house’ (< <i>apa</i> ‘house’ + <i>ip</i> ‘nose’)
<i>apinsi</i>	‘ashes’ (< <i>apin</i> ‘fire’ + <i>isi</i> ‘salt’)
<i>apombam</i>	‘middle of house’ (< <i>apa</i> ‘house’ + <i>wombam</i> ‘middle’)
<i>sinananangin</i>	‘claw’ (< <i>sinanan</i> ‘nail’ + <i>nangin</i> ‘tongs’)
<i>wandapata</i>	‘fallow garden’ (< <i>wandam</i> ‘jungle, garden’ + <i>wapata</i> ‘old, dry’)

The first word in the list, *apep* ‘front of house’ is the product of a still productive phonological process of coalescence, which may optionally yield [e] from /a#i/ (less common than [e] being derived from /i#a/, 2.8). The word *sinananangin* ‘claw’ has likewise undergone only a minor change: the degemination of consecutive consonants (2.6.8). The other words on the list above, however, have undergone more drastic changes, that is, changes not apparently motivated by any regular phonological rules of the language: *apinsi*, for example, has lost the initial /i/ of *isi*. These changes may reflect the sort of phonological reductions common among

high-frequency lexical items—that is, the case could be made that such compounds have more fully lexicalized than others. The word for ‘fallow garden’, *wandapata*, has lost both the final /m/ of *wandam* ‘jungle, garden’ and the initial /wa/ of *wapata* ‘old, dry’; and the word for ‘middle of house’, *apombam*, has lost both the final /a/ of *apa* ‘house’ and the initial /w/ of *wombam* ‘middle’.

In some cases—either because the phonological change has been too great or a lexical item remains too obscure—only one element of the compound is identifiable or the semantic derivation from two putative elements is unclear. Thus, for example, *aymoma* ‘stick for stirring jellied sago’ clearly contains *ay* ‘jellied sago’, but there is a no obvious connection to *moma* ‘a leaf tied in an overhand knot used to summon the spirit of the deceased’. Similarly, *lingin* ‘fog’ clearly contains *ngin* ‘cloud’, but the connection (if any) to *li-* ‘put’ is unclear.

Although most compounds exhibit two (or more) nominal elements, there are also possibly examples of nominal compounds consisting of one non-nominal element, such as *limama* ‘jaw’ (< *li* ‘down’ + *mama* ‘mouth’); *li*, however, can also be used as a noun, meaning, among other things, ‘the downstream part of the village’. Another potential nominal compound with a non-nominal element is *yananu* ‘woman, wife’, containing the element *nu* ‘near’. Again, it is possible that this modifier can be a substantive (i.e., nominal) as well, however; and a further complication is the (synchronic) synonymy of *yena* and *yananu*—that is, both can mean either ‘woman’ or ‘wife’. While it is possible that there was once a derivation of *yananu* (*‘wife’) from *yena* (*‘woman’) plus *nu* (‘near’), now—if ever there had been a semantic distinction between the two words—it has been lost (14.7).

3.5 Reduplication?

There does not appear to be any productive morphological process of reduplication in Ulwa. There are, however, a number of nouns that—at least phonologically—appear to exhibit full reduplication. If in fact any of these is derived from a single non-reduplicated lexical root, this history has been lost to time, as the presumed root of the seemingly reduplicated word is meaningless on its own. Examples follow.

<i>mbatmbat</i>	‘tilapia’ (likely a loan from Ap Ma)
<i>mbinmbin</i>	‘grave’

<i>metmet</i>	‘swamp dwarf’
<i>misimisi</i>	‘story’
<i>natnat</i>	‘greens’
<i>ngungun</i>	‘red ant’ (assuming < * <i>ngun ngun</i>)

There are, however, a few nouns that appear to be decomposable into two morphemes each, one a duplicate of the other. One is the word *wutiwuti* ‘duck’ (< *wuti* ‘leg, foot’). Given the salience of the duck’s waddle and the feet that accomplish it, it is not beyond reason to assume that its name was derived from the word for ‘foot’ (of course, this could just be a case of accidental homophony). Another noun composed of a repeated element that has meaning on its own is *manjimanji* ‘maggot’, which is superficially composed of a reduplicated element, *manji* ‘3SG.POSS’. It is not at all clear, however, what an etymology derived from *manji* ‘3SG.POSS’ could be, and it is most likely just a case of homophony with no real connection to *manji* ‘3SG.POSS’.

Chapter 4

Verbs

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis and description of verbs in Ulwa. Verbs constitute the part of speech in Ulwa that exhibits the most inflection, variability, and irregularity. On structural grounds, the verb in Ulwa is the simplest to identify and categorize as such. Although many non-verbal lexemes may function as verbs (that is, they may occur at the end of a clause and fulfill the role of predicate of the clause), only true (i.e., underived) verbs receive verbal morphology (TAM suffixation). (When nouns or adjectives, for example, serve as predicates they may receive a copular suffix, 10.3, but will never be marked with the perfective/imperfective/irrealis suffixes that are only possible on true verbs.) Thus, defined structurally (that is, morphologically), verbs in Ulwa are the words that can be inflected for the full range of tense-aspect-mood (TAM) distinctions in the language.

Although verb phrases may consist of more than one word, a typical unmarked indicative clause will contain exactly one inflected verb, which will occur at the end of the clause. In a transitive clause, the (direct) object immediately precedes the verb.

Thus, a verb consists, minimally, of a stem (4.2), to which an inflectional TAM suffix may be added (4.3). To any of the TAM suffixes, the dependent-marker suffix *-e* may be added (see 12.3.1). Transitive verbs may be preceded by an object-marker clitic (see 7.4).

4.2 The verb stem

Monomorphemic verbs in Ulwa (that is, verbs that are not compounds), are generally disyllabic or (less commonly) monosyllabic. Verbs generally (at least underlyingly) end in vowels, although (for most verbs) this final vowel is lost in the imperfective form (or replaced by the dependent marker *-e*). There is also a small set of verbs that end in consonants. Interestingly, these verbs almost all belong to the same semantic domain of cutting, splitting, breaking, etc.: *kol-* ‘break, split’, *kot-* ‘break, bear’, *kun-* ‘break (off)’, *won-* ‘cut’. (In addition to these, there is

the verb *ina-* ‘get’, which has the alternate consonant-final stem *in-*, as seen in the irrealis form *inda*, < /in-nda/; also, on the verb *kamb-* ‘shun’, see 2.2.2.).

4.3 Basic verbal morphology

There is a basic three-way distinction in tense/aspect/mood (TAM) in Ulwa, reflected in the choice of verbal suffix; the three forms are: imperfective (4.6), perfective (4.7), and irrealis (4.8). Briefly, the imperfective aspect encodes events and states that are viewed as incomplete or ongoing; the perfective aspect encodes events and states that have reached their end, that are over and done with; and the irrealis mood encodes events or states not known to the speaker to have happened (i.e., unreal or hypothetical events and states)—whether imperfective or perfective in aspect. This section provides an overview of the morphology of these three basic forms, as they appear in regular verbs. Irregular verbs (that is, verbs whose morphology does not in some way conform to the generalizations in this section) are discussed in (4.4).

Allowing for a null (\emptyset) suffix for the imperfective form, the three basic Ulwa suffixes are as follows:

imperfective: $-\emptyset$
 perfective: $-p$
 irrealis: $-na$

The imperfective form warrants the most comment. Its underlying form is taken here to be the bare stem of the verb (it may thus be viewed as the default TAM distinction in Ulwa). Rarely, however, does this underlying form appear as the surface form, for two reasons. First, stem-final vowels are lost from verbs when there is no overt morpheme present to protect them. Thus the following morphophonemic changes are seen in the imperfective forms (which may be compared to perfective forms, in which the perfective suffix $-p$ protects the foot-final vowel from being deleted):

gloss	underlying imperfective form	surface imperfective form	surface perfective form
‘eat’	/ama- \emptyset /	[am]	[amap]
‘sew’	/me- \emptyset /	[m]	[mep]
‘shout’	/uni- \emptyset /	[un]	[unip]

‘rain’	/lopo-Ø/	[lop]	[lopop]
‘put’	/li-Ø/	[l]	[lip]
‘cut’	/won-Ø/	[won]	[womp]

Note that the examples above illustrate the loss of all stem-final vowels except /-u/, which is not found stem-finally in any verb except the irregular verb *u-* ‘put’ (4.4.). The last example above, *won-* ‘cut’, illustrates how the imperfective form of consonant-final verb stems is identical to the underlying form of the stem.

Second, it is very common for imperfective forms to be marked with the dependent-marker suffix *-e* (12.3.1), which appears on imperfective verbs even without serving any clause-combining function and may thus be viewed as an additional morphological means of indicating imperfective aspect. Since stem-final vowels delete before /-e/ (2.6.4), they are not apparent in surface forms that contain the dependent/imperfective marker either.

Incidentally, the use of /-e/ as a *de facto* imperfective marker can, for some verbs, be seen as a functional means of preventing phonotactically prohibited surface forms. Since stem-final vowels delete, certain verb forms would (in the absence of the imperfective marker) have surface forms with final consonants that are not permitted in word-final position in Ulwa, such as prenasalized voiced stops (2.2.2). For example, the verb stem *inda-* ‘walk’ never has the imperfective form **inda* (since the final vowel must delete), but it also never has the form **ind* (since word-final prenasalized voiced stops are prohibited). Therefore, the only permissible imperfective form of the verb *inda-* ‘walk’ is one with the dependent marker, i.e., *inde*.

Thus it is rare that a null imperfective form ever appears as a surface form—rather, either the final vowel of the stem is lost in the absence of any following verbal morpheme or the vowel elides before a following /-e/. Indeed, only the small set of verbs with consonant-final stems (4.2) transparently reflects the null imperfective verb form (i.e., there is no final vowel to be lost), thus: *kol* ‘break, split [IPFV]’ < /kol-Ø/, *kot* ‘break, bear [IPFV]’ < /kot-Ø/, *kun* ‘break (off) [IPFV]’ < /kun-Ø/, and *won* ‘cut [IPFV]’ < /won-Ø/.

The perfective suffix *-p* requires little comment. Aside from in a few irregular verbs (4.4), this suffix always appears, quite transparently, suffixed to the verb stem. Although stem-final vowels are never lost before *-p*, there is one notable phonological change that occurs in certain verb stems before the perfective suffix *-p*, a change that has a rather specific conditioning

environment. Namely, the high central vowel /i/ is lowered to [a] when following the voiceless velar stop and preceding the voiceless bilabial stop—that is:

$\bar{i} \rightarrow p / k _ p$

This is known to affect only two verbs: *kī-* ‘say’ and *nkī-* ‘dig, cut’. The low vowel *a* may be seen in the perfective forms in the following two paradigms:

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘say’	kī-	ke	kap	kīna
‘dig, cut’	n(i)kī-	n(i)ke	n(i)kap	n(i)kīna

(Note that the dependent-marker suffix prevents a phonotactically prohibited word-final **-k*. Also note that the stem *n(i)kī-* may receive an epenthetic *i*, 2.3.1). As there are no known word forms in Ulwa that contain the sequence **-kīp-*, it could be that this is prohibited in the phonotactics of the language, although this is—admittedly—a very specific sequence to be prohibited.

The last basic TAM morpheme to be considered is the irrealis suffix *-na*, which has a phonologically conditioned allomorph *-nda*, which appears only when the preceding consonant is a sonorant—in other words:

$n \rightarrow nd / C [+SON] V_0 _$ (in the irrealis verb form)

The exact phonetic underpinnings of this change are unclear. Perhaps this strengthening of *n* to *nd* is a means of dissimilating a sequence of sonorants, a sequence which would, presumably, cause perceptual or articulatory challenges for listeners or speakers. Whatever the phonetic motivation, however, this alternation is quite regular, as illustrated by the following examples of irrealis verb forms that have *nd* after a preceding sonorant consonants /l, n, m, w, y/.

landa	‘eat [IRR]’
kolnda	‘break, split [IRR]’
ananda	‘scrub [IRR]’
kunda	‘break (off) [IRR]’ (from the stem [kun-], with a quasi-degeminat[i]on of /nnd/)
menda	‘sew [IRR]’
lowonda	‘sleep [IRR]’
liyunda	‘fall [IRR]’

These may be compared with the following irrealis forms, which have *n* when the preceding consonant is an obstruent /p, t, k, nd, ng, s/ (there are no known forms with preceding /mb/ or /ng/) or when there is no preceding consonant at all (as in the final example on the list below).

lo pona	‘rain [IRR]’
it ana	‘build [IRR]’
t ina	‘take [IRR]’
mok ona	‘take (one-by-one) [IRR]’
ind ana	‘walk [IRR]’
tin angana	‘arise [IRR]’
s ina	‘push [IRR]’
in a	‘come [IRR]’

The few exceptions to this pattern are treated below, in the section on irregular verbs (4.4). Like the perfective suffix, the irrealis suffix does not condition the loss of a stem-final vowel. There is, however, one very specific environment in which this vowel may change. Namely, between /l/ and /nd/, underlying mid vowels /e, o/ are realized as high vowels [i, u], i.e.:

$e, o \rightarrow i, u / l _ nd$

The only two verbs that this process is known to affect are *ale-* ‘scrape’ and *lo-* ‘cut, go’, whose basic paradigms are given below.

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘scrape’	ale-	al(e)	alep	al inda
‘cut, go’	lo-	l(e)	lop	lu nda

The phonetic motivation for this process is unclear, but it could be a form of hypercorrection, speakers raising vowels they assume to have been lowered phonetically due to secondary nasalization from the following nasal gesture giving the vowel a perceived lower quality. Also, there could be another phonotactic constraint at play here, since there are no known phonological forms **-lend-* or **-lond-* in Ulwa. Actually, since there are also no known instances of **-len-* or **-lon-*, it is equally possible that this raising of /e/ and /o/ to [i] and [u], respectively, occurs before the strengthening of /n/ to [nd]. This hypothesis may be supported by the fact that the imperative forms of ‘scrape’ and ‘cut, go’ are *alin* and *lun*, respectively (4.9). It may also be

the case, however, that the imperative forms are built through analogy to the irrealis forms; this is almost certainly the case with the conditional forms (4.14), which are *alita* and *luta*, respectively.

Also, it is worth noting that local vowel assimilation of /a/ to /o/ in the 3SG object marker (2.6.7) must occur before the raising of /o/ to [u] in *lunda* ‘go [IRR]’, in order to account for the surface form *molunda*. In the following examples, the form *mo=* is seen accompanying each of the three basic TAM-marked verbs.

(4.001) Yawat mĩ awal num **molop**.

Yawat	mĩ	awal	num	ma=lo-p
[name]	3SG	yesterday	canoe	3SG=cut-PRF

‘Yawat made the canoe yesterday.’

(4.002) Yawat mĩ amun num **mole**.

Yawat	mĩ	amun	num	ma=lo-e
[name]	3SG	now	canoe	3SG=cut-DEP

‘Yawat is making the canoe now.’

(4.003) Yawat mĩ umbe num **molunda**.

Yawat	mĩ	umbe	num	ma=lo-nda
[name]	3SG	tomorrow	canoe	3SG=cut-IRR

‘Yawat will make the boat tomorrow.’

This set of examples also lends further support to the analysis that there are underlying stem-final vowels that are lost in imperfective forms, since the *o* of the stem *lo-* must have been present (underlyingly) in the imperfective verb form in order to have conditioned the change of /ma=/ to [mo=] in (4.002).

Finally, it may be noted that the common imperative/jussive *nol* ‘(let’s) go!’ is likely derived from the verb *lo-* ‘cut, go’. In this analysis, the form derives from *na-lo-n* ‘DETR-go-IMP’, the *o* first raising to *u* (see above), then the *l* and *u* metathesizing (2.7), then the sequence *au* becoming the monophthong *o* (2.6.2), and then the final *n* of this high-frequency word being elided (apocopated).

4.4 Irregular verbs and suppletion

This section is devoted to describing the morphology of verbs that in one way or another do not conform to the patterns described above (4.3)—that is, verbs that exhibit unexpected TAM suffixes, verbs that are defective in that they lack certain forms or may be uninflected for certain TAM designations, or verbs that have suppletive forms that come from unrelated stems.

First, there is a set of verbs that have *-n* as their perfective suffix, instead of the expected (regular) form *-p*, as seen below.

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘take’	tī-	t(ī) ~ te	t ~ tī(n)	t ~ tī(na)
‘give’	na-		nan(a)	nanda
‘come’	i-	[man(e)]	in	ina

The first verb on the list above, *tī-* ‘take’ is often defective, especially when used in serial verb constructions with *na-* ‘give’ to express ‘giving’ events (11.4). The final central vowel *-i* of the stem is often lost in such defective verb forms, but may, alternatively, be present. Its presence in such instances is taken to be phonetically motivated—that is, it is assumed that, in the imperfective and perfective forms, the final vowel *i* of this verb is *always* lost, but, when the resulting form [t] is followed by a consonant, an epenthetic [i] emerges to break up the forbidden consonant cluster. Otherwise, when present, the perfective suffix is *-n*. The irrealis suffix is the expected form *-na*. When this verb occurs in its reduced form [t], it often appears to cliticize to a following vowel-initial word.

The second verb, *na-* ‘give’, also has *-n* as its perfective suffix, although this may optionally be realized (perhaps for added emphasis) as *-na*. The irrealis suffix *-nda* is regular—the expected allomorph of *-na*, given that the preceding consonant is a sonorant (4.3). The verb *na-* ‘give’ is defective in another sense: there is no distinct imperfective form (i.e., **n*); the perfective form, however, may be used to convey imperfective aspect, if needed.

The third verb, *i-* ‘come’ relies on a suppletive form *man(e)* (from the stem *ma-* ‘go’) for its imperfective form.

Another verb, *si-* ‘push’ has a unique perfective suffix, *-al*. This is a highly unusual form—it could be related to the postposition *al(a)* ‘for, from’, but, if so, the semantic connection

between these two forms is obscure. It is also common for this verb to use the bare stem *si* as the perfective form—that is, the final vowel may be retained (an alternative analysis would be that this is a periphrastic verbal construction: *s-* ‘push’ + *i* ‘go.PRF’, 10.4). The paradigm for this verb is as follows:

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘push’	si-	s(e)	si ~ sal	sina

There is another set of verbs that show an unusual prefix-like form in the irrealis (in addition to the expected irrealis suffix. Thus, these forms appear to have something like circumfixes encoding irrealis aspect. The verbs in question are:

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘let’	ka-			lakana
‘sleep’	wo-	wo(we)	wop	lowonda
‘eat’	ama-	am(e)	amap	landa

All of the above irrealis forms appear (at least historically) to have the same prefix-like element: *la-*, mostly clearly seen in *lakana* ‘let, leave, allow’. The form *lowonda* ‘sleep [IRR]’ likely derives from **la-wo-nda*, the **a* having been rounded (and raised) by the following labial-velar /w/ (the *-nda* suffix is the expected allomorph following the sonorant /w/). The form *landa* ‘eat [IRR]’ perhaps derives from **la-am-nda*, the initial **a* having deleted before the following vowel (2.6.5) and the **m* having been lost after assimilating in place to the following nasal gesture (here, too, the *-nda* suffix is expected, following the sonorant /l/). The form *la* may derive from a Proto-Ulmapo irrealis marker (Ulwa’s sister language Pondi has an irrealis suffix of the form *-la*).

The verb *ka-* ‘let, leave, allow’ is highly defective, lacking TAM morphology for both imperfective and perfective forms; for these TAM distinctions, the bare stem *ka* is used, instead of the predicted forms **ke* ‘let [IPFV]’ and **kap* ‘let [PRF]’. This verb is used in separable verb constructions (9.3.3).

The verb *wo-* ‘sleep’ does not lose its final vowel in the imperfective. When the dependent marker *-e* is suffixed to the stem, the final *-o* also remains, with an epenthetic glide /w/ breaking up the sequence /oe/.

Three verbs have stems consisting of just a single vowel. The verb *i* ‘come’ is described above. The other two such verbs are:

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘break’	a-	ay(e)	ap	anda
‘put’	u-	aw(e)	up	unda

In the imperfective forms of these verbs, the stem-final vowel is not lost (indeed, that would mean the loss of the entire phonological content of the verb stem). Instead, the imperfective forms appear to be derived from the stem-plus-dependent marker. For the verb *a-* ‘break’ this entails the derivation: **a-e > aye* (with an epenthetic glide /y/ breaking up the VV sequence). For the verb *u-* ‘put’, the derivation of the imperfective form is probably as follows: **u-e > uwe > awe*, the initial **u* having been lowered as a means of dissimilating it from the following high back glide /w/. Both of these verbs exhibit the unexpected *-nda* allomorph in the irrealis—unexpected because there is no preceding sonorant consonant (unless the glides *y* and *w* of the respective imperfective forms are somehow in the underlying form of the irrealis forms or otherwise influencing the fortification of *-na* to *-nda*). The verb *u-* ‘put’ is used in a number of ‘separable verb’ constructions (9.3.2).

Two high-frequency verbs that are also highly irregular are *ma-* ‘go’ and *asa-* ‘hit, kill’, the latter of which is in a suppletive relationship with *wali-* ‘hit, kill’. All three verbs are shown below.

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘go’	ma-	man(e)	[i]	mana
‘hit, kill’	asa-	as(e)	asap	atīna ~ atīm ~ [walinda]
‘hit, kill’	wali-	wal(e)	[asap]	walinda

First, *ma-* ‘go’ does not have a perfective form, relying instead on the bare stem of *i-* ‘come’ to fill this role. The imperfective from *man* is very strange in that it employs the suffix *-n*, which is otherwise found as a perfective marker (as in, e.g., *tī-* ‘take’ and *na-* ‘give’, shown above). The irrealis form *mana* is also irregular, in that it exhibits the suffix *-na* (not **-nda*), despite the presence of the preceding sonorant consonant *m*.

The verb *asa-* ‘hit, kill’ does not have the predicted irrealis form **asana*. Instead, one of two irregular forms is used: *atīna* or *atīm*, the first of which at least exhibits the regular irrealis suffix *-na*. The nature of the apparent stem change (that is *atī-* instead of *asa-*) is not clear, but there could be alternate forms of this root, at least historically (cf. the noun *at* ‘fight, battle’). The final *-m* of the alternate irrealis form *atīm* is even harder to account for. Most commonly, however, instead of *atīna* or *atīm*, the suppletive form *walinda* is used for the irrealis. This form comes from the verb stem *wali-* ‘hit kill’, which itself relies on suppletion for its otherwise lacking perfective form. The verb *asa-* ‘hit, kill’ often appears without TAM marking.

A number of defective verbs have already been discussed. The following are the paradigms for other verbs that are missing basic forms.

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘arise’	<i>tīnanga-</i>			<i>tīnangana</i>
‘feel’	<i>wana-</i>			<i>wananda</i>
‘put’	<i>lumo-</i>		<i>lumop</i>	
‘for’	<i>ala-</i>	<i>al</i>		
‘for’	<i>andī-</i>		<i>andīn</i>	<i>andīna ~ andīm</i>

The verb *tīnanga-* ‘arise’ lacks imperfective and perfective forms; the bare stem may be used for these aspects (the irrealis form is regular). Similarly, the verb *wana-* ‘feel’ relies on its bare stem for the imperfective and perfective forms. Although the form [wan] sometimes occurs, it seems simply to be a phonetically reduced form of the stem, not a morphologically conditioned imperfective form, despite its missing stem-final vowel—[wan] is found both with imperfective and with perfective meaning.

The verb *lumo-* ‘put’ is only found in the perfective form and in conditional forms (see 4.14). This verb is also used in separable verb constructions (9.3.2).

Two postpositions, *ala* ‘for, from’ and *andī* ‘for, from’ (8.2) are often used as verbs. There is much variability in the forms that may be used to express various TAM distinctions, and often they appear to be used interchangeably, or the verbs (that is, the postpositions) are left unmarked for TAM entirely. Still, the form *al* resembles many imperfective forms in that it is missing its final verb. Likewise, the form *andīn* resembles some irregular perfective forms that end in *-n*, and the form *andīna* appears to have the regular irrealis suffix *-na*. The alternate irrealis form

andim resembles the irregular irrealis form *atim* ‘hit, kill’, in that they both end in the bilabial nasal *m*. The verbal use of these two postpositions is discussed in more detail in 8.2 and 9.3.1.

Two verbs remain to be discussed in this section: *ta-* ‘say’ and *li-* ‘fall’. The basic paradigm for *ta-* ‘say’ is given below.

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘say’	ta-	tan(e)	t(ap)	tana

Like *ma-* ‘go’, the verb *ta-* ‘say’ has the irregular imperfective suffix *-n*. Furthermore, this high-frequency verb is commonly used (especially in perfective aspect) without any overt TAM marking. Like *tī-* ‘take’, its stem-final central vowel is lost in such instances, without implying any imperfective aspect. The loss of *a* is not optional when the verb is used without any TAM suffixation (i.e., the form **ta* ‘say’ is completely unattested).

The basic paradigm for *li-* ‘fall’ is given below.

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘fall’	li-	liwe	liyu	liyunda

The verb *li-* ‘fall’ is transparently derived from the adverb *li* ‘down’ and the verb *u-* ‘put’ (see 9.3.2 for similar constructions). It is, however, undergone phonological changes in its various forms. The imperfective form *liwe* derives from **li-awe*, the *a* having simply elided. The perfective form *liyu* derives from **li-up*: while the epenthetic *y* is indeed expected (2.6.1), the loss of final **-p* is difficult to explain. The irrealis form *liyunda* (which derives from **li-unda*) also employs an epenthetic *y* to break up two consecutive vowels.

Finally, this section may be concluded with a note pertaining to the small set of verbs whose stems end in consonants. Although, perhaps not irregular, these verbs exhibit forms that deserve some comment. Most importantly, the verb *kot-* ‘break, bear’ is analyzed here as ending in *t-* (and not **i-*), despite often exhibiting the perfective form *kotip* and the irrealis form *kotina*. The presence of [i] in these forms, however, is taken to be phonologically driven—that is, it is an epenthetic vowel breaking up the consonant cluster. Indeed, this vowel can be avoided in the perfective form in instances in which the /tp/ sequences can be broken across a syllable boundary (e.g., in the dependent-marked form *kot.pe*). Moreover, the conditional form of the verb *kot-* is

kota (not **kotīta*), from underlying /kot-ta/—in other words, instead of acquiring an epenthetic vowel, the /tt/ sequence simply degeminates (2.6.8).

4.5 Summary of verb paradigms

For convenient reference, the verb forms discussed in 4.3 and 4.4 are provided below. The following list covers all known irregular verbs as well as the most common regular verbs, providing their roots as well as their forms in the imperfective aspect (4.6), perfective aspect (4.7), and irrealis mood (4.8).

gloss	stem	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘break’	a-	ay(e)	ap	anda
‘for’	ala-	al		
‘scrape’	ale-	al(e)	alep	alinda
‘eat’	ama-	am(e)	amap	landa
‘scrub’	ana-	an(e)	anap	ananda
‘for’	andī-		andīn	andīna ~ andīm
‘hit, kill’	asa-	as(e)	asap	atīna ~ atīm ~ [walinda]
‘come’	i-	[man(e)]	in	ina
‘get’	in(a)-	in(e)	inap	inda
‘walk’	inda-	inde	indap	indana
‘build’	ita-	it(e)	itap	itana
‘let’	ka-			lakana
‘shun’	kamb-	kam(be)	kamp	kambīna
‘say’	kī-	ke	kap	kīna
‘break, split’	kol-	kol(e)	kolp	kolnda
‘break, bear’	kot-	kot(e)	kot(ī)p	kot(ī)na
‘break (off)’	kun-	kun(e)	kunp	kunda
‘fall’	li-	liwe	liyu	liyunda
‘put’	lī-	l(e)	l(ī)p	l(ī)nda
‘cut, go’	lo-	l(e)	lop	lunda
‘rain’	lopo-	lop(e)	lopop	lopona
‘put’	lumo-		lumop	
‘go’	ma-	man(e)	[i]	mana
‘sew’	me-	m(e)	mep	menda
‘take’	moko-	moke	mokop	mokon
‘feed’	na-	n(e)	nap	nanda
‘give’	na-		nan(a)	nanda
‘harvest’	ne-	n(e)	nep	nenda
‘act, die’	ni-	n(e)	nip	ninda
‘dig, cut’	nkī-	nke	nkap	nkīna

‘cry’	sa-	se	sap	sana
‘push’	si-	s(e)	si ~ sal	sina
‘say’	ta-	tan(e)	t(ap)	tana
‘take’	tī-	t(i) ~ te	t ~ tī(n)	t ~ tī(na)
‘arise’	tīnanga-			tīnangana
‘put’	u-	aw(e)	up	unda
‘go around’	unda-	unde	undap	undana
‘shout’	uni-	un(e)	unip	uninda
‘grind’	uta-	ut(e)	utap	utana
‘hit, kill’	wali-	wal(e)	[asap]	walinda
‘cook’	wana-	wan(e)	wanap	wananda
‘feel’	wana-			wananda
‘sleep’	wo-	wo(we)	wop	lowonda
‘cut’	won-	won(e)	wonp	wonda

4.6 Imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect reflects atelicity. If an event did not reach or has not reached its end, whether in past or present time, the verb encoding it receives imperfective marking (i.e., imperfective morphology signals continuous, habitual, iterative, etc. happenings or states).

The following sentences exemplify the imperfective aspect as it applies to different verbs. Note that (regular) verbs either take no TAM marking (that is, there is a null suffix (-Ø), in which case a stem-final vowel is lost, 4.3) or receive the dependent marker *-e*, otherwise used to mark a clause as subordinate to a following clause (12.3.1).

(4.004) Anam mī amun apa **mayte**.

Anam	mī	amun	apa	ma=ita-e
[name]	3SG	now	house	3SG=build-DEP

‘Anam is building the house now.’

(4.005) Anam mī awal apa **mayte**.

Anam	mī	awal	apa	ma=ita-e
[name]	3SG	yesterday	house	3SG=build-DEP

‘Anam was building the house yesterday.’ (Implication: the process was ongoing yesterday or he has not finished it.)

(4.006) Malman mī amun lamndu **mas**.

Malman	mī	amun	lamndu	ma=asa-Ø
[name]	3SG	now	pig	3SG=hit-IPFV

‘Malman is killing the pig now.’

- (4.007) Malman mī amun lamndu **mase**.
 Malman mī amun lamndu **ma=asa-e**
 [name] 3SG now pig 3SG=hit-DEP
 ‘Malman is killing the pig now.’
- (4.008) Inom mī ya **ute**.
 inom mī ya **uta-e**
 mother 3SG coconut grind-DEP
 ‘Mother is grinding coconut.’
- (4.009) Inom mī ipka ya **ute**.
 inom mī ipka ya **uta-e**
 mother 3SG before coconut grind-DEP
 ‘Mother was grinding coconut earlier.’ (Implication: she was continuing to grind it.)
- (4.010) Itom mī amun **inde**.
 itom mī amun **inda-e**
 father 3SG now walk-DEP
 ‘Father is walking now.’
- (4.011) Itom mī utam **mame** inom mī unip.
 itom mī utam **ma=ama-e** inom mī uni-p
 father 3SG yam 3SG=eat-DEP mother 3SG shout-PRF
 ‘Father was eating the yam when mother shouted.’

Habitual action is also marked by use of the imperfective suffix. In the following examples, atelic verbs are used to refer not to events that occur at a single particular time, but rather to regular occurrences.

- (4.012) Inom mī alum nunu ilom mat **inde**.
 inom mī alum nunu ilom ma=tī **inda-e**
 mother 3SG child various day 3SG=take walk-DEP
 ‘Mother carries the baby every day.’
- (4.013) Ginam mī mīnda **ame**.
 Ginam mī mīnda **ama-e**
 [name] 3SG banana eat-DEP
 ‘Ginam eats bananas.’
- (4.014) Ginam mī ipka mīnda **ame**.
 Ginam mī ipka mīnda **ama-e**
 [name] 3SG before banana eat-DEP
 ‘Ginam used to eat bananas.’

(4.015) Mi **ane**.
 mĩ **an=na-e**
 3SG 1PL.EXCL=feed-DEP
 ‘She would feed us.’ (T10)

(4.016) Nĩnji inom mĩ nĩt **inde**.
 nĩnji inom mĩ nĩ=tĩ **inda-e**
 1SG.POSS mother 3SG 1SG=take walk-DEP
 ‘My mother used to carry me around.’ (T10)

Another use of the imperfective is to signal that an action began or is beginning. For the form and function of the inchoative imperfective, see 4.12.

4.7 Perfective aspect

Perfective aspect, on the other hand, is applied to events that have reached their logical conclusion. This is, arguably, the semantically unmarked form for a verb referring to past time. When a perfective form refers to present time, the verbal morphology suggests that an event has just now happened. The regular perfective suffix is *-p*. The following sentences illustrate the use of the perfective aspect.

(4.017) Mĩ awal mĩnda **mamap**.
 mĩ awal mĩnda ma=ama-**p**
 3SG yesterday banana 3SG=eat-PRF
 ‘He ate the banana yesterday.’

(4.018) Mĩ amun mĩnda **mamap**.
 mĩ amun mĩnda ma=ama-**p**
 3SG now banana 3SG=eat-PRF
 ‘He just now ate the banana.’

(4.019) Banjiwa mĩ numbu **manip**.
 Banjiwa mĩ numbu ma=ni-**p**
 [name] 3SG garamut 3SG=beat-PRF
 ‘Banjiwa has beaten the *garamut* drum.’

4.8 Irrealis mood

The third major TAM suffix does not encode the aspect of an event, but rather its mood: irrealis mood applies to unreal or hypothetical events and states. The irrealis suffix is *-na*, which has the phonologically conditioned allomorph *-nda* (4.3).

The irrealis mood can be applied to verbs referring to events thought of as occurring in any temporal frame. The following examples are all translated in English as occurring in the future. As a time frame that is perforce hypothetical or not (yet) real, the future is almost always encoded in Ulwa verbs with irrealis forms. (Note in the examples below that aspect—perfective or imperfective—is irrelevant in the irrealis suffix).

- (4.020) Gambri mī umbe apa **maytana**.
Gambri mī umbe apa ma=ita-**na**
[name] 3SG tomorrow house 3SG=build-IRR
(a) ‘Gambri will build the house tomorrow.’
(b) ‘Gambri will be building the house tomorrow.’

- (4.021) Nungol ndī wambana **nduwananda**.
nungol ndī wambana ndī=wana-**nda**
child 3PL fish 3PL=cook-IRR
(a) ‘The children will cook the fish.’
(b) ‘The children will be cooking the fish.’

The irrealis suffix can express a number of modal distinctions, such as deontic (‘should’, ‘must’), abilitative (‘can’, ‘could’), and optative (‘would that’) moods, as illustrated by the sentence below.

- (4.022) Gambri mī (tap) apa **maytana**.
Gambri mī (tap) apa ma=ita-**na**
[name] 3SG (maybe) house 3SG=build-IRR
(a) ‘Gambri should build the house.’
(b) ‘Gambri can build the house.’
(c) ‘Would that Gambri were building the house!’

The epistemic adverb *tap* ‘maybe’ is often possible in these sentences, but not necessary for conveying the modal sense of the irrealis. Note, however, that *tap* ‘maybe’ cannot be used when the sense is conveyed that the action will necessarily happen (‘will’, ‘must’). Thus, the

sentence above (when *tap* is included), cannot mean *‘Gambri will build the house’ or *‘Gambri must build the house’.

When used in past time, the irrealis mood can show potential (i.e., ability), or lack thereof, as in the example below.

- (4.023) Ndi angu luwa miniya **mana**.
 ndi angu luwa min=iya ma-na
 3PL NEG place 3DU=toward go-IRR
 ‘They could not go to them.’ (Literally, ‘They nowhere could go to them.’) (T01)

When used in past time, the irrealis mood can also indicate a counterfactual statement, as seen in the following example.

- (4.024) Awal maka nungol ndul li **mana**.
 awal maka nungol ndi=ul li ma-na
 yesterday thus child 3PL=with down go-IRR
 ‘(He) would have gone down with (his) children yesterday.’ (T11)

The sentence above is proven to be counterfactual by the sentence that follows in the text, which shows that this intended action of the man going with his children was unrealized. The sentence that follows is:

- (4.025) Ticha ngala mbiye em i stap.
 ticha ngala mbi-i-e em i stap
 teacher this.PL here-go.PRF-DEP 3SG PRED stay
 ‘But these teachers came, so he stayed.’ (*ticha, em, i, stap* < TP) (T11)

In multiple clause constructions, the irrealis form of a verb may be best translated by an English infinitive, showing purpose or intention (something like a final clause), as in:

- (4.026) Wa me ndul **landa**.
 wa ma=i ndi=ul la-nda
 village 3SG=go.PRF 3PL=with eat-IRR
 ‘(They) went home to eat with them.’ (T02)
- (4.027) Malimap mati yawa **mananda**.
 ma=alima-p ma=ti yawa ma=na-nda
 3SG=beat-PRF 3SG=take uncle 3SG=give-IRR
 ‘(We) beat it (sago starch) to give to (our) uncle.’ (T11)

Sentences such as (4.026) and (4.027) above are analyzed as consisting of two (full) clauses, so there is actually nothing akin (syntactically) to the English infinitive.

The absence of dependent marking (12.3.1) on the first clauses of these examples above suggests that the clauses containing these purpose-denoting irrealis verbs are actually independent sentences, without any sentences dependent upon them. Thus, the irrealis suffix can be considered here a means of imbuing a desiderative or intentive meaning to the verb. For example, (4.026) above could be translated ‘(They) went home; (they) wanted to eat with them’; and (4.027) could be translated ‘(We) beat it; (we) intended to give it to (our) uncle’.

4.9 Imperative

The three basic TAM markings in Ulwa account for much of the suffixal verbal morphology of all declarative and interrogative sentences. In imperative sentences, however, verbs in Ulwa may receive the imperative suffix *-n*. For the syntax and function of imperative clauses in Ulwa, see (13.3).

The form *-n* found in imperative verbs may be related to the suffix *-na* seen in irrealis verbs. At any rate, there is indeed something kindred between irrealis and imperative forms, since, in irregular verbs that exhibit different stems in the irrealis mood, the imperative ending will affix to the irrealis verb stem, never to the perfective/imperfective stem. Thus, the imperative of ‘eat’ is *la-n* (not **aman*), the imperative of ‘let’ is *lakan* (not **kan*), and the imperative of ‘sleep’ is *lowon* (not **won*). Furthermore, there is a semantic similarity between the two suffixes, since, among other things, the irrealis suffix can encode deontic mood (i.e., ‘must’), which, when uttered, is not unlike issuing an imperative.

The following sample list of Ulwa verbs illustrates their imperative forms (shown along with the irrealis forms for comparison):

gloss	stem	irrealis	imperative
‘eat’	ama-	landa	lan
‘let’	ka-	lakana	lakan
‘say’	kī-	kīna	kīn
‘cut, go’	lo-	lunda	lun
‘go’	ma-	mana	man
‘sew’	me-	menda	men

‘give’	na-	nanda	nan
‘put’	u-	unda	un
‘hit’	wali-	walinda	walin

4.10 The double perfective

As detailed above (4.6–4.9), an inflected verb in Ulwa typically has exactly one TAM suffix (which may be null in certain imperfective verb forms). There are circumstances, however, in which perfective verbs may be marked twice—that is, they take the form stem-plus-perfective-plus-perfective. In such instances, the second perfective marker adopts the vowel from the verb stem, preventing the otherwise impossible sequence **-p-p*. Thus, for example, verbs with *a*-final stems have the form [stem]-*p-ap*, and verbs with *o*-final stems have the form [stem]-*p-op*. This may be viewed as a type of reduplication.

The semantic effect of this double perfective is often one of signaling that an action is all-the-more over-and-done-with. Since a (single) perfective marker typically signals that the event is viewed as whole and completed, this double marking could be seen as superfluous. Indeed, it may be that—as speakers use different TAM suffixes ever more interchangeably, perhaps as the result of grammatical attrition—the extra perfective marking is simply redundant (more on this below in this section, and see Chapter 15 for structural changes due to grammatical attrition). There are instances, however, in which the double perfective functions something like the pluperfect category of some European languages, showing that an event is not only viewed as a completed whole, but that it has been completed before some other event in the past. These usages can often be translated with the English auxiliary *had* plus the past participle, as in the examples below.

(4.028) Man **nikapap**.
 ma=n ni=ki-**p-ap**
 3SG=OBL 1SG=say-PRF-PRF
 ‘(She) had told me.’ (T11)

(4.029) Mana man **masapap**.
 mana ma=n ma=asa-**p-ap**
 spear 3SG=OBL 3SG=hit-PRF-PRF
 ‘(They) had killed him with a spear.’ (T32)

(4.030) Nī mape Madangpe **ndīlopop**.
 nī ma=p-e Madang-p-e ndī=lo-**p-op**
 1SG 3SG=be-DEP [place]-be-DEP 3PL=cut-PRF-PRF
 ‘I had made them when I was there in Madang.’ (T11)

(4.031) Ndīnji inga mol **lopop**.
 ndīnji inga ma=ul lo-**p-op-e**
 3PL.POSS in.law 3SG=with go-PRF-PRF-DEP
 ‘(They) had gone with their in-law.’ (T30)

(4.032) Asika līmndī **ndīlpipe** ...
 asi-ka līmndī ndī=lī-**p-īp-e**
 sit-let eye 3PL=put-PRF-PRF-DEP
 ‘After (they) had sat and watched them, ...’

... ngala luke asi tī nap ndala une.

ngala luke asi tī na-p ndī=ala uni-e
 this.PL too sit take DETR-be 3PL=for shout-DEP
 ‘... these people also took seats, cheering them on.’ (T27)

The double perfective can, similarly, provide the sense of ‘already’, and is translated accordingly in the following example.

(4.033) Numbu ala **nungunupop**.
 numbu ala nungun-u-**p-op**
 post that.PL break-put-PRF-PRF
 ‘Those posts have already broken.’ (T37)

It is also possible for the word *ta* ‘already’ to appear within a clause exhibiting such a construction, as in:

(4.034) Nīnji wot yena mī ta **nipop**.
 nīnji wot yena mī ta ni-**p-op**
 1SG.POSS younger woman 3SG already die-PRF-PRF
 ‘My younger sister has already died.’ (T22)

(In the example above, however, it may be that the form /nip/ has been reanalyzed as morphophonemic, a new verb ‘die’, derived from the perfective form of the verb *n-* ‘act, die’.)

The two sentences above (4.033 and 4.034) also illustrate the fact that the vowels in the second perfective suffix do not always match the final vowel of the verb stem. Indeed, there is variability even within certain verb forms (e.g., there are attested forms such as *lī-p-ap* ‘put-PRF-PRF’ alongside *lī-p-īp*, as seen in 4.032 above). It may be that some of these putative second

perfective forms are actually reduced forms of the past copular suffix *-wap* (10.3). Indeed, it is not unlikely that they have *all* derived (historically) from *wap*, which is often pronounced [wɔp]: thus, it could be assumed that first the /w/ has been lost; then, when following non-low vowels, the vowel [ɔ] is colored to [o], and when following the low vowel, it is colored to [a]. The following sentences further exemplify the form *-op*, following the stem-final vowels *i* and *u*.

(4.035) Ane nda ine nda **nipop**.

ane	anda	i-n-e	anda	ni-p-op
sun	that.SG	come-PRF-DEP	that.SG	die-PRF-PRF

‘That (woman) died the day before yesterday.’ (T32)

(4.036) John maweka i Mongima ul ngalan **uop**.

John	maweka	i	Mongima	ul	ngala=n	u-p-op
[name]	also	go.PRF	[name]	with	this.PL=OBL	put-PRF-PRF

‘John had also gone and planted these with Mongima.’ (T11)

In many instances (as in the following sentences), it is not clear whether the inclusion of a double perfective should be taken to convey any sense different from that of a regular (single) perfective verb form.

(4.037) An **ndamapape** inim nga ambipe.

an	ndi=ama- p-ap-e	inim	nga	ambi-p-e
1PL.EXCL	3PL=eat-PRF-PRF-DEP	water	this.SG	big-be-DEP

‘We were eating them (fish), but (now) the water is high (again)’ (T11)

(4.038) Monam ala ndi ndin **maytapap**.

monam	ala	ndi	ndi=n	ma=ita- p-ap
tree.sp	that.PL	3PL	3PL=OBL	3SG=build-PRF-PRF

‘Monam trees—they had(?) built it with these.’ (T11)

(4.039) Mi maka aw ndin **mopop**.

mi	maka	aw	ndi=n	ma=u- p-op
3SG	thus	betel.nut	3PL=OBL	3SG=put-PRF-PRF

‘He had(?) planted the betel nut there.’ (T11)

Some of the examples above may reflect grammatical attrition; as verbal suffixes come to be used in increasingly interchangeable ways, they lose their aspectual force: perhaps such seemingly redundant (i.e., extra) perfective markers are used to show that the meaning intended is truly perfective. A good example to bolster this hypothesis is to be found in how the suppletive perfective form of the word ‘go’ *ma-* is used. The form *i* ‘go.PRF’ is intrinsically marked for

perfective aspect. Nevertheless, speakers on occasion add what seems to be a perfective suffix—that is, as if they were treating this form as unmarked for aspect and thus requiring a perfective suffix—as in the following:

(4.040) Li kikal wopa nda ango **mbiyap**.
 li-i kikal wopa anda ango mbī-i-**ap**
 down-go.PRF ear all that.SG NEG here-go.PRF-PRF
 ‘(She) went downstream, but that deaf one did not stay here.’ (T11)

(4.041) Ndī limndī ute **iyapen**.
 ndī limndī u=uta-e i-**ap**-en
 3PL eye 2SG=grind-DEP go.PRF-PRF-NMLZ
 ‘They were the ones who had gone and watched over you.’ (T10)

(4.042) Ngata ala **iwapapen**.
 ngata ala i-wap-**ap**-en
 grand that.PL go.PRF-be.PST-PRF-NMLZ
 ‘(Our) ancestors are the ones who had gone (there).’ (T11)

In the examples above, the first (4.040) reflects the perfective form *i* with an unnecessary additional perfective marker *-ap*. The second example (4.041), however, shows how *i*—with the perfective form *-ap*—can function in a double perfective construction. The third example (4.042), finally, shows how a double perfective construction can function when *i* ‘go’ is reanalyzed as lacking (intrinsic) TAM marking. This last example also illustrates the use of *wap* ‘be.PST’ as a perfective/past marker. I hypothesize that this is a recent innovation, one influenced by grammatical attrition in the face of competing influences from the dominant language, Tok Pisin (see Chapter 15).

4.11 The irrealis perfective

An interesting tug-of-war occurs when one must refer to a completed action in future time—something akin to what may be called the future perfect in some languages (e.g., English *we will have eaten*). The three designations in Ulwa’s basic three-way TAM system are not all mutually exclusive: that is, an event could, theoretically, be marked simultaneously for perfective aspect and for irrealis mood. In terms of aspect, an event may be perfective in that it is viewed as a completed whole, but in terms of mood, it may be treated as irrealis, assuming, for

example, that it has not yet taken place. Typically in Ulwa, all irrealis-mood verbs are treated the same—that is, there are no aspectual distinctions maintained among them (see 4.8 above). Thus, the following sentence could be translated variously into English, as shown below.

- (4.043) Nungol ndī **landa**.
 nungol ndī **la-nda**
 child 3PL eat-IRR
 (a) ‘The children will eat.’ (unspecified aspect)
 (b) ‘The children will be eating.’ (imperfective aspect)
 (c) ‘The children will have eaten.’ (perfective aspect))

In certain multiple-clause constructions, however, it may become necessary to designate the aspect of an irrealis event as being perfective. Namely, when one future event is contingent upon the completion of another, this yet-to-be-completed event can be marked with a perfective suffix. Thus, in these tug-of-war scenarios between aspect and mood, aspect wins. Such constructions are especially common in imperatives, as in the first example below.

- (4.044) Un **i** anul ndul amblawalin.
 un i an=ul ndī=ul ambla=wali-n
 2PL go.PRF 1PL.EXCL=with 3PL=with PL.REFL=hit-IMP
 ‘Go and fight with us with (against) them!’ (Literally, ‘having gone ... fight!’) (T02)

- (4.045) Anji wa **koytap** namndu nungol kot ...
 anji wa ko=ita-p namndu nungol ko=ti
 1PL.EXCL.POSS village INDF=build-PRF pig child INDF=take
 ‘Once (we) have built a village for ourselves and gotten a pig ...’

... ma mat malnda.
 ma ma=tī ma=lī-nda
 go 3SG=take 3SG=put-IRR
 ‘... (we) will go and put it there.’ (T11)

A verb in the first clause may be marked with the conditional suffix *-ta* (4.14). Especially when the subject of the first clause differs from that of the second, the inclusion of this suffix may be seen as necessary to convey the irrealis perfective sense of the protasis: in the sentence below, the conditional suffix on the first verb, *anmbi* ‘come out’, helps signal that the action of the following verb is contingent on the completion of the action described by this one.

(4.046) Ngun **anmbita** ...
 ngun an-mbī-i-ta
 2DU out-here-go.PRF-COND
 ‘Once you two have come ...’

... una **malamape** una lowon.
 unan ma=la-ama-p-e unan lo-wo-n
 1PL.INCL 3SG=IRR-eat-PRF-DEP 1PL.INCL IRR-sleep-IMP
 ‘... and we’ve eaten it, let’s sleep!’ (T36)

The above sentence, moreover, contains a very interesting verbal form: *lamap* ‘eat [IRR/PRF]’, the morphology of which is described below.

Sometimes, in the morphological tug-of-war between perfective aspect and irrealis mood there is a tie, at least in instances in which the verb form allows some indication of irrealis mood in addition to perfective marking. This applies to verbs that have circumfix-like irrealis forms beginning with *lo-* or *la-*, e.g., *wo-* ‘sleep’ and *ama-* ‘eat’ (4.4). In the following examples, the irrealis stem form of ‘eat’ (*la-*) is included along with the perfective suffix (and accompanying perfective verb stem, i.e., *amap*). Although—elsewhere—/*la-*/ is glossed as the (irrealis) stem of the verb (i.e., ‘eat’), in such irrealis perfective constructions as those detailed here it is glossed as ‘IRR’.

(4.047) **Ndīlamap** we un namndu atīna.
 ndī=**la-ama-p** we un namndu atī-na
 3PL= IRR-eat-PRF then 2PL pig hit-IRR
 ‘Once (we) have eaten them, then you will kill pigs!’ (T11)

(4.048) Mol **lamap** mana mat mananda.
 ma=ul **la-ama-p** mana ma=tī ma=na-nda
 3SG=with IRR-eat-PRF spear 3SG=take 3SG=give-IRR
 ‘Having eaten with him, (they) will give him the spear.’ (T11)

In the text that contains the previous sentence (4.048), there is actually another irrealis perfective construction that immediately follows (4.049); here it may be seen again that—as for most verbs—the irrealis perfective form of *ita-* ‘build’ is morphologically identical to the perfective form.

- (4.049) Mana **maytap** mat mananda.
 mana ma=**ita-p** ma=tĩ ma=na-nda
 spear 3SG=build-PRF 3SG=take 3SG=give-IRR
 ‘Having made the spear, (they) will give it to him.’ (T11)

Similarly, the form *lowop* ‘sleep [IRR/PRF]’ is capable of marking both perfective aspect and irrealis mood. The morphology of this irregular verb is described in 4.4. Additional examples of this verb form follow.

- (4.050) Wo ma **lowop** ma siwi anglalunda mane.
 wa ma **lo-wo-p** ma siwi angla-lo-nda ma-n-e
 village go IRR-sleep-PRF go grub.sp await-go-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘(He) was going to the village, and, having slept (there), was going to search for *siwi* grubs.’ (T33)

- (4.051) Maka **lowop** apa mot anda luke itana mane.
 ma=ka **lo-wo-p** apa mot anda luke ita-na ma-n-e
 3SG=at IRR-sleep-prf house awningthat.SG too build-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘Having slept there, I was going to build that house awning, too.’ (T37)

In the following example, the form *lowop* occurs with some borrowed grammar from Tok Pisin (*i no laik*, roughly, ‘should’).

- (4.052) Un i no laik anul mbĩ ka **lowop** mana?
 un i no laik an=ul mbĩ ka **lo-wo-p** ma-na
 2PL PRED NEG like 1PL.EXCL=with here thus IRR-sleep-PRF go-IRR
 ‘Why don’t you spend the night here with us and (then) go?’ (T11)

4.12 The inchoative imperfective

There is a special use of imperfective verb forms that may at first seem to run counter to its typically continuous aspectual force. Imperfective verbs may be used to signal that an action is *beginning* or *starting*. This may be referred to as inchoative (or inceptive) aspect. Indeed, there is nothing technically atelic about verbs denoting the commencement of an action: usually, the inchoative imperfective verb *does* maintain the sense of uncompleted action (i.e., it encodes that an action was started but interrupted or that an action has begun but has not yet reached its conclusion, both of which actions are ongoing). The following sentences illustrate the inchoative imperfective.

(4.053) Mawap imbape mī wolka **nawo**.

ma=wap imba-p-e mī wolka na-wo-Ø
3SG=be.PST night-be-DEP 3SG again DETR-sleep-IPFV
'(He) stayed the night there and again he fell asleep.' (T05)

(4.054) Tana kot ambīn wutī anmot ngalīp ...

tana ko=tī ambī=n wutī anmot nga=li-p
axe INDF=take SG.REFL=OBL leg post this.SG=put-PRF
'(He) cut his shin with an axe ...'

... anankīn ala li **mane**.

anankīn ala li ma-n-e
blood that.PL down go-IPFV-DEP
'... and blood began to run down.' (T07)

(4.055) Ndī kīkal ndīwana **ndīnawte** inim **naw**.

ndī kīkal ndī=wana ndī=na-uta-e inim na-aw
3PL ear 3PL=feel 3PL=DETR-grind-DEP water DETR-put-IPFV
'They heard them (their names) and started grinding them (coconuts) into water.' (T14)

(4.056) Mī **se** nī mala ndīwanawne.

mī sa-e nī ma=ala ndī=wana-uni-e
3SG cry-DEP 1SG 3SG=for 3PL=feel-shout-DEP
'When she started to cry, I called to them to get her.' (T27)

(4.057) We mokotip matī manane mī **mame**.

we ma=kot-p ma=tī ma=na-n-e mī ma=ama-e
sago 3SG=cut-PRF 3SG=take 3SG=give-PRF-DEP 3SG 3SG=eat-DEP
'(He) broke a piece of sago and gave it to him, and he began to eat it.' (T01)

A mild variation to ingressive aspect may be termed resumptive aspect. This aspect can also be encoded by imperfective verb forms (to signal that an action that had stopped has begun again), as in:

(4.058) Mī numbu **mole**.

mī numbu ma=lo-e
3SG garamut 3SG=cut-DEP
'He resumed making the *garamut* drum.' (T07)

4.13 The speculative suffix *-t*

As detailed above (4.8), the irrealis suffix can express a number of modalities, including various predictions (that a state or event *might* be or happen). There is, however, an additional verbal form *-t* ‘SPEC’ (perhaps etymologically related to *tap* ‘maybe’, see 8.4), which can convey a sense of epistemic possibility. It immediately follows the irrealis suffix on the verb so marked, as seen below.

(4.059) Nakanaka **nundate**.

na-kanaka	lu-nda- t -e
DETR-unwrap	put-IRR-SPEC-DEP

‘(It) might unwrap.’ (T11)

(4.060) Mi amun wa mbi ...

mī	amun	wa	mbī-i
3SG	now	village	here-go.PRF

‘He recently came here to the village ...’

... nan nīt mol **inat**.

na=n	nī=ta	ma=ul	i-na- t
talk=OBL	1SG=say	3SG=with	come-IRR-SPEC

‘... and told me that he might come with her.’ (T32)

These two examples above illustrate the sense of ‘might’ being conveyed by the speculative suffix *-t*, in both instances directly following an irrealis suffix. The second of the two examples, (4.060), further illustrates this use in indirect discourse. This must not, however, be taken to have evidential force—that is, the suffix is used because the reported speech is of someone who himself is speculating about whether or not he would come (not because the person reporting this information can only speculate as to whether or not the person would come). Indeed, the speaker who utters this sentence follows it with the following sentence, which does not include any speculative form.

(4.061) Inim ngol mol ina nīt.

inim	nga=ul	ma=ul	i-na	nī=ta
water	this.SG=with	3SG=with	come-IRR	1SG=say

‘(He) told me (he) would come with her this year.’ (T32)

(For more on indirect discourse, see 13.5.5.)

The speculative suffix can also be used in conjunction with the epistemic adverb *tap* ‘maybe’, which always comes earlier in the clause, as in:

- (4.062) Ngunanji yalum anda **tap** i wa **mbipinate**.
 ngunanji yalum anda **tap** i wa mbi-p-na-t-e
 1DU.INCL.POSS grandchild that.SG maybe go.PRF village here-be-IRR-SPEC-DEP
 ‘Our granddaughter might come and stay here in the village.’ (T11)

The sentence above also illustrates that this suffix may be followed by the dependent marker *-e*. More examples of the speculative suffix follow.

- (4.063) **Makinate**.
 ma=kī-na-t-e
 3SG=say-IRR-SPEC-DEP
 ‘(He) might tell him.’ (T27)

- (4.064) Una i ken malka **manate**.
 unan i ken ma=lī-ka ma-na-t-e
 1PL.INCL PRED can 3SG=put-let go-IRR-SPEC-DEP
 ‘We may go follow it (an accusation).’ (*i ken* < TP) (T32)

In the sentence above, the force of the suffix *-t*, is closer to English ‘may’ (indeed, it is used alongside a Tok Pisin loan phrase *i ken* ‘may’, often used in granting permission). In the sentence below, *-t* is used along with another Tok Pisin loan word (*nogut*, literally ‘bad’), here giving the sentence a speculative sense, although one with a negative flavor (as Tok Pisin *nogut* is often used somewhat like English ‘lest’).

- (4.065) Nogut mundu tī **unanandat**.
 nogut mundu tī unan=na-nda-t
 bad food take 1PL.INCL=give-IRR-SPEC
 ‘(It) might give us food.’ (T24)

The speculative suffix is in fact often used in negative irrealis clauses, typically following the negative marker *ango*, which tends to come early in the clause, as in the following:

- (4.066) **Ango** maka anma apombam **manate**.
ango maka an-ma apombam ma-na-t-e
 NEG thus out-go middle.of.house go-IRR-SPEC-DEP
 ‘(She) shouldn’t go into the middle of the house, going out like that.’ (T11)

- (4.067) **Ango** apa kon lusim **manat**.
ango apa ko=n lus-im ma-na-t
 NEG house INDF=OBL leave-TR go-IRR-SPEC
 ‘(They) were not going to leave out a single house(hold).’ (*lusim* < TP) (T24)
- (4.068) Una **ango** luwa **lundat**.
 unan **ango** luwa lo-nda-t
 1PL.INCL NEG place go-IRR-SPEC
 ‘We can’t go anywhere.’ (T24)
- (4.069) Ni **ango** mbuka wiya **inat**.
 nĩ **ango** mbĩ-u-ka u=iya i-na-t
 1SG NEG here-from-let 2SG=toward come-IRR-SPEC
 ‘I will not come to you quickly.’ (T26)
- (4.070) **Ango** nokoplĩndat.
ango nokop-lĩ-nda-t
 NEG hide-put-IRR-SPEC
 ‘(It) couldn’t hide (from us).’ (T32)
- (4.071) Mi **ango** un **apapinat**.
 mĩ **ango** un=n apa-p-na-t
 3SG NEG 2PL=OBL house-be-SPEC
 ‘It won’t last (long) in your house.’ (T32)
- (4.072) **Ango** in **malandate** unji ametamal.
ango i=n ma=la-nda-t-e unji ametamal
 NEG hand=OBL 3SG=eat-IRR-SPEC-DEP 2SG.POSS spoon
 ‘(You) may not eat it with (your) hand, but (must use) your spoon.’ (T11)
- (4.073) Ni **ango manat** nĩ mbĩ napĩna.
 nĩ ango ma-na-t nĩ mbĩ na-p-na
 1SG NEG go-IRR-SPEC 1SG here DETR-be-IRR
 ‘I won’t go; I’ll stay here.’ (T32)

The last examples above illustrate the contrast between negative irrealis clauses (here marked with speculative *-t*) and positive irrealis clauses (here—as usual when not needed for extra speculative force—not marked with *-t*). In the following sentence, there is also a contrast between a negative irrealis clause and a positive one—here, the negator *ango* is missing; the speculative suffix *-t* alone is conveying the negative force of the first clause.

(4.074) Apombam **manate** angani wat ando li mana.
 apombam ma-na-t-e angani wat anda=u li ma-na
 middle.of.house go-IRR-SPEC-DEP rear ladder that.SG=from down go-IRR
 ‘(She won’t) go to the middle of the house, but will go down the back ladder.’ (T11)

This suffix is also commonly used in negative commands, which may use the negative (or prohibitive) marker *wana(p)* ‘PROH’ (see 13.3.4 and 13.4.2 for examples).

Questions (which often contain words derived from the negative marker *ango*, 13.4) may also carry speculative force, employing the suffix *-t*, as in:

(4.075) A un angos **tinat**?!
 a un angos ti-na-t
 ah 2PL what take-IRR-SPEC
 ‘Ah, what will you get?!’ (T14)

This suffix can also be used as a device used for politeness, suggesting more tentativeness in the question being asked, as in the following:

(4.076) Unan angos **natanate**?
 unan angos na-ta-na-t-e
 1PL.INCL what DETR-say-IRR-SPEC-DEP
 ‘What could we talk about?’ (T32)

4.14 The conditional suffix *-ta*

Perhaps related etymologically to the speculative suffix *-t* (4.13), the conditional suffix *-ta* is used to mark the verb in the protasis of a conditional statement. The syntax of such sentences is addressed in 13.6; here, in this section, the morphology and basic uses of this suffix are addressed.

In the protases of conditional statements, the suffix *-ta* is affixed either to the stem of the verb (always including the vowel) or to the perfective form (that is, including the perfective suffix). In verbs that exhibit different stems in the irrealis, the conditional form is never built from the imperfective/perfective stem, but rather from this suppletive stem (cf. imperative verbs, 4.9). Thus, the verb *ama-* ‘eat’ has as its conditional form either *amapta* (from the fully inflected perfective form) or *lata* (from the irrealis stem), but never **amata* (from the imperfective/perfective stem). Often the two forms appear to be interchangeable, and it is

suspected that, for many speakers, an aspectual or modal distinction that perhaps once existed is now being lost. Still, at least in some circumstances, it may be the case that the perfective version of the conditional verb is required to show a sequence of events. In the following examples, the conditional suffix *-ta* is affixed to perfective verb forms.

(4.077) Sinda nji **wanapta** Womel landa.

Sinda	nji	wana-p- ta	Womel	la-nda
[name]	thing	cook-PRF-COND	[name]	eat-IRR

‘If Sinda cooks, Womel will eat.’

(4.078) Inim umbe **lopopta** nī mana.

inim	umbe	lopo-p- ta	nī	ma-na
water	tomorrow	rain-PRF-COND	1SG	go-IRR

‘If it rains tomorrow, I’ll leave.’

The example below illustrates the conditional suffix on the suppletive perfective stem *i* ‘go’.

(4.079) Mī **ita** nī nan makīna.

mī	i- ta	nī	na=n	ma=kī-na
3SG	go.PRF-COND	1SG	talk=OBL	3SG=say-IRR

‘If he comes, I’ll tell him.’ (T11)

The conditional suffix can also appear following the copular suffix (10.3). Generally, the form taken is that of the unmarked copular suffix */-p/* plus the conditional suffix */-ta/*, as seen in the following examples.

(4.080) Kuma lawa **mapta** landa.

kuma	alawa	ma= p-ta	la-nda
some	that.PL.INT	3SG=be-COND	eat-IRR

‘If some other people are there, (they) could eat (our food).’ (T28)

(4.089) Ambi **napta** we mī līmndī anala.

ambi	na- p-ta	we	mī	līmndī	an=ala
big	DETR-be-COND	then	3SG	eye	1PL.EXCL=for

‘Once (we) had gotten big, then she saw us.’ (T10)

Especially when needed to break up impossible consonant clusters, the copular suffix */-p/* may be realized phonetically as *[-pī]* when preceding the conditional suffix */-t/*, as in:

- (4.090) **Akumpīta** akumnī ndutana.
 akum-**p-ta** akum=ñī ndī=uta-na
 basket-be-COND basket=OBL 3PL=grind-IRR
 ‘If there is an *akum* basket, (they) scoop them with the *akum* basket.’ (T31)

It may also be possible for the conditional suffix to affix to the past form of the copular suffix, *-wap*, although this is not well attested in the Ulwa corpus of texts. An example follows.

- (4.091) **Mawapta** mī anmapīta ...
 ma=**wap-ta** mī anma-p-ta
 3SG=be.PST-COND 3SG good-be-COND
 ‘If (the sick person) has stayed there and has gotten well, ...’

... we ande ndī wolka mol nena.
 we ande ndī wolka ma=ul na-i-na
 then ok 3PL again 3SG=with DETR-come-IRR
 ‘... then OK, they would come back with him.’ (T24)

More examples of conditional sentences are provided in 13.6.

4.15 Derivational morphology: verbalization

Unlike nouns, which may be formed from other parts of speech through the addition of the derivational suffix *-en* (see 3.3), there is no single means of deriving verbs from other parts of speech. That said, it is possible for non-verbal words to serve as predicates. This is accomplished through the use of the set of copular suffixes: *-p* ‘be’ (unmarked), *-wap* ‘be.PST’, and *-pīna* ‘be.IRR’ (see 10.3).

4.16 Compound verbs

While most verbs are composed of simply a single free root (plus, potentially, bound morphology such as TAM suffixes, the detransitivizing prefix *na-*, and object-marker proclitics), some can be analyzed as compounds—that is, consisting of more than one free morpheme (i.e., multiple conjuncts). The final element of such compounds (excluding any suffixes) is always a verb stem. This may have preceding it as the first conjunct either a noun or another verb (or perhaps a postposition, although this may be analyzed otherwise, see below).

Often it is not clear whether such a combination of non-bound morphemes should best be analyzed as a compound. A noun preceding a verb, for example, could simply be the object of the verb. Only when this noun-plus-verb combination permits a direct object (or an object marker) can it clearly be said to be a compound. Similarly, two verb stems in succession may be separate words that are coordinated paratactically. A true compound verb consisting of two verbal elements, however, should permit only one object marker (that is, the object marker should affix to the beginning of the first conjunct in the compound). Often, series of postposition-plus-verb-stem seem very much like compound verbs, especially when considering their phonological tendency to coalesce and reduce. However, there are few if any morphosyntactic tests to prove that such forms are true compounds.

Compound verbs may contain nouns as their first conjuncts. Evidence that these forms are single (polymorphemic) lexical items comes from the fact that they permit both object markers (preceding the entire word) and TAM suffixes (following the entire word). Many such compounds contain the word *nambi* ‘body’ or *nambi* ‘skin’ as the first (nominal) element. The following are examples of noun-plus-verb verbal compounds.

(4.092) *Ndīn ndiya i iwan ndīnambīlumope.*

ndī=n ndī=iya i iwa=n ndī=**nambi-lumo**-p-e
 3PL=OBL 3PL=toward go.PRF basket=OBL 3PL=body-put-PRF-DEP
 ‘(Men) would go to them (women) with them (bamboo stalks), blocking them (fish) with fish trap baskets.’ (T31)

(4.093) **Manambiweyup** kuma ndīnap ndītī wa i.

ma=**nambi-we**-u-p kuma ndī=ina-p ndī=tī wa i
 3SG=skin-cut-put-PRF some 3PL=get-PRF 3PL=take village go.PRF
 ‘(She) peeled it, got some (greens), and brought them home.’ (T01)

(4.094) An kaw **mawutīnip.**

an kaw ma=**wutī-ni**-p
 1PL.EXCL song 3SG=leg-beat-PRF
 ‘We danced the song.’

(4.095) Nī tīn **manambītwana.**

nī tīn ma=**nambīt-wana**
 1SG dog 3SG=odor-feel
 ‘I smelled the dog.’

Note that, in the second example above, (4.093), the verb is analyzed as containing not only a nominal element, but also two verbal elements (more on this in 9.3.2, where ‘put’ verbs are discussed). The following are examples of compound verbs consisting of two verb roots. Only the second (final) element receives TAM marking.

(4.096) Ul wandam ma i ti u kikal **welunda**.
 u=ul wandam ma i ti u[nji] kikal **we-lo-nda**
 2SG=with jungle go hand take 2SG[.POSS] ear cut-cut-IRR
 ‘(They) will go to the jungle with you and box your ears with (their) hands.’ (T11)

(4.097) Ndī angos tina nakap **anwanakap**.
 ndī angos tī-na na-kī-p an=**wana-kī-p**
 3PL what get-IRR DETR-say-PRF 1PL.EXCL=feel-say-PRF
 ‘(When) they wanted to get something, (they) called us.’ (T14)

(4.098) **Amblawanawne** nay.
 ambla=**wana-uni-e** na-i
 PL.REFL=feel-shout-DEP DETR-go.PRF
 ‘Calling to each other, they went.’ (T01)

Compounds can be even more complex, containing whole postpositional phrases (that is, units composed of noun-plus-postposition). The first two examples below contain a rather prototypical noun *ina* ‘liver’; the second two, however, include as the object of the postposition in the compound verb a more (semantically) verb-like noun, *top* ‘throw’.

(4.099) Nī kenmbu **maynakawana**.
 nī kenmbu ma=**ina-ka-wana**
 1SG problem 3SG=liver-at-feel
 ‘I thought about the problem.’

(4.100) Nungolke ngala ango **ndinakawana**.
 nungolke ngala ango ndī=**ina-ka-wana**
 child this.PL NEG 3PL=liver-at-feel
 ‘But these children aren’t thinking about them.’ (T33)

(4.101) Nī **natopinka**.
 nī na-**top-in-ka**
 1SG DETR-throw-in-let
 ‘I’ve forgotten.’ (T32)

The verb *ka-* ‘let, leave, allow’ is discussed more fully in a section on separable verbs (9.3.3), along with discussion of other such compound verbs that may be composed of

discontinuous elements (see 9.3.1 for an introduction, and 9.3.2 for a summary of separable verbs of ‘putting’).

Some compounds may be composed of just postpositions and verbs. While there often seems to be a close connection (both semantic and phonological) between these two elements, it is difficult to prove that they indeed form compounds. Although they are glossed below as transitive compound verbs with direct objects, they could alternatively be analyzed as series of postpositional phrases (which contain objects of the postposition) and intransitive verbs (that have no object of their own). Therefore, it is ambiguous how the postposition and verb should be treated in the following example.

- (4.102) Atana mī ko **malakam**.
 atana mī ko ma=**ala-kamb**
 older.sister 3SG just 3SG=from-shun
 ‘The older sister disapproved of it.’ (T09)

In some instances, there are phonological clues that a sequence of postposition-plus-verb is actually a compound. Although it is possible for glide formation (i.e., $a + i > ay$, 2.6.1) and monophthongization (i.e., $ay > e$, 2.6.2) to occur across word boundaries, these processes are more likely to occur within phonological words, as in, perhaps, the following example.

- (4.103) Ndīn unji uta **menup**.
 ndī=n unji uta ma=**in-u-p**
 3PL=OBL 2SG.POSS shell 3SG=in-put-PRF
 ‘(They) put them in your dish.’ (T11)

The putative compound verb *watlo-* ‘clear (as land of rubbish, foliage, etc.)’, composed of the postposition *wat* ‘atop’ and a form of the verb *lo-* ‘cut’ may, at first, appear to be a better candidate of postposition-plus-verb verbal compound, since the verb *lo-* ‘cut’ is transitive; unfortunately, this same verb can also be used intransitively to mean ‘go’ (although, given the semantics of this verb, a derivation from this intransitive meaning seems less likely). The following examples illustrate *watlo-* ‘clear’, as it appears to function as a compound verb.

- (4.104) Ndī amun **nduwatlope**.
 ndī amun ndī=**wat-lo-p-e**
 3PL now 3PL=atop-cut-PRF-DEP
 ‘They have just now cleared them.’ (T11)

(4.105) Ni mape **ndiwatle**.
ni ma=p-e ndi=**wat-lo-e**
1SG 3SG=be-DEP 3PL=atop-cut-DEP
'I cleared them there.' (T32)

For the form and function of compound verbs containing locative adverbs, such as *mbi* 'here', see 8.3.2.

Chapter 5

Adjectives

5.1 Introduction

Compared to nouns and verbs, adjectives are much less frequent and somewhat harder to define on morphosyntactic grounds. The semantic prototype of the adjective is a word denoting a property. As such, adjectives often occur as modifiers within noun phrases or as predicate complements to noun phrases, being used to ascribe attributes to nouns. There is not much, however, that makes adjectives morphosyntactically distinct as a class. Indeed, the fundamental divide among grammatical categories in Ulwa falls between verbs and non-verbs. When viewed within this dichotomy, adjectives resemble nouns somewhat more than they resemble verbs. For example, adjectives may receive the copular suffix (and they never receive any of the three basic TAM suffixes found on verbs). Adjectives may even function as substantives (i.e., nominals), in which case they have the same distribution as prototypical nouns. (When adjectives function as nouns, they in effect become nouns, at least in terms of syntax). When adjectives function as predicates, likewise, their distribution and morphology are the same as the distribution and morphology of predicate nominatives.

5.2 Attributive adjectives

The distinctive behavior of adjectives is best seen in their distribution within noun phrases (that is, when they are functioning as attributive adjectives). When an adjective is neither functioning as a substantive nor serving as a predicate complement, it occurs within the limits of a noun phrase: here, inside the NP, adjectives occur after the noun (the head of the NP) and before the subject marker, object marker, or any other determiner that may be found in an NP. The following are examples of adjectives (in **bold**) as they appear in NPs, illustrating their postnominal position, preceding determiners.

- (5.001) Ankam **ambi** mī tīn **njukuta** masap.
 ankam **ambi** mī tīn **njukuta** ma=asa-p
 person big 3SG dog small 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘The big person hit the little dog.’
- (5.002) Ndīnji i **anma** mī ndul i.
 ndīnji i **anma** mī ndī=ul i
 3PL.POSS way good 3SG 3PL=with go.PRF
 ‘Their good behavior has gone with them.’ (T11)
- (5.003) Nī nīnji wandam **ambi** ndalop.
 nī nīnji wandam **ambi** anda=lo-p
 1SG 1SG.POSS jungle big that.SG=cut-PRF
 ‘I cleared that big garden of mine.’ (T37)
- (5.004) Nīmal **wapata** menpe apa ite mawap.
 nīmal **wapata** ma=in-p-e apa ita-e ma=wap
 river old 3SG=in-be-DEP house build-DEP 3SG=be.PST
 ‘(They) were building houses in the old river there.’ (T27)

5.3 Predicative adjectives

When adjectives function predicatively, they may receive copular morphology (10.3), although this is not obligatory (neither for adjectives nor for nouns). These predicative adjectives occur clause-finally (the position held prototypically by verbs), as seen below.

- (5.005) Mīnkīn ndī **wutota**.
 mīnkīn ndī **wutota**
 palm.sp 3PL tall
 ‘The *mīnkīn* palms are tall.’ (T11)
- (5.006) Nīnji wutī ambatīm ngala **tembipe**.
 nīnji wutī ambatīm ngala **tembi-p-e**
 1SG.POSS foot joint this.PL bad-be-DEP
 ‘My knees are bad.’ (T27)
- (5.007) Mī **anmapīna**.
 mī **anma-p-na**
 3SG good-be-IRR
 ‘It (sago starch) will be good.’ (T11)

5.4 Substantive adjectives

Adjectives may also function as substantives—that is, they may have the same formal properties as archetypical nouns. In such cases, these adjectives have the same distribution of nouns, as seen in the following examples, in which adjectives serve as the heads of NPs, which may themselves serve as subject (5.008), direct object (5.009), or object of a postposition (5.010) within a clause.

(5.008) **Ambi** mĩ ngunanu ndĩtĩna.
ambi mĩ ngunan=u ndĩ=tĩ-na
big 3SG 1DU.INCL=from 3PL=take-IRR
'The big man will get them from us.' (Literally, 'the big [one]') (T11)

(5.009) **Tembi** ndinap.
tembi ndĩ=ina-p
bad 3pl=get-PRF
'(I) got the bad ones (tobacco plants).' (T32)

(5.010) **Tembi** ngalol inde.
tembi ngala=ul inda-e
bad this.PL=with walk-DEP
'(They) walk around with these sick ones (children).' (T11)

5.5 Relationship to other word classes

One factor complicating the task of assigning words in Ulwa to the grammatical category of adjective is the fact that adjectives in NPs sometimes precede their head nouns (instead of following them). While some speakers consider this order to be ungrammatical (perhaps an influence from the word order of Tok Pisin, see Chapter 15), it nevertheless occurs in speech, thus making it difficult to rely on the distributional criterion that adjectives follow nouns. The following are examples of adjective-noun word order.

(5.011) **Waembil** ankam anda i.
waembil ankam anda i
white person that.SG go.PRF
'That white person came.' (T10)

(5.012) **Tembi** ankam ala imbape.
tembi ankam ala imba-p-e
 bad person that.PL nigh-be-DEP
 ‘Those bad people are around at night.’ (T27)

(5.013) **Tembi** nji ala ala ndit indana.
tembi nji ala ala ndi=ti inda-na
 bad thing that.PL that.PL 3PL=take walk-IRR
 ‘Those bad things—they will bring them (here).’ (T32)

(In the first example above, 5.011, the form *waembil ankam* ‘white person’ may be lexicalized, likely calqued from Tok Pisin *waitman* ‘white man, white person’.)

The morphosyntactic similarity between nouns and adjectives also makes it difficult at times to assign certain words to one class or another. For example, the word *kalam* can mean either ‘knowledge, wisdom’ or ‘knowledgeable, knowing, wise’, and it is difficult to define one of these meanings (i.e., grammatical class) as being the primary one. Whereas in the first example below, (5.014), this word carries a more noun-like meaning, in the second example, (5.015), it functions more like a substantive adjective (5.4).

(5.014) Ndawa ndinji **kalam** andol le.
 ndawa ndinji **kalam** anda=ul lo-e
 3PL.INT 3PL.POSS know that.SG=with go-DEP
 ‘They went around with their knowledge.’ (T11)

(5.015) Yena ambi anda u **kalam** anda.
 yena ambi anda u **kalam** anda
 woman big that.SG 2SG know that.SG
 ‘You’re a grown woman; you know well.’ (Literally, ‘[You] are that big woman; you are that knowledgeable [woman].’) (T27)

Complicating matters even further is the fact that *kalam* ‘knowledge, knowledgeable’ very often functions like a verb. While this is generally an unremarkable trait for nouns or adjectives (indeed, the form *kalam* even takes the copular suffix and not verbal TAM morphology), it is noteworthy that this putative noun/adjective seems able to take objects (a feature of verbs), as in the following examples.

(5.016) Mi **ukalampe**.
 mi u=**kalam**-p-e
 3SG 2SG=know-be-DEP
 ‘She knows you.’ (T27)

(5.017) Nĩ ango **ndĩkalam**.
 nĩ ango ndĩ=**kalam**
 1SG NEG 3PL=know
 ‘I don’t know about them.’ (T27)

(5.018) Na ndĩ anjikakape i **kalam-pĩna**.
 na ndĩ anjikaka-p-e i **kalam-p-na**
 and 3PL how-be-DEP way know-be-IRR
 ‘And how are they going to know (good) behavior?’ (*na* < TP) (T11)

(See 13.1.2 for the internal morphology of *anjikaka* ‘how?’)

Even rather prototypical adjectives, such as *tembi* ‘bad, sick, etc.’ can be employed nominally (i.e., to mean ‘badness, sickness, etc.’), as in:

(5.019) **Tembi** mĩ makape tĩlwa ndo unden.
tembi mĩ maka-p-e tĩlwa anda=u unda-en
 bad 3SG thus-be-DEP road that.SG=from go-NMLZ
 ‘The sickness is one that goes along this kind of road.’ (T33)

(5.020) **Tembi** nji ala un mat ...
tembi nji ala u=n u ma=tĩ
 bad thing that.PL 2SG=OBL from 3SG=take
 ‘Bad things will take her from you ...’

tembi tĩ mananda.
tembi tĩ ma=na-nda
 bad take 3SG=give-IRR
 ‘... and give her sickness.’ (T27)

In the second example above, the same word *tembi* ‘bad/badness’ functions both as adjective and as noun (note the non-canonical order of noun and adjective in the first NP). The sense of ‘sick’ (i.e., an adjective) is illustrated by the following sentence; here the word functions as a predicate adjective, receiving the copular suffix.

(5.021) U **tembipĩta**.
 u **tembi-p-ta**
 2SG bad-be-COND
 ‘You may be sick (someday).’ (T11)

Another notable fact about the grammatical class of adjectives is its rather small size. Taking the definition (based both on semantics and on syntactic distribution) that adjectives are words that denote properties and can occur within NPs after nouns and before determiners, then

the class of adjectives is quite small, and is, perhaps, in fact closed. The following list contains the best exemplars of this class of adjectives. They almost all refer to physical properties.

<i>anma</i>	‘good’
<i>tembi</i>	‘bad’
<i>ambi</i>	‘big’
<i>njukuta</i>	‘small’
<i>nīpat</i>	‘giant’
<i>ilum</i>	‘little’
<i>wapata</i>	‘old, dry’
<i>akinaka</i>	‘new, young’
<i>wananum</i>	‘hot’
<i>mīnoma</i>	‘cold’
<i>namli</i>	‘soft’
<i>nīpokonam</i>	‘hard’ (i.e., not soft)
<i>kenmbu</i>	‘heavy’
<i>wiwila</i>	‘light’ (i.e., not heavy)
<i>wutota</i>	‘tall, long’
<i>mundotoma</i>	‘short’
<i>nu</i>	‘near’
<i>ngaya</i>	‘far’
<i>mbunmana</i>	‘black’
<i>waembil</i>	‘white’
<i>andil</i>	‘careful, slow, quiet’
<i>yangle</i>	‘strong’
<i>yangimot</i>	‘tasty, sweet’
<i>mīnwata</i>	‘wet, ripe, rotten’
<i>maw</i>	‘correct’
<i>monop</i>	‘full, sated’
<i>ngusuwa</i>	‘poor, pitiful’
<i>wopa</i>	‘whole’

This list may even be close to representing a complete list of true adjectives, at least those most commonly used in discourse. To denote most other properties that could be ascribed to nominals, Ulwa makes use of other grammatical means, such as postpositional phrases or verb phrases. For example, the notion ‘fast’ is often expressed with a (metaphorical) postpositional phrase *apīn wat* (literally, ‘on fire’), as in:

- (5.022) Tīn **apīn wat** mī imbamka.
 tīn **apīn** **wat** mī imbam-ka
 dog fire atop 3SG run-let
 ‘The fast dog ran.’

The notion ‘happy’ is expressed with the compound verb *wana-ni-* ‘feel-act’ along with the adjective *anma* ‘good’, as in:

- (5.023) **Anma wanane** mol lope.
anma **wana-ni-e** ma=ul lo-p-e
 good feel-act-DEP 3SG=with go-PRF-DEP
 ‘(They) were happy and went with him.’ (T30)

It is also not uncommon to use Tok Pisin loan words, as in the following example, which contains Tok Pisin *amamas* ‘happy’ to denote the same attribute as in the example above.

- (5.024) Ndi wa **amamaspe** mol lopen.
 ndi wa **amamas-p-e** ma=ul lo-p-en
 3PL just happy-be-DEP 3SG=with go-PRF-NMLZ
 ‘They were just happy and went with him.’ (T30)

One final feature of adjectives to be discussed here is their ability to function as adverbs when placed immediately before the verb in the clause. This results in the direct object being demoted to an oblique, as in the following sentence.

- (5.025) Inim u kwa **man** anma lan!
 inim u kwa **ma=n** anma la-n
 water 2SG just 3SG=OBL good eat-IMP
 ‘Water—just drink it well!’ (T11)

For more on this phenomenon and additional examples, see the sections on adverbs (8.3), the oblique marker =*n* (11.5.1), and valency-changing operations (13.9.8).

Chapter 6

Pronouns

6.1 Introduction

The major (open) word classes have been described in Chapters 3 through 5. This chapter discusses the various types of pronouns in Ulwa and their morphology and functions.

In the category of Ulwa pronouns are included personal pronouns (6.2), possessive pronouns (6.3), reflexive and reciprocal pronouns (6.4), indefinite pronouns (6.5), interrogative pronouns (6.6), various types of intensive pronouns (6.7), and what are here referred to as affective pronouns (6.8). (Demonstrative words, which may also function pronominally, are treated in 7.3.) Defined in terms of discourse function, these subcategories all consist of words that refer to something that is either identified elsewhere in the discourse or thought to be identifiable from either context or shared knowledge of speech participants. The referents of these pronominal forms are semantically nouns. Additionally, there are distributional similarities that exist among these subgroups of pronouns (for example, their members can all serve as the head of an NP), as well as shared structural features (for example, these forms do not permit TAM suffixation).

6.2 Personal pronouns

The paradigm for Ulwa personal pronouns consists of three persons—first, second, and third (with an inclusive/exclusive distinction among first person non-singular forms)—and three numbers—singular, dual, and plural. The dual forms denote exactly two referents, whereas plural number implies more than two (but can, at least for some speakers, be used to refer to exactly two referents as well, 9.2.2). The singular form, as to be expected, is used when the referent is exactly one. The forms of the personal pronouns in Ulwa are shown in Table 6.1 (on the following page).

	singular	dual	plural
1 st person exclusive	nĩ ‘I’	ngan ‘we two [EXCL]’	an ‘we [PL.EXCL]’
1 st person inclusive		ngunan ‘we two [INCL]’	unan ‘we [PL.INCL]’
2 nd person	u ‘you [SG]’	ngun ‘you two’	un ‘you [PL]’
3 rd person	mĩ ‘he/she/it’	min (or ndin?) ‘they two’	ndĩ ‘they [PL]’

Table 6.1 Personal pronouns

All (and only the) non-singular speech-act personal pronouns end in the formative /n/. The second person is marked by the vowel /u/, which occurs in each number. The presence of this vowel is also felt in the first person, non-singular inclusive forms; this has a certain logic to it, since these forms include the addressee(s) as a referent. The vowel /a/ is found in all first person forms, except the first singular. Dual forms are marked by initial /ng/, present in all dual pronouns except the third person. In fact, all dual forms (except the third person) can be analyzed as consisting of the plural equivalent of these pronouns plus word-initial /ng/. The third person dual pronoun *min* does indeed stand out as being unusual in form. (There is also an alternate form *ndin*, on which see below.) The only polysyllabic personal pronouns (the dual and plural first person inclusive forms) are each clearly derived from the combination of two other pronouns, namely a second person form (plural or dual) and a plural exclusive first person form—i.e., *unan* < *un* 2PL + *an* 1PL.EXCL and *ngunan* 1DU.INCL < *ngun* 2DU + *an* 1PL.EXCL. (If /ng/ is treated as a dual formative, /n/ as a non-singular speech-act participant formative, and /a/ as an indicator of the first person, then these two pronouns could be further analyzed as *u-n-a-n* 2-PL-1-PL and *ng-u-n-a-n* DU-2-PL-1-PL, respectively.) These two exclusive pronouns are perhaps younger forms, possibly calqued from one of the nearby Yuat languages, which contrast inclusive and exclusive first person forms. Indeed, Foley (2018:227) proposes that an inclusive/exclusive pronominal distinction is an areal feature (found, for example, in both the Yuat family and the Grass subfamily of the Ramu family).

The potential alternate 3DU form *ndin* is attested only a few sentences in the corpus, one of which follows.

- (6.001) Kambok inom ngusuwa **ndin** asika ndule.
 Kambok inom ngusuwa **ndin** asi-ka ndĩ=ula-e
 Kambuku mother poor 3DU sit-let 3PL=weave-DEP
 ‘Two poor women from Kambuku (village) used to sit and weave them.’ (T11)

The above form may, however, be an elided version of *andin* ‘that.DU’. Nevertheless, speakers attest that *ndin*, spoken as is, is acceptable for ‘the two [people, things, etc.]’. The example below is less likely to be an elided form, since the preceding /i/ vowel should not condition the elision of the initial /a/ in *andin*.

(6.002) *wik wopa kwa nda nini ndintina*
 wik wopa kwa anda nini **ndin**=ti-na
 week all one that.SG two 3DU=take-IRR
 ‘for all of one week, or two’ (*wik* < TP) (T20)

Alternatively, the form *ndin* may simply be an allomorph of the distal dual demonstrative *andin*, not necessarily conditioned phonologically (cf. the abridged form *nda* ‘that.PL’, 7.3), and not necessarily carrying spatial deictic meaning (7.3).

It is possible that *min* and *ndin* derive from 3SG and 3PL forms (respectively), perhaps each blending with *nini* ‘two’ (i.e., *min* < **mī-nini* ‘3SG-two’ and *ndin* < **ndī-nini* ‘3PL-two’). This is of course speculative, but still rather plausible, especially considering the crosslinguistically common derivation of dual forms from the numeral ‘two’.

Each of the forms in Table 6.1 above may serve as the subject of either an intransitive or transitive clause. Objects, however, are indicated by a paradigm of clitics that precede a verb, postposition, or oblique marker. They are almost identical to their subject-form equivalents; the only difference occurs in the third person singular form, which is *mī* as a subject, but *ma*= as an object or object marker. This can all be seen in Table 6.2 below.

	singular	dual	plural
1 st person exclusive	nī= ‘me’	ngan= ‘us two [EXCL]’	an= ‘us [PL.EXCL]’
1 st person inclusive		ngunan= ‘us two [INCL]’	unan= ‘us [PL.INCL]’
2 nd person	u= ‘you [SG]’	ngun= ‘you two’	un= ‘you [PL]’
3 rd person	ma= ‘him/her/it’	min= ‘them two’	ndī= ‘them [PL]’

Table 6.2 Pronominal object markers

Further information on object markers (and non-subject pronominal forms) is found in 7.4.

In casual speech, the dual and plural first person inclusive pronouns may be pronounced without the final /-n/, i.e., [nguna] and [una] for /ngunan/ and /unan/, respectively.

6.3 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronominal forms are all clearly derived from the corresponding personal pronominal forms plus the word *nji* ‘thing’. More precisely—the possessive pronouns correspond to the paradigm of objective personal pronominal forms, since the third person singular possessive form is *manji*, rather than **minji* (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2 above for the subject and object personal pronominal paradigms). These possessive forms do not necessarily function as subjects or objects themselves, but rather typically occur within NPs headed by another nominal form. Thus, in some ways, the so-called possessive pronouns function as nominal modifiers (i.e., adjectives)—but, it must be noted that, unlike prototypical adjectives in Ulwa, possessive pronominal forms precede, rather than follow, the noun. As with all pronominal forms, there is no gender distinction, whether in the third person or elsewhere.

Table 6.3 provides the forms of the possessive pronouns in Ulwa.

	singular	dual	plural
1 st person exclusive	nĩnji ‘my’	nganji ‘our [DU.EXCL]’	anji ‘our [PL.EXCL]’
1 st person inclusive		ngunanji ‘our [DU.INCL]’	unanji ‘our [PL.INCL]’
2 nd person	unji ‘your [SG]’	ngunji ‘your [DU]’	unji ‘your [PL]’
3 rd person	manji ‘his/her/its’	minji ‘their [DU]’	ndĩnji ‘their [PL]’
reflexive	ambĩnji ‘my own, your [SG] own, his own, her own, its own’	ambinji ‘our [DU.INCL/EXCL] own, your [DU] own, their [DU] own’	amblanji ‘our [PL.INCL/EXCL] own, your [PL] own, their [PL] own’

Table 6.3 Possessive pronouns

All of the above forms are transparently decomposable. There is only one (very minor) phonological change, which affects the dual and non-third person plural forms (as well as the dual reflexive form). This is the shortening (a quasi-degemination) of the sequence nasal-plus-prenasalization. Thus, the possessive first person plural exclusive form has the underlying form /annji/, but is realized as [anji]. Similarly, second person plural /unnji/ is realized as [unji], making it homophonous with the second person singular possessive form /unji/.

Possessive pronouns do not index anything about the possessum. That is, although the possessive pronoun encodes the person and number of the possessor, it offers no information

about the person or number (or gender) of that which is possessed. Also, no distinction is made in Ulwa between alienable and inalienable possession.

The role of different possessive forms to limit the meaning of NPs is illustrated in the following sentences.

(6.003) **Ninji** anapa mī atalap.

ninji	anapa	mī	atal-a-p
1SG.POSS	sister	3SG	anus-break-PRF

‘My sister laughed.’

(6.004) **Unji** aweta mī anma.

unji	aweta	mī	anma
3SG.POSS	friend	3SG	good

‘Your friend is nice.’

(6.005) **Manji** wonmi ndī namlip.

manji	wonmi	ndī	namli-p
3SG.POSS	hair	3PL	soft-be

‘Her hair is soft.’

(6.006) Ndī limndī **ndinji** aweta mala.

ndī	limndī	ndinji	aweta	ma=ala
3PL	eye	3PL.POSS	friend	3SG=for

‘They saw their friend.’

Third person possessive forms (such as the one in the following example) can have ambiguous reference, pointing either (reflexively) to an antecedent in the clause or to a third party not necessarily mentioned in the clause.

(6.007) Ginam_i mī inim mo **manji**_{i/j} aweta ...

Ginam _i	mī	inim	ma=u	manji _{i/j}	aweta
[name]	3SG	water	3SG=from	3SG.POSS	friend

... ndīt atalp.

ndī=tī	ata-lī-p
3PL=take	up-put-PRF

‘Ginam pulled her friends out of the water.’

That is, *manji* ‘3SG.POSS’ in the sentence above can refer either to Ginam’s friends or to someone else’s, say, Yawat’s. To clarify that the pronoun refers to Ginam, a different form may

instead be used, composed of the reflexive pronoun of the appropriate number (6.4) and *nji* ‘thing’, giving the meaning ‘X’s own’, as in the following example.

(6.008) Ginam_i mī inim ma=u aweta ...
 Ginam_i mī inim ma=u aweta
 [name] 3SG water 3SG=from SG.REFL.POSS friend

... ndīt atalp.
 ndī=tī ata-lī-p
 3PL=take up-put-PRF
 ‘Ginam pulled her own friends out of the water.’

These forms are similar in function to certain pronouns found in some other languages, such as the Latin possessive reflexive pronoun *suus*. In addition to their use in clarifying third person antecedents, however, the Ulwa forms may also be used with first or second person reference in order to convey the sense ‘my own’, ‘our own’, ‘your own’, etc., as in:

(6.009) Nī limndī **ambinji** aweta mala.
 nī limndī **ambinji** aweta ma=ala
 1SG eye SG.REFL.POSS friend 3SG=for
 ‘I saw my own friend.’

(6.010) Min limndī **ambinji** aweta mala.
 min limndī **ambinji** aweta ma=ala
 3DU eye DU.REFL.POSS friend 3SG=for
 ‘The two of them saw their own friend.’

(6.011) Un limndī **amblanji** aweta ndala.
 un limndī **amblanji** aweta ndī=ala
 2PL eye PL.REFL.POSS friend 3SG=for
 ‘You saw your own friends.’

These reflexive possessive forms are not marked for number (or gender, of course); they are only marked for number. They are included in Table 6.3 above.

Alternatively, possession can be marked with shorter pronominal forms that lack the *nji* ‘thing’ morpheme, as in the following examples. In such instances, the abbreviated possessive forms match identically the set of object-marker pronominal forms (shown in Table 6.2).

- (6.012) **Ma** yawa mī i makalilipe.
ma[nji] yawa mī i ma=kali-lī-p-e
 3SG[.POSS] uncle 3SG go.PRF 3SG=send-put-PRF-DEP
 ‘Her uncle went and sent her.’ (T11)
- (6.013) Mī **ma** inim ame.
 mī **ma[nji]** inim ama-e
 3SG 3SG[.POSS] water eat-DEP
 ‘He was drinking its nectar.’ (T01)
- (6.014) May limndī **ndī** we imbin ndutap.
 ma=i limndī **ndī[nji]** we imbin ndī=uta-p
 3SG=go.PRF eye 3SG[.POSS] sago water.refuse 3PL=grind-PRF
 ‘(I) went and saw their sago water refuse.’ (i.e., the water run-off from strained sago;
 literally, ‘eye-ground’ for ‘saw’) (T32)
- (6.015) **Ndī** ini nda.
ndī[nji] ini anda
 3PL[.POSS] ground that.SG
 ‘That’s their land.’ (T27)
- (6.016) I limndī **min** luwa ala.
 i limndī **min[ji]** luwa ala
 go.PRF eye 3DU[.POSS] place for
 ‘(He) went and saw their place.’ (T01)

It may here be noted that possessive forms need not necessarily precede (i.e., combine with) nouns. Although they cannot precede verbs (without the verbs having been nominalized), they can precede adjectives—this happens, however, when the adjective is functioning substantively (i.e., nominally) (5.4), as shown below.

- (6.017) **Manji** anma ndī apa map.
manji anma ndī apa ma=p
 3SG.POSS good 3PL house 3SG=be
 ‘His good ones (daughters) are in the house.’
- (6.018) **Ninji** njukuta mī wandam i.
ninji njukuta mī wandam i
 1SG.POSS small 3SG jungle go.PRF
 ‘My small one (dog) went into the jungle.’

Finally, the possessive forms can be used substantively with an implied noun, as seen the following examples.

(6.019) Unji apa mĩ njukutap **nĩnji** mĩ ambip.
 unji apa mĩ njukuta-p **nĩnji** mĩ ambi-p
 2SG.POSS house 3SG small-be 1SG.POSS 3SG big-be
 ‘Your house is small; mine is big.’

(6.020) Kayta manji tĩn mĩ **nĩnji** asap.
 Kayta manji tĩn mĩ **nĩnji** asa-p
 [name] 3SG.POSS dog 3SG 1SG.POSS hit-PRF
 ‘Kayta’s dog attacked mine.’

Substantive possessive forms (otherwise more akin to determiners) are thus in some ways rather similar to English possessive pronouns and can, accordingly be translated as ‘mine’, ‘ours’, ‘yours’, ‘hers’, etc.

6.4 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

A reflexive pronoun generally has as an antecedent a form occurring (or implied) earlier in the same clause that has the same referent (i.e., the two words are co-indexed for reference). Reflexive pronouns are inflected for number, but not for person or gender. As these forms function as objects, they typically cliticize to a following verb or postposition. The Ulwa reflexive pronouns are as follows:

<i>ambi</i>	SG.REFL	‘myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself’
<i>ambin</i>	DU.REFL	‘ourselves [DU.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [DU], themselves [DU]’
<i>ambla</i>	PL.REFL	‘ourselves [PL.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL]’

Thus, these pronouns are similar to English ‘-self/-selves’, in that there is no distinction made among them for person—whether first, second, or third—but they are distinguished for number. These three forms are based on the same root, *amb(i)-*. The following examples illustrate the use of reflexive pronouns.

(6.021) Tambana mĩ **ambuwalinda**.
 Tambana mĩ **ambi**=wali-nda
 [name] 3SG SG.REFL=hit-IRR
 ‘Tambana will hit herself.’

- (6.022) Mi **ambit** nimal ndilp.
 mī **ambī=ṭī** nīmal ndī=lī-p
 3SG SG.REFL=take river 3PL=put-PRF
 ‘It has put itself in the rivers.’ (T11)
- (6.023) Nī **ambinakap** mol une.
 nī ambī=nakap ma=ul uni-e
 1SG SG.REFL=for 3SG=with shout-DEP
 ‘I was yelling at her on my own behalf.’ (T27)
- (6.024) Ngun **ambinkalamp**.
 ngun **ambin=kalam-p**
 2DU DU.REFL=know-be
 ‘You two know yourselves.’
- (6.025) Nungol ndī **amblat** nay.
 nungol ndī **ambla=ṭī** na-i
 child 3PL PL.REFL DETR-go.PRF
 ‘The children brought themselves (to go along).’ (T11)
- (6.026) Una **amblakolp**.
 unan ambla=kol-p
 1PL.INCL PL.REFL=break-PRF
 ‘We have broken ourselves.’ (T32)
- (6.027) Ay ndīnkap ndīn **amblan** up.
 ay ndī=nkī-p ndī=n **ambla=n** u-p
 sago 3PL=cut-PRF 3PL=OBL PL.REFL=OBL put-PRF
 ‘(They) made (packets of) sago and left them for themselves.’ (T11)

There are indications that the binding domain for anaphors (i.e., reflexive pronouns) in Ulwa may be something greater than the clause—that is, unlike in English, it is possible for the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun in Ulwa to be located in a so-called higher clause. All known examples of this occur when the matrix clause (containing the antecedent) introduces the embedded clause (containing the reflexive pronoun) by means of a verb of speaking (or thinking). Thus, Ulwa may be said to exhibit logophoricity, since these logophoric reflexives must be bound by an antecedent whose speech (or thought) is being reported. This is illustrated in the following examples.

(6.028) Wangasa_i Wore ngala ini ti **ambi_inanda** nate.
 Wangasa_i Wore ngala ini ti **ambi_i=na-nda** na-ta-e
 [name] [place] this.PL ground take SG.REFL=give-IRR DETR-say-DEP
 ‘Wangasa says that these Wore (people) will give him land.’ (Literally, ‘... will give himself land’) (T11)

(6.029) **Ambiwalinda ambul** undate nakap.
ambi_i=wali-nda **ambi_i=ul** unda-t-e na-ki-p
 SG.REFL=hit-IRR SG.REFL=with go-SPEC-DEP DETR-say-PRF
 ‘(He) thought that (the crocodile) might go around with him to kill him.’ (T30)

The following example illustrates this long-distance (or logophoric) anaphoric reference with a reflexive pronominal modifier (here elided, without the form *nji* ‘thing’) (6.3).

(6.030) Kwa mī man **ambi_i** aweta kap.
 kwa mī ma=n **ambi_i[nji]** aweta ki-p
 one 3SG 3SG=OBL SG.REFL[.POSS] friend say-PRF
 ‘Someone said that it was his friend.’ (T16)

Also to be mentioned here is an interesting idiomatic use of the reflexive pronominal object marker *ambla* ‘PL.REFL’. When used with the verb *asa-* or *wali-* ‘hit, kill’, this marker does not necessarily have a reflexive (or reciprocal) sense, but rather gives the entire verb the (intransitive) meaning ‘fight’ (as in combat between two groups). The object of fighting (the enemy) can be marked in a postpositional phrase with the postposition *ul* ‘with’. This can cause ambiguity not unlike what often occurs in English, since this same postpositional phrase can mark either enemies or allies (cf., e.g., ‘The English fought with the French.’). The following sentences exemplify this use of the verb *asa-* or *wali-* ‘hit, kill’ with the reflexive pronominal object marker *ambla*= ‘PL.REFL’.

(6.031) Ndiya lop ndiya wa lop ndul **amblasap**.
 ndi_i=iya lo-p ndi_i=iya wa lo-p ndi_i=ul **ambla=asa-p**
 3PL=toward go-PRF 3PL=toward village go-PRF 3PL=with PL.REFL=hit-PRF
 ‘(They) went to them, went to them in the village, and fought with them (as enemies).’
 (T29)

(6.032) Unan ndiya ma ndul **amblawalinda!**
 unan ndi_i=iya ma ndi_i=ul **ambla=wali-nda**
 1PL.INCL 3PL=toward go 3PL=with PL.REFL=hit-IRR
 ‘Let’s go to them and fight with them (as allies)!’ (T02)

- (6.033) Ndul ndul **amblasap**.
 ndĩ=ul ndĩ=ul **ambla**=asa-p
 3PL=with 3PL=with PL.REFL=hit-PRF
 ‘With them (our allies) we fought with them (our enemies).’ (T02)

The dual and plural reflexive pronouns may, alternatively, convey a reciprocal sense (i.e., ‘each other’, ‘one another’). There may thus arise ambiguity in meaning, typically clarified through pragmatics or through context. For example, sentence (6.024) above (*ngun ambinkalamp*) could be interpreted either as having reflexive or as having reciprocal sense (i.e., either ‘you two know each other’ *or* ‘you two know yourselves’). Further examples follow.

- (6.034) Kolpe Womel min **ambinasap**.
 Kolpe Womel min **ambin**=asa-p
 [name] [name] 3DU DU.REFL=hit-PRF
 ‘Kolpe and Womel fought each other.’

- (6.035) Nguna **ambinlu** ndītana.
 ngunan **ambin**=lu ndĩ=ta-na
 1DU.INCL DU.REFL=with 3PL=say-IRR
 ‘We will tell them (stories) with each other.’ (T28)

- (6.036) Ngan manap **ambinlu** une i.
 ngan ma=nap **ambin**=lu uni-e i
 1DU.EXCL 3SG=for DU.REFL=with shout-DEP go.PRF
 ‘We argued with each other over her.’ (T27)

- (6.037) Wopa **amblol** malanda mane.
 wopa **ambla**=ul ma=la-nda ma-n-e
 all PL.REFL=with 3SG=eat-irr go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘All are going to eat it with one another.’ (T11)

- (6.038) Mundu ndata ndĩ na **amblakap**:
 mundu ndĩ=at-ta ndĩ na **ambla**=kĩ-p
 food 3PL=hit-COND 3PL talk PL.REFL=say-PRF
 ‘And when (they) got hungry, they said to one another other.’ (T14)

- (6.039) An ambi nape an lĩmndĩ **amblala**.
 an ambi na-p-e an lĩmndĩ **ambla**=ala
 1PL.EXCL big DETR-be-DEP 1PL.EXCL eye PL.REFL=for
 ‘When we had gotten big, we looked at one another.’ (T10)

Sometimes a personal pronoun occurs where a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun may otherwise be expected. It is unclear whether this is a permissible variation in pronoun use or an

indication of grammatical attrition. It is common with the postposition/verb *ala* ‘for, from’, when it is being used in expressions of ‘seeing’, as in the following:

(6.040) An *limndi anala*.

an	limndi	an =ala
1PL.EXCL	eye	1PL.EXCL=for

‘We saw ourselves.’ (T10)

(6.041) *Olsem ni limndi nala*.

olsem	ni	limndi	ni =ala
thus	1SG	eye	1SG=for

‘I see myself like this.’ (i.e., ‘I view myself as a person from Manu’; *olsem* < TP) (T04)

6.5 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite referents can be denoted by the numeral/interrogative word *kwa* ‘one, who’ when the referent is a human or by the phrase *nji kwa* ‘one thing’ when the referent is non-human, as seen below.

(6.042) **Kwa** *nip*.

kwa	ni-p
one	die-PRF

(a) ‘Someone died.’
(b) ‘Who died?’

(6.043) *Ni kwa asap*.

<i>Ni</i>	kwa	asa-p
1SG	one	hit-PRF

‘I killed someone.’

(6.044) **Nji kwa** *liyu*.

nji	kwa	li-u
thing	one	fall-PRF

‘Something fell.’

(6.045) *Ni limndi nji kwa ala*.

<i>ni</i>	limndi	nji	kwa	ala
1SG	eye	thing	one	for

‘I saw something.’

The first sentence above—given the right intonation—could alternatively be a question (as glossed in 6.042b), since *kwa* is also an interrogative pronoun meaning ‘who?’ (6.6).

Dual and plural forms do not tend to be used for indefinite pronominal referents—at least not on their own. For non-singular indefinite referents, however, the word *kuma* ‘some’ may follow an NP, whether human or non-human, as in the following examples. (Subject markers may also follow *kwa* ‘someone’, but this is less common. In this way, *kwa* seems to pattern with what are more likely true pronouns, whereas *kuma* seems to pattern more with adjectives.)

(6.046) Ankam **kuma** mbin.
 ankam **kuma** mbĩ-i-n
 person some here-come-PRF
 ‘Some people came.’

(6.047) Ya **kuma** liyu.
 ya **kuma** li-u
 coconut some fall-PRF
 ‘Some coconuts fell.’

It is possible for subject markers (7.2) to follow *kuma* ‘some’, as in:

(6.048) Ya **kuma ndĩ** liyu.
 ya **kuma** **ndĩ** li-u
 coconut some 3PL fall-PRF
 ‘Some coconuts fell.’

It should be noted as well that object markers (7.4) can follow object NPs ending in *kuma* ‘some’, as in:

(6.049) Nĩ limndĩ ankam **kuma ndala**.
 nĩ limndĩ ankam **kuma** **ndĩ=ala**
 1SG eye person some 3PL=for
 ‘I saw some people.’

(6.050) Nĩ ya **kuma ndamap**.
 nĩ ya **kuma** **ndĩ=ama-p**
 1SG coconut some 3PL=eat-PRF
 ‘I ate some coconuts.’

The interrogative form *angos* ‘what?’ can also be used (in negative-polarity sentences) to mean something along the lines of ‘whatever, whatsoever, anything’, as in the following:

(6.051) Ango **angos** na iye.
 ango **angos** na i-e
 NEG what talk go.PRF-DEP
 ‘(They) came to no thought whatsoever.’ (i.e., they came without any particular purpose) (T02)

(6.052) Una ango **angos** wombīn ninda.
 unan ango **angos** wombīn=n ni-nda
 1PL.INCL NEG what work=OBL act-IRR
 ‘We will not do (just) whatever (sort of) work.’ (T25)

(6.053) Ango **angos** na ndīt.
 ango **angos** na ndī=ta
 NEG what talk 3PL=say
 ‘(She) didn’t say anything to them.’ (T11)

(6.054) Nī ango **angos** ame.
 nī ango **angos** ama-e
 1SG NEG what eat-DEP
 ‘I’m not eating anything.’ (T27)

When combined with *nji* ‘thing’, *angos* ‘what?’ can convey the sense ‘whatever’ in positive-polarity sentences, as in:

(6.055) **Angos nji** inata una limndī mandī ande.
angos **nji** i-na-ta unan limndī ma=andī ande
 what thing come-IRR-COND 1PL.INCL eye 3SG=for ok
 ‘Whatever may come, we would see it (and say:) “OK”.’ (T32)

6.6 Interrogative pronouns

The indefinite pronouns *kwa* ‘one, someone’ and *kuma* ‘some’ (6.5) are the same forms used in asking content questions in Ulwa. The pronoun *kwa* ‘one, someone’ also means ‘who?’ (for a singular [human] referent), and the pronoun *kuma* ‘some’ also means ‘who?’ (for multiple [human] referents). For non-human referents, the question word *angos* ‘what?’ is used. For all interrogative pronouns, subject markers (or object markers) are optional, as shown in the following examples.

- (6.056) **Kwa** (mī) lamndu ndasap?
kwa (mī) lamndu ndī=asa-p
 one (3SG) pig 3PL=hit-PRF
 ‘Who killed the pigs?’
- (6.057) **Kuma** (min) lamndu ndasap?
kuma (min) lamndu ndī=asa-p
 some (3DU) pig 3PL=hit-PRF
 ‘Who (which two people) killed the pigs?’
- (6.058) **Kuma** (ndī) lamndu ndasap?
kuma (ndī) lamndu ndī=asa-p
 some (3DU) pig 3PL=hit-PRF
 ‘Who (which [three or more] people) killed the pigs?’
- (6.059) **Angos** (mī) lamndu ndasap?
angos (mī) lamndu ndī=asa-p
 what (3SG) pig 3PL=hit-PRF
 ‘What killed the pigs?’
- (6.060) **Angos** (min) lamndu ndasap?
angos (min) lamndu ndī=asa-p
 what (3DU) pig 3PL=hit-PRF
 ‘What (which two things) killed the pigs?’
- (6.061) **Angos** (ndī) lamndu ndasap?
angos (3PL) lamndu ndī=asa-p
 what (3DU) pig 3PL=hit-PRF
 ‘What (which [three or more] things) killed the pigs?’

In content questions (i.e., *wh-* questions) in Ulwa, the *wh-* word remains in situ; it is not preposed to the front of the clause as in English. Accordingly, when the ‘who’ or ‘what’ being asked about is not the grammatical subject, the interrogative pronoun occurs preverbally, as in the following:

- (6.062) U limndī **kwa** mala?
 u limndī **kwa** ma=ala
 2SG eye one 3SG=for
 ‘Whom did you see?’
- (6.063) Yata mī **kuma** ndasap?
 yata mī **kuma** ndī=asa-p
 man 3SG some 3PL=hit-PRF
 ‘Whom (which [three or more] people) did the man hit?’

(6.064) U **angos** matin?
 u **angos** ma=tī-n
 2SG what 3SG=take-PRF
 ‘What did you take?’

(6.065) Nungol mī **angos** minanglalop?
 nungol mī **angos** min=angla-lo-p
 child 3SG what 3DU=await-go-PRF
 ‘What (which two things) did the boy look for?’

When preceding an NP, the interrogative word *ango* ‘which?’ (cf. *angos* ‘what?’) conveys the sense ‘which NP?’. There is no distinction based on animacy, nor does it matter whether the questioned element is a subject or an object, nor is there any distinction made based on number. Significantly, whereas modifiers of NPs such as adjectives or determiners *follow* their associated NPs (9.2), the modifying element *ango* ‘which?’ *precedes* its NP. This could serve the functional means of differentiating between ‘which [NP]?’ and ‘[NP] NEG’ (cf. ***ango tīn mamap*** ‘which dog ate it?’ as opposed to ***tīn angos mamap*** ‘the dog did not eat it.’). The following sentences illustrate the use of *ango* ‘which?’.

(6.066) **Ango tīn** (mī) mīnda mamap?
ango **tīn** (mī) mīnda ma=ama-p
 which dog 3SG banana 3SG=eat-PRF
 ‘Which dog ate the banana?’

(6.067) U **ango mīnda** (mī) mamap?
 u **ango** **mīnda** (mī) ma=ama-p
 2SG which banana 3SG 3SG=eat-PRF
 ‘Which banana did you eat?’

(6.068) **Ango** nungolke nīnji yot matin?
ango nungolke nīnji yot ma=tī-n
 which child 1SG.POSS machete 3SG=take-PRF
 ‘Which child took my machete?’

(6.069) U **ango** apa nditap?
 u **ango** apa ndī=ita-p
 2SG which house 3PL=build-PRF
 ‘Which houses did you build?’

The interrogative pronoun ‘whose?’ takes the form *kwanji* ‘whose.SG’ for singular possessors and *kumanji* ‘whose.NSG’ for dual or plural possessors (no distinction is made here

between the two), as may be seen in the following examples. These forms are transparently derived (much like possessive pronouns, see 6.3) from the words *kwa* ‘one’ or *kuma* ‘some’ plus *nji* ‘thing’.

(6.070) **Kwanji** nungol (mī) nīnji yot tīn?
kwanji nungol (mī) nīnji yot tī-n
 whose.SG child 3SG 1SG.POSS machete take-PRF
 ‘Whose child took my machete?’

(6.071) Anda **kwanji** mana?
 anda **kwanji** mana
 that.SG whose.SG spear
 ‘Whose spear is that?’

(6.072) U **kumanji** apa maytap?
 u **kumanji** apa ma=ita-p
 2SG whose.NSG house 3SG=build-PRF
 ‘Whose [plural] house did you build?’

6.7 Intensive pronouns

There are two basic sets of intensive pronouns in Ulwa. The forms of one paradigm stress the fact that the referent(s) alone is/are the subject (or object); this set is taken as the set of true intensive pronouns. The forms of the other paradigm stress the fact that the referent(s), out of a group of potential referents, performed the action; the members of this set are called partitive intensive pronouns.

The formative found throughout the set of (true) intensive pronouns is *awa* ‘-self/-selves’. It may combine with any of the object-marker pronominal forms, generating the paradigm in Table 6.4 (on the following page).

	singular	dual	plural
1 st person exclusive	nawa ‘I/me myself’	nganawa ‘we/us ourselves [DU.EXCL]’	anawa ‘we/us ourselves [PL.EXCL]’
1 st person inclusive		ngunanawa ‘we/us ourselves [DU.INCL]’	unanawa ‘we/us ourselves [PL.INCL]’
2 nd person	wawa ‘you yourself’	ngunawa ‘you yourselves [DU]’	unawa ‘you yourselves [PL]’
3 rd person	mawa ‘(he/him) himself/(she/her) herself/(it) itself’	minawa ‘(they/them) themselves [DU]’	ndawa ‘(they/them) themselves [PL]’
reflexive	ambawa (intensive forms of ‘myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself’)	ambinawa (intensive forms of ‘ourselves [DU.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [DU], themselves [DU]’)	amblawa (intensive forms of ‘ourselves [PL.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL]’)

Table 6.4 Intensive pronominal forms

The following sentences illustrate the use of basic intensive pronouns to place emphasis on a subject or an object.

(6.073) **Nawa** lamndu masap.

nawa lamndu ma=asa-p
1SG.INT pig 3SG=hit-PRF
‘I myself killed the pig.’

(6.074) Ankam mī kalam na **nawatap**.

ankam mī kalam na **nawa**=ta-p
person 3SG knowledge talk 1SG.INT=say-PRF
‘The man taught *me*.’

(6.075) Kayta **mawa** lamndu masap.

Kayta **mawa** lamnduma=asa-p
[name] 3SG.INT pig 3SG=hit-PRF
‘Kayta himself killed the pig.’

(6.076) **Wawa** utam nduwanap.

wawa utam ndi=wana-p
2SG.INT yam 3PL=cook-PRF
‘You yourself cooked the yams.’

The partitive intensive pronominal formative is *we* ‘-self/-selves (out of multiple)’. It may combine with any of the object-marker pronominal forms, generating the paradigm in Table 6.5 below.

	singular	dual	plural
1 st person exclusive	nuwe ‘I/me myself (from among several)’	nganwe ‘we/us ourselves [DU.EXCL] (from among several)’	anwe ‘we/us ourselves [PL.EXCL] (from among several)’
1 st person inclusive		ngunanwe ‘we/us ourselves [DU.INCL] (from among several)’	unanwe ‘we/us ourselves [PL.INCL] (from among several)’
2 nd person	uwe ‘you yourself (from among several)’	ngunwe ‘you yourselves [DU] (from among several)’	unwe ‘you yourselves [PL] (from among several)’
3 rd person	mawe ‘(he/him) himself/(she/her) herself/(it) itself (from among several)’	minwe ‘(they/them) themselves [DU] (from among several)’	nduwe ‘(they/them) themselves [PL] (from among several)’
reflexive	ambuwe (partitive intensive forms of ‘myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself’)	ambinwe (partitive intensive forms of ‘ourselves [DU.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [DU], themselves [DU]’)	amblawe (partitive intensive forms of ‘ourselves [PL.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL]’)

Table 6.5 Partitive intensive pronouns

The following sentences illustrate the use of partitive intensive pronouns to emphasize sole participation of a referent (or group of referents).

(6.077) **Nuwe** lamndu masap.

nuwe lamndu ma=asa-p
 1SG.INT.PART pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘I myself (in the group) killed the pig.’

(6.078) Ankam mī kalam na **nuwetap**.

ankam mī kalam na **nuwe**=ta-p
 person 3SG knowledge talk 1SG.INT.PART=say-PRF
 ‘The man taught *me* (and no one else).’

(6.079) **Nduwe i.**
nduwe i
 3PL.INT.PART go.PRF
 ‘They themselves (out of a group) went.’

(6.080) Kolpe Kongos ...
 Kolpe Kongos
 [name] [name]

... **ambinwe** lamndu ndasape nakap.
ambinwe lamndu ndi=asa-p-e na-ki-p
 DU.REFL.INT.PART pig 3PL=hit-PRF-DEP DETR-say-PRF
 ‘Kolpe and Kongos said that they themselves (out of a group) killed the pigs.’

Although both paradigms of intensive pronouns are written as sets of single lexemes, the composite morphemes of each putative word are quite clear and can, in fact, occur separately, as in the following examples, each of which contains both the partitive intensive pronominal form (of the 3PL pronoun) and the basic intensive form (as a separate morpheme, without any person or number marking).

(6.081) **Nduwe awa** nimal ngayte ...
nduwe **awa** nimal nga=ita-e
 3PL.INT.PART INT river this.SG=build-DEP

... mo liyen.
 ma=u li-i-en
 3SG=from down-go.PRF-NMLZ
 ‘They themselves alone were the ones who built (along) this river, having come down along it.’ (T02)

(6.082) Manji nji ngala **nduwe awa.**
 manji nji ngala **nduwe** **awa**
 3SG thing this.PL 3PL.INT.PART INT
 ‘These things are his.’ (Literally, ‘His things are them indeed [out of the group].’) (T11)

(6.083) **Nduwe awa** man ne.
nduwe **awa** ma=n ni-e
 3PL.INT.PART INT 3SG=OBL act-DEP
 ‘They themselves do it.’ (T27)

It is also possible for the form *we* ‘alone’ to occur as a separate morpheme, phonologically distinct from the preceding word (even if that word is pronoun), as in the following sentences.

(6.084) Mangusuwa **we** i.
 mangusuwa **we** i
 3SG.poor alone go.PRF
 ‘The poor thing went alone.’ (T30)

(6.085) Nĩ **we** alum ngol mbika lowonda.
 nĩ **we** alum nga=ul mbĩ-ka lo-wo-nda
 1SG alone child this.SG=with here-thus IRR-sleep-IRR
 ‘I alone will sleep here with this child.’ (T09)

It would thus perhaps be more representative of the structure of these forms to gloss them each broken into two morphemes (e.g., *ni-awa* ‘1SG-self’ for *nawa* ‘1SG.INT’ and *ni-we* ‘1SG-alone’ for *nuwe* ‘1SG.INT.PART’, etc.). Still, despite their ability to be analyzed as such, these forms often function as single units (with composite meaning) and are thus treated here as such.

In addition to these two sets of intensive pronouns, there is another set of forms that can be used to place focus on a pronoun (whether personal, 6.2, or demonstrative, 7.3). The pronominal form combines with the adjective *ambi* ‘big’. The sense of ‘big’, however, is not retained, but rather the composite word form draws attention to a specific referent. These focus forms are presented in Table 6.6.

	singular	dual	plural
1 st person exclusive	nambi ‘as for me’	nganambi ‘as for us [DU.EXCL]’	anambi ‘as for us [PL.EXCL]’
1 st person inclusive		ngunanambi ‘as for us [DU.INCL]’	unanambi ‘as for us [PL.INCL]’
2 nd person	wambi ‘as for you [SG]’	ngunambi ‘as for you [DU]’	unambi ‘as for you [PL]’
3 rd person	mambi ‘as for him/her/it’	minambi ‘as for them [DU]’	ndambi ‘as for them [PL]’

Table 6.6 Focus pronominal forms

These focus forms can be used to contrast one referent from another or to introduce a new referent after, say, a pause in the discourse. Some of their functions are illustrated by the following sentences.

- (6.086) **Ngunanambi** ango limndi manji famili ndale.
ngunanambi ango limndi manji famili ndi=ala-e
 1DU.INCL.FOC NEG eye 3SG.POSS family 3PL=for-DEP
 ‘As for us, we don’t see his family.’ (*famili* < TP) (T11)
- (6.087) Mi minjan **nambi** ango misimisi kalam-p.
 mi minja=n **nambi** ango misimisi kalam-p
 3SG speech=OBL 1SG.FOC NEG story know-be
 ‘She said: “Me? I don’t know stories.”’ (T11)
- (6.088) **Unanambi** unanji wa ilum **ngambi** anma ndo.
unanambi unanji wa ilum **ngambi** anma anda-o
 1PL.INCL.FOC 1PL.INCL.POSS village little this.SG.FOC good that.SG-INTERJ
 ‘But us? As for this little village of ours, it’s good.’ (T32)
- (6.089) Nogat Nomnga **mambi** kalam anda.
 nogat Nomnga **mambi** kalam anda
 no [name] 3SG.FOC knowledge that.SG
 ‘No, *Nomnga* knows (how to hunt).’ (The speaker was asked whether she was referring to *Nomnga* as the person who does not know how to hunt; *nogat* < TP) (T11)
- (6.090) **Nambi** mandim ma Wopata ma mapina.
nambi ma=andim ma Wopata ma ma=p-na
 1SG.FOC 3SG=from go [place] go 3SG=be-IRR
 ‘I for one will leave her behind and go and stay at Wopata.’ (T27)
- (6.091) Tarambi **mambi** anmbi mbipe.
 Tarambi **mambi** an-mbi mbi-p-e
 [name] 3SG.FOC out-here here-be-DEP
 ‘As for Tarambi, he stays outside.’ (T11)

Although the focus pronominal forms are almost always found in subject NPs, it is also possible for them to appear as object markers. This is often the case in irrealis or imperative expressions with the verb *ka-* ‘let, leave, allow’, often creating the idiomatic meaning ‘forget (about) it/forget (about) them!’, as in the following:

- (6.092) **Mambilakan** ni nakamp.
mambi=la-ka-n ni na-kamb-p
 3SG.FOC=IRR-let-IMP 1SG DETR-shun-PRF
 ‘Forget it; I’ve had enough.’ (T27)

(6.093) Makape i mambi **mambinalakata!**
 maka-p-e i mambi **mambi=na-la-ka-ta**
 thus-be-DEP way 3SG.FOC 3SG.FOC-DETR-IRR-let-COND
 ‘As for behavior like that—forget it!’ (T32)

(6.094) Nĩnji uta la ...
 nĩnji uta ala
 1SG.POSS bird that.PL
 ‘Those are my birds; ...’

... ko **ndambilakata** ndĩ nin mapĩn!
 ko **ndambi=la-ka-ta** ndĩ nĩ=n ma=p-n
 just 3PL.FOC=IRR-let-COND 3PL 1SG=OBL 3SG=be-IMP
 ‘... just let them be there with me!’ (T32)

(6.095) **Mambilakana!**
mambi=la-ka-na
 3SG.FOC=IRR-let-IRR
 ‘Shocking!’ (T01)

In addition to these intensive and focus pronominal forms, there is a set of what are here called emphatic pronominal forms. While there may also exist a full paradigm for such forms in all persons and numbers, both for personal pronouns and for demonstratives (see 7.3), only four forms are attested in texts: *mĩnam* (‘he/she/it is the one’), *ndĩnam* (‘they are the ones’), *andanam* (‘that is it’), and *ngam* (‘this is it’). Interestingly, these forms are based on the subject (and not object) forms of the pronouns (i.e., *mĩ-nam* and not **ma-nam*). They all contain the emphatic element *nam*, whose origin is unknown. (The form *ngam* seems to have undergone a phonological reduction, < **nga + *nam*). All of these forms permit the suffix *-e*. The emphatic pronominal forms are illustrated below.

(6.096) **Mĩnam** amun masal Dumngul nungol ngawatawe.
 mĩ-**nam** amun ma=si-al Dumngul nungol nga=wat-aw-e
 3SG.INT now 3SG=push-PRF [name] child this.SG=atop-put.IPFV-DEP
 ‘Now he’s the one—(they) call Dumngul’s son after him.’ (Literally, ‘are pushing it [the name] onto this child [of] Dumngul’) (T11)

(6.097) Inap ul iyen **ndĩnam**.
 ina-p u=ul i-en ndĩ-**nam**
 get-PRF 2SG=with go.PRF-NMLZ 3PL-INT
 ‘They were the ones who bore (you) and went with (you).’ (T11)

(6.098) A **andanam!**
 a anda-**nam**
 ah that.SG-INT
 ‘Ah, that one!’ (T01)

(6.099) **Ngam** u nĩn lĩmndĩ ngaka nase.
 nga-**nam** u nĩ=n lĩmndĩ nga=ka nĩ=asa-e
 this.SG-INT 2SG 1SG=OBL eye this.SG=in 1SG=hit-DEP
 ‘This is it—you shot me in my eye.’ (T05)

6.8 Affective pronouns

Ulwa has a set of pronouns used to convey compassion toward a second person or third person referent. These affective (or commiserative) forms are transparently derived from the set of personal pronouns plus the adjective *ngusuwa* ‘poor, pitiful’. Notably, the 3SG affective pronoun derives from the object-marker pronominal form (*ma=*), and not the subject pronominal form (*mi*). There is no phonological difference between the 2SG and 2PL affective pronominal forms, as this historical difference has been neutralized by the place assimilation and quasi-degeminatation of the final **n* of the 2PL personal pronoun *un* before the following *ng-*. All the forms may be optionally elongated by the suffix *-ta*, which bears no clear semantic connection to the conditional suffix of the same form (4.14). The forms of the affective pronouns are shown in Table 6.7.

	singular	dual	plural
2 nd person	ungusuwa(ta) ‘you poor thing’	ngungusuwa(ta) ‘you poor things [DU]’	ungusuwa(ta) ‘you poor things [PL]’
3 rd person	mangusuwa(ta) ‘the poor thing’	mingusuwa(ta) ‘the poor things [DU]’	ndĩngusuwa(ta) ‘the poor things [PL]’

Table 6.7 Affective pronouns

As an adjective, *ngusuwa* ‘poor’ has the same distribution to be expected of any (attributive) adjective in Ulwa (5.2): it follows the nominal head of the NP and may precede a determiner. Its use as an adjective is illustrated by the following sentences.

(6.100) Yawa **ngusuwa** nda ma unap mat iyap.
 yawa **ngusuwa** anda ma u=nap ma=tĩ i-ap
 uncle poor that.SG go 2SG=for 3SG=take go.PRF-PRF
 ‘That poor uncle went and brought it for you.’ (T11)

(6.101) Moira numan **ngusuwa** mĩ ndala kuma nep.
 Moira numan **ngusuwa** mĩ ndĩ=ala kuma ne-p
 [name] husband poor 3SG 3PL=for some harvest-PRF
 ‘Moira’s poor husband harvested some (betel nut) for them.’ (T11)

(6.102) Paulus **ngusuwa** mĩ ...
 Paulus **ngusuwa** mĩ
 [name] poor 3SG

 ... numbu ma nan nĩt.
 numbu ma[nji] na=n nĩ=ta
 garamut 3SG[.POSS] talk=OBL 1SG=say
 ‘Poor Paulus told me about the *garamut* tree.’ (T32)

(6.103) Donna maka wombĩn tĩ ...
 Donna maka wombĩn tĩ
 [name] thus work take

 ... tawatĩp **ngusuwa** lanane.
 tawatĩp **ngusuwa** ala=na-n-e
 child poor that.PL=give-PRF-DEP
 ‘Donna, like, gave the work to those poor children.’ (T32)

(6.104) Ngunanji itom **ngusuwa** minwe ...
 ngunanji itom **ngusuwa** minwe
 1DU.INCL.POSS father poor 3DU.INT.PART

 ... ya ndĩn awe.
 ya ndĩ=n aw-e
 coconut 3PL=OBL put.IPFV-DEP
 ‘Only our two poor fathers used to plant coconuts.’ (T11)

The adjective seen in the examples above may be contrasted with the pronominal forms, which never precede subject markers, object markers, or any other determiners belonging to the same phrase. The pronominal forms are also capable of being expanded by the suffix *-ta*, which is never seen in the adjective *ngusuwa* ‘poor’. The following sentences illustrate the use of these affective pronouns.

- (6.105) **Mangusuwa** ya ndin num up.
mangusuwa ya ndi=n num u-p
 3SG.poor coconut 3PL=OBL canoe put-PRF
 ‘The poor thing put coconuts in the canoe.’ (T11)
- (6.106) **Mangusuwa** mbipe salin nisap.
mangusuwa mbi-p-e sal=in ni=sa-p
 3SG.poor here-be-DEP tear=OBL 1SG=cry-PRF
 ‘When the poor thing was here, (he) cried to me.’ (T11)
- (6.107) **Mangusuwata** ngat iye.
mangusuwata nga=ti i-e
 3SG.poor this.SG=take go.PRF-DEP
 ‘The poor thing brought this.’ (T11)
- (6.108) **Ungusuwa** mat ambul namana.
ungusuwa ma=ti amb=ul na-ma-na
 2SG.poor 3SG=take SG.REFL=with DETR-go-IRR
 ‘You poor thing will bring it with yourself.’ (T36)
- (6.109) **Ngungusuwa** ango luwa u wambana ndit?
ngungusuwa ango luwa u wambana ndi=ti
 2DU.poor which place from fish 3PL=take
 ‘You two poor things, where did (you) get the fish?’ (T31)
- (6.110) Mat **ungusuwata**!
 ma=ta **ungusuwata**
 3SG=say 2PL.poor
 ‘(I) said: “You poor things!”’ (T11)
- (6.111) **Ndingusuwa** may we matin mat mbi.
ndingusuwa ma=i we ma=ti-n ma=ti mbi=i
 3PL.poor 3SG=go.PRF sago 3SG=take-PRF 3SG=take here-go.PRF
 ‘The poor things went there, got sago starch, and brought it here.’ (T32)
- (6.112) **Ndingusuwata** mbipe matane wapen.
ndingusuwata mbi-p-e ma=ta-n-e wap-en
 3PL.poor here-be-DEP 3SG=say-IPFV-DEP be.PST-NMLZ
 ‘When the poor things were here, (they) used to talk about it.’ (T32)

Chapter 7

Determiners

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of determiners in Ulwa. Under the heading “determiners” are included a number of rather different word types (as well as clitics, and perhaps bound morphemes as well), that in some way indicate the definiteness or specificity of a referent, provide information that situates it in space (relative to some deictic center), or identify its function (as subject or object) within a clause. While there are some syntactic commonalities among the various categories described below, the group of determiners is rather more a semantic grouping, since there are indeed syntactic differences among the categories as well. (Note that in this chapter—and throughout this description of Ulwa—the term “determiner” is not to be confused with the so-called articles of languages such as English, e.g., ‘a[n]’ and ‘the’.)

One function of Ulwa determiners is to encode the number of a referent NP, which is otherwise unmarked for number. The basic number distinction in Ulwa is among singular, plural, and dual, all of which may be indicated by subject markers (7.2), demonstratives (7.3), or object markers (7.4).

7.2 Subject markers

Ulwa makes frequent use of a class of subject markers, determiners that occur as the final element in noun phrases that are serving as subjects of clauses. As described above (3.1– 3.2), nouns in Ulwa are not marked in any way to reflect number. Subject markers, however, can indicate whether the preceding noun phrase is singular, dual, or plural.

The three basic subject markers (indicating different numbers) have the same form as (and are clearly related to) the third person subject pronouns (6.2). They are as follows:

<i>mī</i>	3SG
<i>min</i>	3DU
<i>ndī</i>	3PL

The subject marker can occur with either animate or inanimate referents, as seen in the examples below. In these examples, each NP marked by a subject marker is translated with the English definite article ‘the’. This reflects the fact that subject markers (as determiners) may function to signal definiteness (or specificity) in a referent (more on this below). That said, it is often possible to translate NPs with subject markers with the English indefinite article ‘a(n)’ or with no article at all.

(7.001) Mana **mī** liyu.

mana	mī	li-u
spear	3SG	fall-PRF

‘The spear fell.’

(7.002) Wot yana **mī** līmndī mala.

wot	yana	mī	līmndī	ma=ala
younger	woman	3SG	eye	3SG=for

‘The younger sister saw her.’ (T01)

(7.003) Sokoy **mī** ango anmap tembi.

sokoy	mī	ango	anma-p	tembi
tobacco	3SG	NEG	good-be	bad

‘The tobacco isn’t good; (it’s) bad.’ (T32)

(7.004) Itom **ndī** isin ndīwanap.

itom	ndī	isi=n	ndī=wana-p
father	3PL	soup=OBL	3PL=cook-PRF

‘The men cooked them in soup.’ (T11)

(7.005) Alum **ndī** se.

alum	ndī	s-e
child	3PL	cry-DEP

‘The children were crying.’ (T27)

(7.006) Tīn **min** mo maka lamndu kon anmbas.

tīn	min	ma=u	maka	lamndu	ko=n	an-mbī-asa
dog	3DU	3SG=from	thus	pig	INDF=OBL	out-here-hit

‘The two dogs thus chased out a pig from there.’ (T32)

The examples above illustrate how subject markers can indicate whether a common-noun subject is singular, dual, or plural. Subject markers can also be used with proper nouns, as in the examples below.

(7.007) Tarambi **mī** ita nī asilaka man makina.
 Tarambi **mī** i-ta nī asi-la-ka ma=n ma=kī-na
 [name] 3SG go.PRF-COND 1SG sit-IRR-let 3SG=OBL 3SG=say-IRR
 ‘When Tarambi comes, I will sit and tell him.’ (T11)

(7.008) Kumba **ndī** wolka anul anmbi.
 Kumba **ndī** wolka an=ul an-mbī-i
 Bun 3PL again 1PL.EXCL=with out-here-go.PRF
 ‘Again the (people from) Bun (village) came out with us.’

Subject markers can even be used with recent loan words, as in the following example, which contains the Tok Pisin word *polis* ‘police’.

(7.009) Polis **ndī** ndiya ata ma ...
 polis **ndī** ndī=iya ata ma
 police 3PL 3PL=toward up go
 ... keka namndu ndīwalinda.
 keka namndu ndī=wali-nda
 completely pig 3PL=hit-IRR
 ‘The police will go up to them and completely kill the pigs.’ (T11)

In all of the examples above (and throughout the examples in this grammar), the subject markers are glossed with a ‘3’ (for third person). This is done for two reasons: first, the forms of the subject markers are identical to the forms in the series of third person personal pronouns; second, the subject markers can only appear with third person noun phrases (that is, never with first person or second person noun phrases), so they do, in fact index the third person.

Subject markers never appear with personal pronouns (i.e., the following sequences are ungrammatical: **nī mī*, **ngunan min*, **min min*, **un ndī*, **ndī ndī*, etc.). Subject markers may, however, follow certain other pronominal forms, such as indefinite or interrogative pronouns, although some usages may be only marginally acceptable (see 6.5 and 6.6).

Although perhaps not always obligatory, subject markers can be useful for clarifying meaning in certain circumstances. First, since adjectives (and even possessive pronouns) may be used substantively, the presence of a subject marker may clarify that an adjective or other modifier is functioning as the subject of the sentence, as in the following examples.

(7.010) **Ambi mĩ** keka mat nin ndil.
ambi **mĩ** keka ma=tĩ nin ndĩ=lĩ
big 3SG completely 3SG=take thorn 3PL=put
‘The big one (a pig) completely got him and put (him) on thorns.’ (T16)

(7.011) **Nĩnji ndĩ** anma iye.
nĩnji **ndĩ** anma i-e
1SG.POSS 3PL good go.PRF-DEP
‘My (comrades) came (home) well.’ (T02)

Also, in equative or attributive sentences that lack any overt verb form (i.e., sentences that contain no overt copula, 10.2), the subject marker helps to break the clause into two halves: everything up to and including the subject marker is clearly the subject; everything following must be the predicate, as illustrated by the following sentences (square brackets enclose first the [subject] and then the [predicate]).

(7.012) [Ulum **ndĩ**] [ndĩnji ala].
[ulum **ndĩ**] [ndĩnji ala-o]
palm 3PL 3PL.POSS that.PL-INTERJ
‘The sago palms are theirs.’ (T11)

(7.013) [Inom **ndĩ**] [wandam itom ala].
[inom **ndĩ**] [wandam itom ala]
mother 3PL jungle father that.PL
‘The mothers are the land owners.’ (T11)

(7.014) [Ya **ndĩ**] [ambi nji ala].
[ya **ndĩ**] [ambi nji ala]
coconut 3PL big thing that.PL
‘Coconuts are big things.’ (T11)

(7.015) [Supam Sinanam **min**] [atana wot].
[Supam Sinanam **min**] [atana wot]
[name] [name] 3DU older.sister younger
‘Supam and Sinanam were sisters.’ (T01)

The last example above further illustrates how coordinated subjects that lack any overt coordinator (12.2) may be clarified as such by means of the subject marker. The subject marker is all the more valuable in this regard when one (or more) of the members of the conjoined subject is left unexpressed. In the example below, the dual marker indicates that there are two subjects, even though only one is expressed.

(7.016) **Carobim min** wa mape.
Carobim min wa ma=p-e
 [name] 3DU village 3SG=be-DEP
 ‘Carobim and he (Danny) were in the village.’ (T32)

In other circumstances, the subject marker can help prevent a subject from being misinterpreted as being an object or oblique. Since it is common for (pronominal) subjects to be omitted, the absence of a subject marker could lead to such a miscue. Compare the following two sentences: the second (7.018) is ambiguous, since *yeta nungol* ‘boys’ could be interpreted as either the subject (without a subject marker) or the object (with a pro-dropped subject); in the first example (7.017), however, the subject is clearly defined because it contains the subject marker.

(7.017) **Yeta nungol ndi** ndinap le.
yeta nungol ndi ndi=nap lo-e
 man child 3PL 3PL=for go-DEP
 ‘The boys would go around on account of them (the girls).’ (T27)

(7.018) Yeta nungol ndinap le.
 yeta nungol ndi=nap lo-e
 man child 3PL=for go-DEP
 (a) ‘The boys would go around on account of them (the girls).’
 (b) ‘(The girls) would go around on account of the boys.’

Likewise, within the pair of sentences below, the subject of the first example (7.019) is clearer, since it contains the subject marker, whereas the subject of the second example (7.020) is ambiguous.

(7.019) **Inom mi** manji ay mamap.
inom mi manji ay ma=ama-p
 mother 3SG 3SG.POSS sago 3SG=eat-PRF
 ‘Mother ate her sago.’ (T27)

(7.020) Inom manji ay mamap.
 inom manji ay ma=ama-p
 mother 3SG.POSS sago 3SG=eat-PRF
 (a) ‘Mother ate her sago.’
 (b) ‘(Someone) ate the mother’s sago.’

A similar situation can also be seen below in the following pair of sentences.

(7.021) **Nungol mi** ndala aw ndinep.
nungol mi ndi=ala aw ndi=ne-p
 child 3SG 3PL=for betel.nut 3PL=harvest-PRF
 ‘The child harvested betel nut for them.’ (T11)

(7.022) Nungol ndala aw ndinep.
 nungol ndi=ala aw ndi=ne-p
 child 3PL=for betel.nut 3PL=harvest-PRF
 (a) ‘The child harvested betel nut for them.’
 (b) ‘(Someone) harvested betel nut for the children.’

Although subject markers are used with great frequency and (as seen above) may be useful for marking number or clarifying the subject in ambiguous circumstances, they do not occur in every subject NP. Their absence may be a simple omission (the product of casual speech), or it may simply be that their use is optional. Often, no difference in meaning can be detected between when subject markers are present and when they are absent. That said, the omission of subject marker seems more likely when the subject is a proper noun and especially when the verb is intransitive (unsurprisingly, since the role of the single core NP—i.e., subject—is easily determined by default in an intransitive clause without needing any special marking). (In other words, Ulwa appears to exhibit differential subject marking.) Subject markers may also be omitted more frequently when the referent of the subject is less definite, although no strict rules have been found for their omission. In the following examples, the subject marker is dropped when (otherwise) following a proper noun (person or place).

(7.023) Alkumot yana minkotip.
 Alkumot yana min=kot-p
 [name] woman 3DU=break-PRF
 ‘The woman Alkumot bore them.’ (T01)

(7.024) Biwat atay.
 Biwat ata-i.
 [place] up-go.PRF
 ‘The Biwat (people) went up.’ (T02)

(7.025) Ambawanam Ngata i unip.
 Ambawanam Ngata i uni-p
 [name] grand go.PRF shout-PRF
 ‘Ambawanam Ngata came and shouted.’ (T06)

- (7.026) Elias tinanga.
 Elias tinanga
 [name] arise
 ‘Elias got up.’ (T32)

In the following sentences, the subjects are indefinite. The subject NPs do not have subject markers.

- (7.027) Lamndu keka ndamap ulwap.
 lamndu keka ndi=ama-p ulwa-p
 pig completely 3PL=eat-PRF nothing-be
 ‘A pig completely ate them.’ (T27)

- (7.028) Ankam ulwap.
 ankam ulwa-p
 person nothing-be
 ‘No one is left.’ (Literally, ‘Person [or people] is [or are] nothing.’) (T32)

7.3 Demonstratives

Ulwa makes a two-way deictic distinction within its set of demonstrative words: proximal referents (near the speaker) and distal referents (not near the speaker). The Ulwa deictic system is thus egocentric (although see below on complications). Since referents can be singular, dual, or plural, there is thus a matrix of six deictic words. These usually occur in the same spot that otherwise might contain subject markers (7.2) or object markers (7.3): the use of these demonstrative determiners instead of other markers may signal that a specific (as opposed to a generic) referent is being identified. In addition to functioning as determiners (that is, as elements of NPs), the Ulwa demonstrative forms may also be used as pronouns. Of the six forms, *ala* ‘those’ is most commonly used in this way, often functionally equivalent to ‘they’ or ‘them’. Table 7.1 shows the basic forms of Ulwa demonstratives words.

	singular	dual	plural
proximal	nga ‘this’	ngin ‘these two’	ngala ‘these (more than two)’
distal	anda ‘that’	andin ‘those two’	ala ‘those (more than two)’

Table 7.1 Demonstratives

As seen in Table 7.1, the proximal forms are all built on the formative *ng-*, which combines with *-a* in the singular (cf. *ma*= 3SG), *-in* in the dual (cf. *min*= 3DU), and *-ala* in the plural. This last form does not correspond to anything in the other sets of pronominal forms. The distal forms, on the other hand, are built on the formative *and-*, which—as in the proximal forms—combines with *-a* in the singular and *-in* in the dual. The plural form *ala* is assumed here to be derived from **andala*. Demonstrative determiners do not co-occur with subject (or object) markers.

In the following examples, demonstrative determiners occur as the final elements of subject NPs. They all have spatial deictic force, pointing to referents either near or far. They may occur with either common or proper nouns, and (as in examples 7.034 and 7.035) may function pronominally (more on this below).

(7.029) Inom **nga** mawanape.

inom **nga** ma=wana-p-e
mother this.SG 3SG=cook-PRF-DEP

‘This woman cooked it.’ (This was said of the woman in the house next to where the speaker was sitting.) (T11)

(7.030) Wandam **nga** ambi ngatap.

wandam **nga** ambi ngata-p
jungle this.SG big grand-be

‘This garden is very big.’ (T37)

(7.031) itom **ngin** li ngapen

itom **ngin** li nga=p-en
father this.DU down this.SG=be-NMLZ

‘these two men who live downstream’ (spoken while downstream) (T11)

(7.032) Wa mbi olsem nungolke **ngala** skulpe.

wa mbi olsem nungolke **ngala** skul-p-e
village here thus child this.PL school-be-DEP

‘Here in the village, like, these children are in school.’ (*olsem*, *skul* < TP) (T22)

(7.033) Wusim **anda** nīwalinda i nī masap.

wusim **anda** nī=wali-nda i nī ma=asa-p
crocodile that.SG 1SG=hit-IRR PRED 1SG 3SG=hit-PRF

‘That crocodile could have killed me, but I killed it.’ (*i* < TP?) (T30)

(7.034) **Anda** man ute.

anda ma=n u=ta-e
that.SG 3SG=OBL 2SG=say-DEP
'That one told you.' (T11)

(7.035) **Andin** wot kokot nangani nalp.

andin wot ko=kot ni=angani na-li-p
that.DU younger INDF=break 1SG=behind DETR-put-PRF
'Those two (i.e., 'my parents') bore a younger sibling after me.' (T01)

(7.036) Awngala **la** kuk ato im andawatawe.

awngala **la** kuk ata-u im anda=wat-aw-e
bird.sp that.PL gather up-from tree that.SG=atop-put.IPFV-DEP
'Those *awngala* birds are gathering up into that tree.' (T32)

Indeed, as a spatial deictic, *nga* 'this.SG' alone can mean 'here', as in the following sentence.

(7.037) **Nga** unji ani ngala ata ngap.

nga unji ani ngala ata nga=p
this.SG 2SG.POSS bilum this.PL up this.SG=be
'Here, these *bilum* (net bags) of yours are up here.' (T01)

The example above also illustrates the common use of demonstrative determiners in possessive phrases. More examples follow.

(7.038) **Ninji** nungol **ngala** mbipe.

ninji nungol **ngala** mbī-p-e
1SG child this.PL here-be-DEP
'My children live here.' (Literally, 'these children of mine') (T11)

(7.039) **Ninji** inom **anda** kikal wopa.

ninji inom **anda** kikal wopa
1SG.POSS mother that.SG ear all
'That mother of mine was deaf.' (T11)

(7.040) **unji** inom tembi **nda**

unji inom tembi **anda**
2SG.POSS mother bad that.SG
'that poor mother of yours' (T32)

- (7.041) **Manji** na **ngala** mī ndītana.
manji na **ngala** mī ndī=ta-na
 3SG.POSS talk this.PL 3SG 3PL=say-IRR
 ‘These stories of his—he will tell them.’ (T32)

Demonstrative determiners occur not only in subject NPs, but also in object or oblique phrases, as in the following examples.

- (7.042) Ndīn numīne **ndalumopta** ndī mīnapīna.
 ndī=n numīne **anda**=lumo-p-ta ndī mī=na-p-na
 3PL=OBL ditch that.SG=put-PRF-COND 3PL 3SG=DETR-be-IRR
 ‘Once (I’ve) planted them in that ditch, they will be there.’ (T11)

- (7.043) An tīn **andol** iye ...
 an tīn **anda**=ul i-e
 1PL.EXCL dog that.SG-with go.PRF-DEP
 ‘When we went with that dog, ...’

... tīn **anda** lamndu nungol kosape.
 tīn **anda** lamndu nungol ko=asa-p-e
 dog that.SG pig child INDF=hit-PRF-DEP
 ‘... that dog killed one small pig.’ (T32)

- (7.044) Mīkī itīm ambi ngata **lamana**.
 mīkī itīm ambi ngata **ala**=ma-na
 tree.sp trash big grand that.PL=go-IRR
 ‘(We) will go to those great big swamps.’ (T33)

- (7.045) Una ngusuwa **laya** wonlakan!
 unan ngusuwa **ala**=iya won-la-ka-n
 1PL.INCL poor that.PL=toward cut-IRR-let-IMP
 ‘Let’s cross over (the river) to those poor folks (on the other side)!’ (T32)

While the basic function of demonstrative determiners is taken to be a means of providing spatial deixis from the reference point of the speaker, the actual range of uses of demonstratives is much greater. First, it is not uncommon for a speaker to project a deictic center to a point other than the self. Thus, while demonstrative words in Ulwa are taken generally to be egocentric, a speaker may choose a reference point other than himself or herself in the moment of speech. This is common in recounted narratives, such as the following:

(7.046) Nī amun iwa **ngalan** mop ...
 nī amun iwa **ngala=n** ma=u-p
 1SG now basket this.PL=OBL 3SG=put-PRF
 ‘Now I put these fish trap baskets (down) there ...’

... mo kundan nīpat **ngatin**.
 ma=u kundan nīpat **nga=tī-n**
 3SG=from eel huge this.SG=take-PRF
 ‘... and got this huge eel from there.’ (T11)

In the example above, although the proximal deictics (*ngala=* and *nga=*) are indeed used with reference to the speaker, they are not in reference to the speaker’s location at the time of speaking, but rather to her location in the past, when the events being recounted occurred. Projected deixis can occur in narratives even when the actor of the clause is different from the narrator of the events, as, for example, in:

(7.047) Mī i wolka i manji anaw **ngatin**.
 mī i wolka i manji anaw **nga=tī-n**
 3SG go.PRF again go.PRF 3SG.POSS paddle this.SG=take-PRF
 ‘He went, went back, and got his motorboat.’ (T30)

(7.048) Anul men i wonmbi **nginti** men i.
 anul ma=in i wonmbi **ngin=tī** ma=in i
 grassland 3SG=in go.PRF tusk this.DU=take 3SG=in go.PRF
 ‘(He) went into the grass, got these two tusks, and went in.’ (T01)

This phenomenon of projection can further be illustrated with the adverb *mbi* (usually translated ‘here’), which can signify space near the referent of the clause (even when this is not near the speaker in his or her current location), as in the following example (see 8.3.2 for locative adverbs).

(7.049) Alum mokotip an mol **mbiwap**.
 alum ma=kot-p an ma=ul **mbi-wap**
 child 3SG=break-PRF 1PL.EXCL 3SG=with here-be.PST
 ‘She bore a child, and we were there with her.’ (T11)

Demonstratives, although fundamentally spatial, may be extended in their use to have temporal deixis. Thus, proximal forms may be used to refer to times (metaphorically) close to the present, whereas distal forms signal more (metaphorically) distant time, as illustrated below.

- (7.050) Ipka **ndan** matmat mbu ulwape.
 ipka **anda**=n matmat mbĩ=u ulwa-p-e
 before that.SG=OBL cemetery here=from nothing-be-DEP
 ‘In the past, there was no cemetery here.’ (*matmat* < TP) (T23)
- (7.051) Pe amun **ngan** olsem matmat anda mbĩ-p-e.
 pe amun **nga**=n olsem matmat anda mbĩ-p-e
 DEP now this.SG=OBL thus cemetery that.SG here-be-DEP
 ‘But at this time, like, there is that cemetery here.’ (*olsem, matmat* < TP) (T23)
- (7.052) Inim **ngan** maytap mat atal wap ma ...
 inim **nga**=n ma=ita-p ma=tĩ ata-lĩ wap ma
 water this.SG=OBL 3SG=build-PRF 3SG=take up-put be.PST go
 ‘Having built it this year, and put it up, ...’
- ... inim **andan** nĩ makĩke lunda.
 inim **anda**=n nĩ ma=kĩke lo-nda
 water that.SG=OBL 1SG 3SG=throw go-IRR
 ‘... I’m going to sell it next year.’ (T37)
- (7.053) Ilom **andan** nĩ ango mbĩpĩna.
 ilom **anda**=n nĩ ango mbĩ-p-na
 day that.SG=OBL 1SG NEG here-be-IRR
 ‘On that day, I won’t stay here.’ (T37)
- (7.054) Iwil **andan** ma mapta apa ndaytana.
 iwĩl **anda**=n ma ma=p-ta apa anda=ita-na
 moon that.SG=OBL go 3SG=be-COND house that.SG=build-IRR
 ‘Next month (I) will go and build a house there.’ (T32)

The last example also illustrates how words like English ‘this’, ‘these’, ‘that’, ‘those’, etc. are often not ideal (or even possible) translations for the demonstrative markers. This is because, even though they serve some deictic function (pointing to a place [or time]), they do not necessarily have a definite referent. Thus, in the example above, the translation ‘a house’ is given, since this as-yet unbuilt house has no definite referent; the salient information, however, is that the house will be built *over there*. (Of course, it is possible that the ‘house’ in this sentence *does* have a definite referent, just not a real-word one, and that the speaker and hearer can both be thinking of a specific yet-to-be-built house.)

In addition to spatial and temporal deictic functions, the demonstrative words in Ulwa can serve discourse functions as well, pointing to speech itself, whether already spoken or not yet uttered, as in:

(7.055) Oke li ngata ngusuwa **nga**: ...
 oke li ngata ngusuwa **nga**
 ok down grand poor this.SG
 ‘OK, the downstream ancestors, the poor things, were as follows: ...’

... Kayta Amombi Yokombla Yaruwa Kayngam.
 Kayta Amombi Yokombla Yaruwa Kayngam
 [name] [name] [name] [name] [name]
 ‘... Kayta, Amombi, Yokombla, Yaruwa, and Kayngam.’ (*oke* < TP) (T10)

Demonstrative words may also be used (to similar effect) as determiners modifying the word *na* ‘talk’, as in the following:

(7.056) Ini na **nga** mī ambip.
 ini na **nga** mī ambi-p
 ground talk this.SG 3SG big-be
 ‘This talk about land is big—it (has gotten) big.’ (T32)

(7.057) Mase na **nda** una asika matap.
 ma=asa-e na **anda** unan asi-ka ma=ta-p
 3SG=hit-DEP talk that.SG 1PL.INCL sit-let 3SG=say-PRF
 ‘That talk of (them) killing her—we sat and discussed it.’ (T32)

(7.058) Na anma **nda**.
 na anma **anda**
 talk good that.SG
 ‘That’s good talk.’ (i.e., ‘I agree with you.’) (T33)

Similarly, when a referent has been introduced, a speaker can refer again to this referent with a deictic word. In the text from which the following two examples are taken, the speaker introduces a subject with the subject marker *mī* ‘3SG’ (7.059), but shortly thereafter refers again to the same referent with *nga* ‘this.SG’ (7.060).

(7.059) Inom **mī** anganika nganul i.
 inom **mī** anganika ngan=ul i
 mother 3SG after 1DU.EXCL=with go.PRF
 ‘Later, the mother came with the two of us.’

(7.060) Inom **nga** nan makīta ...
 inom **nga** na=n ma=kī-ta
 mother this.SG talk=OBL 3SG=say-COND
 ‘If this mother tells him ...’ (T27)

Often, however, the deictic function of demonstrative words is not clear. The choice between *nga* ‘this.SG’ and *anda* ‘that.SG’, for example, does not always seem to reflect proximity or distance, whether spatial, temporal, or narrative. Perhaps speakers make decisions based on desires to signal metaphorical proximity or distance to referents. This seems possible especially when referring to people in general terms (that is, people who are physically neither close nor far in the event encoded in the clause). Other times, however, it is not at all clear why these words are being used, and there could be some degree of free variation for speakers in certain circumstances. In the following sentences, the deictic function (if any) of the demonstrative words is unclear.

(7.061) Anji ngata **ngalol** inde.

anji	ngata	ngala =ul	inda-e
1PL.POSS	grand	that.PL=with	walk-DEP

‘(We) walked around with our grandparents.’ (T10)

(7.062) Anji ngata **la** ndit inde.

anji	ngata	ala	ndi=ti	inda-e
1PL.EXCL.POSS	grand	that.PL	3PL=take	walk-DEP

‘Our ancestors used to carry them around.’ (T12)

(7.063) Inom **anda** man nit.

inom	anda	ma=n	ni=ta
mother	that.SG	3SG=OBL	1SG=say

‘That mother told me.’ (T11)

(7.064) Maria **nga** nan ndit.

Maria	nga	na=n	ndi=ta
[name]	this.SG	talk=OBL	3PL=say

‘Maria told them.’ (T11)

(7.065) A ninji aweta **anda** ko matina!

a	ninji	aweta	anda	ko	ma=ti-na
ah	1SG.POSS	friend	that.SG	just	3SG=hit-IRR

‘Ah, that friend of mine will really hit her!’ (T16)

(7.066) Ninji yawa **nga** itom ndinji tana mat nen.

ninji	yawa	nga	itom	ndinji	tana	ma=ti	ni-en
1SG.POSS	uncle	this.SG	father	3PL.POSS	axe	3SG=take	act-NMLZ

‘This uncle of mine was one who got the (fore)fathers’ axe.’ (T32)

Reference to undoubtedly distant entities, such as the sun or the moon, for example, may be referred to with either proximal determiners (7.067) or distal determiners (7.068, 7.069, 7.070); they may alternatively be referred to with the 3SG subject marker *mi* (7.071) or with no marker at all (7.072), as in the following examples.

(7.067) Ane **nga** wowe ...

ane **nga** wo-e
sun this.SG burn-DEP
'In the dry season ...' (T27)

(7.068) Ane **nda** wowe ...

ane **anda** wo-e
sun that.SG burn-DEP
'In the dry season ...' (T27)

(7.069) A ane **nda** li namane.

a ane **anda** li na-ma-n-e
ah sun that.SG down DETR-go-IPFV-DEP
'Ah, the sun is setting.' (T32)

(7.070) Iwil **anda** liye wa imbape.

iwil **anda** li-i-e wa imba-p-e
moon that.SG down-go.PRF-DEP village night-be-DEP
'The moon had set; the village was dark.' (T27)

(7.071) Anwe iwil **mi** ata ne ne.

anwe iwil **mi** ata na-i na-i
1PL.EXCL.INT.PART moon 3SG up DETR-go.PRF DETR-go.PRF
'We were alone; the moon rose and rose.' (T32)

(7.072) Ane namane.

ane na-ma-n-e
sun DETR-go-IPFV-DEP
'The sun is setting.' (T32)

Although the Christian god is usually referred to with the proximal deictic *nga* 'this.SG' (i.e., *ambi nga* 'this big [man]'), it seems also possible to refer to him with the distal deictic *anda* 'that.SG', as illustrated below.

(7.073) Ambi **nganji** na nga unaniya mbi.

ambi **nganji** na nga unan=iya mbi-i
big this.SG.POSS talk this.SG 1PL.INCL=toward here-go.PRF
'The word of God has come to us.' (T32)

- (7.074) Ambi **ngawe** una ikali mas.
 ambi **ngawe** unan i-kali ma=si
 big this.SG.INT.PART 1PL.EXCL hand-send 3SG=push
 ‘God alone—we (must) hold onto him.’ (T32)
- (7.075) Wolka ambi **ngaynakawana**.
 wolka ambi **nga**=ina-ka-wana
 again big this.SG=liver-at-feel
 ‘(He) in turn was thinking of God.’ (T30)
- (7.076) Ambi **anda** mat anmbinalp.
 ambi **anda** ma=ti an-mbi na-li-p
 big that.SG 3SG=take out-here DETR-put-PRF
 ‘God has revealed him.’ (Literally, ‘That big [man] has taken him and put [him] out.’)
 (T32)

As the examples above illustrate, there is often much freedom in the use of subject (and object) markers and demonstratives (or their omission altogether). In addition to serving their prototypically deictic function, demonstrative words in Ulwa may be used to indicate that an introduced NP is going to play a key role in the discourse to follow—that is, even though the NP presents new (non-given) information, a form like *anda* ‘that.SG’ may be used, as seen below.

- (7.077) Awlu ato anmoka **anda** apinal ando ambi.
 awlu ata-u anmoka **anda** apinal anda=u an-mbi-i
 step up-from snake that.SG swamp that.SG=from out-here-go.PRF
 ‘When (the moon) appeared, a snake came out from the swamp.’ (T29)
- (7.078) Nambi wandam ambi **nda**.
 nambi wandam ambi **nda**
 1SG.FOC jungle big that.SG
 ‘As for me, I have a big garden.’ (T37)
- (7.079) Balus **anda** ina mane.
 balus **anda** i-na ma-n-e
 plane that.SG come-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘A plane was going to come.’ (*balus* < TP) (T11)

This use of demonstratives is especially common when recounting narratives in a vivid manner (cf. sentences in English such as ‘so then this guy comes up to me and says ...’, only in Ulwa the distal deictic is used instead of the proximal).

Demonstratives may also occur in non-subject NPs—that is, in NPs encoding the (direct) objects of verbs, objects of postpositions, or oblique phrases. While often attaching

phonologically to following words (especially verb stems), these demonstrative forms seem somehow less clitic-like than true object markers (7.4). When the demonstrative forms appear (phonologically) to cliticize to host verbs, they are treated as object markers and are glossed with a clitic boundary marker (=) following them. Generally, however, it may be said that there is no formal distinction between subject demonstratives and object demonstratives.

The following sentences exemplify the use of the demonstratives as object markers.

(7.080) Lapun nga lamndu **ngas!**

lapun	nga	lamndu	nga=asa
old.person	this.SG	pig	this.SG=hit

‘This old man killed this pig!’ (*lapun* < TP) (T24)

(7.081) Mī ya uta **nginanda.**

mī	ya	uta	ngin=a-nda
3SG	coconut	shell	this.DU=break-IRR

‘He will break these two coconut shells.’

(7.082) Wambana **ngalamoke.**

wambana	ngala=moko-e
fish	this.PL=take-DEP

‘(They) were catching fish.’ (T27)

(7.083) Mota wulis **andaytap.**

mota	wulis	anda=ita-p
bamboo	platform	that.SG=build-PRF

‘(They) built that bamboo platform (i.e., a raft).’ (T02)

(7.084) Sokoy **andin** lapap.

sokoy	andin=n	lapa-p
tobacco	that.DU=OBL	plant-PRF

‘(He) has planted those two tobacco plants.’ (T32)

(7.085) Upan wambana **lawtata** ndul wa undana.

upan	wambana	ala=uta-ta	ndi=ul	wa	unda-na
small.fish	fish	that.PL=grind-COND	3PL=with	village	go-IRR

‘If (we) catch those small fish, (we) will go home with them.’ (T33)

The demonstrative forms can also function pronominally, both as subjects and as objects (that is, as object-marker clitics). No distinction is made between animate and inanimate referents, as can be seen in the following examples.

- (7.086) **Anda** nip.
anda ni-p
that.SG die-PRF
‘That (one) died.’
- (7.087) **Ngin** liyu.
ngin li-u
this.DU fall-PRF
‘These (two) fell.’
- (7.088) **Ala** nip.
ala ni=p
that.PL die-PRF
‘Those (ones) died.’ (often = ‘They died.’)
- (7.089) Nĩ limndĩ **ngala**.
nĩ limndĩ **nga=ala**
1SG eye this.SG=for
‘I saw this (one).’
- (7.090) Nĩ limndĩ **andinala**.
nĩ limndĩ **andin=ala**
1SG eye that.DU=for
‘I saw those (two).’

These object-marker demonstrative pronouns may not always be clitics. Examples such as the following two illustrate a greater (phonological) separation between pronoun and verb—that is, the sequence in the first example, (7.091), is pronounced [nga.la.i.ta.na] and not *[nga.lay.ta.na], and the sequence in the second example, (7.092), is pronounced [a.nda.i] and not *[a.nday].

- (7.091) Apa **ngala itana** mane.
apa **ngala ita-na** ma-n-e
house this.PL build-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
‘(They) were going to build these houses.’ (T23)
- (7.092) Ndamape nĩ anmap nĩ i **anda i**.
ndĩ=ama-p-e nĩ anma-p nĩ i **anda i**
3PL=eat-PRF-DEP 1SG good-be 1SG go.PRF that.SG go.PRF
‘Having taken them, I got better, and I went, went there.’ (T21)

Demonstrative pronouns can be the subject of a clause that has a noun or adjective as the predicate complement. Here, their deictic function is quite clear, as seen below.

- (7.093) **Nga** n̄nji apa.
nga n̄nji apa
 this.SG 1SG.POSS house
 ‘This is my house.’
- (7.094) **Nga** wa anma.
nga wa anma
 this.SG village good
 ‘This is a good village.’
- (7.095) **Anda** ango n̄nji apa.
anda ango n̄nji apa
 that.SG NEG 1SG.POSS house
 ‘That is not my house.’
- (7.096) **Ngin** manji itom inom.
ngin manji itom inom
 this.DU 3SG.POSS father mother
 ‘These are his parents.’
- (7.097) **Ngala** ango ambi-p.
ngala ango ambi-p
 this.PL NEG big-be
 ‘These are not big.’
- (7.098) **Ala** anmap.
ala anma-p
 that.PL good-be
 ‘Those are good.’

Demonstrative pronouns are used to refer to human referents (as in ‘this [one]’, ‘those [ones]’, etc.) much more than is common in, say, English. In particular, the demonstrative pronoun *ala* ‘that.PL’ is often best translated simple as ‘they’ or ‘people’ (or sometimes as ‘other people’), as in the following:

- (7.099) **Ala** natana.
ala na-ta-na
 that.PL DETR-say-IRR
 ‘They were going to have a talk.’ (T27)
- (7.100) **Ala** angop tane.
ala angop ta-n-e
 that.PL NEG-be say-IPFV-DEP
 ‘They tell lies.’ (T11)

(7.101) **Ala** ta ando apin ti lip.
ala ta anda=u apin ti li-p
 that.PL already that.SG=from fire take put-PRF
 ‘People have already set fire there.’ (T33)

(7.102) **Ala** ndute ndame mbip.
ala ndi=uta-e ndi=ama-e mbip-p
 that.PL 3PL=grind-DEP 3PL=eat-DEP here-be
 ‘People catch them and eat them here.’ (T36)

Furthermore, *ala* ‘that.PL’ may be used instead of the second plural personal pronoun *un*, when addressing groups of people, as in:

(7.103) **Ala** wokin anda unanul mbiyen anda ango i?
ala wokin anda unan=ul mbi-i-en anda ango i
 that.PL big.man that.SG 1PL.INCL=with here-go-NMLZ that.SG which go.PRF
 ‘You folks, that big man who came with us—where did that (man) go?’ (T01)

(7.104) **Ala** una wandam ma mundu anglalunda mane.
ala unan wandam ma mundu angla-lo-nda ma-n-e
 that.PL 1PL.INCL jungle go food await-go-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘Everyone, we’re going to go to the jungle and look for food.’ (T25)

(7.105) **Ala** ndi ta lop.
ala ndi ta lo-p
 that.PL 3PL already go.PRF
 ‘You all, have they already left?’ (T10)

(7.106) **Ala** ndin anjikake ndi se?
ala ndi=n anjikaka-e ndi sa-e
 that.PL 3PL=OBL how-DEP 3PL cry-DEP
 ‘Folks, what have (you done) with them, such that they are crying?’ (T27)

In fact, combined with the form *-nji* ‘thing’, *ala* ‘that.PL’ can even be used in possessive constructions (that is, *alanji* in place of *ndinji* ‘their’), often with the sense of ‘other people’s), as in:

(7.107) Ambwat **alanji** Monde.
 Ambwat **alanji** Monde
 Kambot that.PL.POSS [name]
 ‘The Kambot people’s (ancestor) was Monde.’ (T02)

(7.108) **Alanji** wo ndi makape.
alanji wa ndi maka-p-e
 that.PL.POSS village 3PL thus-be-DEP
 ‘Other people’s villages are like that.’ (T32)

(7.109) **alanji** amba nda
alanji amba anda
 that.PL.POSS haus.tambaran that.SG
 ‘that magic of other people’ (T32)

In casual speech, the forms *anda* ‘that.SG’ and *ala* ‘that.PL’ are commonly shortened to *nda* and *la*, respectively. This is especially common when following a vowel, but can occur in any environment.

7.4 Object markers

Whereas subject markers are clearly unbound morphemes, indicating that their phrase is the grammatical subject of the clause, object markers are trickier to categorize. Like subject markers, object markers typically follow nouns. But, as their name suggests, these forms indicate grammatical objects, whether the (direct) object of a verb or the object of a postposition. The reason that they are tricky to categorize, though, is that they have a very close affinity to the forms that follow them, especially verbs. While they almost certainly arose (historically) as unbound pronominal forms, these forms are now almost always inseparable from the verbs of which they are objects. While casual speech in Ulwa permits many phonological changes across word boundaries, there is an especially strong tendency for object markers to undergo phonological changes (see, for example, 2.6.7 above on the 3SG object marker *ma=* assimilating to following mid-back vowels).

I put forth that these markers, while originally simply free pronominal forms and subsequently unbound morphemes completely parallel to the set of subject markers, have later undergone (or are currently undergoing) a grammatical change—namely, they are becoming bound morphemes. This process seems to have begun with the 3SG form *ma=*. This may partially be due to the fact that this form (given its ending in the low central vowel /a/) is the most likely to undergo phonological change before a verb in Ulwa. Furthermore, if indeed these once free pronominal forms have begun the process of becoming bound verbal morphemes, one would

expect this change to begin with the third singular form (here, *mī* > *ma*=), as this is not unlike the predictions of Watkins’s Law—namely, that analogical reorganization begins on the model of third singular forms (Watkins 1962). Indeed, there seems to be some psychological reality to the fact that object forms (and especially the 3SG form) are somehow part of the verb—to wit, native speakers almost invariably offer forms beginning with 3SG *ma*= as the citation forms for transitive verbs.

The forms of the object markers are identical to the forms in the set of third-singular objective personal pronouns (6.2)—thus, they are identical to the set of subject markers, with the main exception of the 3SG form, which is *ma*= as opposed to *mī*. There is also an allomorph *mini*= for the dual object-marker clitic (more on this below), which does not exist in the set of subject pronouns (or subject markers). The object markers are as follows:

<i>ma</i> =	3SG
<i>min</i> = ~ <i>mini</i> =	3DU
<i>ndī</i> =	3PL

As is the situation with subject markers, object markers may follow either common or proper nouns, and have either animate or inanimate referents. The following sentences exemplify object markers cliticized to transitive verbs.

(7.110) Inom *mī* utam **mawanap**.
 inom *mī* utam **ma**=wana-p
 mother 3SG yam 3SG=cook-PRF
 ‘Mother cooked the yam.’

(7.111) Inom *mī* utam **minwanap**.
 inom *mī* utam **min**=wana-p
 mother 3SG yam 3DU=cook-PRF
 ‘Mother cooked two yams.’

(7.112) Inom *mī* utam **nduwanap**.
 inom *mī* utam **ndī**=wana-p
 mother 3SG yam 3PL=cook-PRF
 ‘Mother cooked the yams.’

This first set above illustrates the (optional) change of /i/ to [u] before /w/ in the 3PL object marker (2.6.6). In the set below, vowel elision may be witnessed in the 3SG and 3PL object markers (2.6.5).

(7.113) Tin ndi lamndu **masap**.
 t̄in ndi lamndu **ma**=asa-p
 dog 3PL pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘The dogs killed the pig.’

(7.114) Tin ndi lamndu **minasap**.
 t̄in ndi lamndu **min**=asa-p
 dog 3PL pig 3DU=hit-PRF
 ‘The dogs killed two pigs.’

(7.115) Tin ndi lamndu **ndasap**.
 t̄in ndi lamndu **ndi**=asa-p
 dog 3PL pig 3PL=hit-PRF
 ‘The dogs killed the pigs.’

In the first of the following examples, (7.116), it is possible to see how *mo*=, an allomorph of the 3SG object marker /*ma*=/, appears before a following /*o*/ in the verb stem (2.6.7).

(7.116) Ni n̄ip̄il **momopl̄ip**.
 n̄i n̄ip̄il **ma**=mop-li-p
 1SG vine 3SG=tie-put-PRF
 ‘I tied the rope.’

(7.117) Ni n̄ip̄il **minmopl̄ip**.
 n̄i n̄ip̄il **min**=mop-li-p
 1SG vine 3DU=tie-put-PRF
 ‘I tied two ropes.’

(7.118) Ni n̄ip̄il **ndimopl̄ip**.
 n̄i n̄ip̄il **ndi**=mop-li-p
 1SG vine 3PL=tie-put-PRF
 ‘I tied the ropes.’

Further support for the claim that the status of object markers is distinct from that of simple pronominal forms comes from the 3DU marker *min*=, which has the allomorph *mini*= when preceding a verb with stem beginning in /*n*/. Although it may be possible to explain the allomorph *mo*= (for *ma*= ‘3SG’) in terms of simple phonological conditioning (that is, regardless of morphological considerations, see 2.6.7), the form *mini*= ‘3DU’ is clearly a morphologically conditioned change, since—elsewhere—consecutive consonants are simply degeminated (thus, one should expect the allomorph, were it phonologically conditioned, to be **mi*=). Indeed, the

form *mini*= ‘3DU’ only appears before verbs, not even before postpositions, suggesting that object-marker clitics for verbs are somewhat more closely affiliated with their hosts than are those associated with postpositions. The following sentences demonstrate how the allomorph *mini*= ‘3DU’ occurs when preceding an initial /n/ of a verb stem (7.119), but not when preceding other consonants (e.g., /l-) (7.120).

(7.119) Itom mī inmi **mininkap**.
 itom mī inmi **mini**=nkī-p
 father 3SG hole 3DU=dig=PRF
 ‘Father dug two holes.’

(7.120) Itom mī num **minlop**.
 itom mī num **min**=lo-p
 father 3SG canoe 3DU=cut=PRF
 ‘Father carved two canoes.’

The fact that *[mini] is not produced from /min/ in contexts other than those in which it directly precedes a verb can be illustrated by comparison of the following examples taken from texts, the first (7.121) showing [mini] before a verb beginning with /n/, the second (7.122) showing the pronominal form as a free subject marker ([min]) preceding a word beginning with /n/. Only the first example, (7.121), exhibits the form [mini].

(7.121) Wondi inom min ndī **mininke** isi up.
 wondi inom min ndī **mini**=nkī-e isi u-p
 bandicoot mother 3DU 3PL 3DU=cut-DEP soup put-PRF
 ‘The two mother bandicoot—they cut them up into the soup.’ (T27)

(7.122) **Min num** si nīn ata līp.
min **num** si nī=n ata lī-p
 3DU canoe push 1SG=OBL up put-PRF
 ‘The two of them came ashore with me.’ (Literally, ‘put the canoe up with me’) (T27)

Even before a postposition beginning in /n/, the form *[mini] does not occur, as seen below.

(7.123) Unji yenat ngin minap **mana** na.
 unji yenat ngin **min**=nap ma-na na[-kī-p]
 2SG.POSS daughter this.DU 3DU=for go-IRR DETR-say-PRF
 ‘These two daughters of yours—I wanted to go on account of them.’ (T32)

There are, however, admittedly few examples of [mini] in the Ulwa corpus of texts. This is not surprising, given the rarity both of dual referents and of verbal stems beginning in /n/. Speakers do, however, consistently produce the form in elicitation.

Although helpful in designating the number of referents in an object NP, object markers, like subject markers (7.2), are not always included in their respective NPs. Again, their absence may be a simple omission, the product of casual speech. Their omission does, however, seem more likely when the referent is less definite, but no clear correlation has been found in the corpus. (In other words, Ulwa may exhibit a form of differential object marking in addition to exhibiting differential subject marking, 7.2.) The objects of both examples below are indefinite; in the first, (7.124), the object receives the object marker (for each of two verbs), whereas in the second, (7.125), it does not.

(7.124) Yawa ndī anasa **maytape** mat mananda.
 yawa ndī anasa **ma=ita-p-e** ma=tī ma=na-nda
 uncle 3PL pickaxe 3SG=build-PRF-DEP 3SG=take 3SG=give-IRR
 ‘The uncles will make a pickaxe and give it to her.’ (T07)

(7.125) Ndī tīmbil itap.
 ndī tīmbil ita-p
 3PL fence build-PRF
 ‘They built a fence.’ (T11)

The following is another set of examples with indefinite object NPs, again contrasting the presence (7.126) and absence (7.127) of the object marker.

(7.126) Imba nape ay **ndīnkap ndīn** amblan up.
 imba na-p-e ay **ndī=nkī-p** **ndī=n** ambla=n u-p
 night DETR-be-DEP sago 3PL=cut-PRF 3PL=OBL PL.REFL=OBL put-PRF
 ‘At night (they) made sago (packets) and left them for themselves.’ (T11)

(7.127) Un ay nīkap?
 un ay nkī-p
 2PL sago cut-PRF
 ‘Did you make sago?’ (T14)

In addition to appearing as the final element in (direct) object NPs (that is, immediately preceding verbs), object markers occur as the final elements of NPs that are the objects of postpositions, as in the following:

- (7.128) Kayngam i ya **maya** atay.
 Kayngam i ya ma=iya ata-i
 [name] go.PRF coconut 3SG=toward up-go.PRF
 ‘Kayngam went, climbed up a coconut tree.’ (T14)
- (7.129) Imbape nĩ wolka tawatip **ndiya** i.
 imba-p-e nĩ wolka tawatip **ndi=iya** i
 night-be-DEP 1SG again child 3PL=toward go.PRF
 ‘That night, I again went to the young folks.’ (T32)
- (7.130) Tilwa **mo** i wa mbi.
 tilwa **ma=u** i wa mbi-i
 road 3SG=from go.PRF village here-go.PRF
 ‘(We) came along the path here to the village.’ (T27)
- (7.131) Manji yawa **minul** i.
 manji yawa min=ul i
 3SG.POSS uncle 3DU=with go.PRF
 ‘(He) went with his two uncles.’ (T11)
- (7.132) An wolka ngata **ndul** iye.
 an wolka ngata **ndi=ul** i-e
 1PL.EXCL again grand 3PL=with go.PRF-DEP
 ‘We again went with the ancestors.’ (T02)

Object markers are also found in NPs marked with the oblique marker =*n*, as in:

- (7.133) Ay **man** minanap.
 ay **ma=n** mi=na-na-p
 sago 3SG=OBL 3SG=DETR-feed-PRF
 ‘(They) fed him with the sago.’ (T09)
- (7.134) An mĩnda **ndĩn** malan up ndamap.
 an mĩnda **ndi=n** manal u-p ndi=ama-p
 1PL.EXCL banana 3PL=OBL hot.water put-PRF 3PL=eat-PRF
 ‘We boiled bananas and ate them.’ (Literally, ‘put bananas in hot water’, with metathesis in *malan* ‘hot water’) (T27)

In addition to the three object markers used for indexing (usually) definite referents (whether singular, dual, or plural), there is a (third-singular) indefinite marker, *ko=*, clearly derived from the numeral *kwa* ~ *kwe* ‘one’. It is here considered a distinct object marker, both because it tends to cliticize to the following verb, postposition, or oblique marker and because it never appears in subject NPs (only the forms *kwa* or *kwe* may appear in this position). (Note that

when occurring as a free morpheme, the form *ko* ‘just’ is a modal adverb, not to be confused with the indefinite object marker *ko=*.) The indefinite object marker is illustrated below.

(7.135) Ala nī nji **kosap!**

ala nī nji **ko=asa-p**
 that.PL 1SG thing INDF=hit-PRF
 ‘Guys, I killed something!’ (T30)

(7.136) Nī ango wolka nungolke **kotīn.**

nī ango wolka nungolke **ko=tī-n**
 1SG NEG again child INDF=take-PRF
 ‘I didn’t have another child.’ (T31)

(7.137) Kayngam wam **ngatī** ma ya **koya** ma!

Kayngam wam **nga=tī** ma ya **ko=iya** ma
 [name] strap this.SG=take go coconut INDF=toward go
 ‘Kayngam, go get this tree-climbing strap and go up a coconut tree!’ (T14)

(7.138) Plas mī ango ma in ...

Plas mī ango ma[nji] i=n
 [name] 3SG NEG 3[SG.POSS] hand=OBL

... nji **kon** mbīlp.

nji **ko=n** mbī-lī-p
 thing INDF=OBL here-put-PRF
 ‘Plas didn’t plant anything here with his (own) hands.’ (T11)

(7.139) Ndī ango wondi **kotīn.**

ndī ango wondi **ko=tī-n**
 3PL NEG bandicoot INDF=take-PRF
 ‘They didn’t get a (single) bandicoot.’ (T27)

This marker is commonly used in demands or requests to be given something, such as the very common request to be passed betel nut (the first of the two following examples).

(7.140) Aw **kot** nīnan!

aw **ko=tī** nī=na-n
 betel.nut INDF=take 1SG=give-IMP
 ‘Please pass the betel nut!’

(7.141) Kau nungol **kot** nīnata!

kau nungol **ko=tī** nī=na-ta
 cow child INDF=take 1SG=give-COND
 ‘Give me a calf!’ (*kau* < TP) (T11)

Although etymologically related to the form *kwa* ‘one’, the (definite) sense of the numeral ‘one’ is generally not felt in the object marker. Rather, to give the sense of ‘(exactly) one’, the numeral itself is used, followed by a 3SG object (or subject) marker, as in the following examples.

(7.142) Mi may ndimbam ...

mī	ma=i	ndī=imbam
3SG	3SG=go.PRF	3PL=under

‘She went there, went under them, ...’

... lop **kwa molop** lip malep.

lo-p	kwa	ma=lo-p	li-p	ma=ale-p
go-PRF	one	3SG=cut-PRF	put-PRF	3SG=scrape-PRF

‘... cut one (palm) down, and scraped it.’ (T27)

(7.143) Ni **kwa mol** ne

nī	kwa	ma=ul	ni-e
1SG	one	3SG=with	act-DEP

‘I was making one (armband).’ (T12)

(7.144) Nīnji wot yana **kwa mī** nip.

nīnji	wot	yana	kwa	mī	ni-p
1SG.POSS	younger	woman	one	3SG	die-PRF

‘One younger sister of mine has died.’ (T23)

Sometimes the only expressed element in an object NP (whether the direct object of a transitive verb or the object preceding a postposition or oblique marker) is an object marker. Since these are identical in form to third person non-subject personal pronominal forms and since first person and second person pronouns may *also* occur in these positions, it is probably most parsimonious to view these all simply as pronouns. That is, when no nominal is expressed in an object NP consisting solely of the form *ma=*, *min=*, or *ndi=*, these may be treated simply as object pronouns, as in:

(7.145) Ndī **mayte**.

ndī	ma=ita-e
3PL	3SG=build-DEP

‘They were building it.’ (T27)

- (7.146) Unan **maya** mbiye.
 unan **ma**=iya mbi-i-e
 1PL.INCL 3SG=toward here-go.PRF-DEP
 ‘We came here to him.’ (T32)
- (7.147) Ndī nokoplīp līmndī **mala**.
 ndī nokop-lī-p līmndī **ma**=ala
 3PL hide-put-PRF eye 3SG=for
 ‘They hid and saw her.’ (T16)
- (7.148) Nī man **mint**.
 nī **ma**=n **min**=ta
 1SG 3SG=OBL 3DU=say
 ‘I told them.’ (T11)
- (7.149) Nī ango **ndītīn**.
 nī ango **ndī**=tī-n
 1SG NEG 3PL=take-PRF
 ‘I didn’t get them.’ (T32)
- (7.150) Mī **nasape**.
 mī **nī**=asa-p-e
 3SG 1SG=hit-PRF-DEP
 ‘He hit me.’ (T11)
- (7.151) Nga mīnjikan **ngant**.
 nga mīnjika=n **ngan**=ta
 this.SG speech=OBL 1DU.EXCL=say
 ‘This one spoke to us.’ (T11)
- (7.152) Wondi andat **ngunanata** ngunan matim.
 wondi anda=tī **ngunan**=na-ta ngunan **ma**=atī-m
 bandicoot that.SG=take 1DU.INCL=give-COND 1DU.INCL 3SG=hit-IRR
 ‘When (he) gives us that bandicoot, we will kill it.’ (T24)
- (7.153) Yalum un yanat un ango kīkal **anwana**.
 yalum un yanat un ango kīkal **an**=wana
 grandchild 2PL daughter 2PL NEG ear 1PL.EXCL=feel
 ‘You granddaughters and you daughters don’t listen to us.’ (T11)
- (7.154) Ndī kīkal **unanwana** mīnja m!
 ndī kīkal **unan**=wana mīnja m
 3PL ear 1PL.INCL=feel speech hm
 ‘They will hear us and say: “Hm!”’ (T32)

(7.155) Ngan **nguniya** men iye.
 ngan **ngun**=iya ma=in i-e
 1DU.EXCL 2DU=toward 3SG=in go.PRF-DEP
 ‘We came to you in it.’ (T11)

(7.156) Nĩ **unul** wa mana.
 nĩ **un**=ul wa ma-na
 1SG 2PL=with village go-IRR
 ‘I will go with you to the village.’ (T32)

Similarly, the set of reflexive (or reciprocal) forms, when cliticizing to verbs or postpositions (or when preceding oblique markers), may simply be considered to be pronouns (see examples in 6.4).

7.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are words that provide information concerning the number (or amount) of a referent, without assigning an exact numerical value (numerical values are assigned through the use of numerals, 7.6). Thus, words that express concepts such as ‘much’, ‘many’, ‘few’, ‘all’, ‘some’, etc. may all (on semantic grounds) be considered quantifiers. The words that express these concepts in Ulwa, however, mostly pattern (syntactically) with words in other classes, namely adjectives. There is at least one word, however, that warrants placement in a separate quantifier class, since it displays unique syntactic properties. This word is *wopa* ‘all’.

First it must be demonstrated how the quantifier *wopa* ‘all’ can, in fact, function as an adjective. As an adjective, *wopa* means ‘whole’, ‘entire’, or ‘full’. Like all adjectives, its canonical position is immediately following the noun that it modifies (5.2). If there is a subject marker, object marker, or other determiner present, then the adjective *wopa* precedes this word. In this usage, *wopa* ‘all’ has a singular (as opposed to plural) meaning—that is, it means something like ‘all of something’, i.e., ‘the whole’. Accordingly, as in the following examples, NPs containing *wopa* as an attributive adjective are followed by singular determiners (e.g., the subject marker *mĩ* ‘3SG’ or the demonstrative object marker *anda* ‘that.SG’).

(7.157) Im **wopa** mĩ liyu.
 im **wopa** mĩ li-u
 tree all 3SG fall-PRF
 ‘The whole tree fell.’

(7.158) Utam **wopa** mī tembip.
 utam **wopa** mī tembi-p
 yam all 3SG bad-be
 ‘The entire yam is rotten.’

(7.159) Ndī unan wat u apīn **wopa** ndatīne ...
 ndī unan=n wat u apīn **wopa** anda=tī-n-e
 3PL 1PL.INCL=OBL atop from fire all that.SG=take-PRF-DEP
 ‘And once they have gotten the full fire from above us, ...’ (T32)

As all adjectives, *wopa* ‘all’ may function as a substantive as well (5.4). In the following example, *wopa* ‘all’ is followed by the third plural subject marker *ndī*, because it is referring to multiple whole things (in this sentence, fish).

(7.160) **Wopa** ndī ngamana.
wopa ndī nga=ma-na
 all 3PL this.SG=go-IRR
 ‘The whole (ones) will go here.’ (T11)

As a (syntactically distinct) quantifier, however, *wopa* has the meaning ‘all’ (i.e., all members of a group or set of things). Instead of preceding the subject marker (or subject pronoun), the quantifier follows it. This usage may be thought of as plural. In the following sentences, *wopa* follows third plural subject markers (*ndī*).

(7.161) Im ndī **wopa** liyu.
 im ndī **wopa** li-u
 tree 3PL all fall-PRF
 ‘All the trees fell.’

(7.162) Utam ndī **wopa** tembip.
 utam ndī **wopa** tembi-p
 yam 3PL all bad-be
 ‘All the yams are rotten.’

(7.163) Nji ndī **wopa** menpe.
 nji ndī **wopa** ma=in-p-e
 thing 3PL all 3SG=in-be-DEP
 ‘All (his) possessions are in it.’ (T11)

The following examples illustrate that the quantifier *wopa* ‘all’ can appear after (plural) pronouns as well as after subject markers.

(7.164) Una **wopa** map.
 unan **wopa** ma=p
 1PL.INCL all 3SG=be
 ‘We all stay there.’ (T11)

(7.165) Ndī **wopa** wombīn ne.
 ndī **wopa** wombīn=n ni-e
 3PL all work=OBL act-DEP
 (a) ‘They are all working.’
 (b) ‘All of them are working.’

(7.166) Ndambi **wopa** anala mbīp.
 ndambi **wopa** an=ala mbī-p
 3PL.FOC all 1PL.EXCL=for here-be
 ‘As for them, they all stayed for our sake.’ (T27)

As a quantifier, the post-NP position of *wopa* is rigid. Attempts to raise the quantifier (overtly) to a position within the NP (that is, between the noun and subject marker), result in an adjectival interpretation of the word (that is, ‘whole’, ‘full’, ‘complete’, etc.), as shown below.

(7.167) Ankam ndī **wopa** wandam i.
 ankam ndī **wopa** wandam i
 person 3PL all jungle go.PRF
 ‘All the people went to the jungle.’

(7.168) ? Ankam **wopa** ndī wandam i.
 ankam **wopa** ndī wandam i
 person all 3PL jungle go.PRF
 ? ‘The whole people went to the jungle.’ (e.g., not just their hands went)

In negative clauses, however, the quantifier *wopa* ‘all’—though it must always follow the entire NP (including the subject marker)—may either precede (7.169) or follow (7.170) the negative marker *ango* ‘NEG’, as seen below.

(7.169) Ankam ndī ango **wopa** wandam i.
 ankam ndī ango **wopa** wandam i
 person 3PL NEG all jungle go.PRF
 ‘All the people did not go to the jungle.’

(7.170) Ankam ndī **wopa** ango wandam i.
 ankam ndī **wopa** ango wandam i
 person 3PL all NEG jungle go.PRF
 ‘All the people did not go to the jungle.’

The two sentences above have the same meaning. Indeed, the scopal relationship between the negator and the quantifier is also the same—and, in both cases, ambivalent. That is, either may have scope over the other, producing either the possible interpretation that ‘not all (i.e., some) people went to the jungle’ or the other possible interpretation that ‘no people went to the jungle.’ In the example below, only context reveals that *ango wopa* ‘not all’ implies ‘no one’ as opposed to implying ‘some’.

- (7.171) Ndi **ango wopa** mol lop.
 ndi **ango wopa** ma=ul lo-p
 3PL NEG all 3SG=with go-PRF
 ‘They all did not go with him.’ (i.e., ‘None of them went with him.’; but, in other contexts this could imply: ‘Not all of them went with him.’) (T30)

At times, *wopa* may alternatively be translated as ‘everything’ or ‘everyone’. In these instances, *wopa* also follows subject markers or pronouns (as when the word functions elsewhere as a quantifier), as in the following examples.

- (7.172) Nji ndi **wopa** liyu.
 nji ndi **wopa** li-u
 thing 3PL all fall-PRF
 ‘Everything fell.’ (Literally, ‘All the things fell.’)

- (7.173) Ala **wopa** nip.
 ala **wopa** ni-p
 that.PL all die-PRF
 ‘Everyone died.’ (Literally, ‘Those all died.’)

It may even appear as the only element in an NP, thus functioning somewhat as a pronoun, as in:

- (7.174) **Wopa** malanda.
wopa ma=la-nda
 all 3SG=eat-IRR
 ‘All would eat it.’ (T11)

One of the most interesting aspects of the syntactic positioning of the quantifier *wopa* ‘all’, however, is the fact that it follows not only subject markers, but also object markers. It is thus the only element known to be able to intercede between object-marker clitics and their associated verbs. The following sentences illustrate this unusual placement of *wopa* ‘all’.

(7.175) Inom mī mīnda **nduwopa** wananda.
 inom mī mīnda ndī=**wopa** wana-nda
 mother 3SG banana 3PL=all cook-IRR
 ‘Mother will cook all the bananas.’

(7.176) Nī lamndu **nduwopa** asap.
 nī lamndu ndī=**wopa** asa-p
 1SG pig 3PL=all hit-PRF
 ‘I killed all the pigs.’

(7.177) Nī limndī nji **nduwopa** ala.
 nī limndī nji ndī=**wopa** ala
 1SG eye thing 3PL=all for
 ‘I saw everything.’

(7.178) Nī limndī **alawopa** ala.
 nī limndī ala=**wopa** ala
 1SG eye that.PL=all for
 ‘I saw everyone.’

(Examples 7.177 and 7.178 above illustrate the alternative translation with ‘everything’ or ‘everyone’.)

When preceding the object marker, however, *wopa* can only have an adjectival interpretation, as in the following sentence.

(7.179) Inom mī mīnda **wopa** nduwananda.
 inom mī mīnda **wopa** ndī=wana-nda
 mother 3SG banana all 3PL=cook-IRR
 ‘Mother will cook the whole bananas.’ (i.e., the un-cut bananas)

The unique positioning of *wopa* ‘all’ between object markers and their associated verbs is suggestive more than anything else that this word belongs to a syntactic class of its own (although caution is required, since this evidence comes solely from elicitations; there are—perhaps surprisingly—no examples in the Ulwa corpus of texts of *wopa* ‘all’ occurring in non-subject NPs). Other (semantically) quantifier-like words do not intercede between object markers and verbs. For example, when *kuma* ‘some’ modifies an object NP, it occurs before the object marker (when present), as in the following:

(7.180) Nĩ lamndu **kuma** ndasap.
 nĩ lamndu **kuma** ndĩ=asa-p
 1SG pig some 3PL=hit-PRF
 ‘I killed some pigs.’

(7.181) Nĩ limndĩ tĩn **kuma** ndala.
 nĩ limndĩ tĩn **kuma** ndĩ=ala
 1SG eye dog some 3PL=for
 ‘I saw some dogs.’

In the two examples above, *kuma* ‘some’ could also have the reading ‘a few’ (that is, ‘some’ but not ‘many’). For the sense ‘some of’ (that is, a partitive quantity), the postposition *ul* ‘with’ is employed, as in:

(7.182) Nĩ limndĩ tĩn ndul **kuma** ndala.
 nĩ limndĩ tĩn ndĩ=ul **kuma** ndĩ=ala
 1SG eye dog 3PL=with some 3PL=for
 ‘I saw some of the dogs.’ (Literally, ‘I saw some with the dogs.’)

(7.183) Nĩ utam ndul **kuma** amap.
 nĩ utam ndĩ=ul **kuma** ama-p
 1SG yam 3PL=with some eat-PRF
 ‘I ate some of the yams.’

(7.184) An lamndu ndul **kuma** asap.
 an lamndu ndĩ=ul **kuma** asa-p
 1PL.EXCL pig 3PL=with some hit-PRF
 ‘We killed some of the pigs.’

Like other modifiers, *kuma* ‘some’ can function as a substantive, whether in a subject NP (7.185 and 7.186), direct object NP (7.187 and 7.188), or oblique NP (7.189), as seen in the following examples.

(7.185) **Kuma** la woyambĩn alanji wandam ala nakap.
kuma ala woyambĩn alanji wandam ala na-kĩ-p
 some that.PL pointlessly that.PL.POSS jungle that.PL DETR-say-PRF
 ‘Some people claimed absurdly that those are their jungles.’ (Literally, ‘those some’)
 (T27)

(7.186) **Kuma** mo ato anmbundata undana.
kuma ma=u ata-u an-mbĩ-unda-ta unda-na
 some 3SG=from up-from out-here-go-COND go-IRR
 ‘If some go out from there, (they) will go.’ (T27)

(7.187) Ndī **kuma** ndit ninane nī wolka i.
 ndī **kuma** ndī=tī nī-na-n-e nī wolka i
 3PL some 3PL=take 1SG=give-PRF-DEP 1SG again go.PRF
 ‘They gave me some and I in turn went.’ (T27)

(7.188) Mī **kuma** ndīnkāp niya i.
 mī **kuma** ndī=nkī-p nī=iya i
 3SG some 3PL=dig-PRF 1SG=toward go.PRF
 ‘She dug some out and came to me.’ (T37)

(7.189) Min mape **kuman** upe.
 min ma=p-e **kuma**=n u-p-e
 3DU 3SG=be-DEP some=OBL put-PRF-DEP
 ‘The two are there and (they) planted some.’ (T32)

Note the use of subject markers and object markers. While *kuma* ‘some’ patterns mostly like other adjectives (and is thus less clearly a member of the quantifier class that contains *wopa* ‘all’), there is at least one quirk in its syntactic patterning. To express a partitive sense in the first person or second person (i.e., ‘some of us’, ‘some of you’, etc.), *kuma* is placed after the relevant pronoun, as seen below.

(7.190) **Una kuma** apa mawnde isal monombam awe.
unan **kuma** apa ma=unda-e i-si-al monombam aw-e
 1PL.INCL some house 3SG=go-DEP hand-push-PRF forehead put.IPFV-DEP
 ‘Some of us go to church and pray.’ (Literally, ‘We some go to the house and push hands on foreheads.’) (T32)

(7.191) **Un kuma** ananganipe imot aye.
un **kuma** an=angani-p-e imot a-e
 2PL some 1PL.EXCL=behind-be-DEP log break-DEP
 ‘Some of you are behind us, breaking firewood.’ (T32)

Often, *kuma* ‘some’ is used in contrastive statements, providing a correlative structure (‘some ... others ...’), as in:

(7.192) **Kuma** matīna **kuma** manakam.
kuma ma=tī-na **kuma** ma-na-kamb
 some 3SG=take-IRR some 3SG=DETR-shun
 ‘Some wanted to get her; others didn’t want it.’ (T27)

(7.193) An **kuma** matane.
 an **kuma** ma=ta-n-e
 1PL.EXCL some 3SG=say-IPFV-DEP
 ‘Some of us are saying it.’

Kuma an mama u manke itim awe.
kuma an mama u ma=nkī-e itim aw-e
 some 1PL.EXCL mouth from 3SG=cut-DEP trash put.IPFV-DEP
 ‘But others of us are cutting it (this good message) out of (our) mouths and putting (it) into the trash.’ (T32)

Thus, while there are other words (like *kuma* ‘some’) that can be used to provide information about the quantity of a referent, only *wopa* ‘all’ is considered to be a quantifier in the sense of having qualities significantly syntactically distinct from those of other word classes (i.e., adjectives). It has been shown, though, that another word that may (on semantic grounds) be considered a quantifier, *kuma* ‘some’, does have at least one syntactic quirk. Finally, several other ways of expressing ‘much’, ‘many’, ‘little’, and ‘few’ in Ulwa may be examined to help consider whether the associated words behave distinctly as quantifiers in any way. They are listed below.

<i>ilum</i>	‘piece, little, few’
<i>kekaka</i>	‘one each, one by one, just a few’
<i>ambi</i>	‘big, much’
<i>tingin</i>	‘many’
<i>nunu</i>	‘various, many’

The principal means of expressing a small amount or number is the word *ilum* ‘piece’, which is thought primarily to be a noun, but which can also function as a modifier along with other nouns in an NP. Its various uses are illustrated below.

(7.194) Nī ndīn u ma **ilum** kotin.
 nī ndī=n u ma[nji] **ilum** ko=tī-n
 1SG 3PL=OBL from 3SG[.POSS] piece INDF=take-PRF
 ‘I got a piece of it (tobacco) from them.’ (T32)

(7.195) An **ilum** mokop ndinan.
 an **ilum** moko-p ndī=na-n
 1PL.EXCL piece take-PRF 3PL=give-PRF
 ‘We gave them a little.’ (T31)

(7.196) Inim **ilum** kuk nji up.
 inim **ilum** kuk nji u-p
 water piece gather thing put-PRF
 ‘(They) got a little water into something.’ (T11)

(7.197) Nĩ nji **ilumni** molnda.
 nĩ nji **ilum**=nĩ ma=lu-nda
 1SG thing piece=OBL 3SG=put-IRR
 ‘I will plant a few things there.’ (T11)

The word *kekaka* (sometimes pronounced *kwekaka*) ‘one each’ may also be used to express a limited number. The word seems to have derived as a calque from Tok Pisin *wanwan* ‘one each’. It behaves primarily like an adverb, as in the following examples.

(7.198) An angō mĩka **kekaka** inde.
 an angō maka **kekaka** inda-e
 1PL.EXCL NEG thus one.each walk-DEP
 ‘We wouldn’t walk one by one.’ (i.e., ‘We wouldn’t walk alone.’) (T10)

(7.199) Ndĩ unanĩ **kekaka** inap.
 ndĩ unan=nĩ **kekaka** ina-p
 3PL 1PL.INCL=OBL one.each get-PRF
 ‘They had just a few of us.’ (Literally, ‘They got one-each with us.’; i.e., ‘Our parents didn’t have many children.’) (T11)

To express large non-countable quantities, adjectives such as *ambi* ‘big’ are used, as in the following:

(7.200) Inim **ambi** keka i.
 inim **ambi** keka i
 water big completely go.PRF
 ‘A lot of water has gone.’ (T33)

(7.201) Ango ndĩn wombasa anga **ambi** moke.
 angō ndĩ=n wombasa anga **ambi** moko-e
 NEG 3PL=OBL clay.pot side big take-DEP
 ‘(They) don’t get lots of money with them.’ (T27)

For large countable quantities, the word *tingin* ‘many’ is used. It patterns for the most part with other modifiers (i.e., adjectives). Namely, it can appear after nouns and precede subject markers or object markers. Like other modifiers, it can also serve as a substantive (that is, as the head of a noun phrase). That said, there does seem to be a tendency for object markers to be

omitted from NPs containing (or consisting exclusively of) *tingin* ‘many’, suggesting perhaps that the word behaves differently (or, at least, that there is indeed a correlation between lack of object markers and lack of definiteness, see 7.4). The following sentences exemplify the use of *tingin* ‘many’.

(7.202) Ulum ndi ankam **tingin** ndame.

ulum	ndi	ankam	tingin	ndi=ama-e
palm	3PL	person	many	3PL=eat-DEP

‘The sago palms—many people are eating them.’ (T11)

(7.203) Apa angu **tingin** ndi mape.

apa	angu	tingin	ndi	ma=p-e
house	NEG	many	3PL	3SG=be-DEP

‘There aren’t many houses there.’ (T23)

(7.204) Unanji yalum ngala ndi **tinginpe**.

unanji	yalum	ngala	ndi	tingin-p-e
1PL.INCL.POSS	grandchild	this.PL	3PL	many-be-DEP

‘We have many grandchildren.’ (Literally, ‘These grandchildren of ours—they are many.’) (T32)

(7.205) Anambi angu uta **tingin** asap.

anambi	angu	uta	tingin	asa-p
1PL.EXCL.FOC	NEG	bird	many	hit-PRF

‘As for us, we didn’t kill many birds.’ (T27)

Finally, the word *nunu* ‘various, many’ may be used to express a large number. Whereas *tingin* ‘many’ follows nouns (thus patterning with other modifiers such as adjectives), *nunu* ‘various, many’ behaves differently, occurring before the noun it modifies. It thus may prove a good candidate (along with *wopa* ‘all’) for membership in a small, somewhat motley class of quantifiers. The use of *nunu* ‘various, many’ is illustrated below.

(7.206) **Nunu** njin molnda mane.

nunu	nji=n	ma=lu-nda	ma-n-e
various	thing=OBL	3SG=put-IRR	go-IPFV-DEP

‘(I) am going to plant all sorts of things there.’ (T37)

(7.207) Wa **nunu** wa ule.

wa	nunu	wa	u-lo-e
just	various	village	from-go-DEP

‘(They) just go around in many villages.’ (T32)

- (7.208) A **nunu** wombĭn tembi ndambilakan!
 a **nunu** wombĭn tembi ndambi=la-ka-n
 ah various work bad 3PL.FOC=IRR-let-IMP
 ‘Ah, forget all the bad jobs!’ (T11)

7.6 Numerals

Cardinal numerals are the numbers used in counting. They may also be used to quantify noun phrases, assigning a numerical value to the referent. Ulwa makes use of a quinary (base-five) number system—that is, there are distinct, (mostly) morphologically simple words for the numbers one through four, none of which appears to have been derived from another number word.

The basic cardinal numerals in Ulwa are as follows:

1	kwe / kwa		
2	nini		
3	lele		
4	watangĭnila		
5	angay (kwe)		
6	angay kwe kwe mowon ndĭwatlĭp		
7	angay kwe nini minwon ndĭwatlĭp		
8	angay kwe lele ndĭwon ndĭwatlĭp		
9	angay kwe watangĭnila ndĭwon ndĭwatlĭp		
10	angay nini	/	nali (kwe)
11	angay nini kwe mowon ndĭwatlĭp	/	nali kwe kwe
12	angay nini nini minwon ndĭwatlĭp	/	nali kwe nini
13	angay nini lele ndĭwon ndĭwatlĭp	/	nali kwe lele
14	angay nini watangĭnila ndĭwon ndĭwatlĭp	/	nali kwe watangĭnila
15	angay lele		
16	angay lele kwe mowon ndĭwatlĭp		
17	angay lele nini minwon ndĭwatlĭp		
18	angay lele lele ndĭwon ndĭwatlĭp		
19	angay lele watangĭnila ndĭwon ndĭwatlĭp		
20	angay watangĭnila	/	nali nini / lamndu unduwan
25	angay angay	/	nali nini angay
30	nali lele		
40	nali watangĭnila		
50	nali angay	/	ankam unduwan
60	ankam unduwan nali (kwe)		
70	ankam unduwan nali nini		
80	ankam unduwan nali lele		

90	ankam unduwan nali watanginila
100	uta (kwe)
200	uta nini
300	uta lele

The numbers one through four are (mostly) unanalyzable. The word for ‘one’ (which may be pronounced either *kwe* or *kwa*) is undoubtedly related to the indefinite object marker *ko=*, as well as to the modal adverb *ko ~ kwa* ‘just’, the indefinite pronoun *kwa* ‘someone’, and the interrogative pronoun *kwa* ‘who?’.

The word for ‘two’ (*nini*) bears a (perhaps superficial) resemblance to the 3DU marker *min* (and its rarer alternate *ndin*), but—if there is any etymological relationship—it is more likely that one or both of the pronominal forms derive from the numeral (and not vice versa). Also, the form of the word appears to consist of a reduplicated monosyllabic form. This could be in origin iconic, although there is no known form **ni*.

Likewise, the word for ‘three’ (*lele*) appears to contain reduplication. Of course, there is less logical justification for calling this iconic, but perhaps the form was derived by analogy from the preceding form in the series of numerals. This is all, of course, very speculative.

The word for ‘four’ (*watanginila*), does, however, seem somewhat analyzable: *watangin* ‘last bunch (of bananas) to emerge’ + *ila* ‘*morota* frond’. The word *watangin* seems to be used in a more general sense to refer to the last of a series (it also refers to the ‘pinky finger’, for example). In traditional timekeeping, days can be marked by the breaking of one *ila* ‘*morota* frond’ each day. The word *watanginila* ‘four’, thus seems to mean something like ‘the last straw’.

The word for ‘five’ (*angay*) is transparently derived from *anga* ‘piece, side’ plus *i* ‘hand, arm’ (optionally, the word *kwe* ‘one’ may be added to this, i.e., *angay kwe*). This reflects the system of hand-counting that underlies the quinary numerical system—that is, people start to count objects using the fingers of one hand. When all fingers have been extended (that is, when the number ‘five’ has been reached), they have created a single outstretched palm (that is, one ‘side’ of ‘hand’).

The numbers six through nine contain verbal elements, which, when taken literally, express that numbers (probably in origin palm fronds or other counters) have been ‘cut’ and ‘added’ to (literally, ‘put atop’) the number five. Thus, the verbal expression of the number six is literally analyzable as follows:

(7.209) angay kwe kwe mowon ndīwatlip
 anga-i kwe kwe ma=won ndī=wat-li-p
 side-hand one one 3SG=cut 3PL=atop-put-PRF
 ‘one side of hand (= five); (someone) cut one and put (it) on top of them’ (= six)

The expressions for the numbers seven through nine break down as follows:

(7.210) angay kwe nini minwon ndīwatlip
 anga-i kwe nini min=won ndī=wat-li-p
 side-hand one two 3DU=cut 3PL=atop-put-PRF
 ‘one side of hand (= five); (someone) cut two and put (them) on top of them’ (= seven)

(7.211) angay kwe lele ndīwon ndīwatlip
 anga-i kwe lele ndī=won ndī=wat-li-p
 side-hand one three 3PL=cut 3PL=atop-put-PRF
 ‘one side of hand (= five); (someone) cut three and put (them) on top of them’ (= eight)

(7.212) angay kwe watangīnila ndīwon ndīwatlip
 anga-i kwe watangīnila ndī=won ndī=wat-li-p
 side-hand one four 3PL=cut 3PL=atop-put-PRF
 ‘one side of hand (= five); (someone) cut four and put (them) on top of them’ (= nine)

Other periphrases are possible to express sums larger than five. In the first example below, (7.213), the speaker uses the forms similar to those above, but with the alternate form of the word for ‘one’; in the second example below, (7.214), however, instead of using the metaphor of ‘cutting’, the speaker uses the metaphor of numbers being ‘thrown’ atop each other (i.e., ‘added’).

(7.213) Lucy mī ...
 Lucy mī
 [name] 3SG

... manji **angay kwa kwe mowon ndīwatlip.**
 manji **angay kwa kwe ma=won ndī=wat-li-p**
 3SG.POSS five one one 3SG=cut 3PL=atop-put-PRF
 ‘Lucy has six (children).’ (T20)

(7.214) Nī nīnji tawatip **angay kwe nini top ndīwatlip.**
 nī nīnji tawatip **angay kwe nini top ndī=wat-li-p**
 1SG 1SG.POSS child five one two throw 3PL=atop-put-PRF
 ‘I have seven children.’ (T10)

The number ten is of the form ‘five (times) two’. An alternate form, *nali* ‘ten’, reflects the traditional system for counting larger numbers in Ulwa, as this word also refers to the spines of sago fronds, which were used to mark units of ten when counting larger sums. The number twenty can be expressed either as ‘five (times) four’ or ‘ten (times) two’. It can also be denoted by the phrase *lamndu unduwan* ‘pig(’s) head’, a term reflecting modern Papua New Guinean currency, as the twenty-kina note has the picture of a pig’s head. (Higher-number counting was probably not a common practice among Ulwa speakers before the introduction of a cash economy.) Similarly, the number fifty can be expressed either as ‘ten (times) five’ or as *ankam unduwan* ‘person(’s) head’, this phrase likewise reflecting the fact that the fifty-kina note contains the image of a man’s head (that of Prime Minister Michael Somare). Finally, the number one hundred is expressed as *uta (kwe)* ‘(one) bird’, similarly derived from the fact that the hundred-kina note contains the image of a bird (a bird-of-paradise, the nation’s symbol).

When modifying noun phrases, cardinal numerals occur in the same position as (other) adjectives—that is, immediately following the noun phrase. Numerals can modify either subjects or objects; in subject NPs, the subject marker is somewhat unnecessary (at least in terms of it serving its common function of identifying number—singular, dual, or plural), and it is thus often omitted, as in the following:

(7.215) Tĩn **nini** utam mamap.
 tĩn **nini** utam ma=ama-p
 dog two yam 3SG=eat-PRF
 ‘Two dogs ate the yam.’

(7.216) Tĩn **lele** utam mamap.
 tĩn **lele** utam ma=ama-p
 dog three yam 3SG=eat-PRF
 ‘Three dogs ate the yam.’

Numerals are not often used to indicate the number of referents in a subject, however. Indeed, the ubiquitous subject markers often offer clues to the quantity of multiple referents in a subject NP, especially when the number of referents is exactly two, as in the first of the examples below.

(7.217) Tin **min** awal wandam i.
 tīn **min** awal wandam i
 dog 3DU yesterday jungle go.PRF
 ‘Two dogs went to the jungle yesterday.’

(7.218) Tin **ndī** awal wandam i.
 tīn **ndī** awal wandam i
 dog 3PL yesterday jungle go.PRF
 ‘(Three or more) dogs went to the jungle yesterday.’

Despite the redundancy, it is, however, possible for the dual subject marker to appear alongside the numeral two, as in:

(7.219) Manji nungol **nini min** ndīlope.
 manji nungol **nini** **min** ndī=lo-p-e
 3SG.POSS child two 3DU 3PL=go-PRF-DEP
 ‘His two sons went around in them (jungle areas).’ (T30)

When modifying object NPs, the numeral (again, not commonly used in discourse), also appears immediately following the NP, as in the following:

(7.220) Tin mī mīnda (**nini**) minamap.
 tīn mī mīnda (**nini**) min=ama-p
 dog 3SG banana (two) 3DU=eat-PRF
 ‘The dog ate two bananas.’

(7.221) Tin mī mīnda (**lele**) ndamap.
 tīn mī mīnda (**lele**) ndī=ama-p
 dog 3SG banana (three) 3PL=eat-PRF
 ‘The dog ate (three) bananas.’

The presence of object markers (which often identify the number of direct-object referents) also frequently renders the use of cardinal numerals redundant. Of course, for numbers greater than two, numerals are useful for specifying exact quantities, as in the sentence below.

(7.222) Maple mī apa mo mīnda **lele** ndītīna.
 Maple mī apa ma=u mīnda **lele** ndī=ti-na
 [name] 3SG house 3SG=from banana three 3PL=take-IRR
 ‘Maple will take three bananas from the house.’

Despite the redundancy, the numeral *kwe* or *kwa* ‘one’ may be used to modify the object of a verb along with the 3SG object marker *ma=*, as in the following sentence. In such instances, the indefinite object marker *ko=* is not used (7.4).

- (7.223) **Kwe** mat manane.
kwe ma=tì ma=na-n-e
 one 3SG=take 3SG=give-PRF-DEP
 ‘(They) gave him one (fruit).’ (T01)

Understandably, the object marker agrees with preceding numerals, as in the examples above. In numbers greater than four, however, which are periphrastic, the object marker can actually agree with the final component number, as in the following:

- (7.224) Angay **nini minat**.
 angay **nini** **min=at**
 five two 3DU=hit
 ‘Ten [days] passed.’ (Literally, ‘Ten [days] hit.’) (T01)

It could be argued that the object marker in the example above should properly be *ndì* ‘3PL’ and not *min* ‘3DU’, since the object is a number greater than two (‘ten days’). The presence of the numeral *nini* ‘two’—as part of the periphrastic numeral for ‘ten’ (‘five [times] two’)—however, has likely influenced the use of the dual object marker.

As modifiers, numerals can also be predicate complements to subjects, serving as the verbal element of a clause. They can thus take the copular suffix (10.3). Existential constructions specifying a particular number of referents can take this form, as seen below.

- (7.225) Tìn ndì **lelep**.
 tìn ndì **lele-p**
 dog 3PL three-be
 ‘There are three dogs.’ (Literally, ‘The dogs are three.’)

- (7.226) Tìn ndì ipka **lelewap**.
 tìn ndì ipka **lele-wap**
 dog 3PL before three-be.PST
 ‘There were three dogs before.’ (Literally, ‘The dogs were three before.’)

- (7.227) Tìn ndì **lelepina**.
 tìn ndì **lele-p-na**
 dog 3PL three-be-IRR
 ‘There will be three dogs.’ (Literally, ‘The dogs will be three.’)

There is no distinct set of ordinal numbers in Ulwa. The relative ordering of events must be accomplished with forms of the words *ipka* ‘before, earlier, first’ or *anganika* ‘after, later, soon’. Nominalized forms in *-en* (3.3) can be paired in apposition with NPs, as in the examples below.

(7.228) Nĩnji **ipken** yana mĩ nip.
 nĩnji **ipka-en** yana mĩ ni-p
 1SG.POSS before-NMLZ woman 3SG die-PRF
 ‘My first wife died.’ (Literally, ‘My wife, the one before, died.’)

(7.229) Nĩnji **anganiken** yana mĩ nip.
 nĩnji **anganika-en** yana mĩ ni-p
 1SG.POSS after-NMLZ woman 3SG die-PRF
 ‘My second wife died.’ (Literally, ‘My wife, the one after, died.’)

Consider the contrast between the adverbial use of *ipka* ‘before, earlier, first’ (7.230) or *anganika* ‘after, later, soon’ (7.232) with their nominalized counterparts (7.231 and 7.233), in the following sentences.

(7.230) Kapos mĩ **ipka** lamndu masap.
 Kapos mĩ **ipka** lamndu ma=asa-p
 [name] 3SG before pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘Kapos killed the pig first.’

(7.231) Kapos mĩ **ipken** lamndu masap.
 Kapos mĩ **ipka-en** lamndu ma=asa-p
 [name] 3SG before-NMLZ pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘Kapos killed the first pig.’

(7.232) Kapos mĩ **anganika** lamndu masap.
 Kapos mĩ **anganika** lamndu ma=asa-p
 [name] 3SG after pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘Kapos killed the pig afterwards.’

(7.233) Nomnga mĩ **anganiken** lamndu masap.
 Nomnga mĩ **anganika-en** lamndu ma=asa-p
 [name] 3SG after-NMLZ pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘Nomnga killed the second pig.’

These nominalized forms, it should be noted, are probably not nominalizations of adverbs, but rather of verbs—that is, of *ipka* (or *ip ka*, 9.3.3, a verb with the sense of ‘precede’) and *anganika* (or *angani ka*, 9.3.3, a verb with the sense of ‘follow’). This is suggested by forms

used to distinguish ordinals greater than ‘first’ and ‘second’. In the examples below, ‘third’ is denoted by the dual object marker *min=* preceding the verb *anganika* and ‘fourth’ is denoted by the plural object marker *ndi=* preceding the verb *anganika*.

(7.234) Yokombla mĩ **minanganiken** lamndu masap.

Yokombla mĩ **min=anganika-en** lamndu ma=asa-p
 [name] 3SG 3DU=after-NMLZ pig 3SG=hit-PRF

‘Yokombla killed the third pig.’ (Literally, ‘Yokombla killed the pig, the one following two.’)

(7.235) Amiwa mĩ **ndanganiken** lamndu masap.

Amiwa mĩ **ndi=anganika-en** lamndu ma=asa-p
 [name] 3SG 3PL=after-NMLZ pig 3SG=hit-PRF

‘Amiwa killed the fourth pig.’ (Literally, ‘Amiwa killed the pig, the one following multiple.’)

In the last example, *ndanganiken* could refer to any ordinal number fourth or greater (or third or greater, if plural marking may be allowed for dual referents). Thus, there is no facile means of distinguishing ordinals in Ulwa beyond first-second-third.

Chapter 8

Other word classes

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the function, structure, and distribution of various word types that do not fit neatly into other groupings. They are all relatively small and closed classes, and—on both semantic and morphosyntactic grounds—they are trickier to define than nouns or verbs. After discussing postpositions (8.2) and adverbs (8.3), I provide an overview of the remaining small classes: negators, questions words, and interjections (8.4).

8.2 Postpositions

In keeping with typological expectations of verb-final languages, Ulwa employs postpositions rather than prepositions. Postpositions may be used to relate an NP to an event—whether spatially or otherwise—or to provide relational or locational information involving verbs. As their name suggests, postpositions follow (rather than precede) NPs. When an NP ends in (or consists entirely of) an object marker, this object marker cliticizes to the following postposition. Although considered a grammatical category in Ulwa, postpositions (at least some) may function at times as verbs. Furthermore, there may not be so clearly a defined line between postpositions and the oblique-marker enclitic =*n*, which functions something like a case marker (11.5). This should not, however, be surprising, given the crosslinguistically common diachronic relationship between postpositions and case-marking suffixes.

Postpositions in Ulwa function to designate relationships between NPs; many of these relationships are spatial, but other functions are possible as well, such as temporal, causal, and benefactive. The most frequent postpositions in Ulwa are listed below.

<i>ala ~ andī(m/n)</i>	‘for’ (benefactive), ‘from’ (ablative)
<i>andīla ~ angla</i>	‘waiting for, awaiting’
<i>angani</i>	‘behind, after’
<i>imbam</i>	‘under, below’
<i>in</i>	‘in, into’
<i>ipka</i>	‘before’ (spatial or temporal)

<i>iya</i>	‘to, toward’
<i>ka</i>	‘at, in, on’
<i>kana(m)</i>	‘beside, near, next to’
<i>moni</i>	‘between, among’
<i>nakap ~ nap</i>	‘on account of, because of, for’
<i>u</i>	‘from, in, at, around, along’
<i>ul ~ lu</i>	‘with’ (comitative)
<i>wan</i>	‘over, above’
<i>wat</i>	‘atop, onto’

The following sentences illustrate the use of these postpositions.

(8.001) **Mala** ay mankap.

ma=**ala** ay ma=nkī-p
 3SG=for sago 3SG=cut-PRF
 ‘(They) made sago for him.’ (T09)

(8.002) Ni **wala** wa man.

nī u=**ala** wa ma-n
 1SG 2SG=from village go-IPFV
 ‘I’m going from you to the village.’ (T35)

(8.003) **Mandī** sakla itap matī ...

ma=**andī** sakla ita-p ma=tī
 3SG=for platform build-PRF 3SG=take

... mal unda mane.

ma=li unda ma-n-e
 3SG=put go go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘(They) were going to build a stretcher for him, put (him) on it, and go.’ (T24)

(8.004) Ndilakan ndī **ndandīla** ndīpīn!

ndī=la-ka-n ndī ndī=**andīla** ndī=p-n
 3PL=IRR-let-IMP 3PL 3PL=await 3PL=be-IMP
 ‘Let them be there waiting for them!’ (T27)

(8.005) Kuman **ndangla** kontena menup.

kuma=n ndī=**angla** kontena ma=in-u-p
 some=OBL 3PL=await container 3SG=in-put-PRF
 ‘(I) put some (bananas) in the container to wait for them.’ (*kontena* < TP) (T11)

(8.006) An luke **unangani** ata i.

an luke un=**angani** ata i
 1PL.EXCL too 3PL=behind up go.PRF
 ‘We, too, came up behind you.’ (T32)

- (8.007) Namndu wa anmbi apa **imbam** iye.
 namndu wa an-mbī-i apa **imbam** i-e
 pig just out-here-go.PRF house under go.PRF-DEP
 ‘The pigs have just come out and gone under the houses.’ (T32)
- (8.008) Sinokoyñi **men** nīkīna mane.
 sinokoy=n ma=**in** nkī-na ma-n-e
 crop=OBL 3SG=in cut-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘(I) am going to plant crops in it (the garden).’ (T37)
- (8.009) U mat ma mat **nipka** malīta!
 u ma=tī ma ma=tī nī=**ipka** ma=lī-ta
 2SG 3SG=take go 3SG=take 1SG=before 3SG=put-COND
 ‘Take her, go, and put her ahead of me!’ (T27)
- (8.010) Ndī ndīt ulum **ndiya** unde.
 ndī ndī=tī ulum ndī=iya unda-e
 3PL 3PL=take palm 3PL=toward go-DEP
 ‘They take them and go to the sago palms.’ (T11)
- (8.011) Samban **ka** ndīwanap.
 samban **ka** ndī=wana-p
 pot at 3PL=cook-PRF
 ‘(They) cooked them in the pot.’ (T32)
- (8.012) Min tane inmi **makanam** līp.
 min tane inmi ma=**kanam** lī-p
 3DU stand hole 3SG=near put-PRF
 ‘The two were standing near the hole.’ (T01)
- (8.013) Nī matane ndīl **ndīmoni** līp
 nī ma=tane ndīl ndī=**moni** lī-p
 1SG 3SG=stand pandanus 3PL=among put-PRF
 ‘I stood it among the pandanus.’ (T01)
- (8.014) Itom mī way **manakap** tīnanga se.
 itom mī way ma=**nakap** tīnanga sa-e
 father 3SG turtle 3SG=for arise cry-DEP
 ‘The father got up and began to cry on account of the turtle.’ (T05)
- (8.015) Kalam nga ndī **manap** anwale.
 kalam nga ndī ma=**nap** an=wali-e
 knowledge this.SG 3PL 3SG=for 1PL.EXCL=hit-DEP
 ‘This knowledge—they are killing us on account of it.’ (T11)

- (8.016) Mi tilwa **mo** mat ine.
 mī tilwa ma=**u** ma=ṭī i-n-e
 3SG road 3SG=from 3SG=take come-PRF-DEP
 ‘She carried her along the road.’ (T27)
- (8.017) Nī **mol** may mawap.
 nī ma=**ul** ma=i ma=wap
 1SG 3SG=with 3SG=go.PRF 3SG=be.PST
 ‘I went with him there and stayed there.’ (T21)
- (8.018) Ndī ipka man ango alum tīngin **lu** inde.
 ndī ipka ma=n ango alum tīngin **lu** inda-e
 3PL before 3SG=OBL NEG child many with walk-DEP
 ‘In the past, they wouldn’t go around with lots of children.’ (T11)
- (8.019) Nī apīn malamap **mawan** utape ...
 nī apīn ma=la-ama-p ma=**wan** uta-p-e
 1SG fire 3SG=IRR-eat-PRF 3SG=above grind-PRF-DEP
 ‘When I’ve burned it and cleared over it, ...’ (T32)
- (8.020) Ata ma mīka **ndawat** namana.
 ata ma mīka anda=**wat** na-ma-na
 up go tree.sp that.SG=atop DETR-go-IRR
 ‘(He) will go up, go onto that *mīka* tree.’ (T24)

Like other non-verbal elements (e.g., nouns and adjectives), postpositions permit the copular suffix and may, as such, function as predicates. This is an especially common function of the spatial postpositions that can convey either stationary or directional meaning (e.g., *in* ‘in, into’). When the copular suffix occurs on such postpositions, generally only the static sense is felt (e.g., *in-p* ‘is in’), as in the following:

- (8.021) Mana mī im **makanamp**.
 mana mī im ma=**kanam-p**
 spear 3SG tree 3SG=beside-be
 ‘The spear is next to the tree.’
- (8.022) Mana mī im **makanamwap**.
 mana mī im ma=**kanam-wap**
 spear 3SG tree 3SG=beside-be.PST
 ‘The spear was next to the tree.’

- (8.023) Nĩ manji ya **ngalaymbampe**.
 nĩ manji ya ngala=**imbam-p-e**
 1SG 3SG.POSS coconut this.PL=under-be-DEP
 ‘I am under his coconut trees.’ (T10)
- (8.024) Ngata nda unde **ndiwatpe**.
 ngata anda unda-e ndi=**wat-p-e**
 grand that.SG go-DEP 3PL=atop-be-DEP
 ‘Our ancestor used to go around over them.’ (T11)
- (8.025) Ngim **ndenpe** wa layte iye.
 ngim anda=**in-p-e** wa ala=ita-e i-e
 cloud that.SG=in-be-DEP village that.PL=build-DEP go.PRF-DEP
 ‘Living in that cloud, (he) was building village after village.’ (T07)
- (8.026) Inom ndi umbe nungol **ndulpina**.
 inom ndi umbe nungol ndi=**ul-p-na**
 mother 3PL tomorrow child 3PL=with-be-IRR
 ‘The mothers will be with the children tomorrow.’

As verbal forms, these postpositions with copular suffixes can further take the nominalizing suffix *-en* (3.3), as in the following:

- (8.027) Ngunan ato inkaw **ngawatpen** ngala ...
 ngunan=**n** ata-u inkaw nga=**wat-p-en** ngala
 1DU.INCL=OBL up-from mountain that.SG=atop-be-NMLZ this.PL
 ‘these (people) who live atop the mountains above us’ (T11)
- (8.028) stik mĩ kika tilwa **menpen**
 stik mĩ kika tilwa ma=**in-p-en**
 stick 3SG white.ant road 3SG=in-be-NMLZ
 ‘the stick that is in the white ant track’ (*stik* < TP) (T24)

Like verbs (and unlike nominal elements, adjectives, etc.), postpositions do not permit the oblique marker *=n* (11.5.1).

Some postpositions seem to function like verbs even without the verbalizing copular suffix. They may occur clause-finally and express the action or event of the predicate. They may in such circumstances be considered (mostly defective) verbs. The act of seeing, for example, is very frequently expressed with the noun *limndi* ‘eye’ preceding the object, and a postposition (*ala ~ andi(m/n)* ‘for, from’) following the object. The postposition generally does not take any TAM suffixation, but it can show a dependent marker, as in the third of the following examples.

- (8.029) Unan amun limndi makape i **mandim**.
 unan amun limndi maka-p-e i ma=**andim**
 1PL.INCL now eye thus-be-DEP way 3SG=for
 ‘We have now seen behavior this kind of behavior.’ (T32)
- (8.030) Ninji itom mi limndi **nala**.
 ninji itom mi limndi ni=**ala**
 1SG.POSS father 3SG eye 1SG=for
 ‘My father saw me.’ (T10)
- (8.031) Ndi wa i limndi wa **male**.
 ndi wa i limndi wa ma=**ala-e**
 3PL village go.PRF eye village 3SG=for-DEP
 ‘They went home and saw the village.’ (T01)

Although—when functioning as verbs—both forms of the postposition ‘for’ are mostly defective, the form *andi* does at times seem to permit something like irrealis marking (i.e., the suffix *-na*), as in the following sentence (see 9.3.1 for more on verbal constructions with *ala* ~ *andi* ‘for, from’).

- (8.032) Ankam moweka ango limndi **mandina**.
 ankam moweka ango limndi ma=**andi-na**
 person also NEG eye 3SG=for-IRR
 ‘Nor would people see it.’ (T11)

Postpositions may also be used as elements in compound verbs (see 4.16, however, for problems surrounding this issue).

8.3 Adverbs

The class of adverbs in Ulwa is not especially well defined semantically. Adverbs can serve a number of different functions, but often provide additional information on the manner in which an action occurs or situate an event in time or space. They are never required by the argument structure of a verb and may thus always be considered additional information. In terms of distribution, adverbs can be defined by their unique ability to precede subjects. Although the canonical placement of adverbs is following subjects and preceding objects (that is, in the position of obliques, i.e., SXOV, 11.5), it is possible for adverbs to come first in a given clause.

In terms of structure, adverbs may be defined by their inability to take verbal TAM suffixes, nominal copular suffixes, or oblique marking (although, this potential morphological criterion for identifying adverbs is complicated by the fact that some putative temporal adverbs may also function as nouns and may thus receive the copular suffix).

The major subclasses of adverbs treated here are temporal adverbs (8.3.1), locative adverbs (8.3.2), and adverbs of manner (8.3.3). In addition, there is the epistemic adverb *tap* ‘maybe’ (8.3.4), as well as several other modal and discourse adverbs (8.3.5) in Ulwa.

8.3.1 Temporal adverbs

The most frequent temporal adverbs are as follows:

<i>amun</i>	‘now, today, nowadays, recently, still’
<i>awal</i>	‘afternoon, yesterday’
<i>umbe</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>ta</i>	‘already’
<i>ipka</i>	‘before, earlier, first’
<i>anganika</i>	‘after, later, soon’

The following sentences illustrate the use of these temporal adverbs.

(8.033) Una **amun** mbi.

unan	amun	mbi-i
1PL.INCL	now	here-go.PRF
‘We’ve now come here.’ (T32)		

(8.034) **Amun** una kalam.

amun	unan	kalam
now	1PL.INCL	know
‘Now we know.’ (T11)		

(8.035) Ni **amun** anmbi wema weyunda.

nī	amun	an-mbī-i	wema	we-u-nda
1SG	now	out-here-go.PRF	pangal	cut-put-IRR
‘I came out recently to cut <i>pangal</i> fronds.’ (T33)				

(8.036) U **awal** mawap.

u	awal	ma=wap
2SG	yesterday	3SG=be.PST
‘You were there yesterday.’ (T35)		

(8.037) **Awal** anambi keka we ulwap.
awal anambi keka we ulwa-p
 yesterday 1PL.EXCL.FOC completely sago nothing-be
 ‘As for us, we were completely out of sago yesterday.’ (T32)

(8.038) Una **umbe** wolka ina.
 unan **umbe** wolka i-na
 1PL.INCL tomorrow again come-IRR
 ‘We’ll come again tomorrow.’ (T25)

(8.039) **Umbe** una angos wombīn ninda?
umbe unan angos wombīn=n ni-nda
 tomorrow 1PL.INCL what work=OBL act-IRR
 ‘What work will we do tomorrow?’ (T25)

The examples above illustrate how the three basic temporal adverbs (*amun* ‘now’, *awal* ‘yesterday’, and *umbe* ‘tomorrow’), which generally occur immediately after the subject (when it is expressed), may alternatively occur before the subject (that is, clause-initially). There is a tendency to place the temporal adverb before postpositional phrases, as in the following examples.

(8.040) Nī **umbe** mol mana.
 nī **umbe** ma=ul ma-na
 1SG tomorrow 3SG=with go-IRR
 ‘I would go with her tomorrow.’ (T35)

(8.041) Nī **amun** wiya may wap.
 nī **amun** u=iya ma=i wap
 1SG now 2SG=toward 3SG=go.PRF be.PST
 ‘I went there to you today.’ (T11)

Similarly, temporal adverbs tend to precede oblique-marked NPs, as in the following:

(8.042) Nī **amun** man ndīt.
 nī **amun** ma=n ndī=ta
 1SG now 3SG=OBL 3PL=say
 ‘I just recently told them.’ (T11)

When temporal adverbs occur with other adverbs, however, the order seems rather flexible. In (8.038) above, the adverb *wolka* ‘again’ follows the temporal adverb *umbe* ‘tomorrow’. It does seem possible, however, for such adverbs to precede the temporal adverb as well. This alternation in ordering of adverbs may be seen in the following two examples.

(8.043) Ngan ango **amun wolka** maye.
 ngan ango **amun wolka** ma=i-e
 1DU.EXCL NEG now again 3SG=go.PRF-DEP
 ‘We have not gone there again lately.’ (T21)

(8.044) Nĩ ango **wolka amun** may.
 nĩ ango **wolka amun** ma=i
 1SG NEG again now 3SG=go. PRF
 ‘I have not gone there again lately.’ (T21)

As in (8.037) above, there may also be a preference among some speakers to place the temporal adverb before the subject in clauses containing multiple oblique expressions, such as adverbs, as also seen below.

(8.045) **Amun** yalum ngala wolka mbũ-u-lo-p.
amun yalum ngala wolka mbũ-u-lo-p
 now grandchild this.PL again here-from-go-PRF
 ‘Now these grandsons came around here again.’ (T11)

Similarly, modal adverbs such as *wa* ‘just’ may either follow (8.046) or precede (8.047) temporal adverbs, as in the following:

(8.046) Ndĩ **amun wa** ndale.
 ndĩ **amun wa** ndĩ=ale-e
 3PL now just 3PL=scrape-DEP
 ‘Nowadays they just scrape them.’ (T11)

(8.047) Ndĩ **wa amun** kuli atap.
 ndĩ **wa amun** kuli ata-p
 3PL just now throw up-be
 ‘Now they are just coming up well.’ (T32)

Although one of the defining characteristics of the class of adverbs is that its members do not permit any verbal or nominal morphology, this claim is confounded by the fact that words such as *amun* ‘today’, *awal* ‘yesterday’, and *umbe* ‘tomorrow’ may also function as nouns, as is illustrated below.

(8.048) Ay ngam **amun** Fraide.
 ay nga-nam **amun** Fraide
 ay this.SG-INT now Friday
 ‘Ay, that’s it, today is Friday.’ (*Fraide* < TP) (T11)

(8.049) **Umbe** anmbi ...

umbe an-mbī-i
tomorrow out-here-go.PRF
'When tomorrow comes ...'

... angos mundu mī anmapīta u malanda?

angos mundu mī anma-p-ta u ma=la-nda
what food 3SG good-be-COND 2SG 3SG=eat-IRR
'... what food will be good for you to eat?' (T11)

The morphosyntactic result of the existence of these nominal forms is that these three words may receive the copular suffix. When occurring with the word *amun* 'today', this can give the sense of 'still' (or, in negative polarity, 'yet'), as illustrated below.

(8.050) Unji nungol ngala **amunpe** kalam ngol mane.

unji nungol ngala **amun-p-e** kalam nga=ul ma-n-e
2SG.POSS child this.PL now-be-DEP know this.SG=with go-IPFV-DEP
'Your children are still in school.' (Literally, 'going with this knowledge') (T11)

(8.051) Olsem nī **amunpe** njukutape ...

olsem nī **amun-p-e** njukuta-p-e
thus 1SG now-be-DEP small-be-DEP
'Like, when I was still small ...' (*olsem* < TP) (T24)

(8.052) Wowal **amunpīta** atapīta ...

wowal **amun-p-ta** ata-p-ta
chicken now-be-COND up-be-COND
'When the chickens are still up (in the trees), ...'

... una ko nol!

unan ko na-lo
1PL.INCL just DETR-go
'... let's just go!' (T26)

(8.053) Ango **amunpe** atay matīna.

ango **amun-p-e** ata i ma=tī-na
NEG now-be-DEP up go.PRF 3SG=take-IRR
'(It) wouldn't go up and get him immediately.' (T05)

(8.054) U **amunpe** wol ulwap.

u **amun-p-e** wol ulwa-p
2SG now-be-DEP breast nothing-be
'You don't have breasts yet.' (T09)

When *awal* ‘yesterday’ takes the copular suffix, however, it generally has the sense of ‘afternoon’, as in:

- (8.055) **Awalpe** inim ndin apin up ay ndinkap.
awal-p-e inim ndi=n apin u-p ay ndi=nki-p
 afternoon-be-DEP water 3PL=OBL fire put-PRF sago 3PL=cut-PRF
 ‘In the afternoon, (we) put water on the fire and made sago.’ (T26)

- (8.056) Mundu anglaluta mawap **awalpita**.
 mundu angla-lo-ta ma=wap **awal-p-ta**
 food await-go-COND 3SG=be.PST afternoon-be-COND
 ‘If (they) were hunting for food, (they) would stay until afternoon.’ (T24)

There are no attested uses of *umbe* ‘tomorrow’ with copular suffixation.

The other temporal adverbs, which never take either nominal or verbal morphology are perhaps better exemplars of adverbs. Like the three adverbs described above, they may appear either before or after subject NPs.

Whereas *ta* ‘already’ is clearly monomorphemic, *ipka* ‘before’ and *anganika* ‘after’ are each apparently derived from multiple morphemes: the former consisting of *ip* ‘nose’ and *ka* ‘at, in, on’, the latter consisting of *angani* ‘behind’ and *ka* ‘at, in, on’. While *ipka* is derived from a crosslinguistically common body-part metaphor, *anganika* (often shortened to *naka*) is not necessarily, since *angani* ‘behind’ is not typically used to refer to any part of the human body (cf. *mutam* ‘back’ and *unmbi* ‘buttocks’). The following sentences illustrate the adverbial use of *ipka* ‘before’ and *anganika* ‘after’.

- (8.057) Ni **ipka** alan malan upe.
 ni **ipka** ala=n malan u-p-e
 1SG before that.PL=OBL hot.water put-PRF-DEP
 ‘I boiled those first.’ (T27)

- (8.058) Ninji inom mi **ipka** apa mo li.
 ninji inom mi **ipka** apa ma=u li-i
 1SG.POSS mother 3SG before house 3SG=from down-go.PRF
 ‘My mother went down around the house first.’ (T04)

- (8.059) **Ipka** ankam ango ulum alepen.
ipka ankam ango ulum ale-p-en
 before person NEG palm scrape-PRF-NMLZ
 ‘Before, people didn’t use to scrape sago palms.’ (T06)

(8.060) Ni **anganika** ma wanam mana.
 nī **anganika** ma[nji] wanam ma-na
 1SG after 3SG[.POSS] side go-IRR
 ‘I will go alongside her later.’ (Literally, ‘go to her side’) (T27)

(8.061) Yaka **anganika** li.
 Yaka **anganika** li-i
 [name] after down-go.PRF
 ‘Yaka came down after.’ (T04)

(8.062) U **anganika** ndītana!
 u **anganika** ndī=ta-na
 2SG after 3PL=say-IRR
 ‘Tell them later!’ (T11)

Whereas *anganika* is viewed here as a single adverb (that is, not composed of *angani* and *ka*, at least not synchronically) and thus should not accept any morphological inflection, the postposition *angani* ‘behind’ (as a postposition) can indeed have an object-marker clitic, as in the following:

(8.063) Anambi itom **alangani** i.
 anambi itom **ala=angani** i
 1PL.EXCL.FOC father that.PL=behindgo.PRF
 ‘As for us, we came after (our) fathers.’ (T32)

(8.064) Ninji aweta nda **nangani** wonp!
 nīnji aweta anda **nī=angani** won-p
 1SG.POSS friend that.SG 1SG=behind cut-PRF
 ‘That friend of mine has gone behind my back!’ (Literally, ‘That friend of mine has cut behind me.’) (T16)

More troubling for this analysis of *ipka* ‘before’ and *anganika* ‘after’ as adverbs, however, is the (very occasional) use of *ipka* as a postposition as well, as seen below.

(8.065) E an tīn alol **unipka** mbiye!
 e an tīn ala=ul **un=ipka** mbī-i-e
 hey 1PL.EXCL dog that.PL=with 2PL=before here-go.PRF-DEP
 ‘Hey, we came here with those dogs before you!’ (T26)

(8.066) Ngan **ndipka** iyen.
 ngan **ndī=ipka** i-en
 1DU.EXCL 3PL=before go.PRF-NMLZ
 ‘We two went ahead of them.’ (T27)

It could be, however, that in such instances the postpositional force of *ka* ‘at, in, on’ is still felt, creating a postposition meaning something along the lines of ‘at one’s nose’.

One final complication is the verbal use of *ipka* and *anganika* in ordinal constructions and their consequent ability to take the nominalizing suffix (see 7.6 above).

Thus, perhaps *ta* ‘already’, which permits no verbal TAM suffixation, copular endings, nominalized forms, or object-marker clitics, and which is able to occur either before or after the subject, is the best archetype of the temporal adverb in Ulwa. The use of *ta* ‘already’ is illustrated by the following examples.

(8.067) U **ta** kalampe.

u	ta	kalam-p-e
2SG	already	know-be-DEP

‘You already know.’ (T11)

(8.068) E mī **ta** keka wapatap.

e	mī	ta	keka	wapata-p
hey	3SG	already	completely	dry-be

‘Hey! It’s already completely dry.’ (T33)

(8.069) **Ta** unji anapa ndī u inim nīkape.

ta	unji	anapa	ndī	u[nji]	inim	nī-p-e
already	2SG.POSS	sister	3PL	2SG[.POSS]	water	cut-PRF-DEP

‘Already, your sisters have celebrated you.’ (Literally, ‘have cut your water’) (T11)

8.3.2 Locative adverbs

There is a small class of locative adverbs in Ulwa, which are used to indicate position or direction. They are:

<i>ata</i>	‘up, upward, upstream’
<i>li</i>	‘down, downward, downstream’
<i>mbi</i>	‘here, hither’
<i>ando</i>	‘there, thence’
<i>nu</i>	‘near’
<i>ngaya</i>	‘far’
<i>wala</i>	‘far, far-off’

The adverbs *ata* ‘up’ and *li* ‘down’ may refer either to literal vertical-axis locations and directions or to relative locations and directions along the river—that is, ‘upstream’ and

‘downstream’, respectively. Also, motion ‘upward’ and ‘downward’ is often synonymous in Ulwa with entering and exiting houses, respectively—since houses are built on stilts, one must physically move along the vertical axis in order to enter or exit one. As words meaning ‘upstream’ and ‘downstream’, they may also be used as substantives, referring to the two physical halves of the village—that is, the ‘upstream (half)’ and the ‘downstream (half)’, respectively. The following examples illustrate the use of the locative adverbs *ata* ‘up’ and *li* ‘down’.

(8.070) Wot ngo **ata** mane.

Wot nga=u **ata** ma-n-e
 younger this.SG=from up go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘(They) were going upstream from this younger (village).’ (T02)

(8.071) Ulum maya **ata** i.

ulum ma=iya **ata** i
 palm 3SG=toward up go.PRF
 ‘(It) went up the sago palm.’ (T05)

(8.072) Mat i **ata** apa may.

ma=tī i **ata** apa ma=i
 3SG=take go.PRF up house 3SG=go.PRF
 ‘(It) brought him up to the house and went with him.’ (T05)

(8.073) Nī mat **ata** ndo i.

nī ma=tī **ata** anda=u i
 1SG 3SG=take up that.SG=from go.PRF
 ‘I brought it from up(stream) there.’ (T32)

(8.074) Ndīmepe ndīt **li** may.

ndī=me-p-e ndī=tī **li** ma=i
 3PL=sew-PRF-DEP 3PL=take down 3SG=go.PRF
 ‘He sewed them and brought them down(stream) there.’ (T32)

(8.075) Yana mī **li** membam i atwana mat.

yana mī **li** ma=imbam i atwana ma=ta
 woman 3SG down 3SG=under go.PRF question 3SG=say
 ‘(His) wife came down under him and asked him a question.’ (The man in the story is up in a house.) (T01)

(8.076) Anda ngunaya **li** nayn.

anda ngunan=iya **li** na-i-n
 that.SG 1DU.INCL=toward down DETR-come-PRF
 ‘That one has come down to us.’ (T11)

(8.077) Nungolke ngala kuli **li** malp.
 nungolke ngala kuli **li** ma=li-p
 child this.PL throw down 3SG=put-PRF
 ‘These children have thrown (themselves) down there (the water).’ (T33)

(8.078) Ngala **li** mape ngala ngalaya **ata** mbi.
 ngala **li** ma=p-e ngala ngala=iya **ata** mbi-i
 this.PL down 3SG=be-DEP this.PL this.PL=toward up here-go.PRF
 ‘These, these people from downstream came upstream here to these people.’ (T27)

The locative adverb *mbi* ‘here’ may be used to indicate direction toward the speaker (i.e., ‘hither’), as in the following:

(8.079) Na manji yalum ngala **mbi** indap.
 na manji yalum ngala **mbi** inda-p
 and 3SG.POSS grandchild this.PL here walk-PRF
 ‘And his grandchildren walked here.’ (*na* < TP) (T11)

Often, as in the example above, the adverb *mbi* occurs as the first conjunct of a compound verb. The second conjunct is usually a verb of ‘going’, such as *ma-* ~ *i-* ‘go’, and the compound has the sense ‘come (here)’ as seen below.

(8.080) Atuma numan anda mī **mbi**.
 Atuma numan anda mī **mbi-i**
 [name] husband that.SG 3SG here-go.PRF
 ‘Atuma’s husband—he came.’ (T11)

(8.081) Ngata la Wopata ndo **mbi**.
 ngata ala Wopata anda=u **mbi-i**
 grandparent that.PL [place] that.SG=from here-go.PRF
 ‘The ancestors came here from Wopata.’ (T32)

Compounds formed with *mbi* ‘here’ and other verbs are possible as well, as in the following sentence, in which the compound headed by the verb *li-* ‘put’ also contains the conjunct *an-* ‘out’ (which is not known to occur independently as an adverb).

(8.082) Ndī ndīt **anmbilip** ndimoke amblanane.
 ndī ndī=tī **an-mbi-li-p** ndī=moko-e ambla-na-n-e
 3PL 3PL=take out-here-put-PRF 3PL=take-DEP PL.REFL=give-PRF-DEP
 ‘They got them out and shared them among themselves.’ (T11)

With verb stems of ‘going’ (such as *ma-* ~ *i-* ‘go’), compounds containing the conjuncts *an-* ‘out’ and *mbi-* ‘here’ give the sense of going or coming outside (from being within a house, jungle region, etc.), as in the following:

(8.083) Ndī wolka **anmbi**.
 ndī wolka **an-mbi-i**
 3PL again out-here-go.PRF
 ‘They went out again.’ (T11)

(8.084) Wolka maya **anmbi** mol natana.
 wolka ma=iya **an-mbi-i** ma=ul na-ta-na
 again 3SG=toward out-here-go.PRF 3SG=with DETR-say-IRR
 ‘Having come out to him, (we) will talk with him again.’ (T32)

To indicate direction away from the speaker (i.e., ‘hence’), the adverb *mbi* ‘here’ may be combined with the postposition *u* ‘from, in, at, around, along’, as in the following:

(8.085) Ngo Ganmalin u **mbu** matin mana.
 nga=u Ganmali=n u **mbi-u** ma=ti-n ma-na
 this.SG=from [name]=OBL from here-from 3SG=take-PRF go-IRR
 ‘From this (place), having gotten it from here, from Ganmali, (they) will go.’ (T11)

The same compound *mbu* (< *mbi-u*) can have not only ablative, but also locative sense (i.e., ‘[at] here’ in addition to ‘from here’), as shown below.

(8.086) Ndīn **mbu** inum awe.
 ndī=n **mbi-u** inum aw-e
 3PL=OBL here-from ground put.IPFV-DEP
 ‘(They) bury them here.’ (T23)

(8.087) Una we apa **mbu** ulwap.
 unan we apa **mbi-u** ulwa-p
 1PL.INCL sago house here-from nothing-be
 ‘We don’t have any sago here at home.’ (T32)

Especially when occurring with the copular suffix, *mbi* ‘here’ can have more of a nominal function—that is, ‘here’ in the sense of ‘this place’, as in:

(8.088) Owet yena ngusuwa anda **mbipe**.
 Owet yena ngusuwa anda **mbi-p-e**
 [name] woman poor that.SG here-be-DEP
 ‘Owet’s wife, the poor thing, was here.’ (T11)

Like other deictic words, *mbi* ‘here’ can also be used by speakers to project a deictic center to a point other than the ego (7.3), as in the following sentence, in which it is translated in English as ‘there’.

(8.089) Alum mokotip an mol **mbiwap**.

alum	ma=kot-p	an	ma=ul	mbi-wap
child	3SG=break-PRF	1PL.EXCL	3SG=with	here-be.PST

‘She bore a child, and we were there with her.’ (T11)

The locative word *ando* ‘there, thence’ is—more properly—a compound, composed of the deictic word *anda* ‘that’ and the postposition *u* ‘from, in, at, around, along’. The following examples illustrate its use (see also examples 7.103 and 8.073 above).

(8.090) **Ando** una mape.

anda=u	unan	ma=p-e
that.SG=from	1PL.INCL	3SG=be-DEP

‘We are there.’ (T37)

(8.091) Nga nganji pul **ando**.

nga	nganji	pul	anda=u
this.SG	this.SG.POSS	piece	that.SG=from

‘This is this one’s piece (of the river) over there.’ (T11)

(8.092) Tilwa mi **ando** i.

tilwa	mi	anda=u	i
road	3SG	that.SG=from	go.PRF

‘The track went from there.’ (T24)

The locative words *nu* ‘near’, *ngaya* ‘far’, and *wala* ‘far, far-off’ generally function as adjectives (5.5), but they do contain some curious distributional properties (such as variable word order with respect to other constituents, examples of which are given in 13.4.1) that mark them as somewhat adverb-like. Moreover, since their etymologies seem to reflect origins as postpositional phrases, it should not be surprising that they behave more like obliques than like prototypical adjectives (11.5). I propose the following etymologies for these words:

<i>nu</i>	‘near’	< <i>ni=u</i> < <i>ni</i> ‘1SG’ + <i>u</i> ‘from, in, at, around, along’, i.e., ‘around me’
<i>ngaya</i>	‘far’	< <i>nga=iya</i> < <i>nga</i> ‘this.SG’ + <i>iya</i> ‘toward’, i.e., ‘toward this (place)’
<i>wala</i>	‘far(-off)’	< <i>u=ala</i> < <i>u</i> ‘2SG’ + <i>ala</i> ‘for, from’, i.e., ‘(away) from you’

In the following examples, these words modify verbs—that is, they are functioning as adverbs.

(8.093) Iwīl nga **nu** kukawe.
 iwīl nga nu kuk-aw-e
 moon this.SG near gather-put.IPFV-DEP
 ‘(The end of) this month is drawing near.’ (T32)

(8.094) Nī ndul ngaya **mana** awlop.
 nī ndi=ul ngaya ma-**na** awlop
 1SG 3PL=with far go-IRR in.vain
 ‘I want to go far with them but can’t.’ (T27)

There are no instances in the Ulwa corpus of texts in which *wala* ‘far(-off)’ functions as an adverb. It always precedes the noun *luwa* ‘place’ (which it modifies); thus, it may be most parsimonious to analyze *wala luwa* as a single compound noun (‘far-off place’), one which follows the general trend in Ulwa of the head of the endocentric compound occurring as the final conjunct (3.4).

8.3.3 Adverbs of manner

Another major subgroup of adverbs consists of adverbs of manner. These modify sentences by providing additional information on the way in which an event occurs or a state exists. Although this information is often conveyed through other means (e.g., adjectives, postpositional phrases, or even whole clauses), there is a small class of manner adverbs, the most frequent of which are:

<i>apka</i>	‘very’
<i>keka</i> ~ <i>kaka</i>	‘completely’
<i>maka</i>	‘thus, in this/that manner’
<i>maweka</i> ~ <i>moweka</i>	‘also, moreover’
<i>wolka</i>	‘again, in turn’

One readily apparent formal trait shared by all these words is their ending in *ka*, which, in these words, is taken to be a formative meaning something like ‘thus, in this/that manner’. These adverbs of manner seem much less amenable to pre-subject position than the temporal adverbs

are, and their inclusion within the larger class of adverbs is, admittedly, largely based on semantic grounds. The following sentences illustrate their use.

(8.095) Woni mī **apka** wutota.

Woni mī **apka** wutota
[name] 3SG very tall
'Woni is very tall.'

(8.096) Amun ane ngo **apka** nīpat awlu ato!

amun ane ngo **apka** nīpat awlu ata-u
now sun this.SG-INTERJ very giant step up-from
'Now, this sun has really come out very strong!' (T33)

(8.097) Ango **apka** nu luwa me.

ango **apka** nu luwa me
NEG very close place NEG
'(It) wasn't a close place at all.' (T24)

(8.098) Apīn **keka** ndīn mol amap.

apīn **keka** ndīn ma=ul ama-p
fire completely 3PL=OBL 3SG=with eat-PRF
'They were totally burned with it.' (Literally, 'Fire completely ate with them [the saucepans] along with it [the house].') (T11)

(8.099) Ala **keka** tīlwa le.

ala **keka** tīlwa lo-e
that.PL completely road go-DEP
'Those (children) make tracks all around.' (T27)

(8.100) Mī **keka** nungunup.

mī **keka** nungun-u-p
3SG completely break-put-PRF
'It broke completely.' (T32)

(8.101) Nī **maka** man ndīt.

nī **maka** ma=n ndī=ta
1SG thus 3SG=OBL 3PL=say
'I told them like this.' (T11)

(8.102) Ndī **maka** i.

ndī **maka** i
3PL thus go.PRF
'They went like this.' (T27)

- (8.103) Mbiyen **maka** nī kaka mbīpe.
 mbī-i-en **maka** nī kaka mbī-p-e
 here-go.PRF-NMLZ thus 1SG completely here-be-DEP
 ‘Having come here, I have thus always stayed here.’ (T21)
- (8.104) Ngata ngusuwa nga **moweka** wa i.
 ngata ngusuwa nga **moweka** wa i
 grand poor this.SG also village go.PRF
 ‘This poor grandfather also came home.’ (T11)
- (8.105) Inom ndī **moweka** ango unan tīngin inap.
 inom ndī **moweka** ango unan tīngin ina-p
 mother 3PL also NEG 1PL.INCL many get-PRF
 ‘And another thing: (our) mothers didn’t have many of us.’ (T11)
- (8.106) Ndī **wolka** anmbi.
 ndī **wolka** an-mbī-i
 3PL again out-here-go.PRF
 ‘They went out again.’ (T11)
- (8.107) Nī **wolka** man mat:
 nī **wolka** ma=n ma=ta
 1SG again 3SG=OBL 3SG=say
 ‘I in turn said to her.’ (T11)

In addition to these, there is another adverb of manner, one which seems only to be permitted in negative polarity (and is in some ways the negative counterpart to *wolka* ‘again’). This adverb, *tiki* ‘(ever) again, anymore, else’, may be seen in the following (negative) sentences.

- (8.108) Ndī **ango tiki** itom luwa ndule.
 ndī **ango tiki** itom luwa ndī=u-lo-e
 3PL NEG again father place 3PL=from-go-DEP
 ‘They don’t go around in (their) father’s places anymore.’ (T27)
- (8.109) Nī **ango tiki** ikali usina.
 nī **ango tiki** i-kali u=si-na
 1SG NEG again hand-send 2SG=push-IRR
 ‘I won’t hold you again.’ (T27)

Notably, *tiki* ‘(ever) again, anymore, else’ is permitted in questions as well, which—in some ways (or at least historically)—have negative polarity (see 13.2.2). The following questions illustrate this.

(8.110) **Ango** luwa **tiki** ko nji kuma nditina?
ango luwa **tiki** ko nji kuma ndi=tĩ-na
 which place more just thing some 3PL=take-IRR
 ‘Where else could (we) get some things?’ (T27)

(8.111) **Tiki** unan **angos** natana?
tiki unan **angos** na-ta-na
 again 1PL.INCL what DETR-say-IRR
 ‘What else should we say?’ (T32)

The adverb *maka* ‘thus’, unlike other adverbs, actually does permit suffixal morphology—namely, the copular suffix. In this use, *maka* is taken to be functioning as a verb, meaning something like ‘to be like’, as in:

(8.112) Kalim mĩ **makap**.
 kalim mĩ **maka-p**
 cassowary 3SG thus-be
 ‘The cassowary is like that.’ (T11)

(8.113) Amun una keka **makape**.
 amun unan keka **maka-p-e**
 now 1PL.INCL completely thus-be-DEP
 ‘But nowadays we are completely like this.’ (T11)

This verbalized form of *maka* ‘thus’ can even, in turn, be nominalized, as in the following:

(8.114) **Makapen** mĩ nay.
maka-p-en mĩ na-i
 thus-be-NMLZ 3SG DETR-go.PRF
 ‘That way has gone.’ (T11)

The copular/verbalized form of *maka* ‘thus’ is often used in relative clauses (12.4), as in the following sentences:

(8.115) Yetani lan u **makape** ambet matin.
 Yetani ala=n u [**maka-p-e**] ambet ma=tĩ-n
 Yamen that.PL=OBL from [thus-be-DEP] magic 3SG=take-PRF
 ‘(They) got magic like this from the Yamen people.’ (T32)

- (8.116) U [**makape** nji] ulwata u awlop!
 u [**maka-p-e** nji] ulwa-ta u awlop
 2SG thus-be-DEP thing nothing-COND 2SG in.vain
 ‘If you don’t have things like this, you’re lost!’ (T27)

Often the embedded clause formed with *makape* has a similar grammatical function to just the plain adverb *maka* ‘thus’, as in:

- (8.117) Un [**makape**] imba wombam niya ita ...
 un [**maka-p-e**] imba wombam ni=iya i-ta
 2PL thus-be-DEP night middle 1SG=toward go.PRF-COND
 ‘If you come to me like this in the middle of the night ...’ (T11)

In addition to its use as an adverb meaning ‘thus’, *maka* is very frequently used as a filler word (cf. Tok Pisin *olsem* ‘thus’, German *also* ‘thus’, etc.). When used as such, it is generally translated as ‘like’, following contemporary English idiom. As a filler word, *maka* ‘thus’ can occur in any position in a sentence, even within NPs, as in the second example below.

- (8.118) Wusimali **maka** in ti Kayta nane.
 Wusimali **maka** in ti Kayta na-n-e
 [name] thus get take [name] give-PRF-DEP
 ‘Wusimali, like, bought (an axe) and gave (it) to Kayta.’ (T11)

- (8.119) Anji **maka** ngata ndi ndul iyen.
 anji **maka** ngata ndi ndi=ul i-en
 1PL.EXCL.POSS thus grand 3PL 3PL=with go.PRF-NMLZ
 ‘Our, like, ancestors were the ones who went with them.’ (T02)

8.3.4 The epistemic adverb *tap*

In addition to the basic subclasses of adverbs detailed above (temporal adverbs 8.3.1, locative adverbs 8.3.2, and adverbs of manner 8.3.3), there is another important adverb, epistemic in function—the adverb *tap* ‘maybe’. This word is used to show the possibility of an event’s occurrence, whether present, past, or future. Unsurprisingly, since its use signals speculation on the part of the speaker, it is often accompanied by the speculative suffix *-t* (4.13) on the verb in the clause in which it occurs. Like other adverbs, it often occurs immediately after the subject (when expressed). It tends to precede temporal adverbs, when these occur in the same

clause. It does not permit any form of inflection. The following sentences illustrate the use of *tap* ‘maybe’.

(8.120) Mi **tap** amun ina.

mĩ	tap	amun	i-na
3SG	maybe	now	come-IRR

‘He might come today.’ (T27)

(8.121) **Tap** umbe Kumba mana.

tap	umbe	Kumba	ma-na
maybe	tomorrow	Bun	go-IRR

‘Maybe tomorrow (I) will go to Bun (village).’ (T32)

(8.122) **Tap** manji yawa ngawl i.

tap	manji	yawa	nga=ul	i
maybe	3SG.POSS	uncle	this.SG=with	go.PRF

‘(He) might have gone with (his) uncle.’ (T11)

The adverb *tap* ‘maybe’ is homophonous with the perfective form of the verb *ta-* ‘say’, and the adverb very well may derive from this form—after all, that which has merely been ‘said’ (but which is not known to be true) can easily be taken as speculative.

8.3.5 Other modal and discourse adverbs

The most frequent discourse adverbs are as follows. It is notoriously difficult to provide accurate translations of words that serve modal or discourse functions. The glosses provided here represent the best efforts to determine their meaning and function:

<i>kop</i>	‘please’
<i>kwa ~ ko ~ wa</i>	‘just’
<i>lolop</i>	‘just’
<i>woyambin</i>	‘pointlessly, fruitlessly’

The adverb *kop* ‘please’ is often used to soften commands—that is, to make polite requests, as in:

- (8.123) **Kop** nambī wiwila lakana!
kop nambī wiwila la-ka-na
 please body light IRR-let-IRR
 ‘Let (your) body (become) light!’ (i.e., wait until you are no longer pregnant [before attempting to play sports]) (T27)

More examples and details relating to this use of *kop* ‘please’ may be found in the section on commands and requests (13.3.2). As an adverb, *kop* ‘please’ can also be used in statements. Here, it can convey a sense of care or patience, as in:

- (8.124) Mī **kop** limndī anulpe.
 mī **kop** limndī an=ul-p-e
 3SG please eye 1PL.EXCL=with-be-DEP
 ‘She stays with us, watching (us) patiently.’ (T10)

Three forms that are frequently used in discourse are *kwa* ~ *ko* ~ *wa* ‘just’, the first of which is identical to the numeral *kwa* ‘one’, and the second of which is clearly derived from the first. The form *wa* is probably also derived from *kwa*, although it may, of course, have a separate etymology (and even be a separate lexeme altogether). Regardless, all three forms share essentially the same set of functions. Often translated as ‘just’, they add a degree of casualness to a statement. Sometimes they convey a sense of ‘simply’, other times a mildly negative sense of ‘without care’ or ‘without reason’. Very often, however, it is hard to ascribe any clear meaning to them (at least in the English translation). These three forms (*kwa* ~ *ko* ~ *wa* ‘just’) are illustrated below.

- (8.125) Ay nī **kwa** apa mbīpe mane?
 ay nī **kwa** apa mbī-p-e ma-n-e
 ay 1SG just house here-be-DEP go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘Ay, am I just going to stay here?’ (T11)

- (8.126) Lamndu **ko** minamap.
 lamndu **ko** min=ama-p
 pig just 3DU=eat-PRF
 ‘A pig ate them.’ (T27)

- (8.127) **Wa** inde le.
wa inda-e lo-e
 just walk-DEP go-DEP
 ‘(We) would just walk around.’ (T10)

Serving the same function as *kwa ~ ko ~ wa* ‘just’ is the adverb *lolop* ‘just’, reportedly borrowed from the neighboring language Ap Ma. It often occurs immediately following *wa*, but may occur independently as well. In the following examples, it has a frustrative sense.

(8.128) Nĩ wa **lolop** i mangusuwa nji molop lip.
 nĩ wa **lolop** i mangusuwa nji ma=lo-p li-p
 1SG just just go.PRF 3SG.poor thing 3SG=cut-PRF put-PRF
 ‘Frustratedly, I just went and cut the poor thing’s thing (sago palm jungle).’ (T11)

(8.129) Una wa **lolop** wape.
 unan wa **lolop** wa-p-e
 1PL.EXCL just just village-be-DEP
 ‘We are just (hanging around) in the village.’ (T32)

(8.130) Nambi tembi nape nĩ wa **lolop** indana.
 nambi tembi na-p-e nĩ wa **lolop** inda-na
 1SG.FOC bad DETR-be-DEP 1SG just just walk-IRR
 ‘As for me, I’m becoming unfit, so I’ll just go around (without worrying about other people).’ (T27)

Similar in function to *kwa ~ ko ~ wa* ‘just’ and *lolop* ‘just’ is the word *woyambin* ‘pointlessly, fruitlessly’, which has a much more negative connotation. This word looks very much like it has derived from other words, in part because of the unusual diphthong *oy* (2.2.7). It may derive from *wa-i-ambĩ=n* ‘just-go.PRF-SG.REFL=OBL’—that is, a phrase having meant something like ‘just went with himself/herself/itself’. This is, of course, only speculative. The following examples illustrate the use of *woyambin* ‘pointlessly, fruitlessly’.

(8.131) Nĩ **woyambin** ndul ndinanape.
 nĩ **woyambin** ndĩ=ul ndĩ=na-na-p-e
 1SG pointlessly 3PL=with 3PL=DETR-feed-PRF-DEP
 ‘I fed them along with them (my biological children) for nothing.’ (said in reference to ungrateful foster children) (T27)

(8.132) Na **woyambin** matane.
 na **woyambin** ma=ta-n-e
 and pointlessly 3SG=say-IPFV-DEP
 ‘But (we) are just wasting time talking about it.’ (*na < TP*) (T32)

Some of the adverbs described in section 8.3.3 above also seem to behave at times much like modal or discourse adverbs, carrying subtle connotations or serving various discourse functions.

The adverb *wolka* ‘again, in turn’ may be used in narratives to tie together events in series, especially when they are somewhat repetitive (similar to English ‘and then ...’), as in the following:

(8.133) Biwat inim menklop i atay.

Biwat	inim	ma=in-klop	i	ata-i
[place]	water	3SG=in-cross	go.PRF	up-go.PRF

‘(They) went following the Biwat river, went up.’

Ataye **wolka** ngo nay.

ata-i-e	wolka	nga=u	na-i
up-go.PRF-DEP	again	this.SG=from	DETR-go.PRF

‘Having gone up, (they) came this way.’

Wolka ngo anji wandam ngayte i.

wolka	nga=u	anji	wandam	nga=ita-e	i
again	this.SG=from	1PL.EXCL.POSS	jungle	this.SG=build-DEP	go.PRF

‘And then from here, (they) came and built our jungle (area).’ (T02)

The adverb *maweka* ~ *moweka* ‘also, moreover’ also seems to serve modal functions at times. Its usage here seems parallel to modal uses of Tok Pisin *tu* ‘also, too’, and it is thus quite possibly a calque (cf. similar phenomena in Chapter 15). It can be used to add a degree of incredulity, to strengthen a request for confirmation in a question, or add a sense of wonder to a statement. Its use is illustrated below.

(8.134) Nambi **maweka** nīnji ala wala luwa ndap.

nambi	maweka	nīnji	ala	wala	luwa	anda=p
1SG.FOC	also	1SG.POS	that.PL	far.off	place	that.SG=be

‘As for me, those (relatives) of mine are in a far-off place.’ (T11)

(8.135) Kanangula **moweka** ango wa mbīwap.

Kanangula	moweka	ango	wa	mbī-wap
[name]	also	NEG	village	here-be.PST

‘Kanangula did not (even bother to) stay in the village.’ (T11)

It has been seen above how the adverb *maka* ‘thus’ can also function as a filler word (8.3.3). In a somewhat similar fashion, the word *mīngamata* (glossed as ‘whatchamacallit’) can be used when a speaker is trying to retrieve a word, as in:

(8.136) Kolpe manji **mĩngamata** wonmi ndiwonpop.
 Kolpe manji **mĩngamata** wonmi ndĩ=won-p-op
 [name] 3SG.POSS whatchamacallit hair 3PL=cut-PRF-PRF
 ‘Kolpe had cut his—what’s it?—hair.’ (T11)

(8.137) Ndul i **mĩngamata** Yalamba may.
 ndĩ=ul i **mĩngamata** Yalamba ma=i
 3PL=with go.PRF whatchamacallit Korokopa 3SG=go.PRF
 ‘(We) went with them, went to—what’s it?—Korokopa.’ (T02)

8.3.6 Functional equivalents of adverbial constructions

Finally, to conclude this overview of adverbs, it may be shown how concepts that are often conveyed with adverbs in other languages can be expressed in different ways in Ulwa.

First, it is possible to use dependent clauses to express adverbial notions. Such clauses typically contain verbalized forms of nouns/adjectives that express properties, as in the following:

(8.138) **Andĩlpe** ndĩmĩsisĩnap.
andĩl-p-e ndĩ=mĩsisĩna-p
 careful-be-DEP 3pl=arrange-PRF
 ‘(They) carefully arranged them.’ (Literally, ‘Being careful, (they) arranged them.’)
 (T11)

Additionally, adverb-like notions can be expressed with postpositional phrases or oblique-marked NPs; these usages are often metaphorical, as in:

(8.139) **Nambli lu** manen.
nambli lu ma-n-en
 feather with go-IPFV-NMLZ
 ‘(The water) is going quickly.’ (Literally, ‘going with feather’) (T33)

(8.140) **Apĩnĩ** mowonlĩp.
apĩn=nĩ ma=won-lĩ-p
 fire=OBL 3SG=cut-put-PRF
 ‘(He) cut it down quickly.’ (Literally, ‘cut it down with fire’) (T10)

Of particular interest, however, is Ulwa’s method of placing adjectives in object positions to be used adverbially. When this occurs with transitive verbs, the putative direct object of the

verb is demoted to an oblique and is marked by the oblique marker =*n*. See 11.5.1 for examples of this phenomenon.

8.4 Other small classes

Finally, in this chapter I consider a few other small closed classes, namely negators (8.4.1), interrogative words (8.4.2), and interjections (8.4.3).

8.4.1 Negators

There is in Ulwa a small set of negators, words that indicate that the polarity of a sentence is negative as opposed to positive (taken to be the unspecified, default polarity). There are two basic negators: the regular negative marker *ango*, which is glossed as ‘NEG’, and the word *wana(p)* ‘PROH’, which is used in negative commands (i.e., prohibitions):

<i>ango</i>	NEG (‘no, not’)
<i>wana(p)</i>	PROH (‘don’t!’)

For more on the function of these words, see the sections on negation (13.4), prohibitions (13.4.2), and the speculative suffix *-t* (4.13).

In addition to these two negators, there are two particles, each of which may occur as the second element of a two-part negative construction (13.4.1), namely, *me* and *kom(e)*, both of which are usually glossed as ‘NEG’.

8.4.2 Interrogative words

There is also in Ulwa a small set of interrogative words, which are used in *wh*- (or content) questions. Their forms and functions are described more fully in the section on questions (13.2), but they may be viewed together here in terms of their word class membership. While they are all functionally similar in that they help form interrogative sentences, they are likely not a morphosyntactically distinct class, but rather a group composed of different grammatical categories, as outlined below. These interrogative words are:

<i>kwa</i>	who? [SG]	=	cardinal numeral ‘one’ (7.5)
<i>kuma</i>	who? [NSG]	=	modifier/quantifier ‘some’ (7.4)
<i>kwanji</i>	whose? [SG]	<	<i>kwa</i> ‘who?’ [SG] + <i>nji</i> ‘thing’
<i>kumanji</i>	whose? [NSG]	<	<i>kuma</i> ‘who?’ [NSG] + <i>nji</i> ‘thing’
<i>ango</i>	which?	=	negator ‘no, not’ (8.4.1)
<i>angos</i>	what?	<	<i>ango</i> ‘no, not’ + <i>s</i> (?)
<i>ango luwa</i>	where?	=	<i>ango</i> ‘which?’ + <i>luwa</i> ‘place’
<i>ango tem</i>	when?	=	<i>ango</i> ‘which?’ + <i>tem</i> ‘time’ (< TP <i>taim</i> ‘time’)
<i>angwena</i>	why?	<	<i>ango</i> ‘which?’ + <i>ina</i> ‘liver’ (?)
<i>anjika</i>	how many?	<	<i>anji</i> ‘1PL.EXCL.POSS’ + <i>ka</i> ‘thus’ (?)
<i>anjikaka</i>	how?	<	<i>anjika</i> ‘how many’ + <i>ka-</i> ‘let’ (?)

The etymologies of these question words are discussed in 13.1.2. In addition to these interrogative words, there is the question particle *a* (or *e*) (glossed as Q), that may occur at the end of a sentence to indicate that it is an interrogative.

8.4.3 Interjections

Finally, there are in Ulwa a number of interjections, small words used to express a variety of thoughts or emotions. If they are to be considered interjections as well, the words equivalent to ‘yes’, ‘no’, and ‘OK’ may be included in this discussion as well. In the following list, the exclamation point (!) indicates emphatic pronunciation, the question mark (?) indicates rising intonation, and the colon (:) indicates extended vowel length (note also that the word *mm* is pronounced as two syllabic nasals separated by a glottal stop. i.e., [mʔm]).

<i>iyó</i>	yes
<i>iya</i>	yeah
<i>ase</i>	no
<i>asa</i>	nah
<i>ande</i>	OK
<i>andi</i>	OK
<i>a!</i>	expresses shock or disbelief (and often used to signal quoted speech)
<i>a:</i>	filler interjection (‘uh...’)
<i>ay</i>	expresses pain or shock (‘ow’)
<i>aya</i>	expresses compassion (‘ah, me’)
<i>e!</i>	expresses excitement, whether positive or negative (‘hey!’)
<i>i</i>	expresses dejection (‘alas’)
<i>o</i>	intensifier / vocative form (as suffix)
<i>u</i>	expresses amazement (‘ooh’)
<i>m!</i>	expressed disapproval (‘hm!’)

<i>m</i>	shows agreement ('mhm')
<i>mm</i>	shows disagreement ('uh-uh')
<i>mawnam</i>	'that's it!'

(When appropriate, the above translations are used as glosses for interjections that occur in examples throughout in this grammar; otherwise, the abbreviation 'INTERJ' is used.)

The two words on this list that deserve the most comment are *o* and *mawnam*, the former since it may function either as its own lexical item (that is, an unbound morpheme) or as a suffix, and the latter because it seems to be polymorphemic.

The interjection *o* is likely a loan from Tok Pisin (indeed, Ulwa has no native words that begin with /o-/, and, in fact, this interjection is often pronounced [wo], perhaps when treated as a free morpheme). The examples below illustrate the use of *o*, both as an interjection of emphasis and as a vocative form used when calling to people.

(8.141) **Tembiwo!**

tembi-**o**
bad-INTERJ
'It's bad!' (T32)

(8.142) Alanji amba **ndo!**

alanji	amba	anda- o
that.PL.POSS	haus.tambaran	that.SG-INTERJ

'Over there they have magic!' (T32)

(8.143) Mawanat **Supamo!**

ma=wana-ta	Supam- o
3SG=feel-say	[name]-INTERJ

'(They) called to her: "Supam!"' (T01)

(8.144) Ndi ndiwanate wot **alo!**

ndi	ndi=wana-ta-e	wot	ala- o
3PL	3PL=feel-say-DEP	younger	that.PL-INTERJ

'They called to them: "Younger brothers!"' (T02)

(8.145) **Alo un ino!**

ala- o	un	i-na- o
that.PL-INTERJ	2PL	come-IRR-INTERJ

'You all, come!' (T10)

The interjection *mawnam* 'that's it' is used to signal the emphatic identification of a referent or to show approval of a thought or action (cf. Tok Pisin *em nau* [literally, 'it now']).

The word appears to contain the word *maw* ‘correct’. The second syllable, *nam*, however, never appears in isolation; it seems to function as an intensifier (cf. its role in emphatic pronominal forms, 6.7). The form *mawnam* may take the ending *-e*. It is unclear whether this is the dependent marker (suggesting a verbal nature to the form *mawnam*) or simply a further emphatic syllable. The following sentences exemplify the use of *mawnam* ‘that’s it’.

(8.146) Makape i **mawnam**.
 maka-p-e i **maw-nam**
 thus-be-DEP way correct-INT
 ‘Behavior like that—that’s it.’ (T32)

(8.147) **Mawname** mī kalam.
maw-nam-e mī kalam
 correct-INT-DEP 3SG know
 ‘That’s it, he knows.’ (T11)

(8.148) **Mawnam**.
maw-nam
 correct-INT
 ‘That’s it.’ (T09)

(8.149) **Mawname**.
maw-nam-e
 correct-INT-DEP
 ‘That’s right.’ (T32)

Chapter 9

Phrase-level syntax

9.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the description of phrase-level syntax. A phrase may be considered a set of one or more words functioning together as a syntactic unit, a unit usually taken to be smaller than (or a constituent of) a clause. Although a phrase may consist of a single word, the following sections will mostly be concerned with multi-word phrases, as the present point of interest is how multiple words interact with one other within a single phrase.

9.2 Noun phrases

A noun phrase consists minimally of a noun (common or proper) or a pronoun (personal, possessive [functioning as a substantive], intensive, or demonstrative). If a noun phrase has a noun as its head, it may also contain a determiner (subject marker, object marker, or demonstrative determiner) which always appears at the end of the phrase. Noun phrases headed by pronouns do not permit subject markers or object markers (and in instances in which, say, an object marker immediately follows a demonstrative pronoun, the two are taken to be in apposition to each other, not part of the same NP, and there should be a prosodic break signaling this). Noun phrases also permit one or more adjectives (5.2). The canonical position for adjectives in NPs is following the noun and preceding the determiner (if present); but there are examples of adjectives preceding nouns. This may be due to influence from the word order of Tok Pisin; indeed, some speakers consider the order adjective-noun to be ungrammatical. Numerals (7.6), which in this context may best be thought of as adjectives as well, also follow nouns (and [other] adjectives, if present); numerals, too, precede determiners such as subject markers (7.2), object markers (7.4), or demonstratives (7.3), when present. NPs also permit possessive markers (6.3, 9.2.5). These precede nouns and thus, when present, are the first elements in their respective NPs. (The issue of the peculiar placement [outside the NP] of the universal quantifier *wopa* ‘all’ is addressed in 7.5.) The following is a summary of the canonical order of elements in an Ulwa NP.

[possessor] [noun] [adjective(s)] [numeral] [determiner]

The following noun phrase illustrates all these elements together.

- (9.001) nīnji lamndu ambi kwe anda
nīnji lamndu ambi kwe anda
1SG.POS pig big one that.SG
'that one big pig of mine'

9.2.1 The head of the noun phrase

The head of a noun phrase need not be an archetypical noun (or personal pronoun). It may, instead, be an adjective functioning as a noun (as in 9.002 below) (see 5.4 on substantive uses of adjectives). Similarly, a possessive pronoun (6.3) may function as the head of an NP (as in 9.003 below).

- (9.002) **Ambi anda** wa lolop man.
ambi anda wa lolop ma-n
big that.SG just just go-IPFV
'That big (man) just goes around.' (T11)

- (9.003) **Nī nīnji ngalat** unanda.
nī nīnji ngala=ti u=na-nda
1SG 1SG.POSS this.PL=take 2SG=give-IRR
'I will give mine to you.' (T24)

The head of an NP can also be a noun derived from a verb that has been nominalized with the suffix *-en* (see 3.3 for examples).

9.2.2 Plural for dual

As discussed above in 7.2 and 7.4, subject markers and object markers do not always occur in NPs that function as subjects or as objects. When they do occur, however, they mark their respective NPs for number. The three number categories in Ulwa are singular, dual, and plural (7.1). While “dual” may never be used when there are three or more referents, “plural” is sometimes found even when there are exactly two referents, as in the example below.

- (9.004) Wonmbi **nditumulka**.
 wonmbi **ndi**=tumul-ka
 tusk 3PL=bend-let
 ‘(They) bent the tusks.’ (This refers to a pair of tusks belonging to a single boar.) (T01)

9.2.3 Multiple adjectives

Multiple adjectives may occur in a single NP. When there are multiple adjectives, they simply stack up after the head noun (and before any determiners), as seen below.

- (9.005) Wapa **ambi tembi** ndawe nī mat inde.
 wapa **ambi tembi** andawe nī ma=ti inda-e
 leaf big bad that.SG.INT.PART 1SG 3SG=take walk-DEP
 ‘That big, bad leaf alone—I’m taking it.’ (T32)

- (9.006) Tīmḃil **ambi nīpat ngata** maytana mane.
 tīmḃil **ambi nīpat ngata** ma=ita-na ma-n-e
 fencebig giant grand 3SG=build-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘(You) are going to build a big, huge, giant fence.’ (T37)

9.2.4 Apposition

Noun phrases may be in apposition to each other, as in the following sentence, which contains two NPs (the compound *wot yana* ‘younger sister’ and the proper noun *Sinanam*) in apposition to each other. Each NP serves as the singular grammatical object of the verb *na-* ‘give’.

- (9.07) **Wot yana Sinanam** manana.
wot yana Sinanam ma=na-na
 younger woman [name] 3SG=give-PRF
 ‘(He) gave it to the younger sister Sinanam.’ (T01)

9.2.5 Indicating possession

Noun phrases may indicate possession. Often, these NPs make use of possessive pronouns (which may appear in abbreviated forms, i.e., identical to the set of object markers, see 7.3).

Another means of signaling that an NP has a possessor role is the oblique-marker enclitic =*n* (11.5.1). In such constructions, the NP marked with =*n* is the possessor of the NP that immediately follows, as in the following examples.

(9.008) Upan nungol ndin **nin** ani up.

upan	nungol	ndi= n	nī= n	ani	u-p
small.fish	child	3PL=OBL	1SG=OBL	bilum	put-PRF

‘(She) put some small little fish in my *bilum* (net bag).’ (T11)

(9.009) Mawl i **man** wandam malp.

ma=ul	i	ma= n	wandam	ma=lī-p
3SG=with	go.PRF	3SG=OBL	jungle	3SG=put-PRF

‘(He) went with her and put her in his jungle (home).’ (T01)

(9.010) Way mī asi **man** wat wan make.

way	mī	asi	ma= n	wat	wan	ma=ka-e
turtle	3SG	sit	3SG=OBL	ladder	above	3SG=let-DEP

‘The turtle was sitting at the top of his ladder.’ (T05)

(9.011) Atana mī liyu matin ...

atana	mī	li-u	ma=tī-n
older.sister	3SG	down-from	3SG=take-PRF

... mat **ambin** ame menlip.

ma=tī	ambī= n	ame	ma=in-lī-p
3SG=take	SG.REFL=OBL	basket	3SG=in-put-PRF

‘The older sister got him down and put him in her basket.’ (T09)

(See 11.5.2 for other case-like uses of the oblique marker.)

Whereas the oblique marker =*n* can function very much like a possessive marker, possessive pronouns can serve oblique-like functions—namely, they may indicate a beneficiary, as in the following sentences.

(9.012) Nĩ i **ngunji** mundu ilum kuma wananda.
 nĩ i **ngunji** mundu ilum kuma wana-nda
 1SG go.PRF 2DU.POSS food little some cook-IRR
 ‘I will come and cook some food for you.’ (Literally, ‘cook some little food of yours’)
 (T11)

(9.013) **Ndĩnji** na tĩna mbiłop.
ndĩnji na tĩ-na mbi-lo-p
 3PL.POSS talk take-IRR here-go-PRF
 ‘(They) came here to have a talk for them (their children).’ (T27)

(9.014) Nĩ **manji** ana matĩ manana.
 nĩ **manji** ana ma=tĩ ma=na-na
 1SG 3SG.POSS grass.skirt 3SG=take 3SG=give-PRF
 ‘I gave her a grass skirt.’ (T11)

To intensify possessor NPs that contain possessive pronouns, the modifier *wo* ‘very own’ may be added. Whereas the possessive pronoun precedes the head noun, the intensifier *wo* follows it, as in the following:

(9.015) **Manji** tĩn **wo** lamndu masap.
manji tĩn **wo** lamndu ma=asa-p
 3SG.POSS dog INT pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘His very own dog killed the pig.’

(9.016) **nĩnji** na **wo**
nĩnji na **wo**
 1SG.POSS talk INT
 ‘my very own story’ (T10)

(9.017) **Anji** wi **wo**.
anji wi **wo**
 1PL.EXCL.POSS name INT
 ‘It’s really our name.’ (T02)

(9.018) Yetani **lanji** **wo**.
 Yetani **alanji** **wo**
 Yamen that.PL.POSS INT
 ‘(He was) the Yamen people’s very own (ancestor).’ (T02)

As the last example above suggests, possession for full NPs—that is, for common or proper nouns—is marked by placing the possessive pronoun after the noun denoting the possessor. This is the method for marking possession on all full NPs (whether or not they contain

the intensifier *wo* ‘very own’). The possessive pronoun follows the possessor and precedes the possessum (the head noun of the NP). The following sentences illustrate possession marked on full NPs.

(9.019) **Itom manji lamndu mĩ** nip.

itom	manji	lamndu	mĩ	ni-p
father	3SG.POSS	pig	3sg	die-prf

‘Father’s pig died.’

(9.020) **Tin ndi itom manji lamndu masap.**

tin	ndi	itom	manji	lamndu	ma=asa-p
dog	3PL	father	3SG.POSS	pig	3SG=hit-PRF

‘The dogs killed father’s pig.’

(9.021) **Manama manji wot mĩ** mana motoplip.

Manama	manji	wot	mĩ	mana	ma=top-li-p
[name]	3SG.POS	younger	3SG	spear	3SG=throw-put-PRF

‘Manama’s younger brother threw the spear.’

(9.022) **Ninji atma manji aweta mĩ** tembip.

ninji	atma	manji	aweta	mĩ	tembi-p
1SG.POSS	older.brother	3SG.POSS	friend	3SG	bad-be

‘My older brother’s friend is sick.’

Sometimes, however, what are functionally very much like noun phrases indicating possession are in form actually verb phrases. They function in sentences as relative clauses (12.4), as in:

(9.023) **Kaytape** anapa mĩ

[Kayta-p-e]	anapa	mĩ
[[name]-be-DEP]	sister	3SG

‘Kayta’s sister’ (Literally, ‘the sister that Kayta [has]’) (T11)

These verb phrases may in turn be nominalized, as in:

(9.024) **Lucypen** anda.

Lucy-p-en	anda
[name]-be-NMLZ	that.SG

‘That (pot) is Lucy’s.’ (Literally, ‘The one that Lucy [has] [is] that [one].’) (T11)

(9.025) **Albertpen maka yena inom mi** maka ...
Albert-p-en **maka** **yena** **inom** **mi** maka
 [name]-be-NMLZ thus woman mother 3SG thus
 ‘Albert’s wife’s mother, like, ...’

... mu kumat ninana.
 mu kuma=tĩ ni=na-na
 seed some=take 1SG=give-PRF
 ‘... gave me some seeds.’ (T32)

The reason that this is possible in Ulwa relates to how possession is expressed in predicates. In short, there is no verb to indicate possession (such as ‘have’ in English), but rather that which is possessed is simply predicated of the person who possesses it, either with the copular suffix or without it. The possessor is indicated by the possessive pronoun. In the examples below, the possessum is in **bold**.

(9.026) Alimban manji **yeta watanginila**.
 Alimban manji yeta watanginila
 [name] 3SG.POSS man four
 ‘Alimban has four sons.’ (T20)

(9.027) Ninji **ambi kwe mape**.
 ninji ambi kwe ma=p-e
 1SG.POSS big one 3SG=be-DEP
 ‘I have one big one there.’ (T37)

The predicate denoting that which is possessed may be expressed as a nominalized verb form, as in the following:

(9.028) Manji ini **ulwapen**.
 manji ini **ulwa-p-en**
 3SG.POSS ground nothing-be-NMLZ
 ‘He doesn’t have land.’ (T11)

9.2.6 Noun phrases as clauses

Noun phrases may serve a number of grammatical functions: an NP may be the subject of a clause, a (direct) object of a verb, the object of a postposition, or part of an oblique phrase marked by the oblique marker =*n*. More detail on clause structure in Ulwa is found in Chapter

11, but I conclude this section on noun phrases by noting one particular use of Ulwa NPs. Occasionally, and especially for particular emphasis, noun phrases may serve alone as entire clauses. In this use, the grandeur of an event is stressed, the predicate itself being merely implied, as seen in the following:

(9.029) **Minda wandam!**
minda wandam
 banana jungle
 ‘Banana garden!’ (i.e., ‘Oh what a banana garden they made!’) (T01)

(9.030) Ndī apīn anul ndame.
 ndī apīn=n anul ndī=ama-e
 3PL fire=OBL grassland 3PL=eat-DEP
 ‘They were burning the grassland.’ (as a strategy for hunting pigs)

Namndu!
namndu
 pig
 ‘Pigs!’ (i.e., ‘Oh how many pigs they killed!’) (T01)

9.3 Verb phrases

A verb phrase consists minimally of a verb (or a non-verbal element with copular suffix [10.3] or a postposition functioning as a verb [8.3]). The verb is always the final element in the phrase. If the verb is transitive (and contains an overt object), then contained within the verb phrase is also a noun phrase (the direct object of the verb). This NP may be marked with an object marker, which cliticizes to the verb. (Other determiners, i.e., demonstratives, may also cliticize, but see 7.3.) The fact that object markers are phonologically closely connected with their verbs makes it difficult to assign them to positions within NPs (in so far as they resemble agreement-marking verbal prefixes); still (largely by analogy to their subject marker equivalents), they are considered properly constituents of NPs (albeit NPs that are themselves constituents of verb phrases). In addition to NPs, postpositional phrases (PPs) may also be considered constituents of VPs. When present, they always occur before the verb (and before the direct object, if the verb is transitive). The order of potential elements of the Ulwa VP may thus be summarized as follows:

[(PP)] ([NP (determiner)]) [verb]

The phrases in the following examples illustrate these elements, providing examples of both transitive (9.033 and 9.034) and intransitive (9.031 and 9.032) verbs, both with (9.032 and 9.034) and without (9.031 and 9.033) postpositional phrases.

(9.031) man
ma-n
go-IPFV
'is going'

(9.032) im maya man
im ma=iya ma-n
tree 3SG=toward go-IPFV
'is going toward the tree'

(9.033) utam mawanap
utam ma=wana-p
yam 3SG=cook-PRF
'cooked the yam'

(9.034) apin mawat mawanap
apin ma=wat ma=wana-p
fire 3SG=atop 3SG=cook-PRF
'cooked the yam on the fire'

The order and relation of elements within NPs are discussed above in 9.2 and the order and relation of PPs are discussed below in 9.4.

9.3.1 Separable verbs

In this section, I wish to draw attention to an interesting phenomenon that occurs with certain verb phrases. In section 4.16 it was shown that compound verb forms can be constructed with postpositional or nominal elements (in addition to at least one verbal component). Some compound verbs containing nominal elements can actually be discontinuous—that is, words may intervene between the nominal conjunct and the verbal conjunct (cf. *tmesis* in Ancient Greek or *trennbare Verben* in German, only here in Ulwa the separable elements are nominal, not adpositional—more like the German verb *radfahren* 'bike').

These constructions are especially common with verbs of perception. For example, the verb *wana-* ‘feel, taste, sense, think’ can combine with different elements to form various compound verbs. While the compound *nambitwana-* ‘smell (transitive)’ (< *nambit* ‘odor’ + *wana-* ‘sense’, i.e., ‘sense odor’) is composed of just a noun and verb, the compound *inakawana-* ‘think’ (< *ina* ‘liver [the seat of reason]’ + *ka* ‘at, in, on’ + *wana-* ‘feel’, i.e., ‘feel in [one’s] mind/heart’) contains an entire postpositional phrase, itself composed of a noun and a postposition. These two forms may be contrasted with the compound *kikalwana-* ‘hear’ (< *kikal* ‘ear’ + *wana-* ‘feel’), since this form is actually separable. The object of the verb occurs between the two elements *kikal* and *wana-* (as seen in examples 9.044 through 9.047 below).

First it may be seen how *wana-* ‘feel’ functions as a verb on its own, with a variety of related meanings:

(9.035) Nĩ **wana** Raten ndĩ ita
 nĩ **wana** Raten ndĩ i-ta
 1SG feel [place] 3PL go.PRF-COND
 ‘I thought that the Raten people would come.’ (T11)

(9.036) Ankam **mawane** mambi ...
 ankam ma=**wana**-e mambi
 person 3SG=feel-DEP 3SG.FOC
 ‘As for the person who tastes it ...’ (T32)

(9.037) **Mawana.**
 ma=**wana**
 3SG=feel
 ‘(She) smelled it.’ (T32)

The following sentence illustrates the noun-plus-verb compound *nambitwana-* ‘smell’, which here takes as its direct object the pronoun *nĩ=* ‘1SG’.

(9.038) Mĩ **nĩnambitwana** ko anmbu i.
 mĩ nĩ=**nambit-wana** ko an-mbĩ-u i
 3SG 1SG=odor-feel just out-here-from go.PRF
 ‘It smelled me and just went out from there.’ (T32)

The more complex combination of postpositional phrase-plus-verb is seen in *inakawana-* ‘think’, which may take as an object the subject/topic about which one thinks, as in the following:

- (9.039) Mi i atay mawap **inakawanap**.
 mī i ata-i ma=wap **ina-ka-wana-p**
 3SG go.PRF up-go.PRF 3SG=be.PST liver-at-feel-PRF
 ‘He went, went up, stayed there, and thought.’ (T30)
- (9.040) Atana nda nipe ndī angō **ninakawan**.
 atana anda ni-p-e ndī angō nī=**ina-ka-wana-Ø**
 older.sister that.SG die-PRF-DEP 3PL NEG 1SG=liver-at-feel-IPFV
 ‘When that older sister died, they didn’t think of me.’ (T11)
- (9.041) Nī **inakawana** nī unūl mbīpīta ...
 nī **ina-ka-wana** nī un=ul mbī-p-ta
 1SG liver-at-feel 1SG 2PL=with here-be-COND
 ‘So I thought: if I stay here with you, ...’ (T32)

But the main point of interest here is the ability of *kikal* ‘ear’ to separate from the verb stem *wana-* ‘feel’. In the first two examples below, (9.042) and (9.043), it may be seen that when *kikalwana-* ‘hear’ is intransitive (meaning something more like ‘listen’), the verb appears to function just like any other (inseparable) compound. But the transitive examples (9.044, 9.045, and 9.046) show that when the verb has an object, this object occurs between *kikal* and *wana-*. The object (when present) is underlined in the following examples.

- (9.042) Ndī **kikalwana** ngunaniya ita.
 ndī **kikal-wana** ngunan=iya i-ta
 3PL ear-feel 1DU.INCL=toward go.PRF-COND
 ‘If only they would listen and come to us.’ (T32)
- (9.043) Angō **kikalwana**.
 angō **kikal-wana**
 NEG ear-feel
 ‘(They) don’t listen.’ (T11)
- (9.044) Ndī mbi nīmal mbīpen ndī **kikal na mawana**.
 ndī mbī-i nīmal mbī-p-en ndī **kikal na ma=wana**
 3PL here-go.PRF river here-be-NMLZ 3PL ear talk 3SG=feel
 ‘Those who came here and stay here at the river would hear the message.’ (T23)
- (9.045) An **kikal** inom itom **ndīwana**.
 an **kikal** inom itom **ndī=wana**
 1PL.EXCL ear mother father 3PL=feel
 ‘We listened to our parents.’ (T10)

- (9.046) U **kikal** mawane.
 u **kikal** ma=wana-e
 2SG ear 3SG=feel-DEP
 ‘You heard it.’ (T32)

Of course, viewed from an alternative perspective, such verbal constructions can be thought of as exhibiting “incorporation” rather than “separation”. In this view, sentences such as 9.042 and 9.043 would be said to have “unincorporated” verbal structures.

In constructions with separable verbs, the first element always appears at the absolute beginning of the verb phrase. Postpositions, which are also properly constituents of VPs, thus appear after the first element, as in the following example, in which *kikal* ‘ear’ is the first element in the separable verb construction.

- (9.047) Ango yeta ndi **kikal** nin u na ngalawan.
 angó yeta ndi **kikal** nĩ=n u na ngala=wana-Ø
 NEG man 3PL ear 1SG=OBL from talk this.PL=feel-IPFV
 ‘No men hear these stories from me.’ (T11)

Verbs of seeing function similarly to this verb of hearing detailed above. Often, however, they rely on a verbal use of the postposition *ala ~ andi(m/n)* ‘for, from’, which, as in (9.053) below, may exhibit TAM marking. The first example below (9.048) is intransitive; the others are transitive and illustrate the separable element *limndi* ‘eye’ occurring before the direct object of the verb (here underlined).

- (9.048) An ambi nape **limndi** ala.
 an ambi na-p-e **limndi** **ala**
 1PL.EXCL big DETR-be-DEP eye for
 ‘When we had gotten big, (we) looked around.’ (T10)

- (9.049) Unan angó **limndi** ankam **ala**.
 unan angó **limndi** ankam **ala**
 1PL.INCL NEG eye person for
 ‘We haven’t seen anyone.’ (T32)

- (9.050) Mi wa i **limndi** minala.
 mĩ wa i **limndi** min=ala
 3SG village go.PRF eye 3DU=for
 ‘She came home and saw the two.’ (T01)

(9.051) U amun **limndi** unji atma **ngal!**
 u amun **limndi** unji atma nga=al[a]
 2SG now eye 2SG.POSS older.brother this.SG=for
 ‘Now look at your older brother!’ (T11)

(9.052) U amun **limndi** Gambri **andim!**
 u amun limndi Gambri **andim**
 2SG now eye [name] for
 ‘Now, take a look at Gambri!’ (T11)

(9.053) Una **limndi** mangusuwa **andina.**
 unan **limndi** mangusuwa **andi-na**
 1PL.INCL eye 3SG.poor for-IRR
 ‘We will see the poor thing.’ (T32)

In the following example, the first element *limndi* ‘eye’ precedes a direct object NP that itself contains a (relative clause) VP.

(9.054) Una **limndi** makape i mandim.
 unan **limndi** [maka-p-e] i ma=andim
 1PL.INCL eye [thus-be-DEP] way 3SG=for
 ‘We’ve seen this kind of behavior.’ (T32)

Crucial for the argument that the nouns *kikal* ‘ear’ and *limndi* ‘eye’ are truly (separable) parts of compound verbs is the fact that they never receive postpositions or oblique markers in these constructions. That is, they cannot be interpreted as belonging to other phrases. For example, constructions such as the following are never found:

(9.055) ***kikaln(i)** mawana
 kikal=**n(i)** ma=wana
 ear=OBL 3SG=feel
 ‘sense with ear’ (i.e., ‘hear’)

Expressions of visual perception can also be formed with verbs that are more prototypical (compared to the postposition-like verbal forms seen above), such as *li-* ‘put’ and *uta-* ‘grind’. In all instances, the nominal element *limndi* ‘eye’ behaves the same—that is, it never receives any oblique marking, as illustrated below.

(9.056) Mī **limndī malip.**

mī **limndī** ma=li-p
3SG eye 3SG=put-PRF
'She watched it.'

(9.057) Mī ndala wonka **limndī manji asiya ndute.**

mī ndi=ala won-ka **limndī** manji asiya ndi-uta-e
3SG 3PL=from cut-let eye 3SG.POSS string 3PL=grind-DEP
'He left them and crossed (the river) and was checking his string traps.' (T27)

(9.058) Una **limndī ndutape.**

unan **limndī** ndi=uta-p-e
1PL.INCL eye 3PL=grind-PRF-DEP
'We've examined them.' (T32)

While verbs of perception constitute one of the most common subclasses of verbs to exhibit the separable structure, other compound verb forms behave similarly. The verb 'ask' is composed of the word *atwana* 'question' and some form of a verb of speaking (*ta-* or *kī-* 'say') as discontinuous elements, with no oblique marking on the nominal component *atwana* 'question', as in the following sentences (for more on reported speech with *na* 'talk' as a nominal component, see 13.5).

(9.059) Mī li **atwana manji yana mat.**

mī li-i **atwana** manji yana ma=ta
3SG down-go.PRF question 3SG.POSS woman 3SG=say
'He went down and asked his wife.' (T01)

(9.060) Dumngul imbape i **atwana ankap.**

Dumngul imba-p-e i **atwana** an=kī-p
[name] night-be-DEP go.PRF question 1PL.EXCL=say-PRF
'Dumngul came at night and asked us.' (T27)

In a somewhat more complicated fashion, the verb 'catch, grab, hold' is formed with the irregular verb *si-* 'push', which follows the discontinuous element *ikali*, which is itself composed of *i* 'hand' and *kali* 'send', and may thus not so clearly be labeled a nominal element. The following two sentences exemplify this structure.

(9.061) Una **ikali ndisina.**

unan **i-kali** ndi=si-na
1PL.INCL hand-send 3PL=push-IRR
'We can grab them.' (T32)

- (9.062) Ngunan ango **ikali** ndin u ani kos.
 ngunan ango **i-kali** ndi=n u ani ko=si
 1DU.INCL NEG hand-send 3PL=OBL from *bilum* INDF=push
 ‘We haven’t gotten a single *bilum* (net bag) from them.’ (T32)

The use of light verbs (such as *wana-* ‘feel’, *ta-* or *ki-* ‘say’, and *si-* ‘push’) to generate a larger semantic range than would otherwise be possible within Ulwa’s small set of verbs is reminiscent of many languages of New Guinea. Indeed, this resembles the common adjunct-plus-verb construction (Foley 1986:117ff.), in which an adjunct nominal combines with a generic verb to make the meaning of the generic verb more specific. One notable feature of these Ulwa constructions, however, is that the adjunct nominal component is often morphologically very much like a verb—that is, it can take verbal morphology. This feature is described further in 9.3.2 and 9.3.3. For the role of the verb *tī-* ‘take’ in similar bipartite constructions, see the discussion of serial verb constructions in 11.4.

9.3.2 Verbs of ‘putting’

This section covers an especially important subclass of separable verbs, consisting, primarily, of two verbs with meanings somewhat like English ‘put’—“somewhat like” since two important semantic distinctions must be made. First, these Ulwa verbs select only two arguments—i.e., they are not three-place predicates (and, indeed, they may be able to function intransitively as well). Second, the object of these Ulwa verbs is *not* a theme argument, but rather a goal, the place to which a theme is put (if a theme argument is expressed in a clause, it occurs in an oblique phrase). This may be seen in the following:

- (9.063) Inom mī wa unde iwa lan **inim andawe**.
 inom mī wa unda-e iwa ala=n **inim anda=aw-e**
 mother 3SG just go-DEP basket that.PL=OBL water that.SG=put.IPFV-DEP
 ‘A woman used to just go around, setting fish traps in the water.’ (T05)

- (9.064) Wen **ndawe**.
 we=n **ndi=aw-e**
 sago=OBL 3PL=put.IPFV-DEP
 ‘(They) used to put sago starch in them.’ (T11)

(9.065) Ndī malimap ndīn **ame ndilumop**.
 ndī ma=alima-p ndī-n **ame** **ndī=lumo-p**
 3PL 3SG=beat-PRF 3PL=OBL basket 3PL=put-PRF
 ‘They beat it (the sago) and put them (the starch) in the *ame* baskets.’ (T11)

(9.066) **Al malpe** mī i.
al **ma=li-p-e** mī i
 net 3SG=put-PRF-DEP 3SG go.PRF
 ‘Having put (the baby) in the mosquito net, she went.’ (T01)

The two major ‘put’ verbs are *u-* and *li-*. They are both used very frequently in separable verb constructions. (In addition to these two verbs, there is the defective stem *lumo-* ‘put’, which seems only to exist in the perfective form (*lumop*) or in conditional forms (*lumota* and *lumopta*); sometimes, in casual speech, the initial *l-* is lost, i.e., the stem may be apheresized to [umo-]).

Often in such constructions, the nominal first element is a form that occurs only in verbal compounds—that is, unlike *limndi* ‘eye’, which occurs frequently as a noun in its own right (e.g., *mī nīnji limndi masap* ‘he hit my eye’), there is no indication that forms like *kuk* ‘gather(ing?)’ ever appear on their own as verbs (indeed, there may even be a phonotactic constraint against a final *-k* in words such as *kuk*, 2.1.1).

Indeed, the first element in separable ‘put’ verbs resemble verbs in at least one way: it permits an object marker. The (unseparated) verb *kalili-* ‘send’, for example, takes as its object that which is sent (i.e., a theme argument); however, as a discontinuous verb, the first element *kali* ‘send’ takes this theme argument as its object, whereas the second element *li-* ‘put’ takes as its object the place to which someone or something is sent (i.e., a goal argument), as in:

(9.067) Wot **makalilipe**.
 wot ma=**kali-li**-p-e
 younger 3SG=send-put-PRF-DEP
 ‘(They) sent the younger brother.’ (T01)

(9.068) **Makali** Nanīmwat **malp**.
 ma=**kali** Nanīmwat ma=**li**-p
 3SG=send [place] 3SG=put-PRF
 ‘(They) sent him to Nanīmwat.’ (T02)

(The example above illustrates yet another peculiarity of the verb *li-* ‘put’: its ability to lose its vowel, 2.6.9).

Similarly, the form *kuk-* ‘gather’ may take an object marker when appearing with a separable ‘put’ verb. This form mostly appears with the other ‘put’ verb, *u-*, but may instead appear with a blended version containing the element /l/. The first two examples below show an intransitive (middle voice, according to some terminologies) use of the verb, with (9.070) and without (9.069) the detransitivizing marker *na-*.

(9.069) Kuma **kukup**.
 kuma kuk-u-p
 some gather-put-PRF
 ‘Some gathered.’ (T27)

(9.070) An **nakukunda**.
 an na-kuk-u-nda
 1PL.EXCL DETR-gather-put-IRR
 ‘We would gather.’ (i.e., ‘gather together, assemble’) (T10)

As a transitive verb, however, *kuku-* ‘gather’ has as its object that which is ‘gathered’ (or ‘piled up’, etc.), and this argument may be indexed by an object marker preceding the form *kuk*. The place in(to) which things are being gathered or piled is, in turn, the object of the verb ‘put’, and thus occurs as an NP between the separable form *kuk* and the ‘put’ verb stem *u-*, as in the examples below. In (9.071), note the metathesis of the alternate form [lu-] of the verb stem *li-* (2.6.9), enabling the formation of the monophthong [o] (from /au/) (2.6.2).

(9.071) Siwi **kuk** wa **noinda**.
 siwi **kuk** wa na-lu-nda
 grub.sp gather village DETR-put-IRR
 ‘(We) will gather *siwi* grubs home.’ (T33)

(9.072) Mi **ndikuk** nin ani **mope**.
 mī ndī=**kuk** nī=n ani ma=**u-p-e**
 3SG 3PL=gather 1SG=OBL bilim 3SG=put-PRF-DEP
 ‘She piled them into my *bilum* (net bag).’ (T32)

As a phonotactically prohibited final consonant, the final /k/ in *kuk* may be deleted when this word occurs as a separate form, as in:

(9.073) Nīpīl ndīwale **ndiku** inim **awe**.
 nīpīl ndī=wali-e ndī=**ku[k]** inim aw-e
 vine 3PL=hit-DEP 3PL=gather water put.IPFV-DEP
 ‘(We) used to break vines and gather them into the water.’ (T31)

Other separable verbs with stems meaning ‘put’ have as first elements words that seem less likely to permit object markers. For example, *tane-* ‘stand’ has as its object the place where one stands, as in:

- (9.074) Ngala imbape **tane malpe**.
 ngala imba-p-e tane ma=li-p-e
 this.PL night-be-DEP stand 3SG=put-PRF-DEP
 ‘These people stand there at night.’ (T27)

That said, this verb can at times permit two objects (that is, the first element may permit as an object that which is stood [i.e., erected, positioned, etc.]), as in:

- (9.075) I apa kongomlip mat i **matanelip**.
 i apa ko=angom-li-p ma=ti i ma=**tane-li-p**
 go.PRF house INDF=pull.out-put-PRF 3SG=take go.PRF 3SG=stand-put-PRF
 ‘(It) went and pulled out a house, brought it, and stood it up.’ (T05)

Other verbs appear (on morphological grounds) to belong to this class of separable ‘putting’ verbs, but never seem to occur as discontinuous elements. This could simply be a pragmatic matter, as the object of a verb such as *mimilu-* ‘wring, strain’, for example, is more likely to be a theme than a goal argument. This verb may be seen in the following sentences.

- (9.076) Ulum tamndi mawa **ndimimilunda**.
 ulum tamndi mawa ndi=**mimil-u-nda**
 palm owner 3SG.INT 3PL=wring-put-IRR
 ‘The owner of the sago palms herself will wring them.’ (T11)

- (9.077) Ndi **ndimimilawe**.
 ndi ndi=**mimil-aw-e**
 3PL 3PL=wring-put-IPFV-DEP
 ‘They would be wringing them.’ (T11)

The fact that verbs of ‘putting’ can, however, so commonly permit separable constructions has a certain rationale to it, especially considering that the object of these verbs glossed as ‘put’ is always the goal and not the theme (which, when overt, is expressed as an oblique phrase). Thus, in expressions like ‘send to a place’ or ‘gather/pile up to a place’, it accords that the object of the second element in the separable verb (i.e., the ‘put’ verb) is a destination.

The semantic origins of verbs of ‘putting’ being used as the second component in such separable verbs may be posited: verbs like ‘throw’, ‘break’, etc. could derive from phrases such as ‘put a throw’, ‘put a break’, etc., where the first element in each phrase is in origin an (abstract) noun.

This section may be concluded with lists of some of the most common separable ‘put’ verbs, organized according to whether they typically take the verb stem *li-* or the verb stem *u-*. Especially when occurring unseparated, though, the verbs in the first set below often take *aw(e)* instead of *l* as their imperfective endings. (Often, given the phonotactics of the language, the imperfective forms in *-l* would prove unpronounceable; thus, it is not uncommon to substitute a form in *-aw*).

Separable ‘put’ verbs with verb stem li-

gloss	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘send’	kalil	kalilip	kalilinda
‘throw’	kulil	kulilip	kulilinda
‘tie’	mopl	moplip	moplinda
‘spit’	ngoml	ngomlip	ngomlinda
‘hide’	nokopl	nokoplip	nokoplinda
‘stand’	tanel	tanelip	tanelinda
‘throw’	topl	toplip	toplinda
‘jump’	ulepl	uleplip	uleplinda

Separable ‘put’ verbs with verb stem u-

gloss	imperfective	perfective	irrealis
‘throw’	kikeyaw	kikeyup	kikeyunda
‘gather’	kukaw	kukup	kukunda
‘wring’	mimilaw	mimilup	mimilunda
‘vomit’	nonganaw	nonganup	nonganunda
‘crush’	nopalaw	nopalup	nopalunda
‘break’	nungunaw	nungunup	nungununda
‘pour’	tomalaw	tomalup	tomalunda
‘cut’	weyaw	weyup	weyunda

The two sets above are not completely distinct—that is, although separable ‘put’ verbs mostly contain either one set of endings or the other, sometimes speakers mix forms, producing, for example, *tane-u-p* ‘stand.PRF’ (for *tane-li-p*) or *kuk-li-p* ‘gather.PRF’ for

(*kuk-u-p*).

9.3.3 The verb *ka-* ‘let’

The verb *ka-* ‘let, leave, allow’ is another important verb that is used in separable verb constructions. (For the use of this verb in permissive constructions, see 13.11.)

As a verb with telic *Aktionsart*, there is no distinction made between perfective and imperfective: both aspects are encoded with the uninflected form of the verb, *ka*. This form is homophonous with the adverb/formative *ka* ‘thus, in this/that manner’ as well as with the postposition *ka* ‘at, in, on’. It is not clear whether there are any relationships (diachronic or synchronic) among any of the homophonous forms. The irrealis form, *lakana*, has what appears to be circumfixation, *la-* ... *-na* (4.4). The final *-na* of *lakana* ‘let.IRR’ is often elided.

Members of the class of ‘*ka-*’ separable verbs tend to be intransitive; but, when they do have objects, these (like their counterparts in ‘put’ separable verbs, 9.3.2) are goal arguments. They occur between the first element and the verb stem, as illustrated below (direct objects are underlined).

(9.078) Nawa ndul **asike** ndi matap.
nawa ndi=ul **asi-ka-e** ndi ma=ta-p
1SG.INT 3PL=with sit-let-DEP 3PL 3SG=say-PRF
‘I myself sat with them, and they talked about it.’ (T11)

(9.079) Ni wa ndul **asi maka**.
ni wa ndi=ul **asi** ma=ka
1SG just 3PL=with sit 3SG=let
‘I just sat there with them.’ (T27)

(9.080) Ni ma **loplakana**.
ni ma **lop-la-ka-na**
1SG go lie-IRR-let-IRR
‘I will go and rest.’ (T27)

(9.081) **Lop wulis maka**.
lop wulis ma=ka
lie platform 3SG=let
‘(I) lay on the platform.’ (T32)

(9.082) Ngan wolka **tiklika** mbi.
 ngan wolka **tikli-ka** mbi-i
 1DU.EXCL again turn-let here-go.PRF
 ‘The two of us turned again and came here.’ (T32)

(9.083) Una **tikli amblalaka** wolka amblawalinda man.
 unan **tikli** ambla=la-ka wolka ambla=wali-nda ma-n
 1PL.INCL turn PL.REFL=IRR-let again PL.REFL=hit-IRR go-IPFV
 ‘We’re going to turn on one another and fight one another again.’ (T32)

Often, however, the goal argument is expressed in a postpositional phrase. Nevertheless, these phrases occur between the first element of the separable verb and the verb stem, as in the following:

(9.084) Nī **asi** unji komblam mayn **ka**.
 nī **asi** unji komblam ma=in **ka**
 1SG sit 2SG.POSS chair 3SG=in let
 ‘I sat in your chair.’

(9.085) Wa **asi** nīmal kanam **ka**.
 wa **asi** nīmal kanam **ka**
 just sit river beside let
 ‘(They) just sit beside the river.’ (T32)

(9.086) **Lop** ndīkana **ka** ko nip.
 lop ndī=kana **ka** ko ni-p
 lie 3PL=beside let just die-PRF
 ‘(She) lay beside them and just died.’ (T11)

The following is a list of separable *ka-* verbs, presented in the perfective (the same as the imperfective) and the irrealis forms.

Separable ka- verbs

gloss	perfective	irrealis
‘sit’	asika	asilakana
‘lie (down)’	lopka	loplakana
‘turn (around)’	tiklika	tiklilakana
‘bend’	tumulka	tumulakana
‘cut’	wonka	wonlaka

Note the degemination (2.6.8) that occurs in the irrealis form of *tumul-* ‘bend’). Also note that *won-* ‘cut’ can alternatively take a set of regular TAM endings (i.e., *won*, *wonp*, *wonda*).

9.4 Other phrasal constructions

Besides noun phrases and verb phrases, the most important phrasal constituents of clauses are postpositional phrases (PPs). I begin this section by describing PPs in Ulwa (9.4.1). Then I consider the utility of describing adjectival phrases and adverbial phrases in Ulwa (9.4.2).

9.4.1 Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases in Ulwa consist minimally of a postposition and the object of the postposition (always preceding it). The object of the postposition may be a full NP (with or without an object marker) or it may be (minimally) just an object marker. A number of examples of postpositions are provided in 8.2 above.

In addition to simple postpositional phrases consisting of just a single postposition, it is possible for multiple postpositions to occur within a single phrase (taking just a single object), often in order to convey a specific (usually spatial) relationship between two NPs. A common component of such complex postpositional phrases is *u* ‘from, in, at, around, along’, which, when following another postposition, may add to it a sense of motion from, as in the following examples.

(9.087) Nī **aplatam mawat u** ani matin.
 nī **aplatam** **ma=wat** **u** ani ma=ti-n
 1SG table 3SG=atop from bilum 3SG=take-PRF
 ‘I took the *bilum* (net bag) from atop the table.’

(9.088) Līwa ta **nīwat u** anmbi.
 līwa ta **nī=wat** **u** an-mbī-i
 dawn already 1SG=atop from out-here-go.PRF
 ‘Dawn already came out upon me.’ (T36)

(9.089) Ndī **wimbam u** inim ma.
 ndī **u=imbam** **u** inim ma
 3PL 2SG=under 2SG water go
 ‘They go from under you to the water.’ (i.e., people go under your legs to lift you up and take you to the water) (T11)

(9.090) **Ndin u** siwi lomoke.
ndi=in **u** siwi ala=moko-e
 3PL=in from grub.sp that.PL=take-DEP
 ‘(He) would get *siwi* grubs from within them.’ (T04)

Sometimes, however, two postpositions may occur in a single phrase without any sense of motion. In the following example, in which the postpositional phrase receives the copular suffix so as to function as a predicate, the two postpositions *wan* ‘over, above’ and *wat* ‘atop, onto’ combine to give the sense of (hovering) above.

(9.091) Yangun mī **aplatam mawanwatwap**.
 yangun mī **aplatam** **ma=wan-wat-wap**
 mosquito 3SG table 3SG=over-atop-be.PST
 ‘The mosquito was above the table.’

It is even possible for three postpositions to occur within a single phrase, as demonstrated below.

(9.092) Yangun mī **aplatam mawan wat u** mbi.
 yangun mī **aplatam** **ma=wan** **wat** **u** mbi=i
 mosquito 3SG table 3SG=over atop from here=go.PRF
 ‘The mosquito came from above the table.’

(9.093) Nongami **mawan wat u** molop.
 Nongami **ma=wan** **wat** **u** ma=lo-p
 [name] 3SG=over atop from 3SG=cut-PRF
 ‘Nongami cut it from above it.’ (i.e., he cut a sago palm by positioning himself above the palm) (T11)

These PPs consisting of multiple postpositions should not be confused with series of multiple PPs occurring in a single clause. The latter always contains multiple objects (one per head postposition in each PP), as in the following examples.

(9.094) **Maya al men i.**
 ma=iya al ma=in i
 3SG=toward net 3SG=in go.PRF
 ‘(It) went to him into (his) mosquito net.’ (T05)

(9.095) **Min mawl mawatwap.**
 min ma=ul ma=wat-wap
 3DU 3SG=with 3SG=atop-be.PST
 ‘The two stayed with her on top of it.’ (T15)

9.4.2 Adjectival or adverbial phrases?

This chapter may be concluded with a consideration of other phrasal units that are sometimes described in other languages. First, (multi-word) adjectival phrases may be considered to be combinations of two or more adjectives. There does not, however, seem to be much utility in describing such phrases in Ulwa. When multiple adjectives occur in sequence, either 1) they are all in the same NP, together modifying the same head noun, or 2) they are in the same predicate, being predicated of the same subject, or 3) at least one is a substantive, with the other(s) modifying the noun or being predicated of it.

First, when multiple adjectives modify the same head noun, it is not clear whether one or another adjective has a closer affinity to the head noun (i.e., what the constituent structure is), as is illustrated below.

(9.096) lamndu ambi anma mī
 lamndu ambi anma mī
 pig big good 3SG
 (a) ‘the big [good pig]’ (?)
 (b) ‘the good [big pig]’ (?)
 (c) ‘the [big (and) good pig]’ (?)

Second, when an NP has multiple predicate adjectives, it may be most parsimonious to analyze them as coordinated paratactically (as Ulwa does not contain overt coordinators, 12.2), as in the following:

(9.097) Lamndu mī ambi anma.
 lamndu mī ambi anma
 pig 3SG big good
 ‘The pig is big (and) good.’

Third, when one adjective in a series is functioning as a substantive, it may indeed be the head of a phrase—but this phrase in question is a *noun* phrase, not an adjectival phrase, as is illustrated below.

(9.098) ambi anma mĩ
ambi anma mĩ
big good 3SG
'the big good (one)'

(9.099) Ambi (mĩ) anma.
ambi (mĩ) anma
big 3SG good
'The big (one) is good.'

Finally, there does not seem to be much value in analyzing a set of adverbial phrases. The class of adverbs in Ulwa consists of modifiers that are mostly all considered to be sentential—that is, in so far as they are modifiers, they modify on the level of the sentence (i.e., clause), and do not modifier smaller constituents, such as verbs or adjectives. Thus, they are generally not themselves constituents of larger phrases. Furthermore, when multiple adverbs occur in the same clause, they each, independently modify this clause. Therefore, they do not seem to belong to any multi-word constituent unit smaller than the clause or sentence.

Chapter 10

Predicates

10.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provides an examination of various phrase types, including verb phrases, which are often central to the predicate of a clause. In this chapter I describe how different types of predicates may be formed. I begin by looking at predicates that actually contain no overt verb (10.2) and move on to examining those that rely on a verbalizing suffix (10.3), before discussing one interesting group of verb phrases used as predicates: periphrastic constructions containing verbs of ‘going’ (10.4).

10.2 The null copula

There is (generally) no discrete copular verb in Ulwa. Equative sentences (or sentences containing a predicate complement that is a noun or an adjective) can be formed without any overt verb. That is, the subject (always first in the clause) may be juxtaposed with whatever is predicated of it (always last in the clause).

In each of the following equative sentences, the two NPs have the same referent. No verb is needed; rather, the two NPs are simply juxtaposed. The second NP is taken to be the complement (of a null-copula predicate), indicated here in **bold**.

(10.001) Kowe mī **nīnji atma**.

Kowe	mī	nīnji	atma
[name]	3SG	1SG.POSS	older.brother

‘Kowe is my older brother.’

(10.002) Kowe Mongima min **nīnji atma wot**.

Kowe	Mongima	min	nīnji	atma	wot
[name]	[name]	3DU	1SG.POSS	older.brother	younger

‘Kowe and Mongima are my brothers (unspecified for relative age).’

In such constructions, the referent of the second NP (i.e., the predicate) need not be definite, as illustrated below.

(10.003) Kowe mĩ **atma**.
Kowe mĩ **atma**
[name] 3SG older.brother
'Kowe is an older brother.' (i.e., he is an older brother to some unspecified person)

(10.004) Mongima mĩ **yata**.
Mongima mĩ **yata**
[name] 3SG man
'Mongima is a man.'

(10.005) Mongima mĩ ango **yana**.
Mongima mĩ ango **yana**
[name] 3SG NEG woman
'Mongima is not a woman.'

(10.006) Mongima mĩ **ankam anma**.
Mongima mĩ **ankam anma**
[name] 3SG person good
'Mongima is a good person.'

Such constructions may be used to identify people (i.e., proper nouns), as, for example, in:

(10.007) Ngata yeta mĩ **Suwol**.
ngata yeta mĩ **Suwol**
grand man 3SG [name]
'The male ancestor was Suwol.' (T02)

Not only nouns and noun phrases, but also adjectives and adjectival phrases can be the predicate complements of null-copula clauses, as in:

(10.008) Kowe mĩ **wutota**.
Kowe mĩ **wutota**
[name] 3SG tall
'Kowe is tall.'

(10.009) Kowe mĩ **apka wutota**.
Kowe mĩ **apka wutota**
[name] 3SG very tall
'Kowe is very tall.'

10.3 The copular suffix

Although copular clauses can be formed without any overt verb phrase (10.2), it is also possible to affix a copular suffix to a noun or an adjective to create a predicate. This suffix thus derives verbs from other parts of speech. The copular suffix take three forms, but unlike the aspectual/modal three-way distinction of imperfective-perfective-irrealis found in regular verbal suffixes, the three forms of the copular suffix reflect a temporal/modal distinction. The basic copular forms are as follows:

<i>-p</i>	‘be’
<i>-wap</i>	‘be [PST]’
<i>-pīna</i>	‘be [IRR]’

The form *-p* ‘be’ is taken to be default, essentially unmarked for tense, aspect, or mood. It is homophonous with the regular perfective suffix *-p*, and—although there may be a historical connection between the two forms—it remains difficult to posit a current semantic one, as there is very little that is perfective about the present copular suffix (or any copular suffix for that matter), since it by nature indicates imperfective aspect. Although considered here unmarked for tense, the copular suffix *-p* can often be used to indicate present time, especially when contrasted with the form *-wap*.

The copular form *-wap* is marked for past time. It contains the phoneme /p/ in its form, but the nature of a possible derivation from the basic copular suffix *-p* ‘be’ is unclear. Notably, when a distinction is drawn between the suffixed *-p* ‘be’ and *-wap* ‘be.PST’, it is *not* an aspectual one (as seen in regular verbal suffixes); rather, the two forms contrast in terms of time (present and past). Indeed, since the copular suffix perforce derives stative verbs, it would seem unlikely for there to be a logical contrast between perfective and imperfective aspects.

The copular form *-pīna* is clearly derived from *-p* ‘be’ plus the regular irrealis suffix *-na*. The epenthetic *ī* is needed to break up the forbidden **pn* consonant cluster, and—although this vowel is phonemic and thus written in the orthography—the irrealis copular suffix can most simply be analyzed and glossed as *-p-na* ‘-be-IRR’. Similarly, the conditional form of the copular suffix is often realized as [-pīta], but may also be realized as [-pta] (if immediately following a vowel). It is analyzed and glossed here as *-p-ta* ‘-be-COND’. The imperative form is [-pīn], and is analyzed and glossed here as *-p-n* ‘-be-IMP’. The irrealis, imperative, and conditional copular

forms encode the same modal distinctions as seen elsewhere in these respective suffixes (4.8, 4.9, 4.14).

Noun phrases can denote concepts that can be predicated of subjects; the addition of the copular suffix provides temporal (or modal) information, as seen in the following examples (note that, here, the unmarked copular form *-p* ‘be’ is translated as encoding present time).

(10.010) Kowe mī **atmap**.

Kowe	mī	atma- p
[name]	3SG	older.brother-be

‘Kowe is an older brother.’ (cf. 10.001)

(10.011) Kowe mī **atmawap**.

Kowe	mī	atma- wap
[name]	3SG	older.brother-be.PST

‘Kowe was an older brother.’

(10.012) Kowe mī **atmapīna**.

Kowe	mī	atma- p-na
[name]	3SG	older.brother-be-IRR

‘Kowe will be an older brother.’

Adjectives can also take the copular suffix and be predicated of subject noun phrases, also with the same three-way (mostly) temporal contrast, as illustrated below.

(10.013) Itom mī **ambip**.

itom	mī	ambi- p
father	3SG	big-be

‘Father is big.’

(10.014) Itom mī **ambiwap**.

itom	mī	ambi- wap
father	3SG	big-be.PST

‘Father was big.’

(10.015) Itom mī **ambipīna**.

itom	mī	ambi- p-na
father	3SG	big-be-IRR

‘Father will be big.’

The suffix can also be attached to entire phrases, occurring always at the end of the phrase. In the case of a noun modified by an adjective (adjectives typically occurring postnominally), this means that it is affixed to the end of the adjective in the NP. Indeed, in such

instances the copular forms are functioning more like enclitics. Nevertheless, even these more clitic-like copular forms may be followed by (other) verbal suffixes, namely the conditional marker *-ta* (4.14). This is taken as an indication that the copular forms are basically suffixes, even if they may also behave like phrase-level clitics. The following sentence illustrates such a use of the past copular marker *wap*, which, here, attaches to the adjective *anma* ‘good’ in the NP *ankam anma* ‘good person’.

- (10.016) Banjiwa mī **ankam anmawap** amun tembip.
 Banjiwa mī ankam anma-**wap** amun tembip-p
 [name] 3SG person good-be.PST now bad-be
 ‘Banjiwa was a good person, but now he is bad.’

It may be noted that the copular suffix is not restricted to use with nouns and adjectives. The sentences below illustrate the suffix being used to predicate deictics of NPs.

- (10.017) Yanapi mī **andap**.
 Yanapi mī anda-**p**
 [name] 3SG that.SG-be
 ‘Yanapi is there.’

- (10.018) Yanapi mī **andawap**.
 Yanapi mī anda-**wap**
 [name] 3SG that.SG-be.PST
 ‘Yanapi was there.’

- (10.019) Yanapi mī **andapīna**.
 Yanapi mī anda-**p-na**
 [name] 3SG that.SG-be-IRR
 ‘Yanapi will be there.’

Existential constructions (akin to English ‘there is/are/was/were ...’) are likewise formed with a copular suffix, often affixing to a postposition-like verbal form (8.2), as (10.022) and (10.023) of the examples below.

- (10.020) Anmoka ndī wandam **map**
 anmoka ndī wandam ma=**p**
 snake 3PL jungle 3SG-be
 ‘There are snakes in the jungle.’

(10.021) Anmoka mī apa **mawap** i.
 anmoka mī apa ma=**wap** i
 snake 3SG house 3SG=be.PST go.PRF
 ‘There was a snake in the house, (but it) left.’

(10.022) Inim mī awal ini **mawatwap**.
 inim mī awal ini ma=**wat-wap**
 water 3SG yesterday ground 3SG=atop-be.PST
 ‘There was water on the ground yesterday.’

(10.023) Inim mī ini **mawatpe**.
 inim mī ini ma=**wat-p-e**
 water 3SG ground 3SG=atop-be-DEP
 ‘There is water on the ground.’

(10.024) Wanmbi ani **mapta** ...
 wanmbi ani ma=**p-ta**
 daka bilum 3SG=be-COND
 ‘If there is *daka* pepper in (your) *bilum* (net bag) ...’

... u mat ninata nī ansi lan.

u ma=**tī** nī=**na-ta** nī ansi l-an[**da**]
 2SG 3SG=take 1SG=give-COND 1SG red.buai eat-IRR
 ‘... (then) give it to me so I can chew *red buai* (betel nut).’ (T32)

Often context alone can determine whether a copular suffix is being used in an existential construction or a predicative construction. Thus, for example, a sentence such as (10.023) above could be interpreted as meaning ‘the water is on the ground’ as well as ‘there is water on the ground’.

As mentioned above, the copular form *-p* ‘be’, while at times indicating present time, is often used as a default verbalizing form. That is, it does not necessarily suggest any temporal distinction and is thus able to refer to past as well as to present time. In all the examples below, the form *-p* ‘be’ is used, despite that fact that it refers in each sentence to past time, serving simply as a verbalizing suffix, without any TAM distinctions being made. (More properly, it may be said that no *temporal* distinctions are made, since there are no known instances in which the form *-p* is used with irrealis force.)

(10.025) Inom manji mī ata **ngap**.
 inom manji mī ata nga=**p**
 mother 3SG.POSS 3SG up this.SG=be
 ‘The mother’s (garden) was upstream.’ (T01)

(10.026) Na mĩ ango **anmape**.
 na mĩ ango anma-**p**-e
 talk 3SG NEG good-be-DEP
 ‘The talk wasn’t good.’ (T32)

(10.027) Wondi **ulwap**.
 wondi ulwa-**p**
 bandicoot nothing-be
 ‘There were no bandicoots.’ (T27)

Although functioning above as suffixes, these copular forms can also actually behave like separate verbs. In such instances, however, the forms are in fact transitive verbs that require direct objects. The forms mean something like ‘be in [x]’, ‘stay in [x]’, ‘live in [x]’ ‘inhabit [x]’, etc., with [x] here referring to a location (the direct object of the verb). Often, when just the 3SG object marker *ma=* is used alone (that is, without any other overt object NP), the verb can be taken to mean ‘be there’ or ‘stay there’. Notably, the past/present (as opposed to perfective/imperfective) TAM distinction is still in force for this verb, as the sentences in the following example illustrate.

(10.028) Kambaramba wa ambi maytap **mawap**.
 Kambaramba wa ambi ma=ita-**p** **ma=wap**
 [place] village big 3SG=build-PRF 3SG=be.PST
 ‘(They) built the big village Kambaramba and stayed there.’

Mawape wusim andenpe amblasap.
ma=wap-e wusim anda=in-**p**-e ambla=asa-**p**
 3SG=be.PST-DEP crocodile that.SG=in-be-DEP PL.REFL=hit-PRF
 ‘While staying there, they fought on another over the crocodile.’ (T02)

The word *mawape* in the second sentence above, which is used in the very common tail-head linkage discourse device (12.3.5), cannot possibly have perfective force, since it is referring to a continuous stretch of time within which a particular event occurred. It must simply refer to past time.

Often, free copular forms are used to serve grammatical function—that is, they function as auxiliary verbs. On this suspected recent innovation in Ulwa, see Chapter 15.

10.4 Periphrastic ‘go’ verb phrases

The imperfective or irrealis forms of *ma-* ‘go’ may be used (as an auxiliary) along with an irrealis form of a main verb to signal the future, nearly paralleling the English periphrastic future construction ‘going to [infinitive]’, as in the following:

(10.029) Nī ma na **tana man.**

nī	ma[nji]	na	ta-na	ma-n
1SG	3SG[.POSS]	talk	say-IRR	go-IPFV

‘I am going to tell its story.’ (T12)

(10.030) Un **maytana man.**

un	ma= ita-na	ma-n
2PL	3SG=build-IRR	go-IPFV

‘You are going to build it.’ (T11)

(10.031) Wombīn ambi nga **ina mane.**

wombīn	ambi	nga	i-na	ma-n-e
work	big	this.SG	come-IRR	go-IPFV-DEP

‘This big work is going to come.’ (T11)

(10.032) Ndī **menpīna mane.**

ndī	ma= in-p-na	ma-n-e
3PL	3SG=in-be-IRR	go-IPFV-DEP

‘They are going to stay inside it.’ (T27)

Examples such as (10.032) above illustrate the purely aspectual use of this verb *ma-* ‘go’—that is, a use without any sense of motion. While the imperfective form of *ma-* is most often used in these constructions, it is alternatively possible to use an irrealis (or even conditional) form, as shown below.

(10.033) U angos **tīna mana?**

u	angos	tī-na	ma-na
2SG	what	take-irr	go-IRR

‘What could you be going to get?’ (T27)

(10.034) Una tīmbil **menpīta manata ...**

unan	tīmbil	ma= in-p-ta	ma-na-ta
1PL.INCL	fence	3sg=in-be-COND	go-IRR-COND

‘If we are going to be within the fence, ...’ (T32)

While it is theoretically possible that perfective forms of the verb may be used in such constructions as well (i.e., the suppletive form *i* ‘go.PRF’), one must be careful not to confuse periphrastic future constructions with final clauses containing an irrealis verb form. The following sentences containing the verb *i* ‘go.PRF’ are taken to be indicting purpose, not futurity.

(10.035) Ala **unanwalinda i**.

ala	unan= wali-nda	i
that.PL	1PL.INCL=hit-IRR	go.PRF

‘Those people have come to fight us.’ (T11)

(10.036) Min t̄ilwanī wandam **kolnda iye**.

min	t̄ilwa=nī	wandam	kol-nda	i-e
3DU	road=OBL	jungle	split-IRR	go.PRF-DEP

‘The two went to split the jungle from the path.’ (i.e., clear a trail) (T11)

Indeed, it is often difficult to determine whether a verb of ‘going’ is marking futurity or purpose (unsurprising, if one assumes the likely historical change of verb of motion > purpose > future). In the examples below, the English translations capture the ambiguity well. In the first example, (10.037), a reading in which the verb of ‘going’ marks futurity would suggest that the first clause is counterfactual.

(10.037) Ndī ap̄in anul **landa mane** mī ipka i.

ndī	ap̄in=n	anul	la-nda ma-n-e	mī	ipka	i
3PL	fire=OBL	grassland	eat-IRR go-IPFV-DEP	3SG	before	go.PRF

‘They were going to burn the grassland, but he went ahead (of them).’ (T01)

(10.038) Magendo lol **amblawalinda mane**.

Magendo	ala=ul	ambla= wali-nda	ma-n-e
[place]	that.PL=with	PL.REFL=hit-IRR	go-IPFV-DEP

‘(They) were going to fight with the people from Magendo (village).’ (T02)

Whereas only *ma-* ‘go’ seems permitted in periphrastic future constructions, it is possible for other verbs of ‘going’ to indicate purpose as well, such as the verb *lo-* ‘cut, go’ and *in-* ‘come’, as seen in the following examples.

(10.039) Wongīta man **matina lope**.

wongīta	ma=n	ma=atī-na	lo-p-e
bow	3SG=OBL	3SG=take-IRR	go-PRF-DEP

‘(I) went to hit it with (my) bow.’ (T32)

(10.040) Ndīt **ndinanda** ndīnap **ine**.

ndī=tī	ndī=na-nda	ndī=nap	i-n-e
3PL=take	3PL=give-IRR	3PL=for	come-PRF-DEP

‘(They) came for their sake to give them (fish) to them (their people).’ (T27)

It should be noted, however, that the exact syntactic nature of these purpose constructions is not entirely clear. It seems that *only* verbs of ‘going’ permit this embedded clause structure to express purpose. Elsewhere, the clause indicating purpose simply follows the clause detailing the action performed for that purpose (see 4.8).

Chapter 11

Clause-level syntax

11.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the syntax of Ulwa at the clausal level. A clause is taken to be a set of elements consisting (minimally) of a verb and a subject (whether overtly expressed or not). The interaction of multiple clauses is the focus of Chapter 12.

11.2 Basic constituent order

The minimal constituents of an intransitive clause are taken to be the subject (S) and the verb (V); a transitive clause consists of these two elements as well as an object (O). Stated in terms more agnostic with respect to notions of subjecthood and objecthood, an intransitive clause consists of a single argument (S) and a verb (V), whereas a transitive clause consists of a more agent-like argument (A), a more patient-like argument (P), and a verb (V). Although various pragmatic factors may affect the ordering (or overt expression) of elements in a clause, Ulwa nevertheless has a fairly rigid ordering of constituents (at least in active-voice independent clauses), as detailed below.

Intransitive clauses: SV
Transitive clauses: SOV (APV)

In the following intransitive clauses, the verb is in **bold** and the subject is underlined.

(11.001) Alum mī **sap**.
alum mī sa-p
child 3SG cry-PRF
'The baby cried.'

(11.002) Anmoka **i**.
anmoka i
snake go.PRF
'The snake left.'

(11.003) Ndī **nip**.

ndī **ni-p**
3PL die-PRF
'They died.'

(11.004) Jukan mī **mbīp**.

Jukan mī **mbī-p**
[name] 3SG here-be
'Jukan is here.'

(11.005) Alum **uleplinda**.

alum **ulep-li-nda**
child jump-put-IRR
'The child will jump.'

In the following transitive clauses, the verb is in **bold**, the subject (or more agentive participant) is underlined, and the object (or more patientive participant) is in *italics*.

(11.006) Itom mī *uta* **walinda**.

itom mī *uta* **wali-nda**
father 3SG bird hit-IRR
'Father will shoot a bird.'

(11.007) Alimban mī *apa* **mayte**.

Alimban mī *apa* **ma=ita-e**
[name] 3SG house 3SG=build-DEP
'Alimban is building the house.'

(11.008) Apa mī *alum* **masap**.

apa mī *alum* **ma=asa-p**
house 3SG child 3SG=hit-PRF
'The house killed the child.' (e.g., by falling on him)

Note that object-marker clitics have been written in both bold and italic typeface in the examples above. This represents an attempt to address the ambivalent role that they play. (See 7.4 for more on object markers and 9.3 for a discussion of their syntactic place within the verb phrase.)

As is suggested by the last example above (in which the subject/agent is inanimate and the object/patient is animate), notions of agentivity or patientivity are not intrinsic to NPs based on their referents. That is, principles such as the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976) play no role in determining constituent order (or core argument alignment, 11.3) in Ulwa.

As mentioned above, this order (SOV) is fairly rigid, perhaps unsurprisingly so, considering the absence of verbal subject agreement, core argument case morphology, or other clues as to the grammatical relations of NPs—that is, whether they are subjects or object. Thus, almost every indicative main clause with overtly expressed NPs follows this pattern, as do other clause types, such as interrogative sentences (i.e., there is no *wh*-movement, 13.2) and imperative sentences (the subject need not be expressed in second-person imperatives, but—when present—it always precedes the object and verb, 13.3). The most notable divergences from this pattern occur in passive constructions. In passive constructions, the basic constituent order is VS (see 13.8). Also, if relative clauses are to be analyzed as head-internal, then they could be said to reflect the order (O)VS (however, this word order does not hold in a gap-strategy analysis of relative clauses).

While this S(O)V order is rigid for most clause types, it is possible to omit the subject (S) constituent when its referent is clear from context. Ulwa may thus be called a pro-drop language. (While subjects may be omitted, it is not common to omit objects—a transitive clause must, at the very least, contain an object marker.) The following sentences all have unexpressed subjects.

(11.009) Wop.

w-op
sleep-PRF
'(He) slept.' (T01)

(11.010) Yawe mankap.

ya-we ma=nkī-p
coconut-sago 3SG=cut-PRF
'(He) made the coconut-sago-pancake.' (T01)

(11.011) Limndi wapa ngalala.

limndi wapa ngala=ala
eye leaf this.PL=for
'(He) saw these leaves.' (T01)

(11.012) Wombasame maya iye.

Wombasame ma=iya i-e
[name] 3SG=toward go.PRF-DEP
'(She) went to Wombasame.' (T01)

- (11.013) Wolka manji numan andanap i.
 wolka manji numan anda=nap i
 again 3SG.POSS husband that.SG=for go.PRF
 ‘(She) went (home) again for the sake of her husband.’ (T27)
- (11.014) Wambana ndimokop.
 wambana ndi=moko-p
 fish 3PL=take-PRF
 ‘(They) caught fish.’ (T01)
- (11.015) Mol mbiye.
 ma=ul mbi-i-e
 3SG=with here-go.PRF-DEP
 ‘(They) came with her.’ (T11)
- (11.016) Manji inom ambi manji wandam may.
 manji inom ambi manji wandam ma=i
 3SG.POSS mother big 3SG.POSS jungle 3SG=go.PRF
 ‘(We) went to her aunt’s garden.’ (T27)
- (11.017) We ndit akinakape.
 we ndi=ti akinaka-p-e
 sago 3PL=take young-be-DEP
 ‘(We) took the sago starch when (we) were young.’ (T11)
- (11.018) Manji alum mat inde.
 manji alum ma=ti inda-e
 3SG.POSS child 3SG=take walk-DEP
 ‘(I) carried her child around.’ (T27)
- (11.019) Kwa angwena man inim atina ne?
 kwa angwena ma=n inim atina na-i
 just why 3SG=OBL water hit-IRR DETR-go.PRF
 ‘Why did (you) just go to throw it in the water?’ (T27)

As mentioned above, the canonical S(O)V word order is fairly rigid in active-voice main clauses. Sometimes, in transitive clauses, however, emphasis can be placed on an object by fronting it to the beginning of the clause. Even in such instances, however, the order of the clause (following this arguably pre-clausal element) is usually still SOV, since the referent of the fronted object invariably appears again in the clause, marked by an agreement marker immediately preceding the verb, as in the following:

- (11.020) **Ninji alum ndi** nĩ Wopata ndape **ndinap**.
nĩnji **alum** **ndi** nĩ Wopata anda-p-e **ndi**=ina-p
 1SG.POSS child 3PL 1SG [place] that.SG-be-DEP 3PL=get-PRF
 ‘My children—I had them when I was there at Wopata.’ (T11)
- (11.021) **Talamba ulum ala** ndi **ndinap** amblawale.
 Talamba ulum ala ndi **ndi**=nap ambla=wali-e
 [place] palm that.PL 3PL 3PL=for PL.REFL=hit-DEP
 ‘Those palms at Talamba—they were fighting each other on account of them.’ (T29)
- (11.022) **Nipil ala ala** ndiwale.
nipil **ala** ala **ndi**=wali-e
 vine that.PL that.PL 3PL=hit-DEP
 ‘Those vines—people used to beat them.’ (T31)
- (11.023) **Ninji yemat ngala** nĩ nan **ndit**:
nĩnji **yemat** **ngala** nĩ na=n **ndi**=ta
 1SG.POSS daughter this.PL 1SG talk=OBL 3PL=say
 ‘My daughters—I told them.’ (T32)

11.3 Core argument alignment

The three basic core arguments of all clause types may be considered to be: 1) the single argument of an intransitive clause (S), 2) the more agent-like argument of a transitive clause (A), and 3) the more patient-like argument of a transitive clause (O) (also identified as P in the literature). In Ulwa, the S and A arguments pattern alike in every way—syntactically, morphologically, phonologically, and so on. Ulwa may thus be considered to exhibit nominative-accusative alignment. It is therefore convenient (and, generally, unproblematic from a crosslinguistic typological perspective) to use terms like “subject” and “object” to refer to various NPs in Ulwa.

S and A occur in the same position in the clause (namely, clause-initially), whereas O occurs after S and before the verb. Since there is no core-argument case morphology in Ulwa (even among pronouns), is fruitless to talk about “nominative” and “accusative” or “ergative” and “absolute” NPs in Ulwa (at least in terms of morphological marking). There is, however, one important distinction made between subject markers and object markers. Although the two paradigms are nearly identical (7.2, 7.4), the third-singular forms do diverge: whereas the subject form is *mi* ‘3SG’, the object form is *ma*= ‘3SG’. The fact that third-singular S and A NPs are both

marked with *mī*, whereas third-singular O NPs are marked with *ma=* is further indication of accusative alignment. Finally, there is no evidence of syntactic ergativity in the language. Thus, for example, in coordinate constructions (12.2), coreference is possible between S and A but not between S and O (cf. Dixon 1979:62f.). In the following sentence, the omitted S argument of the second clause must be understood to refer to the stated A argument (*yana* ‘woman’) of the first clause.

- (11.025) *Yana mī yata masap i.*
 yana mī yata ma=asa-p i
 woman 3SG man 3SG=hit-PRF go.PRF
 ‘The woman hit the man and (the woman/*the man) left.’

Similarly, in the sentence below, the A argument *Kolpe* must be understood to be the omitted S argument of the second clause, and it would be impossible for the O argument *mana* ‘spear’ to be understood as such.

- (11.026) *Kolpe mana motoplip liyu.*
 Kolpe mana ma=top-lī-p li-u
 [name] spear 3SG=throw-put-PRF fall-PRF
 ‘Kolpe threw the spear (but) (Kolpe/*the spear) fell.’

There is also no indication of split-intransitivity or related alignment types in the language (i.e., no active-stative/semantic/fluid alignment in Ulwa). That is, all types of S arguments pattern more closely with A arguments than with O arguments (it is not the case that some S’s are more similar to A’s, whereas other S’s are more similar to O’s depending on semantic or other criteria). Thus, the S arguments of the following clauses are alike both syntactically and morphologically, irrespective of whether they are more agentive (unergative) (11.027) or more patientive (unaccusative) (11.028).

- (11.027) *Alum mī uleplip.*
 alum mī ulep-lī-p
 child 3SG jump-put-PRF
 ‘The child jumped.’

- (11.028) *Alum mī liyu.*
 alum mī li-u
 child 3SG fall-PRF
 ‘The child fell.’

This universal treatment of S arguments holds for all NPs, whether full NPs as those above (marked with subject markers) or pronominal NPs, as seen below.

(11.029) Nĩ amun natan.

nĩ	amun	na-ta-n
1SG	now	DETR-say-IPFV
‘I am speaking now.’		

(11.030) Nĩ amun kikalwana.

nĩ	amun	kikal-wana
1SG	now	ear-feel
‘I am listening now.’		

Finally, S and A arguments are also alike in that both can be relativized (whereas O arguments cannot be, 12.4) and neither S nor A arguments can be passivized (whereas O arguments can be, 13.8).

11.4 Ditransitive alignment?

As well as considering the morphosyntactic patterning of S, A, and O arguments, some typologists analyze the relationships among arguments in ditransitive constructions. Such typological endeavors (e.g., Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie 2010) have largely focused on dative constructions—that is, constructions in which something is given from one participant to another. In some languages, these constructions make use of ditransitive verbs, which take three arguments: 1) an agent (A), 2) a recipient (R), and 3) a theme (T). The question of interest is whether the O argument of a monotransitive verb patterns more like the R or T argument of a ditransitive verb (it is not known ever to pattern like the A argument).

In Ulwa, however, there are no ditransitive verbs. In short, there is no word ‘give’ in the sense of English ‘give’, which may, in some uses, be considered ditransitive (as in sentences such as ‘John gave Mary a rose’). To express ‘give’-events in Ulwa, two verbs are needed, one meaning ‘take’, which has as its object an NP with a theme role (the ‘gift’), and the other using the verb *na-* ‘give’, which has as its object an NP with a recipient role (the receiver). The following cannot be stressed enough: the fact that the (monotransitive) verb glossed as ‘give’ has as its (sole) object a recipient, does *not* imply any sort of ditransitive alignment between R and O arguments. The verb *na-*, despite being glossed for convenience as ‘give’, is not equivalent to the

English word *give*. There is, however, unfortunately, no basic monotransitive English word with which to gloss this monotransitive Ulwa word, which means something more like ‘endow’ (although even this English gloss is not a very good match, since it can have as its object NP either a recipient or a theme).

Given the real-world scenarios involved in the act of giving, it is most common for such giving events to include three participants—giver (agent), recipient (benefactive), and gift (theme)—and, as such, these three participants are often all expressed in Ulwa ‘give’ constructions (through the use of at least two verbs). It is, however, possible for the verb *na-* ‘give’ to occur without any other verb encoding the theme argument; in such instances, the only two roles expressed (as determined by the verb’s argument structure) are the giver (the grammatical subject) and the recipient (the grammatical object), as seen below.

(11.031) **Manata** we mī man ulum ndīnalin.

ma=na-ta	we	mī	ma=n	ulum	ndī=n	ali-n[da]
3SG=give-COND	then	3SG	3SG=OBL	palm	3PL=OBL	scrape-IRR

‘After (they) give (it) to her, then she will scrape sago palms with it.’ (T18)

(11.032) **Ndīnane** mane ndī ndame.

ndī=na-n-e	ma-n-e	ndī	ndī=ama-e
3PL=give-PRF-DEP	go-IPFV-DEP	3PL	3PL=eat-DEP

‘Going and giving them, they would eat them.’ (T14)

When the theme (gift) is also to be overtly expressed, it is necessary to use another verb. The verb that is most commonly used along with *na-* ‘give’ in these constructions is the (sometimes defective) verb *tī-* ‘take’ (see 4.4). This first verb always details the theme (that which is given), whereas the second verb (*na-*) details the beneficiary (to whom it is given), as in the following examples.

(11.033) Alma mī lamndu **matī** Kongos **manan**.

Alma	mī	lamndu	ma= tī	Kongos	ma= na-n
[name]	3SG	pig	3SG=take	[name]	3SG=give-PRF

‘Alma gave a pig to Kongos.’ (Literally, ‘Alma took a pig; [Alma] gave Kongos.’)

(11.034) Ndīt wa ne **ndīt** nīnji inom **manana**.

ndī= tī	wa	na-i	ndī= tī	nīnji	inom	ma= na-na
3PL=take	village	DETR-go.PRF	3PL=take	1SG.POSS	mother	3SG=give-PRF

‘(He) brought them home and gave them to my mother.’ (Literally, ‘took them; gave my mother’) (T10)

(11.035) Ngan tana **mat manan**.

ngan tana ma=**tī** ma=**na**-n
1DU.EXCL axe 3SG=take 3SG=give-PRF
'We gave him the axe.' (Literally, 'We took the axe; (we) gave him.')(T11)

(11.036) Wawana mu **kot manane**.

wawana mu ko=**tī** ma=**na**-n-e
plant.sp fruit INDF=take 3SG=give-PRF-DEP
'(They) gave him a *wawana* fruit.' (T16)

(11.037) Imbapta wondi **andat unananda**.

imba-p-ta wondi anda=**tī** unan=**na**-nda
night-be-COND bandicoot that.SG=take 1PL.INCL=give-IRR
'When night comes, (he) will give us that bandicoot.' (T24)

(11.038) An angō **kumat unanda!**

an angō kuma=**tī** u=**na**-nda
1PL.EXCL NEG some=take 2SG=give-IRR
'We won't give you any!' (T27)

(11.039) Mu **kumatī nīnan!**

mu kuma=**tī** nī=**na**-n
seed some=take 1SG=give-IMP
'Give some seeds to me!' (T32)

(11.040) Ndī yena **ndīt ndīnane** ndī ndul wop.

ndī yena ndī=**tī** ndī=**na**-n-e ndī ndī=**ul** wo-p
3PL woman3PL=take 3PL=give-PRF-DEP 3PL 3PL=with sleep-PRF
'They gave the women to them and they slept with them.' (T02)

Since the verb *tī*- 'take' is often defective (as in the examples above), it looks very much like these are separable verb constructions (9.3.1). Given the verbal nature of *tī*- 'take', however, these 'give' constructions can instead be described as serial verb constructions. Although not quite fitting some stricter criteria for serial verb constructions (e.g., Aikhenvald 2006:8), since (as a defective verb) *tī*- 'give' does not match *na*- 'give' in its TAM marking, these Ulwa 'give' constructions qualify as such under definitions such as Haspelmath's (2016:296): "a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs".

That said, there are other instances in which it seems best to analyze Ulwa 'give' constructions as consisting of two separate clauses. When the first verb *tī*- 'take' is marked for

TAM, it must also receive the dependent marker *-e* (12.3), proving, as it were, that this verb belongs to a separate clause. This may be seen in the sentence below.

- (11.041) Uma **ndĩtĩne** Wombasame **manane** ...
 uma ndĩ=**tĩ-n**-e Wombasame ma=**na-n**-e
 bone 3PL=take-PRF-DEP [name] 3SG=give-PRF-DEP
 ‘(They) gave the bones to Wombasame ...’
- ... mĩ ndĩn ne.
 mĩ ndĩ=**n** ni-e
 3SG 3PL=OBL act-DEP
 ‘... and he began playing with them.’ (T01)

Literally, the sentence above may be rendered as: ‘After (they) took the bones, and after (they) gave Wombasame, he was acting with them.’

It is possible to form other (multi-verb) ‘giving’ constructions in Ulwa with other (inflected) verbs that mean ‘take’. In the sentences below, the verb *moko-*, which often has the sense ‘take one by one’ is used along with *na-* ‘give’. The first example (11.042) could be analyzed as a serial verb construction, if it is assumed that the two verbs belong to a single clause (indeed, they even match in terms of TAM marking); in the second example (11.043), however, the verb *moko-* ‘take’ is marked as belonging to a different clause (and, moreover, it does not share TAM marking with *na-* ‘give’), suggesting that this is not a serial verb construction.

- (11.042) Mĩ ani **ndĩmokokop** **ndĩnana**.
 mĩ ani ndĩ=**moko-p** ndĩ=**na-na**
 3SG bilum 3PL=take-PRF 3PL=give-PRF
 ‘He gave them the *bilum* (net bags) (one by one).’ (T01)

- (11.043) Ndĩt wa i ndiweyawe ...
 ndĩ=**tĩ** wa i ndĩ=**we-aw-e**
 3PL=take village go.PRF 3PL=cut-put.IPFV-DEP
 ‘(They) used to bring them home, cut them, ...’
- ... **ndĩmoke** lapun **ndĩnane**.
 ndĩ=**moko-e** lapun ndĩ=**na-n-e**
 3PL=take-DEP old 3PL=give-PRF-DEP
 ‘... and give them out to the old people.’ (*lapun* < TP) (T24)

The combination of *moko-* and *na-* is often used to describe the distribution or sharing of items (with a reflexive object form preceding the verb *na-*), as seen below.

(11.044) Ndī ndīt anmbilip ndimoke **amblanane**.

ndī ndī=tī an-mbī-lī-p ndī=moko-e **ambla=na-n-e**
3PL 3PL=take out-here-put-PRF 3PL=take-DEP PL.REFL=give-PRF-DEP
'They got them out and were sharing them among themselves.' (T11)

(11.045) Ndī ilum moko **amblanane**.

ndī ilum moko-e **ambla=na-n-e**
3PL little take-DEP PL.REFL=give-PRF-DEP
'They would share little (pieces) with each other.' (T24)

(11.046) Ndī atma wot ala mundu moko **amblanane**.

ndī atma wot ala mundu moko-e **ambla=na-n-e**
3PL older.brother younger that.PL food take-DEP PL.REFL=give-PRF-DEP
'They, those brothers, shared the food.' (T28)

Also, although not necessarily common, it is possible for *na-* 'give' to follow a verb in the preceding clause that means something other than 'take', as in the following sentences, in which *na-* 'give' follows *wana-* 'cook' (11.047) and *nkī-* 'cut' (11.048).

(11.047) Ma isi **wanap** yawa **lananda**.

ma[nji] isi **wana-p** yawa ala=**na**-nda
3SG[.POSS] soup cook-PRF uncle that.PL=give-IRR
'(They) will cook her soup and give (it) to the uncles.' (T11)

(11.048) An keka **mankap ndīnan**.

an keka ma=**nkī**-p ndī=**na**-n
1PL.EXCL completely 3SG=cut-PRF 3PL=give-PRF
'We butchered it and gave it out completely to them.' (T11)

While 'giving' is the prototypical event to be encoded by ditransitive constructions (in languages that exhibit them), there are other verbs as well that are likely to function similarly crosslinguistically. In the remainder of this section I describe how the 'showing' event is encoded in Ulwa. Whereas 'giving' events in Ulwa are encoded with two transitive verbs (typically *tī-* 'take' and *na-* 'give'), 'showing' events are encoded with a single intransitive verb (*si-* 'push'). In other contexts, this verb is used transitively (11.049), often in conjunction with the verb *lī-* 'put' to convey the sense of something being pushed upon something else (11.050 and 11.051) or in conjunction with the preverbal form *ikali* (literally, 'hand-send') to convey the act of grabbing, holding, or catching (11.052 and 11.053), as seen in the following examples.

(11.049) Ndin u ititil **ndise**.

ndī=in u ititil ndī=**si**-e
3PL=in from dust 3PL=push-DEP

‘(I) was pushing the dust out from them.’ (i.e., shaking out the dust) (T32)

(11.050) Unap **ndis** apin **lip**.

u=nap ndī=**si** apin **li**-p
2SG=for 3PL=push fire put-PRF

‘(They) put them on the fire for you.’ (T11)

(11.051) Nawoli mangusuwa imbake apa i ...

Nawoli mangusuwa imba-ka-e apa i
[name] 3SG.poor night-at-DEP house go.PRF

‘Nawoli, the poor thing, came to (my) house at night ...’

... wutī **si** **nimbamlip**.

wutī **si** nī=imbam-**li**-p
leg push 1SG=under-put-PRF

‘... and put (his) legs under me.’ (T11)

(11.052) Nungol mī **ikali** **mas**.

nungol mī **i-kali** ma=**si**
child 3SG hand-send 3SG=push

‘The son grabbed it.’ (T05)

(11.053) U wa li mama **ikali** **masina**?

u wa li ma=ma **i-kali** ma=**si**-na
2SG just down 3SG=go hand-send 3SG=push-IRR

‘You’ll just go down there and grab it?’ (T11)

When used to encode a ‘showing’ event, however, the verb *si-* ‘push’ is intransitive: the agent (the one showing) is the subject of the verb; the theme (that which is shown) is the object of the postposition *ul* ‘with’; and the experiencer (the one to whom something is shown) is marked by the oblique marker =*n*. The preferred order of these two non-core arguments is first the oblique-marked noun phrase, and then the postposition phrase. Literally, such sentences may be rendered as ‘[agent] pushes with [theme] (along) with [experiencer]’. They may be seen in the following examples.

(11.054) Gwam mī tawa **man** Mapana **mol** **si**.

Gwam mī tawa ma=**n** Mapana ma=**ul** **si**
[name] 3SG wound 3SG=OBL [name] 3SG=with push

‘Gwam showed her wound to Mapana.’

(11.055) Gwam mī tawa **ndīn** yena **minul sina**.

Gwam	mī	tawa	ndī= n	yena	min= ul	si-na
[name]	3SG	wound	3PL=OBL	mother	3DU=with	push-IRR

‘Gwam will show her wounds to the two women.’

(11.056) Gwam mī tawa **ndīn** ndī wopa **lu se**.

Gwam	mī	tawa	ndī= n	ndī	wopa	lu	si-e
[name]	3SG	wound	3PL=OBL	3PL	all	with	push-DEP

‘Gwam is showing her wounds to everyone.’

(11.057) Maya apa i limndī **man mol si**.

ma=iya	apa	i	limndī	ma= n	ma= ul	si
3SG=toward	house	go.PRF	eye	3SG=OBL	3SG=with	push

‘(It) went to him in the house, and showed him (its) eye.’ (T05)

(11.058) **Man ndul si**.

ma= n	ndī= ul	si
3SG=OBL	3PL=with	push

‘(He) showed it to them.’ (T32)

11.5 Obliques

Following from the discussion above (11.4), there is no language-internal reason to refer to any arguments as indirect objects in Ulwa. The canonical placement of subjects is at the beginning of clauses, and the canonical placement of (direct) objects is immediately preceding verbs (which are typically clause-final). All other arguments in a clause (that is, noun phrases that are neither subjects nor objects, and all other phrases) may be referred to as obliques. In Ulwa, obliques typically follow subjects and precede verbs (in intransitive clauses) or objects (in transitive clauses).

11.5.1 The oblique marker =*n*

The clearest illustrations of the position and function of obliques in Ulwa are NPs that contain the enclitic =*n* (glossed as ‘OBL’), which may be considered an oblique marker. This oblique-marker enclitic =*n* can—when affixed to a noun phrase—be described as something like a non-core case marker. It often encodes instrumental functions, and may, in origin, be an instrumental marker. Synchronically, however, it can serve other semantic and grammatical

functions (none of which relates to indicating a core argument, i.e., subject or object). The oblique marker is realized by the following allomorphs, which are mostly in free variation:

= <i>n</i>	‘OBL’
= <i>nĩ</i>	‘OBL’
= <i>ĩn</i>	‘OBL’

In all the examples below, the oblique NP appears after the subject (if expressed) and before the object of the verb.

(11.059) Itom **napnĩ** uta masap.

itom	nap= nĩ	uta	ma=asa-p
father	arrow=OBL	bird	3SG=hit-PRF

‘Father shot the bird with an arrow.’

(11.060) Mĩ **manji sina man** mundu maweyup.

mĩ	manji	sina	ma= n	mundu	ma=we-u-p
3SG	3SG.POSS	knife	3SG=OBL	food	3SG=cut-put-PRF

‘He cut the meat with his knife.’

(11.061) **Anton mangusuwata inimnĩ** ananap.

Anton	mangusuwata	inim= nĩ	an=ana-p
[name]	3SG.poor	water=OBL	1PL.EXCL=scrub-PRF

‘Anton, the poor thing, baptized us.’ (Literally, ‘scrubbed us with water’) (T11)

(11.062) Nĩ **anamnĩ** ndafĩna.

nĩ	anam= nĩ	ndĩ=atĩ-na
1SG	lightning=OBL	3PL=hit-IRR

‘I will strike them with lightning.’ (T11)

(11.063) Mĩ **yotnĩ** masap.

mĩ	yot= nĩ	ma=asa-p
3SG	machete=OBL	3SG=hit-PRF

‘He hit it with (his) machete.’ (T30)

(11.064) Nĩnji apa may nji **ndĩn** apa up.

nĩnji	apa	ma=i	nji	ndĩ= n	apa	u-p
1SG.POSS	house	3SG=go.PRF	thing	3PL=OBL	house	put-PRF

‘(I) went to my house and put things in the house.’ (T35)

Note the argument structure of the word glossed as ‘put’ above—the object of the verb is the place where the item is put; the theme is expressed in the oblique phrase (cf. the argument structure of the English verb ‘load’). Similarly, the word glossed as ‘tie’ in the following

example takes as object the thing to which something is tied; that which is tied is encoded in the oblique phrase.

(11.065) Lamndu nungol kosape an **man** im itap.

lamndu	nungol	ko=asa-p-e	an	ma= n	im	ita-p
pig	child	INDF=hit-PRF-DEP	1PL.EXCL	3SG=OBL	tree	tie-PRF

‘(They) killed a small pig and we tied it to stick.’ (T26)

Obliques may occur within compound verb phrases or between verbs functioning together in complex verb phrases. The following two examples illustrate non-instrumental uses of the oblique marker—the first (11.066) is closer to giving a comitative meaning; the second (11.067) is closer to giving a benefactive meaning (more on this below in 11.5.2).

(11.066) Wa ala limndi **unanī** mbu mawte.

wa	ala	limndi	unan= nī	mbi-u	ma=uta-e
village	that.PL	eye	1PL.INCL=OBL	here-from	3SG=grind-DEP

‘Those (people from other) villages see it here among us.’ (T32)

(11.067) Mint **ambin** ani menlip.

min= tī	ambī= n	ani	ma=in-lī-p
3DU=take	SG.REFL=OBL	bilum	3SG=in-put-PRF

‘(I) put them into the *bilum* (net bag) for myself.’ (T32)

The oblique-marked NP may occur alongside other non-core elements in a clause, such as postpositional phrases. Postpositional phrases may either precede oblique-marked NPs (as in 11.068 and 11.069) or follow them (as in 11.070 and 11.071), but they always occur between subjects and object, as seen below.

(11.068) Nī **mol apinī** mame.

nī	ma=ul	apin=nī	ma=ama-e
1SG	3SG=with	fire=OBL	3SG=eat-DEP

‘I burn it with him.’ (Literally, ‘I eat it with [= by means of] fire with [= along with] him.’) (T11)

(11.069) Nī **mawl ndin** mbup.

nī	ma=ul	ndi=n	mbi-u-p
1SG	3SG=with	3PL=OBL	here-put-PRF

‘I planted them here with him.’ (T11)

(11.070) **Ndīn** maka **ya ndiya** ata unde.

ndī=n maka **ya** **ndī=iya** ata unda-e
 3PL=OBL thus coconut 3PL=toward up go-DEP

‘With them (straps around their feet) (they) would go up coconut trees like that.’ (T14)

(11.071) Ala **nīn amba ngo** numbu lip ...

ala **nī=n** **amba** **nga=u** numbu li-p
 that.PL 1SG=OBL haus.tambaran this.SG=from post put-PRF

... itana man.

it-ana ma-n
 build-IRR go-IPFV

‘They are going to tie me to a post in this *haus tambaran* (men’s house).’ (T01)

The negator *ango* typically occurs before oblique NPs (but after subjects, when expressed), as seen below.

(11.072) U **ango inambanī** ini men.

u **ango** **inamba=nī** ini ma=in
 2SG NEG money=OBL ground 3SG=get

‘You did not buy the land.’ (Literally, ‘get the land with money’) (T11)

(11.073) **Ango** maka **nginī** ute.

ango maka **ngin=nī** uta-e
 NEG thus net=OBL grind-DEP

‘(They) didn’t catch (fish) with the nets.’ (T31)

(11.074) **Ango man** ambi itanate.

ango **ma=n** ambi ita-na-t-e
 NEG 3SG=OBL big build-IRR-SPEC-DEP

‘(I) won’t build it (too) big.’ (T37)

The last example above also illustrates the preverbal placement of an adjective when functioning adverbially and the effect of this on the (semantic) object of the verb: it is demoted to an oblique, being marked by the oblique marker =*n*, as seen in the following examples.

(11.075) Ndī ango **ndīn anma** asap.

ndī ango **ndī=n** **anma** asa-p
 3PL NEG 3PL=OBL good hit-PRF

‘They did not kill them well.’ (T27)

(11.076) U mat inde **man anma** tĩ inde.

u	ma=tĩ	inda-e	ma=n	anma	tĩ	inda-e
2SG	3SG=take	walk-DEP	3SG=OBL	good	take	walk-DEP

‘You carry her, carry her well.’ (T27)

(11.077) Apa mĩ ndĩ **man tembi** itap.

apa	mĩ	ndĩ	ma=n	tembi	ita-p
house	3SG	3PL	3SG=OBL	bad	build-PRF

‘The house—they built it poorly.’ (T11)

The same demotion that occurs with adjectives functioning adverbially also occurs when there is an intervening adpositional phrase (see 13.9.8 for examples).

11.5.2 The oblique marker as case marker

As described above (11.5.1), the primary function of the oblique-marker enclitic =*n* is to encode non-core NPs. These oblique-marked NPs may serve a number of functions in a clause, many of which are reminiscent of case-marked NPs in languages that employ grammatical case. Specifically, the marker =*n* has certain functions that resemble those of dative markers found in other languages (although, importantly, it does *not* mark the recipient in ‘give’ constructions, 11.4). Three such dative-like uses of =*n* are to indicate: 1) possessors (cf. Latin), 2) agents (cf. ancient Greek), and 3) those to whose disadvantage something is done (cf. German). The use of =*n* to encode possessors is discussed in 9.2.5. For the role of =*n* in marking agents in passive constructions, see 13.8. In the following examples, the oblique marker indicates disadvantage.

(11.078) **Mi unan mawatpe** wombĩn ne.

mĩ	unan=n	ma=wat-p-e	wombĩn=n	ni-e
3SG	1PL.INCL=OBL	3SG=atop-be-DEP	work=OBL	act-DEP

‘He is hurting us by doing work during it (this period of mourning).’ (T25)

(11.079) Tembi nji ngala apan **ndĩn** mbilip.

tembi	nji	ngala	apa=n	ndĩ=n	mbĩ-lĩ-p
bad	thing	this.PL	house=OBL	3PL=OBL	here-put-PRF

‘These bad things (flies) have put (their) house (i.e., nest) here to their disadvantage.’ (T27)

(11.080) Ndī mokum **anin** wandampe ndam!
 ndī mokum an=**in** wandam-p-e ndī=ama-Ø
 3PL stealth 1PL.EXCL=OBL jungle-be-DEP 3PL=eat-IPFV
 ‘They are stealthily in (our) jungles, eating them (our crops)!’ (T27)

Sometimes, as in (11.080) above, it is not clear whether the oblique marker is encoding a possessor or the experiencer of some disadvantage. It may be possible for the oblique-marked NP to function as a clause on its own—that is, when supplied with the copular suffix, as in the following:

(11.081) Ala **aninpe** ndīwale.
 ala an=**in**-p-e ndī=wali-e
 that.PL 1PL.EXCL=OBL-be-DEP 3PL=hit-DEP
 ‘People were killing them (our dogs), while we were there suffering for it.’ (T27)

In the sentence below, the dative of disadvantage usage of the oblique marker has an almost predicative sense.

(11.082) Nipokonampita **un** mapīna.
 nīpokonam-p-ta u=**n** ma=p-na
 hard-be-COND 2SG=OBL 3SG=be-IRR
 ‘If (the soil) is hard, (it) will be no good for you.’ (Literally, ‘If hard, (it) will be there to your disadvantage.’) (T32)

11.5.3 Other oblique arguments

Other non-core elements (namely, adverbs and adpositional phrases), like other obliques, most typically occur between subjects and objects (for examples of this word order, see 8.2 on postpositions and 8.3 on adverbs). When a clause contains *both* an adverb and an adpositional phrase, the adverb typically precedes the adpositional phrase, as in the following:

(11.083) Mī **awal wandam mo** lop.
 mī awal wandam ma=**u** lo-p
 3SG yesterday jungle 3SG=from go-PRF
 ‘Yesterday, he went around in jungle.’ (T11)

It is possible for a number of obliques to occur in succession, as in the following sentence, which contains a temporal adverb, an oblique-marked NP, a postposition, and a modal adverb.

(11.084) Un **amun man u maka** wombĩn ngamokop.
 un **amun ma=n** **u** **maka** wombĩn nga=moko-p
 2PL now 3SG=OBL from thus work this.SG=take-PRF
 ‘You recently got this work from him.’ (T32)

11.6 Monoclausal (or simple) sentences

A simple sentence in Ulwa thus consists (minimally) of one subject and one predicate. Since subjects may be pronominal and since subject pronouns may be omitted, it is possible for only the predicate to be overt in the clause. The predicate must consist minimally of a verb, whether transitive or intransitive. A transitive verb has an object within its phrase and may have object markers preceding it. TAM suffixation may appear on the verb. It is common for multiple verbs to occur within a single clause. Some compound verbs consist of discontinuous elements, and objects may occur within this structure. Subject, too, (when overt) may consist of multiple elements (typically noun phrases). Subjects often contain subject markers following the head NP. Other determiners (that is, in addition to subject markers and object markers) are possible as well, whether as part of the subject or as part of the object in a transitive verb phrase.

In addition to the basic elements of the subject and the verb phrase (which, if transitive, also contains an object), the monoclausal sentence may contain obliques. These typically occur between the subject and object, yielding a canonical word order of SXOV.

Chapter 12

Complex sentences

12.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine how clauses are combined in Ulwa to form longer (complex) sentences. The combination of clauses of equal grammatical status (coordination) is discussed in 12.2 below. Then I consider Ulwa's means for showing the dependence of one clause on another (subordination) in 12.3. Finally, one special subtype of subordinate clause (the relative clause) is investigated in 12.4.

12.2 Coordination

There is no lexical class of coordinators or coordinating conjunctions in Ulwa. That is, there are no words equivalent to English 'and' used to connect elements of equal grammatical status, whether to link words within a phrase, phrases within a clause, or clauses within a sentence. Coordination (at all syntactic levels) is accomplished through parataxis—coordinate elements are presented one after the other without any morphological connector (whether word or morpheme).

12.2.1 Coordination within phrases

Before examining coordination between clauses, I consider how elements within phrases may be coordinated, starting with nouns within a noun phrase. When multiple nouns are coordinated within a noun phrase, the entire NP receives plural (or dual) subject marking or object marking (depending on the function of the NP within the clause), without any overt conjunction or morphosyntactic marking to indicate conjunction. The following examples illustrate NP coordination.

(12.001) **Yeta yena la** nakuklunda.

yeta **yena** **ala** na-kuk-lu-nda
man woman that.PL DETR-gather-put-IRR
'The boys and girls would gather.' (T27)

(12.002) Manji **atana atma ndiya** wa i.

manji **atana** **atma** **ndi=iya** wa i
3SG.POSS older.sister older.brother 3PL=toward village go.PRF
'(He) went to his older brothers and sisters in the village.' (T01)

(12.003) **Bill Elvis ndi** molop.

Bill **Elvis** **ndi** ma=lo-p
[name] [name] 3PL 3SG=go-PRF
'Bill and Elvis went there.' (T32)

(12.004) Nitiine ninji **wuti i** tembipe.

niti=ti-n-e ninji **wuti** **i** tembi-p-e
1SG=take-PRF-DEP 1SG.POSS leg hand bad-be-DEP
'When it got me, my legs and arms were sick.' (T21)

(12.005) **Dimes Susan min** luke i mapta ...

Dimes **Susan** **min** luke i ma=p-ta
[name] [name] 3DU too go.PRF 3SG=be-COND
'If Dimes and Susan go there, too, ...'

... minji itana mane.

minji ita-na ma-n-e
3DU.POSS build-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
'... (then they) are going to build their (house there).' (T37)

(12.006) **Imnde ame lat** inde.

imnde **ame** **ala=ti** inda-e
basket basket that.PL=take walk-DEP
'(They) carried around *imnde* baskets and *ame* baskets.' (T11)

It is possible to coordinate more than just two nouns in a single NP, as in the following:

(12.007) **Awaka Mukamba Kawat ndi** mol i.

Awaka **Mukamba** **Kawat** **ndi** ma=ul i
[name] [name] [name] 3PL 3SG=with go.PRF
'Awaka, Mukamba, and Kawat came with him.' (T02)

(12.008) **Anapa yawa ngata ndunduma ndi** wopa malanda.

anapa **yawa** **ngata** **ndunduma** **ndi** wopa ma=la-nda
sister uncle grand great-grandparent 3PL all 3SG=eat-IRR
'Sisters, uncles, grandparents, and great-grandparents would all eat it.' (T11)

In the following example, two adjectives that are functioning as nouns are coordinated in the same NP.

(12.009) **Njukuta ambi** nen.

njukuta	ambi	na-i-n
small	big	DETR-come-PRF

‘Both big and small (people) came.’ (T24)

Adjectives may also be coordinated within a single noun phrase, whether they are serving as attributive adjectives or as predicative adjectives (as in the last of the following examples).

(12.011) Tīn **mbunmana ambi** mī unip.

tīn	mbunmana	ambi	mī	uni-p
dog	black	big	3SG	shout-PRF

‘The big, black dog barked.’

(12.012) Nī līmndī wambana **ambi anma** mala.

nī	līmndī	wambana	ambi	anma	ma=ala
1SG	eye	fish	big	good	3SG=for

‘I saw a nice, big fish.’

(12.013) Tokples **njukuta ilum** wa ndītane.

tokples	njukuta	ilum	wa	ndī=ta-n-e
tokples	small	little	just	3pl=say-IPFV-DEP

‘Little, short *tokples* (vernacular) stories—(I’m) just telling them.’ (T27)

(12.014) Tīmbīl **ambi nīpat ngata** ndaytana.

tīmbīl	ambi	nīpat	ngata	anda=ita-na
fence	big	giant	grant	that.SG=build-IRR

‘(You) will build that big, huge, giant fence.’ (T37)

(12.015) Namndu mī **ambi ngatape**.

namndu	mī	ambi	ngata -p-e
pig	3SG	big	grand-be-DEP

‘The pig was really big.’ (T32)

Verb phrases may also be coordinated. When multiple verbs are truly coordinated in the same verb phrase, then the TAM marking should match on all the verbs, as in the following examples.

(12.016) Alimban mī lamndu **masap mamap**.

Alimban	mī	lamndu	ma=asa-p	ma=ama-p
[name]	3SG	pig	3SG=hit-PRF	3SG=eat-PRF

‘Alimban killed and ate the pig.’

(12.017) Yawana mī utam **mawanap mamap**.

Yawana	mī	utam	ma=wana-p	ma=ama-p
[name]	3SG	yam	3SG=cook-PRF	3SG=eat-PRF

‘Yawana cooked and ate the yam.’

The first verb may be unmarked, however, especially if it is an often defective verb (4.4), as in (12.018), or it is a postposition function as a verb (8.2), as in (12.019).

(12.018) Min ko **mas mamap**.

min	ko	ma=asa	ma=ama-p
3DU	just	3SG=hit	3SG=eat-PRF

‘The two killed and ate it.’ (T01)

(12.019) Guren mī limndī lamndu **mala masap**.

Guren	mī	limndī	lamndu	ma=ala	ma=asa-p
[name]	3SG	eye	pig	3SG=for	3SG=hit-PRF

‘Guren saw and killed the pig.’

Moreover, there should be no dependent marking (12.3) on anything other than the final verb in the phrase, unless such marking is being used to show imperfective aspect (4.6), as in the example below.

(12.020) Lamndu **wale ndame**.

lamndu	wali-e	ndi=ama-e
pig	hit-DEP	3PL=eat-DEP

‘(They) would kill and eat pigs.’ (T11)

Although—as suggested by most of the examples above—it is common for both verbs in the phrase to receive object marking, this is not necessarily mandatory: in example (12.020) above, only the second of the two coordinated verbs takes the object marker.

12.2.2 Coordination of clauses

If a sentence contains two verbs that have different objects, then it is assumed that the coordination occurs not between two verbs within a single verb phrase but rather between two

verb phrases. However, it may not always be clear whether there are two verb phrases being coordinated within a single clause or there are two clauses being coordinated within a larger sentence. This is because it is common in Ulwa to omit subjects. Thus, although the following example is translated as though the coordination occurs within a single clause, it could alternatively be the case that there are two full clauses coordinated, but that the subject in the second clause is omitted (i.e., ‘Alimban killed the pig and [he] cooked the meat’).

(12.021) Alimban mī lamndu masap mundu nduwanap.

Alimban	mī	lamndu	ma=asa-p	mundu	ndī=wana-p
[name]	3SG	pig	3SG=hit-PRF	food	3PL=cook-PRF

‘Alimban killed the pig and cooked the meat.’

This point leads to the focus of this section: the coordination of clauses in Ulwa. When two clauses are presented on equal grammatical footing, there is no distinction made between the two. They are presented paratactically, one after the other, without any dependent marking, as in the following:

(12.022) Mangusuwa as mī nip.

[mangusuwa	asa]	[mī	ni-p]
[3SG.poor	hit]	[3SG	die-PRF]

‘(They) struck the poor thing and he died.’ (T32)

(12.023) Nī mbiwap mokotip.

[nī	mbī-wap]	[ma=kot-p]
[1SG	here-be.PST]	[3SG=break-PRF]

‘I stayed here and (I) bore her.’ (T11)

(12.024) Mangusuwa mbiwap mī amun naman.

[mangusuwa	mbī-wap]	[mī	amun	na-ma-n]
[3SG.poor	here-be.PST]	[3SG	now	DETR-go-IPFV]

‘The poor thing stayed here and today she’s leaving.’ (T27)

The above examples are all translated with ‘and’. Coordinated clauses can have concessive (i.e., ‘but’) senses as well. Again, this is achieved without any overt coordinating conjunction, as in:

(12.025) Mī ango maka Nīmalnu wa map mī nay.

[mī	ango	maka	Nīmalnu	wa	ma=p]	[mī	na-i]
[3SG	NEG	thus	Manu	village	3SG=be]	[3SG	DETR-go.PRF]

‘He didn’t stay in Manu village, but he went.’ (T19)

Coordination of clauses is not, however, especially common: speakers generally prefer to mark one or more clauses as dependent (12.3).

12.2.3 Other means of coordination

It is common for speakers to borrow words from Tok Pisin when coordinated structures are desired, especially when they are disjunctive (i.e., ‘or’) structures, as in the following sentences, which borrow Tok Pisin *o* ‘or’.

(12.026) U wandam mana **o** nī wandam mana.

u	wandam	ma-na	o	nī	wandam	ma-na
2SG	jungle	go-IRR	or	2SG	jungle	go-IRR

‘Either you will go to the jungle or I will go to the jungle.’

(12.027) Wambana tīn malanda ...

wambana	tī-n	ma=la-nda
fish	take-PRF	3SG=eat-IRR

‘(Either they) would catch a fish and (we) would eat it ...’

... **o** an ma wanwane angop ...

o	an	ma	wanwane	ango-p
or	1PL.EXCL	go	mushroom	pull.out-PRF

‘... or we would go, pick mushrooms, ...’

... i ndīwanap ndīlanda.

i	ndī=wana-p	ndī=la-nda
go.PRF	3PL=cook-PRF	3PL=eat-IRR

‘... go cook them, and eat them.’ (T35)

(12.028) Nī mana **o** nī mbīpīna nī angō kalam.

nī	ma-na	o	nī	mbī-p-na	nī	angō	kalam
1SG	go-IRR	or	1SG	here-be-IRR	1SG	NEG	know

‘Should I go or should or stay? I don’t know.’ (T32)

This Tok Pisin loan word *o* ‘or’ is used not only to connect clauses, but also to connect elements within phrases, as in the following examples.

(12.029) Kawana mī mīnda **o** utam amap.

Kawana	mī	mīnda	o	utam	ama-p
[name]	3SG	banana	or	yam	eat-PRF

‘Kawana ate either a banana or a yam.’

(12.030) U o nī wandam mana.

u	o	nī	wandam	ma-na
2SG	or	1SG	jungle	go-IRR

‘Either you or I will go to the jungle.’

(12.031) Mīnal o mil o utam o nongontam ...

mīnal	o	mil	o	utam	o	nongontam
taro	or	sugarcane	or	yam	or	kaukau

‘(Whether it be) taro or sugarcane or yam or *kaukau* (sweet potato), ...’

... mī keka ndīn up.

mī	keka	ndī=n	u-p
3SG	completely	3PL=OBL	put-PRF

‘... he planted them all.’ (T05)

The Tok Pisin loan word *na* ‘and’ is also used in discourse to coordinate elements, whether words within a phrase (as in the first example below), phrases within a clause, or clauses within a sentence (as in the second example below).

(12.032) Bopten na Yar ngusuwa ndī ...

Bopten	na	Yar	ngusuwa	ndī
[place]	and	[place]	poor	3PL

... wome mat ndīnane.

wome	ma=tī	ndī=na-n-e
middle	3PL=take	3PL=give-PRF-DEP

‘The poor (people from) Bopten and Yar gave them the middle (land between Bopten and Yar villages).’ (T11)

(12.033) Tiklika na anmbi.

tikli-ka	na	an-mbī-i
turn-let	and	out-here-go.PRF

‘(I) turned and came out.’ (T35)

The borrowing of Tok Pisin loans for grammatical functions such as coordination is further described in Chapter 15.

Some speakers use *ma* ‘and’ in certain coordinate structures. This seems more frequent among younger speakers and is perhaps a recent innovation. It bears a superficial resemblance to Tok Pisin *na* ‘and’, but could instead be derived from 3SG marking (*mī* [subject] or *ma=* [object]) (indeed, this coordinator is used at times in a reduced form [*mī*]). Regardless of its

origins, as a connector within noun phrases, *ma* ‘and’ is limited in its scope, appearing almost exclusively after proper names, as in the following sentences.

(12.034) Nicko **ma** Danny min niya i.

Nicko	ma	Danny	min	nĩ=iya	i
[name]	and	[name]	3DU	1SG=toward	go.PRF

‘Nicko and Danny came to me.’ (T11)

(12.035) Pisuwa **ma** Yaluwa minul le.

Pisuwa	ma	Yaluwa	min=ul	lo-e
[name]	and	[name]	3DU=with	go-DEP

‘(He) was following Pisuwa and Yaluwa.’ (T11)

(12.036) Tupuk **ma** Bay min man mat.

Tupuk	ma	Bay	min	ma=n	ma=ta
[name]	and	[name]	3DU	3SG=OBL	3SG=say

‘Tupuk and Bay told her.’ (T11)

(12.037) Nambul **ma** Wangasa min ...

Nambul	ma	Wangasa	min
[name]	and	[name]	3DU

... mawatpe ambinasap.

ma=wat-p-e	ambin=asa-p
3SG=atop-be-DEP	DU.REFL=hit-PRF

‘Nambul and Wangasa fought over it.’ (T11)

The connector *ma* ‘and’ may be used to connect more than two (proper noun) NPs, as in the following:

(12.038) Limndĩ Ambayam **ma** Josephine **ma** Susan ndala.

limndĩ	Ambayam	ma	Josephine	ma	Susan	ndĩ=ala
eye	[name]	and	[name]	and	[name]	3PL=for

‘(I) saw Ambayam, Josephine, and Susan.’ (T32)

As a connector of NPs, *ma* ‘and’ may follow a proper noun even when the other NP is a pronoun, as in:

(12.039) Donna **ma** ndĩ molop.

Donna	ma	ndĩ	ma=lo-p
[name]	and	3PL	3SG=go-PRF

‘Donna and they went there.’ (T37)

As a clausal coordinator, *ma* ‘and’ may even be derived from *ma* ‘go’ (perhaps calqued from Tok Pisin uses of *go* ‘go’ as a discourse connector). The following sentence suggests the ambiguity of the form *ma*, which, as a connector here could mean ‘go’ or ‘and’.

(12.040) Ay nīkap **ma** ndīmokota ndīnata mana.
 ay nkī-p **ma** ndī=moko-ta ndī=na-ta ma-na
 sago cut-PRF and 3PL=take-COND 3PL=give-COND go-IRR
 ‘(I) have made sago and will go and give them (servings of sago) to them.’ (T10)

12.3 Subordination

Ulwa makes prolific use of clause-linking, connecting dependent clauses to following independent clauses (or to further dependent clauses) with the verbal suffix *-e*, which is glossed here as ‘DEP’ (for “dependent”), but which can also function as an imperfective marker (4.6).

12.3.1 The dependent marker *-e*

The dependent marker *-e* (‘DEP’) is a suffix that can affix to fully inflected verb forms (that is, to verbs with TAM suffix marking). The use of the dependent marker in Ulwa is not considered an indication of the prototypical clause-chaining (or medial clauses), found in many languages of New Guinea, since the dependent-marked verbs in these clauses do not have “more restricted structures”, nor do they indicate “switch reference” (Longacre 2007:399). This is, nevertheless, clearly a kindred phenomenon. Also, as just implied, the subject of the *-e*-marked dependent clause may be the same as or different from the subject of a subsequent independent clause without any morphological indication one way or the other. When one clause is subordinated to another, it almost always precedes it in Ulwa. A subordinate clause marked by the dependent marker *-e* may bear one of a few semantic relations to the main clause on which it depends—causal (12.3.2), concessive (12.3.3), temporal (12.3.4), and so on—as discussed in the following sections.

12.3.2 Causal subordinate clauses

The following sentences contain dependent clauses that bear causal relations to their respective independent clauses.

(12.041) **Ninji yanat mi tembipe** nonganup.

ninji	yanat	mi	tembi-p-e	nongan-u-p
1SG.POSS	daughter	3SG	bad-be-DEP	vomit-put-PRF

‘My daughter vomited because she was sick.’

(12.042) **Itom mundu mase** utam mamap.

itom	mundu	ma=asa-e	utam	ma=ama-p
father	food	3SG=hit-DEP	yam	3SG=eat-PRF

‘Father ate the yam because he was hungry.’

(12.043) **Nupe** Kumba la unanlu amblawale.

nu-p-e	Kumba	ala	unan=lu	ambla=wali-e
near-be-DEP	Bun	that.PL	1PL.INCL=with	PL.REFL=hit-DEP

‘Since (Bun village) is close, the Bun people fight with us.’ (T11)

(12.044) **Nipe** nganwe nini ngan mbip.

ni-p-e	nganwe	nini	ngan	mbi-p
die-PRF-DEP	1DU.EXCL.INT.PART	two	1DU.EXCL	here-be

‘Since (they) have died, we two alone—we stay here.’ (T23)

(12.045) **Ya ulwape** an wa inimni ndiwane.

ya	ulwa-p-e	an	wa	inim=ni	ndi=wana-e
coconut	nothing-be-DEP	1PL.EXCL	just	water=OBL	3PL=cook-DEP

‘Since there were no coconuts, we just cooked them in water.’ (T27)

(12.046) **Wanmbi ulwape** ...

wanmbi	ulwa-p-e
daka	nothing-be-DEP

‘Since there’s no *daka* pepper, ...’

... ni wa aw ngan wa akina landa man.

ni	wa	aw	nga=n	wa	akina	la-nda	ma-n
1SG	just	betel.nut	this.SG=OBL	just	new	eat-IRR	go-IPFV

‘I’m just going to chew this betel nut fresh.’ (i.e., without *daka* pepper and lime) (T32)

Instead of the dependent marker *-e*, the conditional suffix *-ta* (4.14, 13.6) may be affixed to the final verb in a dependent clause, providing a similar causal function as the dependent marker *-e*, as in the following:

(12.047) **Unanji ngata lanji luwa lawapta ...**

unanji **ngata alanji** **luwa** **ala=wap-ta**
1PL.INCL.POSS grand that.PL.POSS place that.PL=be.PST-COND
'Since those were our ancestors' lands, ...'

... maka apa ndaytana.

maka apa anda=ita-na
thus house that.SG=build-IRR
'... (we) will thus build that house.' (T32)

The conditional suffix *-ta* is not known to co-occur with the dependent marker *-e* (i.e., **-ta-e* 'COND-DEP').

12.3.3 Concessive subordinate clauses

In the following sentences, the dependent clauses bear a concessive relation to their associated independent clauses.

(12.048) **Ndī ndīl kumat ine ...**

ndī **ndī=li** **kuma=tī** **i-n-e**
3PL 3PL=put some=take come-PRF-DEP
'Although they've brought some of them (home), ...'

... kuma wa mīnwata wandam lip.

kuma wa mīnwata wandam li-p
some just rotting jungle put-PRF
'... (they've) left others just left rotting in the jungle.' (T27)

(12.049) **Wot mī maka limndī matīne ...**

wot **mī** **maka** **limndī** **ma=tī-n-e**
younger 3SG thus eye 3SG=take-PRF-DEP
'Whereas the younger (brother) got the eye (side of the coconut), ...'

... atma mī nupu matīn.

atma mī nupu ma=tī-n
older.brother 3SG base 3SG=take-PRF
'... the older brother got the base (side of the coconut).' (T08)

As can be seen above in the examples of causal subordinate clauses (12.3.2), concessive subordinate clauses may also on occasion employ conditional suffixes in place of the dependent marker *-e*, as in the following example.

(12.050) **Wa minomapita ndinpita ...**

wa	minoma-p-ta	ndi=in-p-ta
just	cold-be-COND	3PL=in-be-COND

‘Even though (the meat) will get cold in them (pots), ...’

... **tem mat an mokolpe ...**

tem	ma=ti	an	ma=kol-p-e
time	3SG=take	out	3SG=break-PRF-DEP

‘... when (you) have taken it out and broken it, ...’

... **mī wa nambitin ninda!**

mī	wa	nambit=in	ni-nda
3SG	just	smell=OBL	act-IRR

‘... it will just smell (good)!’ (*tem* < TP *taim* ‘time’) (T11)

The example above actually illustrates two dependent clauses in succession, the first (concessive clause) marked by the conditional suffix *-ta* and the second (temporal clause) marked by the dependent marker *-e*. This temporal clause has, in addition, the Tok Pisin loan word *taim* ‘time’ (in Ulwa, *tem*) functioning as a subordinator. This loan word, however, is not needed to form temporal subordinate clauses, as shown below (12.3.4).

12.3.4 Temporal subordinate clauses

In the following (more traditional) example of a temporal subordinate clause, the dependent marker helps signal that the event occurred simultaneously to the action of the associated independent clause (i.e., signaling the sense of ‘while’).

(12.051) **Plas mambi angō mbipe** nji tingingin up.

Plas	mambi	ango	mbi-p-e	nji	tingin=n	u-p
[name]	3SG.FOC	NEG	here-be-DEP	thing	many=OBL	put-PRF

‘As for Plas, he didn’t plant many things while he was here.’ (T11)

Here, too, in temporal constructions, it is possible for the conditional suffix *-ta* to occur at the end of the subordinate clause instead of the dependent marker *-e*, as in:

(12.052) **Ala ndandila mapta ...**

ala	ndi=andila	ma=p-ta
that.PL	3PL=await	3SG=be-COND

‘So, while they are there waiting for them, ...’

... suwan ndinap nawlunda mane.
 suwan ndī-nap na-u-lo-nda ma-n-e
 mesh 3PL=for DETR-from-cut-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘... (they) are going to cut (things) for the *suwan* meshes.’ (T11)

Similarly, dependent marking can signal the sense of ‘when’, as in the following examples.

(12.053) **Nī tembipe** ...

nī **tembi-p-e**
 1sg bad-be-DEP
 ‘When I was sick, ...’

... u marasin alakali nīn anmbī lip.
 u marasin ala=kali nī=n an-mbī lī-p
 2SG medicine that.PL=send 1SG=OBL out-here put-PRF
 ‘... you sent medicine to me.’ (*marasin* < TP) (T21)

(12.054) **An njikutape** ndul inde.

an **njukuta-p-e** ndī=ul inda-e
 1PL.EXCL small-be-DEP 3PL=with walk-DEP
 ‘When we were small, we went with them.’ (T24)

(12.055) **Anmbi atwana te** ndī man nīt.

an-mbī-i **atwana** **ta-e** ndī ma=n nī=ta
 out-here-go.PRF question say-DEP 3PL 3SG=OBL 1SG=say
 ‘When (I) came out and asked, they told me.’ (T32)

Very commonly, there is a simple sequential temporal relationship between a subordinate clause and the clause that follows it. That is, the dependent marker on the subordinate clause signals that the event described within it occurs before (never after) the event described in the associated independent clause, as in the following:

(12.056) **Ala apīn mamape** ...

ala **apīn=n** **ma=ama-p-e**
 that.PL fire=OBL 3SG=eat-PRF-DEP
 ‘After they burned it, ...’

... nī wa mbi ndīmonip.
 nī wa mbī-i ndī=moni-p
 1SG just here-go.PRF 3PL=between-be
 ‘... I just came to this place and live among them.’ (T11)

(12.057) **Mi mawap liye** na nditina.

mī **ma=wap** **li-i-e** na **ndī=ti-na**
3SG 3SG=be.PST down-go.PRF-DEP talk 3PL=take-IRR

‘After he’s stayed there and (then) come down, (he) will get the conversations.’ (T11)

(12.058) **Ndī ndamap inim lopop ataye** ...

ndī **ndī=ama-p** **inim** **lopo-p** **ata-i-e**
3PL 3PL=eat-PRF water wash-PRF up-go.PRF-DEP

‘After they ate them, washed and came up, ...’

... an anmbi uniya wa molop.

an an-mbī-i un=iya wa ma=lo-p
1PL.EXCL out-here-go.PRF 2PL=toward village 3SG=go-PRF

‘... we came out to you in the village.’ (T27)

(12.059) **Mi mankape** ndī moko amblanan.

mī **ma=nkī-p-e** ndī moko ambla=na-n
3SG 3SG=cut-PRF-DEP 3PL take PL.REFL=give-PRF

‘After he butchered it, they shared (it) among themselves.’ (T30)

(12.060) **Mbi wa mbitape** ...

mbī-i **wa** **mbī** **ita-p-e**
here-go.PRF village here build-PRF-DEP

‘After (they) came here and made this village, ...’

... ndī Yetani lan u matin.

ndī Yetani ala=n u ma=ti-n
3PL Yamen that.PL=OBL from 3SG=take-PRF

‘... they got it (sorcery) from the Yamen people.’ (T32)

(12.061) **Ni inim lopope** nī mana.

nī **inim** **lopo-p-e** nī ma-na
1SG water wash-PRF-DEP 1SG go-IRR

‘After I’ve bathed, then I will go.’ (T35)

(12.062) **Min anmbī naye** ...

min an-mbī na-i-e
3DU out-here DETR-go.PRF-DEP

‘After the two came out, ...’

... an minanamape ...

an **mī=na-na-ama-p-e**
1PL.EXCL 3SG=DETR-DETR-eat-PRF-DEP

‘... we ate, ...’

... an taunam nolop.
 an taunam na-u-lo-p
 1PL.EXCL net DETR-from-go-PRF
 ‘... and then we went to (our) mosquito nets.’ (*taunam* < TP) (T36)

As the last example illustrates, multiple dependent clauses may be strung together in succession.

12.3.5 Tail-head linkage

Subordinate clauses marked with final *-e* are used extensively in the rhetorical structure known as tail-head linkage, whereby the final clause of one sentence is more or less repeated at the start of the following sentence. In these structures in Ulwa, the final verb of the first sentence is fully repeated somewhere in the first clause of the second sentence (that is, it has the same exact object marker and TAM suffix); the addition of the dependent marker *-e*, however, allows this clause with the repeated verb to be a transition into a new (independent) clause. In tail-head linkage constructions, it is possible for the entire pivot to be repeated exactly, as in the example below.

(12.063) **Min nay wambana ndutap.**
min na-i wambana ndi=uta-p
 3DU DETR-go.PRF fish 3PL=grind-PRF
 ‘The two went and caught fish.’

Min nay wambana ndutape wa namane.
min na-i wambana ndi=uta-p-e wa na-ma-n-e
 3DU DETR-go.PRF fish 3PL=grind-PRF-DEP village DETR-go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘After the two went and caught fish, (they) headed home.’ (T09)

It is more common, however, for the recapitulatory clause to be a reduced form of its model, eliding, for example, the subject or one or more coordinated verb phrases. Such reductions in tail-head linkage constructions may be seen below.

(12.064) **Mi wolka nawo.**
mī wolka na-wo-Ø
 3SG again DETR-sleep-IPFV
 ‘Again it fell asleep.’

Wolka nawowe mī mala yana angla nol.

wolka **na-wo-e** mī ma=ala yana angla na-lo
again DETR-sleep-DEP 3SG 3SG=for womanawait DETR-go
'After again sleeping, it went searching for a wife for him.' (T05)

(12.065) Mī **mol wop**.

mī **ma=ul** **wo-p**
3SG 3SG=with sleep-PRF
'She slept with him.'

Mol wope yana mī tinanga limndi wa mala.

ma=ul **wo-p-e** yana mī tinangalimndi wa ma=ala
3SG=with sleep-PRF-DEP woman 3SG arise eye just 3SG=for
'Having slept with him, the woman got up and noticed him.' (T05)

(12.066) Mat i **matī nowe ndo malip**.

ma=tī i **ma=tī** **nowe** **anda=u** **ma=li-p**
3SG=take go.PRF 3SG=take palm.sp that.SG=from 3SG=put-PRF
'(It) brought him and put him on a *nowe* sago palm.'

Matī nowe ndo malipe ...

ma=tī **nowe** **anda=u** **ma=li-p-e**
3SG=take palm.sp that.SG=from 3SG=put-PRF-DEP
'Having put him on the *nowe* sago palm, ...'

... mī mawatpe.

mī ma=wat-p-e
3SG 3SG=atop-be-DEP
'... he stayed atop it.' (T05)

(12.067) Kowe mol anmbi **nīmal mbi**.

Kowe ma=ul an-mbī-i **nīmal mbi-i**
[name] 3SG=with out-here-go.PRF river here-go.PRF
'(We) came out with Kowe, came here to the river.'

Nīmal mbiye anmbīwap

nīmal **mbi-i-e** an-mbī-wap
river here-go.PRF-DEP out-here-be.PST
'After coming here to the river, (we) stayed here.' (T10)

(12.068) Alkumot yana mī alum mokotip ...

Alkumot yana mī alum ma=kot-p
[name] woman 3SG child 3SG=break-PRF
'The woman Alkumot bore the child ...'

... mat **al malp**.
 ma=tī **al** **ma=li-p**
 3SG=take net 3SG=put-PRF
 ‘... and put it in a mosquito net.’

Al malpe mī i.

al **ma=li-p-e** mī i
 net 3SG=put-PRF-DEP 3SG go.PRF
 ‘Having put it in the mosquito net, she went.’ (T01)

It is also possible for multiple verbs (in a single verb phrase) to be repeated in tail-head linkage patterns, as in the last line of the following example.

(12.069) Wondi mī i mawat **inmi may**.

wondi mī i ma=wat **inmi** **ma=i**
 bandicoot 3SG go.PRF 3SG=atop hole 3SG=go.PRF
 ‘The bandicoot went onto her in the hole.’

Inmi maye mī mīnda mokotip ...

inmi **ma=i-e** mī mīnda ma=kot-p
 hole 3SG=go.PRF-DEP 3SG banana 3SG=break-PRF
 ‘(After it) went into the hole, he cut the banana tree ...’

... mat **li lip**.

ma=tī **li** **li-p**
 3SG=take down put-PRF
 ‘... and put it down.’

Mat li lipe mī inmi mawap.

ma=tī **li** **li-p-e** mī inmi ma=wap
 3SG=take down put-PRF-DEP 3SG hole 3SG=be.PST
 ‘When (he) put it down, she was (still) in the hole.’ (T01)

As the example above illustrates, it is possible for such chains of dependent and independent clauses to continue for linkages of longer than two sentences.

12.3.6 Dependent markers for floor-holding

It is also common for seemingly independent clauses to receive the dependent marker *-e*. In this way, when added almost as an afterthought, this suffix can serve something of a coordinating function, equivalent almost to a conjunction ‘and’ in use. By affixing *-e* to the end

of a clause (and in so doing signaling that another clause is to follow), a speaker may have a better chance at holding the floor. Indeed, some speakers commonly insert the sound *-e* (or even *-pe*) in the silence following a clause to signal that they are not yet done talking, as in the following:

(12.070) Rais muku kot n̄in ani lip.

rais	muku	ko=t̄i	n̄i=n	ani	l̄i-p
rice	package	INDF=take	1SG=OBL	bilang	put-PRF

‘(He) put a package of rice into my *bilang* (net bag).’

E Dora l̄imnd̄i nala.

e	Dora	l̄imnd̄i	n̄i=ala
DEP	[name]	eye	1SG=for

‘And Dora saw me.’ (*rais* < TP) (T11)

(12.071) Min mat i pul ko i ...

min	ma=t̄i	i	pul	ko	i
3DU	3SG=take	go.PRF	piece	one	go.PRF

‘The two brought it, went to a place, ...’

... matlip wulinup.

ma=t̄i	l̄i-p	wulin-u-p
3SG=take	put-PRF	rest-put-PRF

‘... put it down, and rested.’

E wolka tinanga matin.

e	wolka	tinanga	ma=t̄i-n
DEP	again	arise	3SG=take-PRF

‘(And then they) got up again and got it.’ (*pul* ‘piece’ meaning ‘place’ may be calqued from TP *hap* ‘piece, place’) (T30)

(12.072) Nd̄i maka lop.

nd̄i	maka	lo-p
3PL	thus	go-PRF

‘They went like that.’

E nd̄i we nd̄imokop.

e	nd̄i	we	nd̄i=moko-p
DEP	3PL	sago	3PL=take-PRF

‘And then they got the sago starch.’

E ndi mbilop.
e ndi mbī-lo-p
 DEP 3PL here-go-PRF
 ‘And then they came here.’ (T32)

The form *-pe* likely owes its derivation to the fact that clauses often end with the sound /p/, since this is the form of both the perfective suffix and the present copular suffix (as well as the last phoneme of the past copular suffix). It may be used as a floor-holding particle, however, even when the preceding sound in the previous clause is not [p], as in the last of the three examples below.

(12.073) Ndī mape malep amun wa mbilop.
 ndī ma=p-e ma=ale-p amun wa mbī=lo-p
 3PL 3SG=be-DEP 3SG=scrape-PRF now village here-go-PRF
 ‘They were there scraping it and now came home.’

Pe nī tīnanga anmbī mbi.
pe nī tīnanga an-mbī mbī-i
 DEP 1SG arise out-here here-go.PRF
 ‘And then I got up and came out here.’ (T35)

(12.074) Ndī ango anmap tembip.
 ndī ango anma-p tembi-p
 3PL NEG good-be bad-be
 ‘They were not healthy, but sick.’

Pe ndī nena.
pe ndī na-i-na
 DEP 3PL DETR-come-IRR
 ‘And (when they were sick,) they would come.’ (T24)

(12.075) We ndīt anmbī mbi Taw mbi.
 we ndī=tī an-mbī mbī-i Taw mbī-i
 sago 3PL=take out-here here-go.PRF [place] here-go.PRF
 ‘(They) brought sago starch out there, went there to Taw.’

Pe Brian manji inom mī wolka tīklika ...
pe Brian manji inom mī wolka tīkli-ka
 DEP [name] 3SG.POS mother 3SG again turn-let
 ‘And (after they had gone,) Brian’s mother turned back ...’

... limndī tin mala.
 limndī tin ma=ala
 eye dog 3SG=for
 ‘... and saw the dog.’ (T32)

Of course, it remains possible that *e* (as well as even *pe*) is a separate discourse connective particle, and not necessarily related to the dependent marker *-e*.

12.3.7 Other means of subordination

In addition to the dependent-marker suffix *-e* and the afterthought-like free forms (*e* and *pe*), there is another form, *we* ‘(and) then’, which can connect clauses. It is often used in conditional statements, occurring between the verb of the apodosis (marked by the conditional suffix *-ta*) and the start of the protasis. Phonologically (that is, in terms of prosodic units), this marker *we* belongs to the apodosis. The following example illustrates its use.

(12.076) Ndī ita **we** unan matīna.
 ndī i-ta **we** unan ma=atī-na
 3PL go.PRF-COND then 1PL.INCL 3SG=hit-IRR
 ‘If they come, then we will kill him.’ (T01)

This form may occur in other sentence types besides just conditional sentences, however. Sometimes it is not perfectly clear whether it is a separate lexeme (*we*) or an elongated version of the dependent marker *-e*.

The word *we* ‘(and) then’ also functions like a coordinator. It may be used to connect sentences in discourse (helping the speaker to hold the floor). The following examples illustrate the use of *we* ‘then’ in connecting independent clauses.

(12.077) Utam ndīn mankap **we** ...
 utam ndī=n ma=nki-p **we**
 yam 3PL=OBL 3SG=dig-PRF then
 ‘(I) planted yams there and then ...’

... Kowe mangusuwa amun ngolop.
 Kowe mangusuwa amun nga=u-lo-p
 [name] 3SG.poor now this.SG=from-cut-PRF
 ‘... Kowe, the poor thing, only recently cleared this place.’ (T11)

(12.078) Mundu wanata ndangla lumop ...
 mundu wana-ta ndĩ=angla lumo-p
 food cook-COND 3PL=await put-PRF
 ‘Once (you) have cooked food and put it (there) for them, ...’

... ndĩ anmbi **we** nalanda.
 ndĩ an-mbĩ-i **we** na-la-nda
 3PL out-here-go.PRF then DETR-eat-IRR
 ‘... they will come out and then eat.’ (T25)

12.4 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a subordinate clause that modifies an antecedent noun phrase in the matrix clause in which it is embedded. In Ulwa, there is no overt (morphological) marker for relative clauses—that is, there are no relative pronouns or relativizers. A relative clause always immediately precedes the head noun of the matrix clause, and the verb in the relative clause is marked for TAM as would any finite verb in a clause.

As an argument in the matrix clause, the head noun of the matrix clause may fulfill any grammatical relation—that is, it may be a subject, object, or oblique. The noun phrase in the relative clause that refers to this antecedent, however, *must* be the grammatical subject of the clause. Thus, viewed crosslinguistically in terms of the accessibility hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977), Ulwa has a rather limited set of grammatically possible relative clause constructions, as only subjects can be relativized.

Since it is always the subject of the relative clause that refers to the head noun of the matrix clause, and since the relative clause always immediately precedes this head noun, the subject of the relative clause (expressed in the matrix clause) *appears* to follow its verb. There are thus two ways of analyzing sentences with relative clauses in Ulwa. If the rigidity of S(O)V word order is to be assumed, then relative clauses in Ulwa are prenominal dependent clauses with unexpressed subjects. In this view, relative clauses employ the gap strategy, since the syntactic spot where the head noun of the antecedent clause should be found in the relative clause (that is, before the verb) is empty (that is, there is no overt phonological form).

If, however, alternate word orders are to be accepted in an analysis of Ulwa, then it is possible for relative clauses to be considered head-internal, with the head being expressed as a full NP *only* within the relative clause, namely post-verbally. In this view, whereas the word

order of pragmatically neutral active clauses is S(O)V (11.2), the word order of relative clauses is (O)VS. This second analysis indeed at first seems typologically unusual, but nevertheless has some support when considered alongside Ulwa's passive constructions (13.8).

The following sentence is a simple intransitive sentence. The word order is the canonical SV.

(12.079) *Itom ngata mĩ nip.*
 itom ngata mĩ ni-p
 father grand 3SG die-PRF
 'The old man died.'

The following example shows how the sentence above might appear in a relative clause. Here, *itom ngata* 'old man' is both the subject of the relative clause and the object of the matrix clause. The brackets in the example below enclose the relative clause: here—and throughout this grammar—the bracketing of the relative clause reflects a gap-strategy analysis. Thus, the sentence below is considered to contain a noun-modifying clause, the verb *nipe* 'died' thus constituting the entire relative clause (with a gap for the subject occurring immediately before the verb).

(12.080) *Nĩ nipe itom ngata makamp.*
 nĩ [ni-p-e] itom ngata ma=kamb-p
 1SG [die-PRF-DEP] father grand 3SG=shun-PRF
 'I avoided the old man who died.'

Note, however, that in a head-internal analysis, the relative clause would be considered to contain the entire sequence *nipe itom ngata* 'old man died' (that is, it would include the head noun *itom ngata* 'old man'), and the antecedent in the matrix clause would thus consist solely of the object marker *ma=* '3SG'. In this head-internal analysis, the word order of the matrix clause is SOV, as expected. The word order of the relative clause (which is itself the O argument of the matrix clause), however, is VS.

Note also that the dependent marker *-e* is employed on the verb in the dependent relative clause (12.3.1). This lends further support to the idea that the structure in question is indeed a clause.

A relative clause can also serve as the subject of a matrix clause, as in the following example.

(12.081) Nipe itom ngata mī ankam anma.
 [ni-p-e] itom ngata mī ankam anma
 [die-PRF-DEP] father grand 3SG person good
 ‘The old man who died is a good person.’

Note that verb phrases that consist of discontinuous elements (that is, separable verbs, 9.3.1) will create a sandwich-like structure if the relative clause is the object of the verb phrase, as in:

(12.082) Ndī limndī nipe itom ngata mala.
 ndī limndī [ni-p-e] itom ngata ma=ala
 3PL eye [die-PRF-DEP] father grand 3SG=for
 ‘They saw the old man who died.’

Finally, it may be shown that—in addition to subjects and objects—relative clauses may function as oblique arguments within matrix clauses, such as objects of postpositions, as seen in the following sentence.

(12.083) Damnda mī nipe itom ngata maya i.
 Damnda mī [ni-p-e] itom ngata ma=iya i
 [name] 3SG [die-PRF-DEP] father grand 3SG=toward go.PRF
 ‘Damnda went to the old man who died.’

Just like intransitive clauses, transitive clauses may also serve as relative clauses. The following sentence is a simple transitive sentence. The word order is SOV.

(12.084) Ankam mī lamndu masap.
 ankam mī lamndu ma=asa-p
 person 3SG pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘The person killed the pig.’

This transitive sentence may serve as the object of a verb in a matrix clause, as in the sentence below. Whereas the word order of the matrix clause is SOV (with the relative clause filling the role of O), the word order of the relative clause is OV (or OVS in a head-internal analysis).

(12.085) Damnda mī limndī lamndu masape ankam mala.
 Damnda mī limndī [lamndu ma=asa-p-e] ankam ma=ala
 [name] 3SG eye [pig 3SG=hit-PRF-DEP] person 3SG=for
 ‘Damnda saw the person who killed the pig.’

Note, again, the use of the dependent marker *-e* suffixed to the verb in the relative clause. The following is an example of a transitive-verb relative clause serving as the subject of a matrix clause. Note the use of the subject marker *mī*.

- (12.086) Lamndu masape ankam mī wandam may.
 [lamndu ma=asa-p-e] mī wandam ma=i
 [pig 3SG=hit-PRF-DEP] 3SG jungle 3SG=go.PRF
 ‘The person who killed the pig went to the jungle.’

The following is an example of a transitive-verb relative clause serving as an oblique argument within the matrix clause.

- (12.087) Sinda mī lamndu masape ankam maya i.
 Sinda mī [lamndu ma=asa-p-e] ankam ma=iya i
 [name] 3SG [pig 3SG=hit-PRF-DEP] person 3SG=toward go.PRF
 ‘Sinda went to the person who killed the pig.’

It is possible for obliques to occur within the dependent relative clauses as well, whether they contain transitive (12.088) or intransitive (12.089) verbs, as seen below.

- (12.088) Mī līmndī mananī lamndu masape ankam mala.
 mī līmndī [mana=nī lamndu ma=asa-p-e] ankam ma=ala
 3SG eye [spear=OBL pig 3SG=hit-PRF-DEP] person 3SG=for
 ‘She saw the man who stabbed the pig with the spear.’

- (12.089) Mī līmndī ankam ul natane yana mala.
 mī līmndī [ankam ul na-ta-n-e] yana ma=ala
 3SG eye [person with DETR-say-IPFV-DEP] woman 3SG=for
 ‘She saw the woman who is talking with the man.’

Relative clauses occur rarely in discourse, and some (especially younger) speakers probably never employ them. It could be that—as fairly complex syntactic structure—relative clauses are being lost as the language suffers grammatical attrition due to rapid replacement by Tok Pisin (a language which also—for many speakers—has no formal structures for relativization) (see Chapter 15). Nevertheless, relative clauses do occasionally occur in the speech of some older speakers. The following are examples of relative clauses taken from texts.

(12.090) Ndī manji mawl anmbiye ndī kwa masap.

ndī [manji ma=ul an-mbī-i-e] ndī kwa ma=asa-p
3PL [3SG.POSS 3SG=with out-here-go.PRF-DEP] 3PL one 3SG=hit-PRF
'They killed one (of) his (brothers) who came along with him.' (T01)

(12.091) Awal menpe nji ndīkuklīp.

awal [ma=in-p-e] nji ndī=kuk-lī-p
yesterday [3SG=in-be-DEP] thing 3PL=gather-put-PRF
'Yesterday (we) gathered (our) things that were in it (the house).' (T37)

(12.092) Anga mape numīni mī angani mape.

[anga ma=p-e] numīni mī angani ma=p-e
[side 3SG=be-DEP] ditch 3SG behind 3SG=be-DEP
'The ditch that is on the other side (of the river) is behind it.' (T11)

(12.093) Nul mbiye yanat mambi ...

[nī=ul mbī-i-e] yanat mambi
[1SG=with here-go.PRF-DEP] daughter 3SG.FOC

... umbenam nay.

umbenam na-i
morning DETR-go.PRF

'As for the daughter who came with me, she left this morning.' (T27)

(12.094) Apa mbīpe itom inom min luke nji ulwap.

[apa mbī-p-e] itom inom min luke nji ulwa-p
[house here-be-DEP] father mother 3DU too thing nothing-be
'The two home-owners have nothing either.' (Literally, 'The father and mother who are in the house here, too, have no things.') (T27)

One possible reason for the relative rarity of these constructions in discourse is that fact that the pragmatic function of relative clauses can be assumed by nominalizations (12.4.1), of which speakers tend to make more frequent use. Furthermore, speakers may employ paratactic relative clauses as an alternative to this more complicated syntactic structure (12.4.2). Perhaps relative clauses have their historical origins in nominalized verb phrases. The formal distinction between the two is slight—basically, the presence (in nominalization) or absence (in relativization) of a final *-n*—and it is not beyond imagination that in the examples above the sound has simply been elided. Still, based on speaker perceptions and on the careful pronunciations of elicited sentences, these are treated (at least synchronically) as two separate structures: nominalized verb phrases and relative clauses.

12.4.1 Nominalized verb phrases

Nominalized verb phrases may serve the pragmatic function of relative clauses, discussed above.

The examples in 3.3 above illustrate how nominalized verb phrases may function similarly to relative clauses. Often, these nominalized forms are used with free copular suffixes (10.3), as in the following:

- (12.095) Wandam wapen ndī wa nen.
[wandam wap-en] ndī wa na-i-n
[jungle be.PST-NMLZ] 3PL village DETR-come-PRF
‘Those who were in the jungle came home.’ (Literally, ‘the having-been-in-the-jungle [people] ...’) (T14)

The verb phrase that is nominalized may consist of more than one verb (although only the final verb receives the nominalizing morphology), as in the following:

- (12.096) Ata ngape wowen anda mo anmbunde.
[ata nga=p-e wo-en] anda ma=u an-mbī-unda-e
[up this.SG=be-DEP sleep-NMLZ] that.SG 3SG=from out-here-go-DEP
‘That one who lives upstream is coming around here from there.’ (Literally, ‘that sleeping-up-(in)-this-(place) [person] ...’) (T27)

The nominalized phrase may have its own object NP, as exemplified below.

- (12.097) Tīringīn inen i man nīt.
[Tīringīn ina-en] i ma=n nī=ta
[[name] get-NMLZ] go.PRF 3SG=OBL 1SG=say
‘The one who married Tīringīn came and told me.’ (Literally, ‘the Tīringīn-getting [one]’) (T11)

12.4.2 Paratactic relative clauses

There is yet another means of accomplishing the pragmatic task of narrowing the reference of a noun. In addition to relative clauses (12.4) described above and to nominalized phrases just exemplified (12.4.1), speakers of Ulwa can make use of paratactic relative clauses (following Comrie & Kuteva 2013). In these constructions, there is no formal morphological or syntactic relativization; rather, what could otherwise be expressed as matrix clauses with

embedded relative clauses (as above), are here expressed by sets of two (paratactically) juxtaposed clauses. These paratactic relative clauses are for some speakers the exclusive means of creating relative-clause-like structures—that is, they lack the formal relative clauses described above. It is possible that paratactic relative clauses are a relatively recent syntactic innovation, having emerged as the formal relative clause structures have become obscure to younger speakers (see Chapter 15). The following sentences provide examples of paratactic relative clauses (the clauses in each example are enclosed in brackets).

(12.098) Tembi la ndī wa mbīp.

[tembi ala] [ndī wa mbī-p]
 [bad that.PL] [3PL village here-be]

‘Those people here in the village are bad.’ (Literally, ‘Those (people) are bad; they are here in the village.’) (T27)

(12.099) Anda nji tembi wa ...

[anda nji tembi wa]
 [that.SG thing bad just]

... mī unaniya wa ine.

[mī unan=iya wa i-n-e]
 [3SG 1PL.INCL=toward village come-PRF-DEP]

‘That’s a bad thing that’s come to our village’ (Literally, ‘That is a bad thing; it has come to us, to the village.’ There is no prosodic break between clauses.) (T32)

(12.100) Ango mundu kom un mat nīnan!

[ango mundu kom] [un ma=tī nī=na-n]
 [NEG food NEG] [2PL 3SG=take 1SG=give-PRF]

‘That’s not food at all you gave me!’ (Literally, ‘Not food at all; you gave it to me.’) (T16)

(12.101) Numbu anma nda u mole.

[numbu anma anda] [u ma=lo-e]
 [garamut good that.SG] [2SG 3SG=cut-DEP]

‘That’s a good *garamut* drum that you’re carving.’ (Literally, ‘That is a good *garamut*; you are carving it.’) (T07)

Chapter 13

Additional topics in syntax

13.1 Introduction

This chapter covers an assortment of syntactic constructions, organized rather more by functional concerns than by internally (i.e., syntactically) motivated principles. Thus this chapter explains how a speaker of Ulwa may formulate questions, issue commands or make requests, negate propositions, report on the speech of others, and so on.

13.2 Questions

There are, as in most languages, two basic types of questions in Ulwa: polar ('yes/no') questions and content (*wh*-) questions.

13.2.1 Polar ('yes/no') questions

In polar questions, the truth value of a proposition is queried—that is, whether an event did or did not happen, whether a state is or is not present, whether an attribute does or does not hold, etc. In Ulwa, 'yes/no' questions are identical in form to their declarative counterparts. They are recognizable, however, through pragmatics and through phonology (intonation). First, context often makes it apparent that a question (rather than a statement) is being formed by the speaker. Second, polar questions are identifiable through a rising intonation. The following questions, given the right context and said without a rising intonation, could all also function as statements.

- (13.001) Itom mĩ awal tembiwap.
itom mĩ awal tembi-wap
father 3SG yesterday bad-be.PST
(a) 'Was father sick yesterday?'
(b) 'Father was sick yesterday.'

(13.002) U namap.

u na-ama-p
2SG DETR-eat-PRF

(a) ‘Have you eaten?’

(b) ‘You’ve already eaten.’

(13.003) Inom mī amun ya ute.

inom mī amun ya uta-e
mother 3SG now coconut grind-DEP

(a) ‘Is mother grinding coconut now?’

(b) ‘Mother is grinding coconut now.’

(13.004) Alum mī ikali ya ndīsina.

alum mī i-kali ya ndī=si-na
child 3SG hand-send coconut 3PL=push-IRR

(a) ‘Can the child catch the coconuts?’

(b) ‘The child can catch the coconuts.’

Perhaps due to influence from Tok Pisin, ‘yes/no’ questions in Ulwa can employ the question particle *a* (sometimes *e*), appearing at the end of the question. This is a further means of indicating that a sentence is a question, as seen in the following:

(13.005) Alo un apa map **a**?

ala-o un apa ma=p **a**
that.pl-INTERJ 2PL house 3SG=be Q

‘You all, are you in the house?’ (T14)

(13.006) Ngun andin ngun mundu ngunas **a**?

ngun andin ngun mundu ngun=asa **a**
2DU that.DU 2DU food 2DU=hit Q

‘You two, you two over there—are you hungry?’ (T36)

(13.007) U ango anmbī mbi **e**?

u ango an-mbī mbī-i **e**
2G NEG out-here out-go.PRF Q

‘Didn’t you come out?’ (T35)

Polar questions may be answered with full sentences, paralinguistic gestures, exclamations (such as *m*), or the words ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The Ulwa word for ‘yes’ is *iyō* (with the alternate form *iyā* ‘yeah’), and the Ulwa word for ‘no’ is *ase* (with the alternate form *asa* ‘nah’). To respond (negatively) to a negative proposition in a question, a speaker may answer ‘yes’. Thus, for example, the answer to (13.007) above is as follows:

(13.008) **Iya** nĩ awal mbi limndĩ tawatip ndale.

iya	nĩ	awal	mbĩ-i	limndĩ	tawatip	ndĩ=ala-e
yes	1SG	yesterday	here-go.PRF	eye	child	3PL=for-DEP

‘Yes, I came out yesterday and watched the children.’ (T35)

Here the responder answers ‘yes’ to mean: ‘No, I *did* come out.’

13.2.2 Content (*wh-*) questions

The other major question type—content questions—do not put forth a proposition whose truth value is queried, but rather request particular information. They do so by making use of *wh-* words—that is, words corresponding to English ‘who?’, ‘whose?’, ‘what?’, ‘which?’, ‘where?’, ‘when?’, ‘why?’, ‘how?’, ‘how many?’, etc. The basic *wh-* words of Ulwa are as follows (for more on interrogative pronouns, see 6.6):

<i>kwa</i>	who? [SG]
<i>kuma</i>	who? [NSG]
<i>kwanji</i>	whose? [SG]
<i>kumanji</i>	whose? [NSG]
<i>angos</i>	what?
<i>ango</i>	which?
<i>ango (luwa)</i>	where?
<i>ango tem</i>	when?
<i>angwena</i>	why?
<i>anjika</i>	how many?
<i>anjikaka</i>	how?

First, a few notes on the forms of these words are in order. The question word *kwa* ‘who?’ [SG] is likely related to the indefinite pronoun *kwa* ‘someone’ (6.5), itself homophonous with the numeral *kwa* ‘one’. The non-singular form *kuma* ‘who?’ [NSG] is identical to the quantifier-like word *kuma* ‘some’ (7.5) (and is homophonous with the indefinite pronoun *kuma* ‘some [people]’). The possessive question words *kwanji* ‘whose?’ [SG] and *kumanji* ‘whose?’ [NSG] are both transparently derived from the two respective forms of ‘who?’ plus the word *nji* ‘thing’ (that is, they are formed like all possessive pronouns, 6.3). The question word *ango* ‘which?’ is identical to the negative marker *ango* ‘NEG’ (8.4.1, 13.4). And the question word *angos* ‘what?’ also seems closely related—the only difference being the addition of final /s/. The form *anjika* ‘how many?’ appears to be derived from other forms as well, but its etymology is obscure. It may

contain some possessive formative (i.e., *nji* ‘thing’, perhaps even *anji* 1PL.EXCL.POSS) plus the highly homophonous *ka* ‘thus, in this/that manner; at, in, on; let, leave, allow’. All other forms seem (at least diachronically) to be polymorphemic (more on these question words below). The connection between interrogative words and indefinite pronouns and negation markers suggests that content questions in general may derive from polar questions (i.e., something along the lines of, for example, ‘who killed the pig?’ < ‘did someone kill the pig?’ or ‘what have you eaten?’ < ‘have you not eaten?’).

It is also important to note that the number distinction made in the words meaning ‘who?’ or ‘whose?’ is a binary distinction of singular versus non-singular, as opposed to the three-way contrast of singular, dual, and plural that runs throughout many other paradigms in the language.

As mentioned above (11.2), there is no so-called *wh*-movement in Ulwa; all content questions are asked in-situ—that is, with the questioned element occurring in the same place where it would occur in an equivalent declarative sentence. Thus, *kwa/kuma* ‘who?’ or *angos* ‘what?’ occur in the subject position when the questioned element is the subject of a clause, and they occur in the object position when the questioned element is an object. Likewise, *kwanji/kumanji* ‘whose?’ occurs immediately before the possessed NP, just as would any possessive pronominal marker.

The interrogative pronoun *angos* ‘what?’ is discussed in 6.6. The following examples demonstrate its use in texts.

(13.009) A *nĩnji* *nungol* *ala* **angos** *landa*?
 a *nĩnji* *nungol* *ala* **angos** *la-nda*
 ah 1SG child that.PL what eat-IRR
 ‘Ah, what will my children eat?’ (T11)

(13.010) U **angos** *natan*?
 u **angos** *na-ta-n*
 2SG what DETR-say-IPFV
 ‘What are you saying?’ (T11)

The following are examples of *kwa* ‘who?’ (further discussed above in 6.6). This form is often shortened to *ko*.

(13.011) **Kwa** tiki man tinangana?
kwa tiki ma=n tinanga-na
 one again 3SG=OBL arise-IRR
 ‘Who will get it (the school) up again?’ (T11)

(13.012) U man **ko** lip sina?
 u ma=n **ko** li-p si-na
 2SG 3SG=OBL one put-PRF push-IRR
 ‘Whom will you blame?’ (Literally, ‘Onto whom will you push with it?’) (T11)

(13.013) **Ko** mat inde?
ko ma=ti inda-e
 one 3SG=take walk-DEP
 ‘Who is carrying it around?’ (T32)

Other question words (or phrases) cannot properly serve as either subject or object of a predicate, and can, accordingly, be considered obliques. Their position in a clause is thus akin to the positioning of adverbs—that is, following the subject (when expressed) and preceding the entire verb phrase (including an object if the verb is transitive).

In questions of countable quantity, the question word *anjika* ‘how many?’ appears after the noun phrase whose quantity is the topic of questioning. This could be either a subject or an object (or even an oblique phrase). The word *anjika* ‘how many?’ is thus syntactically identical to any modifying adjective and—in particular—to numerals, which immediately follow the enumerated NP. Its use is exemplified below.

(13.014) Wambana **anjika** inim mo man?
 wambana **anjika** inim ma=u ma-n
 fish how.many water 3SG=from go-IPFV
 ‘How many fish are swimming?’

(13.015) U wambana **anjika** tin?
 U wambana **anjika** ti-n
 2SG fish how.many take-PRF
 ‘How many fish did you catch?’

It should be noted that questions of non-countable quantity (that is, questions about mass nouns, i.e., ‘how much?’) are not asked with *anjika* ‘how many?’. Rather, such interrogatives can only be formed as ‘yes/no’ questions, in which an inquiry is made whether the amount in question is ‘big’ or ‘little’, as seen below.

(13.016) Inim **ambi** samban maynp?
 inim **ambi** samban ma=in-p
 water big pot 3SG=in-be
 ‘How much water is in the pot?’ (Literally, ‘Is there big [i.e., much] water in the pot?’)

(13.017) Inim **ilum** samban maynp?
 inim **ilum** samban ma=in-p
 water little pot 3SG=in-be
 ‘How much water is in the pot?’ (Literally, ‘Is there little water in the pot?’)

(13.018) Nungol mī inim **ambi** ame?
 nungol mī inim **ambi** ama-e
 child 3SG water big eat-DEP
 ‘How much water does the child drink?’ (Literally, ‘Does the child drink big [i.e., much] water?’)

In questions that ask ‘how’, the question word *anjikaka* ‘how?’ appears after the subject and before the verb phrase (as in 13.019 and 13.020). This is the same position as other obliques, such as postpositional phrases (13.021) or oblique-marked NPs (13.022) (11.5), as illustrated by the following examples.

(13.019) U **anjikaka** apa maytap?
 u **anjikaka** apa ma=ita-p
 2SG how house 3SG=build-PRF
 ‘How did you build the house?’

(13.020) Alimban mī **anjikaka** lamndu masap?
 Alimban mī **anjikaka** lamndu ma=asa-p
 [name] 3SG how pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘How did Alimban kill the pig?’

(13.021) Alimban mī **tīn mol** lamndu masap.
 Alimban mī **tīn ma=ul** lamndu ma=asa-p
 [name] 3SG dog 3SG=with pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘Alimban killed the pig with the dog.’

(13.022) Alimban mī **mananī** lamndu masap.
 Alimban mī **mana=nī** lamndu ma=asa-p
 [name] 3SG spear=OBL pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘Alimban killed the pig with the spear.’

Although glossed above as a monomorphemic word, *anjikaka* ‘how?’, this form is actually analyzable as *anjika-ka* ‘how.many-let’ (and may even be analyzable further; see above

on *anjika*). That is, the final *-ka* is the perfective/imperfective form of the irregular verb *ka-* ‘let, leave, allow’ (9.3.3). Though perhaps having undergone a process of grammaticalization and now often analyzed simply as ‘how?’, the word’s verbal morphology is apparent in sentences such as the following, which show the irrealis form *laka(na)*.

(13.023) Itom mī **anjikalaka** apa maytana?

itom	mī	anjika-la-ka	apa	ma=ita-na
father	3SG	how.many-IRR-let	house	3SG=build-IRR

‘How will father build the house?’

(13.024) Nungol ndī **anjikalaka** wambana ndutana?

nungol	ndī	anjika-la-ka	wambana	ndī=uta-na
child	3PL	how.many-IRR-let	fish	3PL=grind-IRR

‘How will the boys catch the fish?’

(13.025) Nga kwa **anjikalakana** mane?

nga	kwa	anjika-la-ka-na	ma-n-e
this	one	how.many-IRR-let-IRR	go-IPFV-DEP

‘What is this one going to do?’ (T01)

(13.026) U manī **anjikalakana**?

u	ma=nī	anjika-la-ka-na
2SG	3SG=OBL	how.many-IRR-let-IRR

‘What will you do with it?’

(13.027) Itom mī mana manī **anjikalakana**?

itom	mī	mana	ma=nī	anjika-la-ka-na
father	3SG	spear	3SG=OBL	how.many-IRR-let-IRR

‘What is father going to do with the spear?’

(13.028) U ndīt indata ndīn **anjikalakana**?

u	ndī=tī	inda-ta	ndī=n	anjika-la-ka-na
2SG	3PL=take	walk- COND	3PL=OBL	how.many-IRR-let-IRR

‘What will you do with them if you carry them around?’ (T11)

Note that these irrealis-marked forms of this question word often convey a sense other than strictly ‘how’, as in many of the examples above, which are translated as ‘what will [someone] do?’. The irrealis examples above notwithstanding, elsewhere throughout this grammar the form *anjikaka* is glossed simply as ‘how’, without being analyzed as being polymorphemic.

Idiomatically, *anjika* ‘how many?’ can also be used to ask a question somewhat akin to English ‘what happened to [someone]?’ or ‘what’s up with [someone]?’ where the person being asked about is the grammatical object of *anjika*, here functioning as a verb, as seen below.

(13.029) Mī nan mat a **wanjika**?

mī	na=n	ma=ta	a	u=anjika
3SG	talk=OBL	3SG=say	ay	2SG=how.many

‘He said to her: “Ay, what happened to you?”’ (T01)

As is discussed in the section on interrogative pronouns (6.6), questions of ‘which’ are formed with *ango* ‘which?’, homophonous with the negative marker, and likely derived from it. The two differ, however, in terms of syntactic position: whereas the negative marker typically follows the grammatical subject, the question word ‘which?’ precedes the NP it modifies (whether subject, object, or oblique). The following are additional examples of *ango* ‘which?’ as it is used in questions.

(13.030) **Ango** wa makape wombīn?

ango	wa	maka-p-e	wombīn
which	village	thus-be-DEP	work

‘Which village has work like this?’ (T11)

(13.031) U **ango** tilwa u mbi?

u	ango	tilwa	u	mbī-i
2SG	which	road	from	here-go.PRF

‘Along which road have you come here?’ (T32)

(13.032) Mbīpīta **ango** ini mawatpīta?

mbī-p-ta	ango	ini	ma=wat-p-ta
here-be-COND	which	ground	3SG=atop-be-COND

‘If (they) stay, which ground will they live on?’ (T11)

Alternatively, the interrogative word *angos* ‘what?’ may be used in the same fashion, modifying an NP (by preceding it) to ask ‘which?’, as in the following:

(13.033) Ayndin nī **angos** na ukīna?

Ayndin	nī	angos	na	u=kī-na
[name]	1SG	what	talk	2SG=say-IRR

‘Ayndin, what should I say to you?’ (Literally, ‘what talk?’) (T32)

(13.034) Una wandam mawap **angos** wombĭn ninda?

unan	wandam	ma=wap	angos	wombĭn=n	ni-nda
1PL.INCL	jungle	3SG=be.PST	what	work=OBL	act-IRR

‘(When) we are in the jungle, what work will (we) do?’ (T25)

Questions of time are asked by combining *ango* ‘which?’ with *tem* ‘time’, the latter derived from Tok Pisin *taim* ‘time, when’. Thus, quite transparently, temporal questions in Ulwa are rooted in a phrase meaning ‘which time?’. This phrase occurs in the canonical position for temporal adverbs (e.g., *umbe* ‘tomorrow’, *amun* ‘now’, etc.)—that is, immediately following the subject NP, as illustrated by the pair of examples below.

(13.035) Kapos mĭ **ango tem** lamndu masap?

Kapos	mĭ	ango	tem	lamndu	ma=asa-p
[name]	3SG	which	time	pig	3SG=hit-PRF

‘When did Kapos kill the pig?’

(13.036) Kapos mĭ **awal** lamndu masap.

Kapos	mĭ	awal	lamndu	ma=asa-p
[name]	3SG	yesterday	pig	3SG=hit-PRF

‘Kapos killed the pig yesterday.’

The following are additional examples of *ango tem* ‘when?’.

(13.037) Itom mĭ **ango tem** utam mamap?

itom	mĭ	ango	tem	utam	ma=ama-p
father	3SG	which	time	yam	3SG=eat-PRF

‘When did father eat the yam?’

(13.038) **Ango tem** man ninda?

ango	tem	ma=n	ni-nda
which	time	3SG=OBL	act-IRR

‘When will (we) do it?’ (T26)

Alternatively, the phrase *ango tem* ‘which time?’ (i.e., ‘when?’) can take the oblique marker =*n*, thus forming a phrase meaning ‘with which time?’ (i.e., ‘at which time?’), as in:

(13.039) Kapos mĭ **ango temnĭ** lamndu masap?

Kapos	mĭ	ango	tem=nĭ	lamndu	ma=asa-p
[name]	3SG	which	time=OBL	pig	3SG=hit-PRF

‘When did Kapos kill the pig?’

(13.040) **Ango temni** natana?

ango **tem=ni** na-ta-na
which time=OBL DETR-say-IRR

‘When will the meeting start?’ (Literally, ‘[They] will at which time talk?’)

Spatial questions are likewise formed with the question word *ango* ‘which?’. Unlike temporal questions, however, *ango* usually occurs without (overtly) modifying any noun (such as, for example, a word meaning ‘place’). That is, when taken alone, *ango* ‘which?’ is understood to mean ‘which location?’. Again, the spatial question word (or, rather, elided phrase) occurs in the same position as spatial modifiers in indicative clauses, as illustrated by the pair of examples below.

(13.041) Ankam mĩ **ango** i?

ankam mĩ **ango** i
person 3SG which go.PRF

‘Where did the person go?’

(13.042) Ankam mĩ **ngaya** i.

ankam mĩ **ngaya** i
person 3SG far go.PRF

‘The person went far away.’

Verbs of ‘going’ in Ulwa can be transitive, taking the destination as direct object. Thus, in questions of ‘whither’, the question word *ango* ‘which?’ occurs in object position, as illustrated by the following pair of examples.

(13.043) Tangin mĩ **ango** i?

Tangin mĩ **ango** i
[name] 3SG which go.PRF

‘Where did Tangin go?’

(13.044) Tangin mĩ **wa** may.

Tangin mĩ **wa** ma=i
[name] 3SG village go.PRF

‘Tangin went to the village.’

Critically, in such constructions, no object marker is permitted; its inclusion would render an interpretation of *ango* as ‘NEG’ rather than ‘which?’, as illustrated below.

- (13.045) Tangin mī **ango** ma=i.
 Tangin mī **ango** ma=i
 [name] 3SG NEG 3SG=go.PRF
 (a) ‘Tangin did not go (there).’
 (b) *‘Where did Tangin go?’

In verbs of ‘coming’, on the other hand, the source (i.e., origin) can be indicated as the object of the postposition *u* ‘from’. Thus, in questions of ‘whence’, the question word *ango* ‘which?’ occurs as the object of the postposition *u* ‘from’, as seen in the following pair of sentences.

- (13.046) U **ango** u mbi?
 u **ango** u mbi-i
 2SG which from here-go.PRF
 ‘Where did you come from?’

- (13.047) Nī **wandam** u mbi.
 nī **wandam** u mbi-i
 1SG jungle from here-go.PRF
 ‘I came from the jungle.’

Indications that *ango* ‘which?’ is elliptical for ‘which place?’ come from sentences such as the following:

- (13.048) Popo ndī un **ango** luwape.
 popo ndī u=n **ango** luwa-p-e
 papaya 3PL 2SG=OBL which place-be-DEP
 ‘Where are your papayas?’ (Literally, ‘The papayas for you are at which place?’; *popo* < TP) (T11)

It may be noted that something of the negative sense of *ango* is perhaps preserved in this example above, since this is a rhetorical question meant to imply ‘You have no papayas’. The following is another example in which the full phrase *ango luwa* ‘which place’ is presented.

- (13.049) Ngun **ango** luwawap?
 ngun **ango** luwa-wap
 2DU which place-be.PST
 ‘Where were you?’ (Literally, ‘You were at which place?’) (T11)

As a modifying element, the *ango* ‘which?’ component of the elided phrase ‘which place?’ can receive copular verbal suffixing—that is, it can serve as the verb of its own clause, as in the following examples.

(13.050) Unan **angop?**

unan ango-**p**
1PL.INCL which-be
‘Where are we?’

(13.051) U **angowap?**

u ango-**wap**
2SG which-be.PST
‘Where were you?’

(13.052) Yanapi mī **angopīna?**

Yanapi mī ango-**p-na**
[name] 3SG which-be-IRR
‘Where will Yanapi be?’

Such clauses with verbalized ‘where’ constructions can combine with other clauses, as in the following question.

(13.053) Itom mī **angope** lamndu masap?

itom	mī	ango- p-e	lamndu	ma=asa-p
father	3SG	which-be-DEP	pig	3SG=hit-PRF

‘Where did father kill the pig?’ (Literally, something like, ‘Father killed the pig, having been where?’)

Note that the verbalized *ango* ‘which?’ in the sentence above now functions as the linking element between two clauses, and accordingly receives both the copular suffix *-p* and the dependent marker *-e*.

In a similar sentence, but with irrealis modality, the verb in each of the two clauses would be marked for irrealis (or conditional) mood, as below.

(13.054) Itom mī **angopīta** lamndu mawalinda?

itom	mī	ango- p-ta	lamndu	ma=wali-nda
father	3SG	which-be-COND	pig	3SG=hit-IRR

‘Where will father kill the pig?’ (Literally, ‘Father will kill the pig if [he] is where?’)

Finally, ‘why’ questions are formed with the question word *angwena* ‘why?’. Although this is pronounced (and written here) as a single word, it, too, likely derives from a phrase

containing *ango* ‘which?’ The second element is, however, more obscure, but likely derives from *ina* ‘liver’ (the seat of reasoning and emotion in the Ulwa conception of the human body), which is also found in words such as *inakawana* ‘think’ (see 9.3.1 for a proposed etymology). The following questions all contain *angwena* ‘why?’.

(13.055) U **angwena** mbi?

u	angwena	mbi-i
2SG	why	here-go.PRF

‘Why did you come here?’

(13.056) Itom mī **angwena** apa maytap?

itom	mī	angwena	apa	ma=ita-p
father	3SG	why	house	3SG=build-PRF

‘Why did father build the house?’

(13.057) Mi ndin **angwena** ndit inde?

mī	ndi=n	angwena	ndi=ti	inda-e
3SG	3PL=OBL	why	3PL=take	walk-DEP

‘Why is he walking around with them?’ (T11)

(13.058) Un **angwena** mawatpe ne?

un	angwena	ma=wat-p-e	ni-e
2PL	why	3SG=atop-be-DEP	act-DEP

‘Why are doing (things) during it (this period of mourning)?’ (T27)

13.2.3 Multiple questions

Ulwa interrogative constructions have the productive ability to question multiple things simultaneously. Similarly to English constructions such as ‘who gave what to whom?’, Ulwa constructions may inquire into multiple unknowns. Whereas these English constructions are mostly limited to situations in which it is assumed by the asker that each question component has a known referent, Ulwa multiple-question constructions are more flexible. Thus, for example, the two questions ‘where will you find food?’ and ‘what food will you find?’ may be combined into something like ‘where will you find what food?’, a sentence that would stretch the capacities of English multiple-question constructions. Admittedly, this sample sentence, as well as the examples below, is not an archetypical multiple-question construction, since one of the two

questioned elements is perhaps more properly considered an indefinite pronoun (6.5) and not a *wh*- word. The following examples illustrate multiple-question constructions of this type.

- (13.059) **Ango** luwa **angos** nji ndilanda?
ango luwa **angos** nji ndi=la-nda
 which place what thing 3PL=eat-IRR
 ‘Where will we find something to eat?’ (Literally ‘[we] will eat what things [at] which place?’) (T27)
- (13.060) Ngan ndandi **ango** luwa u **angos** tina?
 ngan ndi=andi **ango** luwa u **angos** ti-na
 1DU.EXCL 3PL=for which place from what take-IRR
 ‘From which place can we two get what for them?’ (T27)
- (13.061) **Ango** luwa u **angos** ti minan?
 ango luwa u angos ti min-na-n[da]
 which place from what take 3DU=give-IRR
 ‘From which place could (they) give what to the two of them?’ (T27)
- (13.062) E ngusuwa ko **angwena angos** mundu wananda nat?
 e ngusuwa ko **angwena angos** mundu wana-nda na-ta
 ay poor just why what food cook-IRR DETR-say
 ‘Ay, why did that poor thing say that he would cook whatever kind of cook food?’
 (Literally, ‘Why did the poor thing say that [he] would cook what food?’) (T11)

An alternate analysis of these multiple questions would be that these are sets of conjoined phrases with no overt conjunction (e.g., ‘at what place and what thing will we eat?’, ‘from which place and what thing can we two get for them?’, etc.)

Multiple questions can also be expressed in what are clearly multiple clauses. In the following example, the conditional form *-ta* marks the end of the first clause (the protasis).

- (13.063) Ndī **ango** luwa wandam luta **angos** mundu malan?
 ndi **ango** luwa wandam lo-ta **angos** mundu ma=la-n[da]
 3PL which place jungle go-cond what food 3SG=eat-IRR
 ‘Where will they go and what will they eat?’ (Literally, ‘If they go to which jungles, what food will (they) eat?’) (T27)

13.2.4 Rhetorical questions

Questions often serve rhetorical purposes—that is, a speaker may not be actually requesting information, but rather may be making an argument (anticipating a negative response to the rhetorical question). The following example illustrates how these may be made in Ulwa.

- (13.064) Ndī nji ndīwatlunda?
ndī nji ndī=wat-lo-nda
3PL thing 3PL=atop-cut-IRR
'Will they clear the things?' (The anticipated response is: 'No, they won't.')

Rhetorical questions can be either polar or content questions. In polar rhetorical questions, the anticipated (negative) response is 'no'; in content rhetorical questions, the anticipated (negative) response is 'nothing', 'nowhere', 'nobody', etc. The following example contains first a polar question, and then a content question.

- (13.065) U ko wandam nji ndī **ango luwape**?
u ko wandam nji ndī **ango** **luwa-p-e**
2SG just jungle thing 3PL which place-be-DEP
'Where are your jungle properties?' (The anticipated response is: 'Nowhere.' The question is literally, 'You have which place (of) jungle things?')

- U ko limndī ndala?
u ko limndī ndī=ala
2SG just eye 3PL=for
'Do you see them?' (The anticipated response is: 'No.')

The example above also illustrates the use of the modal adverb *ko* 'just', which may be used for emphasis in rhetorical questions.

13.3 Commands and requests

Commands (or requests) are, generally, built around an imperative form of a verb (see 4.9).

Imperative sentences may contain an expressed subject (typically a second person pronoun), but (as in all sentence types), it is possible for the subject to be omitted. The following examples illustrate how second person pronouns may be included in an imperative sentence.

(13.066) U nul **man!**

u nĩ=ul ma-n
2SG 1SG=with go-IMP
'Go with me!' (said to one person) (T11)

(13.067) Ngun naman!

ngun na-ma-n
2DU DETR-go-IMP
'Go!' (said to two people) (T01)

(13.068) U ikali ngasin!

u i-kali nga=si-n
2SG hand-send this.SG=push-IMP
'Hold this!' (said to one person) (T11)

(13.069) U manji ndĩ nan **makĩn!**

u manji ndĩ na=n ma=kĩ-n
2SG 3SG.POSS 3PL talk=OBL 3SG=say-IMP
'Tell her about her (sago palms)!' (said to one person) (T32)

(13.070) Un maya wa **nayn!**

un ma=iya wa na-i-n
2PL 3SG=toward village DETR-come-IMP
'Come home to her!' (said to multiple people) (T27)

In the following imperative sentences, the (second person) subject is not expressed.

(13.071) Amun **man!**

amunma-n
now go-IMP
'Go now!'

(13.072) Unji mat **indan!**

unji ma=tĩ inda-n
2SG.POSS 3SG=take walk-IMP
'Carry your (child) around!' (T27)

(13.073) Unji al kwa ndawa ka **lowon!**

unji al kwa andawa ka lo-wo-n
2SG.POSS net one that.SG.INT in IRR-sleep-IMP
'Sleep in that other mosquito net of yours!' (T09)

Third person imperatives are also possible. These are no different from prototypical (second person) imperatives: they, too, contain a verb with the imperative suffix; the only

difference is that the command is issued to a third person referent. The following are examples of third person imperatives in Ulwa.

(13.074) Mĩ **lan!**

mĩ l-**an**
3SG eat-IRR
'Let him eat!'

(13.075) Ndĩ **wuřin!**

ndĩ wuři-ni-**n**
3PL leg-beat-IMP
'Let them dance!'

(13.076) Kalingana kalilĩta mĩ **man!**

Kalingana kali-lĩ-ta mĩ ma-**n**
[name] send-put-COND 3SG go-IMP
'Send Kalingana and he'll go!' (Literally, 'If [you] send Kalingana, let him go!') (T14)

First person imperatives (i.e., exhortations or jussives) are possible as well, but only for plural, inclusive forms. That is, at least one addressee must be included in the exhortation. The following are examples of first person imperatives in Ulwa.

(13.077) Ngunan **lan!**

ngunan l-**an**
1DU.INCL eat-IMP
'Let's eat!'

(13.078) Unan **ndĩlan!**

unan ndĩ=la-**n**
1PL.INCL 3PL=eat-IMP
'Let's eat them!' (T32)

(13.079) Una **man!**

unan ma-**n**
1PL.INCL go-IMP
'Let's go!' (T11)

Indeed, the only referents that cannot be the subjects of imperatives are first person non-inclusive forms—that is, first person singular, first person dual exclusive, and first person plural exclusive. Similar constructions containing these pronominal forms, however, can be created with the irrealis suffix, as illustrated below.

(13.080) Nĩ **landa**.
 nĩ la-**nda**
 1SG eat-IRR
 ‘I should eat.’

(13.081) *Nĩ **lan!**
 *nĩ la-**n**
 1SG eat-IRR
 ‘Let me eat!’

(13.082) An **landa**.
 an la-**nda**
 1PL.EXCL eat-IRR
 ‘We should eat.’

(13.083) *An **lan!**
 *an la-**n**
 1PL.EXCL eat-IRR
 ‘Let’s eat!’

The issue is, however, complicated, since—in casual speech—speakers commonly drop verbal endings, especially of irrealis verb forms. Thus, among the collected texts there are examples of irrealis clauses with, e.g., 1SG subjects that do appear to employ the imperative suffix *-n*, as in the following:

(13.084) Nĩ ma ndĩn **lun**.
 nĩ ma ndĩ=n lo-**n[da]**
 1SG go 3PL=OBL cut-IRR
 ‘I will go and plant them.’ (T11)

Prohibitions (i.e., negative commands) are treated separately from true imperatives, not only since they require an additional word, *wana(p)* ‘PROH’, but also because they do not permit the imperative suffix. Prohibitions may be issued to any referent, including first person non-inclusive forms (see 13.3.4 for examples).

13.3.1 Irrealis for imperative

The fact that the irrealis suffix can encode deontic modality (4.8)—and specifically a directive mood—means that it may function very much like an imperative suffix. Indeed, it is not

unlikely that the imperative suffix derived historically from the irrealis suffix—that is, as an apocopated version, which one might expect to occur in emphatic direct address.

Thus, some clauses containing irrealis verbs may be functionally equivalent to imperatives, and may therefore be translated as such in English, as in the first (a) translation of each of the following examples.

(13.085) U **landa!**

u la-**nda**
2SG eat-IRR

(a) ‘Eat!’

(b) ‘You must eat.’

(13.086) Asa u mat **ninanda!**

asa u ma=tĩ nĩ=na-**nda**
no 2SG 3SG=take 1SG=give-IRR

(a) ‘No, give it to me!’

(b) ‘No, you should give it to me.’ (T27)

(13.087) Kikal misimisi **ngawananda!**

kikal misimisi nga=wana-**nda**
ear story this.SG=feel-IRR

(a) ‘Listen to this story!’

(b) ‘(You) must/should listen to this story.’

(c) ‘Would that (you) were listening to this story!’

This use of the irrealis suffix applies as well to third person imperatives and first person imperatives, as illustrated below.

(13.088) Mĩ **landa!**

mĩ la-**nda**
3SG eat-IRR

(a) ‘Let him eat!’

(b) ‘He must eat.’

(c) ‘Oh that he eat!’

(13.089) Ngunan **mana!**

ngunan ma-**na**
1DU.INCL go-IRR

(a) ‘Let’s go!’ (T01)

(b) ‘We shall go.’

(13.090) Una **mana!**

unan ma-**na**

1PL.INCL go-IRR

(a) ‘Let’s go!’

(b) ‘We must go.’

13.3.2 The modal adverb *kop* ‘please’

Generally, no distinction is made between commands and requests—that is, there is no common formulaic question form (as in, for example, English ‘can you please pass the salt?’) to signal a gentle request as opposed to a stern command. Typically, intonation and context alone define an imperative form as serving the pragmatic function of either command or request. There are, however, two other formal devices for indicating requests (as opposed to commands): the adverb *kop* ‘please’ (treated below) and the conditional suffix *-ta* (13.3.3). Since these devices are softer than commands formed with only the imperative verb form, they may be considered akin to requests.

The modal adverb *kop* ‘please’ (8.3.5) may be used to soften a command, as seen in the following sentences, which contain imperative verb forms (4.9).

(13.091) I apa i **kop** lamap we un **man!**

i apa i **kop** la-ama-p we un ma-**n**
go.PRF house go.PRF please IRR-eat-PRF then 2PL go-IMP

‘Come, come to the house, eat, and then go!’ (T10)

(13.092) **Kop malakan!**

kop ma=la-ka-**n**

please 3PL=IRR-let-IMP

‘Just leave him!’ (T11)

13.3.3 Conditionals used for requests

Another (morphosyntactic) method of softening a command is using a conditional verb form—that is, one with the ending *-ta* (4.14, 13.6), as illustrated by the following sentence.

(13.093) Nī umbe Supam ul **mata** mī maya ata mana.
 nī umbe Supam ul ma-**ta** mī ma=iya ata ma-na
 1SG tomorrow [name] with go-COND 3SG 3SG=to ward up go-IRR
 ‘I’ll go with Supam tomorrow and she’ll climb it (a tree).’ (T01)

In the story from which the above sentence is taken, a mother is addressing her children—including Supam. While the literal meaning of the first clause is ‘*if* I go with Supam ...’, it has the pragmatic value of ‘Supam, you shall go with me ...!’ Further examples of conditional sentences functioning as softened commands follow.

(13.094) **Nīlakata** nī mol malanda!
 nī=la-ka-**ta** nī ma=ul ma=la-nda
 1SG=IRR-let-COND 1SG 3SG=with 3SG=eat-IRR
 ‘Let me eat with him!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] allow me, I will eat with him.’) (T01)

(13.095) Yena ngalat **ndīnata** ...
 yena ngala=tī ndī=na-**ta**
 woman this.PL=take 3PL=give-COND

 ... ndī ndul lowope lunda!
 ndī ndī=ul lo-wo-p-e lo-nda
 3PL 3PL=with IRR-sleep-PRF-DEP go-IRR
 ‘Give them these women, and they, having slept with them, will go!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] give them these women, they, having slept with them, will go.’) (T02)

(13.096) Kwa nīnji mol niya wa **ita** ...
 kwa nīnji ma=ul nī=iya wa i-**ta**
 just 1SG.POSS 3SG=with 1SG=toward village go.PRF-COND

 ... nī ko līmndī mandīn.
 nī ko līmndī ma=andīn
 1SG just eye 3SG=for
 ‘If (you) come home to me with my (cousin), I will see her.’ (i.e., ‘Please bring my cousin to me so that I can see her!’) (T32)

The conditional form may also be used with first person commands (i.e., jussive or hortatory constructions, 13.3). Often, only the protasis (marked with *-ta*) is expressed, leaving the apodosis only implied, as in the following:

(13.097) Unan na kali wa alan **līta!**

unan na kali wa ala=n lī-ta
1PL.INCL talk send village that.PL=OBL put-COND

‘Let’s send a message to those villages!’ (Literally, ‘If we send a message to those villages...’) (T01)

The modal adverb *kop* ‘please’ may be used in conjunction with the conditional *-ta* verb form, as in:

(13.098) **Kop** ma wa na **ndīta** mata!

kop ma wa na ndī-ta-ta ma-ta
please go just talk 3PL=say-COND go-COND

‘Please, just go and tell stories!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] please just go and say the talks, [it] will go.’) (T11)

The form *kop* may be shortened to *ko*, as in the following:

(13.099) **Ko ngapta** apa itap nji ngalembampin!

ko[p] nga-p-ta apa ita-p nji ngala=imbam-p-n
please this.SG-be-COND house build-PRF thing this.PL=under-be-IMP

‘Please build a house here under these things!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] please this, build a house under these things.’) (T11)

(13.100) **Ko amblakalampita** lun!

ko[p] ambla=kalam-p-ta lo-n
please PL.REFL=know-be-COND go-IRR

‘Please look after yourselves and go!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] please know yourselves, go!’) (T32)

13.3.4 Negative commands

Negative commands are formed with the prohibitive marker *wana* ~ *wanap* ‘PROH’ (8.4.1). The form *wanap* is perhaps analyzable as containing the copular suffix *-p* (or even, perhaps, the perfective suffix *-p*), although why this would be the case etymologically is unclear. The prohibitive marker tends to come early in its sentence, as in the following examples.

(13.101) **Wana** nunu nji tī ip lip mana!

wana nunu nji tī ip lī-p ma-na
PROH various thing take nose put-PRF go-IRR

‘Don’t go destroying lots of things!’ (Literally, ‘Don’t go, having put nose to many things!’) (T11)

(13.102) Angani i **wanap** makape na!
 angani i **wanap** maka-p-e na
 behind go.PRF PROH thus-be-DEP talk
 ‘Later, when (you) have come, do not (make) talk like this!’ (T11)

Prohibitions are not limited to second person forms, but may apply to any person or number, as seen below.

(13.103) (U) **wana** nuwalinda!
 (u) **wana** nī=wali-nda
 2SG PROH 1SG=hit-IRR
 ‘Don’t hit me!’ (commanded to one person)

(13.104) (Un) **wana** nīnji utam malanda!
 (un) **wana** nīnji utam ma=la-nda
 2PL PROH 1SG.POSS yam 3SG=eat-IRR
 ‘Don’t eat my yam!’ (commanded to more than two people)

(13.105) Mī **wana** landa!
 mī **wana** la-nda
 3SG PROH eat-IRR
 ‘Don’t let him eat!’

(13.106) Unan **wana** mana!
 unan **wana** ma-na
 1PL.INCL PROH go-IRR
 ‘Let’s not go!’

(13.107) An **wana** nakīna.
 an **wana** na-kī-na
 1PL.EXCL PROH DETR-say-IRR
 ‘We shouldn’t talk.’

(13.108) Nī **wana** mana.
 nī **wana** ma-na
 1SG PROH go-IRR
 ‘I shouldn’t go.’

Prohibitions may include the speculative suffix *-t* on the irrealis verb form (4.13), as in the following:

- (13.109) Tarambi **wana** apka niklop ma ngaya **manat!**
 Tarambi **wana** apka nī=klop ma ngaya ma-na-t
 [name] PROH very 1SG=cross go far go-IRR-SPEC
 ‘Tarambi, don’t go completely bypass me and go far away!’ (T11)
- (13.110) Wana **ndīwalindat!**
 wana ndī=wali-nda-t
 PROH 3PL=hit-IRR-SPEC
 ‘Don’t shoot them!’ (T32)
- (13.111) Wanap **mbīpinate!**
 wanap mbi-p-na-t-e
 PROH here-be-IRR-SPEC-DEP
 ‘Don’t stay here!’ (T01)
- (13.112) Wana ata ma Kambaramba **manat!**
 wana ata ma Kambaramba ma-na-t
 PROH up go [place] go-IRR-SPEC
 ‘Don’t go up to Kambaramba (village)!’ (T11)
- (13.113) Inim wana **malakanat** ko man ambi ndalan!
 inim wana ma=la-ka-na-t ko ma=n ambi anda=la-n
 water PROH 3SG=IRR-let-IRR-SPEC just 3SG=OBL big that.SG=eat-IMP
 ‘Water—don’t avoid it; drink a lot of it!’ (T11)
- (13.114) **Wana** imbapta niya **mbundanat!**
wana imba-p-ta nī=iya mbi-unda-na-t
 PROH night-be-COND 1SG=toward here-go-IRR-SPEC
 ‘Don’t come around here to me at night!’ (Literally, ‘Don’t—when it is night—come around here to me!’) (T11)

The last example above also illustrates the use of the conditional suffix *-ta* (4.14). Although here it is used to show an actual condition (along with the speculative suffix on the final irrealis-marked verb), it may also be used idiomatically in prohibitions, presumably to present an implied apodosis (i.e., ‘or else ...!’), as in the following:

- (13.115) **Wana mapta!**
wana ma=p-ta
 PROH 3SG=be-COND
 ‘Don’t live there!’ (T11)

- (13.116) **Wana mbundata** inim lata **makapta!**
wana mbi-unda-**ta** inim la-ta maka-p-**ta**
 PROH here-go-COND water eat-COND thus-be-COND
 ‘Don’t come around here and drink beer like that!’ (T11)

13.4 Negation

Negative declarative sentences in Ulwa are typically readily identifiable by the negator word *ango* ‘NEG’ (‘no, not’), which comes immediately after the subject NP (or, potentially, after other postnominal modifying elements, such as temporal adverbs). Sentences with negative polarity contain propositions concerning events or states that are contrary to perceived reality. Nevertheless, these sentences need not be marked as being irrealis through verbal morphology. Indeed, negative sentences may reflect the same basic three-way TAM distinction as seen in positive sentences (4.3).

The following two examples illustrate the variable ordering of *ango* ‘NEG’ with other adverbial-like words.

- (13.117) Kolpe mĩ amun **ango** apa mayte.
 Kolpe mĩ amun **ango** apa ma=ita-e
 [name] 3SG now NEG house 3SG=build-DEP
 ‘Kolpe is not building the house now.’

- (13.118) Kolpe mĩ **ango** amun apa mayte.
 Kolpe mĩ **ango** amun apa ma=ita-e
 [name] 3SG NEG now house 3SG=build-DEP
 ‘Kolpe is not building the house now.’

Constructions that negate predicate nouns or adjectives work much the same as those that negate regular verbal predicates, as seen below.

- (13.119) Kolpe mĩ **ango** yana.
 Kolpe mĩ **ango** yana
 [name] 3SG NEG woman
 ‘Kolpe is not a woman.’

- (13.120) **Ango** anmap.
ango anma-p
 NEG good-be
 ‘(It) is not good.’ (T01)

The following sentences provide examples of negative constructions in Ulwa (all of which use *ango* ‘NEG’). Many of these would be translated in English (or many other languages) variously (e.g., with words such as ‘no one’, ‘not ... anything’, ‘nothing’, etc.). Where relevant, parallel positive polarity sentences are provided to illustrate contrasts.

(13.121) Kwa **ango** nip.

kwa **ango** ni-p
 one NEG die-PRF
 ‘No one died.’ (cf. *Kwa nip* ‘Someone died.’)

(13.122) Nĩ **ango** lĩmndĩ kwa ala.

nĩ **ango** lĩmndĩ kwa ala
 1SG NEG eye one for
 (a) ‘I didn’t see anyone.’
 (b) ‘I saw no one.’ (cf. *Nĩ lĩmndĩ kwa ala* ‘I saw someone.’)

(13.123) Nji (mĩ/ndĩ) **ango** liyu.

nji (mĩ/ndĩ) **ango** li-u
 thing (3SG/3PL) NEG fall-PRF
 ‘Nothing fell.’ (cf. *Nji kwa liyu* ‘Something fell.’)

(13.124) Nĩ **ango** lĩmndĩ nji ala.

nĩ **ango** lĩmndĩ nji ala
 1SG NEG eye thing for
 (a) ‘I didn’t see anything.’
 (b) ‘I saw nothing.’ (cf. *Nĩ lĩmndĩ nji kwa ala* ‘I saw something.’)

(13.125) Nĩ **ango** lĩmndĩ minul kwa ala.

nĩ **ango** lĩmndĩ min=ul kwa ala
 1SG NEG eye 3DU=with one for
 ‘I didn’t see either (of them).’ (Literally, ‘I did not see one with [i.e., of] the two.’; cf. *Nĩ lĩmndĩ minala* ‘I saw both.’)

(13.126) Nĩ **ango** lĩmndĩ nungol minul kwa ala.

nĩ **ango** lĩmndĩ nungol min=ul kwa ala
 1SG NEG eye child 3DU=with one for
 ‘I didn’t see either child.’ (Literally, ‘I did not see one with [i.e., of] the two children.’)

(13.127) Nĩ **ango** lĩmndĩ minala.

nĩ **ango** lĩmndĩ min=ala
 1SG NEG eye 3DU=for
 ‘I saw neither (of them).’ (Literally, ‘I did not see the two.’)

(13.128) Nĩ **ango** limndĩ ankam minala.

nĩ **ango** limndĩ ankam min=ala
1SG NEG eye person 3DU=for
'I saw neither person.' (Literally, 'I did not see the two people.')

(13.129) Nĩ **ango** limndĩ mĩnda ndul kwa ala.

nĩ **ango** limndĩ mĩnda ndĩ=ul kwa ala
1SG NEG eye banana 3PL=with one for
'I saw none of the bananas.' (Literally, 'I did not see one with [i.e., of] the [more than two] bananas.')

(13.130) Anul kwa **ango** wandam i.

an=ul kwa **ango** wandam i
1PL.EXCL=with one NEG jungle go.PRF
'None of us went to the jungle.' (Literally, 'With [i.e., among] us, one did not go to the jungle.')

(13.131) Ndul kwa **ango** wombĩn ne.

ndĩ=ul kwa **ango** wombĩn=n ni-e
3PL=with one NEG work=OBL act-DEP
'None of them is working.' (Literally, 'With [i.e., among] them, one is not working.')

(13.132) Ndĩnji kwa **ango** nipe.

ndĩnji kwa **ango** ni-p-e
3PL.POSS one NEG die-PRF-DEP
'Not one of them died.' (Literally, 'Their one did not die.')

(13.133) Ndĩnji kwa **ango** tinanga wolka tiklika i.

ndĩnji kwa **ango** tinanga wolka tikli-ka i
3PL.POSS one NEG arise again turn-let go.PRF
'Not one of their (men) got up and came back again.' (Literally, 'Their one did not arise again and go back.')

(13.134) Mawna mĩ keka **ango** mĩnkĩn amap.

Mawna mĩ keka **ango** mĩnkĩn ama-p
[name] 3SG completely NEG grub.sp eat-PRF
'Mawna has never eaten *mĩnkĩn* grubs.' (Literally, 'Mawna has completely not eaten *mĩnkĩn* grubs.')

(13.135) Nĩ keka **ango** ya ame.

nĩ keka **ango** ya ama-e
1SG completely NEG coconut eat-DEP
'I never eat coconut.' (Literally, 'I completely do not eat coconut.')

- (13.136) Mawna mī **ango** nunu ika mīnda ame.
 Mawna mī **ango** nunu i-ka mīnda ama-e
 [name] 3SG NEG various hand-let banana eat-DEP
 ‘Mawna sometimes/rarely eats bananas.’ (Literally, ‘Mawna does not always eat bananas.’; cf. *Mawna mī nunu ika mīnda ame* ‘Mawna always/often eats bananas.’)

13.4.1 Two-part negative constructions

Sometimes in Ulwa, the form *ango* ‘NEG’ is not the only negative element in a sentence, but rather serves as the first part of a discontinuous structure, the second negative element occurring at the end of the sentence (cf. French *ne ... pas*).

In the discontinuous structure *ango ... me*, the second element *me* is taken to be a negative polarity emphatic marker (i.e., ‘at all’), as in the following examples.

- (13.137) Nī **ango** unji itom **me**.
 nī **ango** unji itom **me**
 1SG NEG 2PL.POSS father NEG
 ‘I’m not your father at all.’ (T07)

- (13.138) Way **ango** ambi **me**.
 way **ango** ambi **me**
 turtle NEG big NEG
 ‘The turtle wasn’t big at all.’ (T05)

As the above examples suggest, the form *me* seems to be restricted to clauses that lack overt verb forms—that is, sentences in which a noun (13.137) or an adjective (13.138) is predicated of a subject (and in which this nominal or adjectival quality is negated). This should, perhaps, be expected, considering the very rigid verb-final word order of active-voice Ulwa sentences—that is, it may be assumed that every such two-part negative construction has a null copula as its (implied) verb (10.2).

This element *me* can also be used to negate various predicate nominatives, including nominalized verb phrases and entire relative clauses. The following example may be compared with (13.138) above. The placement of *ango* before the noun phrase indicates that this is an existential clause.

- (13.139) *Ipka angō wambana ambi me.*
 ipka **angō** wambana ambi **me**
 before NEG fish big NEG
 ‘Before, there weren’t any big fish.’ (T11)

The following example also illustrates the negation of an NP using *me*. It reflects the unusual preference of using pronominal modifiers for the word *luwa* ‘place’, also seen in the expression *wala luwa* ‘far-off place’, seen in example (13.150) below (cf. 8.3.2).

- (13.140) *Ango nu luwa me.*
angō nu luwa **me**
 NEG close place NEG
 ‘(It) was not a close place at all.’ (T26)

The next example illustrates the use of *me* with a possessive form, expressed without any verbal marking.

- (13.141) *Unanambi angō unanji amba me.*
 unanambi **angō** unanji amba **me**
 1PL.INCL.FOC NEG 1PL.INCL.POSS haus.tambaran NEG
 ‘As for us, we don’t have any magic at all.’ (T32)

The following is an example of *angō ... me* used with a nominalized verb phrase.

- (13.142) *Mi angō nan nīkapen me.*
 mī **angō** na=n nī=kī-p-en **me**
 3SG NEG talk=OBL 1SG=say-PRF-NMLZ NEG
 ‘She didn’t reply to me at all.’ (Literally, ‘She was not a having-spoken-to-me [person] at all.’) (T27)

The following is an example of *angō ... me* used with a relative clause.

- (13.143) *Ango kambe nji me.*
angō [kamb-e] nji **me**
 NEG [shun-DEP] thing NEG
 ‘(It) wasn’t something that (they) neglected at all.’ (T32)

Instead of *angō*, the negative-like word *ulwa* ‘nothing’ can be used in these two-part negative constructions—that is, with *me* following it, as below.

(13.144) **Ulwa me.**

ulwa **me**
nothing NEG
'(It) is nothing at all.' (T27)

(13.145) **Ulwapen me** nĩ un ka naman.

ulwa-p-en **me** nĩ u=n ka na-ma-n
nothing-be-NMLZ NEG 1SG 2SG=OBL let DETR-go-IPFV
'There's nothing here, so I'm leaving you.' (T26)

Finally, it may be shown that *me* is sometimes used alone (that is without *ango*—or even *ulwa*—preceding), nevertheless maintaining a negative sense. This is akin to the colloquial French use of just *pas* for 'NEG', where it is no longer obligatory to include the *ne* component of the *ne ... pas* construction. The following sentence illustrates the use of *me* without any other negative marker.

(13.146) Un ini **me.**

un[ji] ini **me**
2PL[.POSS] ground NEG
'(It) is not your land.' (T11)

The origin of *me* 'NEG' is unknown, but it may have derived from *me* 'limbum' (that is, a strip of flattened palm stem, which is used in weaving and house-building). Under this assumption, the negative particle developed from an exploratory "expression of minimal value" (Harris & Campbell 1995:54f., 73). Thus (much like French *pas* 'NEG' < *pas* 'step'), the word *me* 'limbum palm' was originally a reinforcing expression, as could be imagined to have occurred in utterances such as 'I haven't built the house—not (even) a strip!'. Especially when used alone (that is, without another negator preceding it), *me* 'NEG' often occurs with the modal adverb *ko* 'just', which likely maintains the sense of 'even' underlying the historical development of *me* 'limbum palm' as a negator. In the following sentences, *ko* 'just' occurs after the subject, with *me* 'NEG' occurring clause-finally.

(13.147) Un **ko** nĩnji ankam **me.**

un **ko** nĩnji ankam **me**
2PL just 1SG.POSS person NEG
'You are not my people.' (T27)

(13.148) Nguna **ko** ndul amba kwe inwap ...

ngunan	ko	ndĩ=ul	amba	kwe	in-wap
1DU.INCL	just	3PL=with	haus.tambaran	one	in-be.PST

... **ko** ndikalampen **me**.

ko	ndĩ=kalam-p-en	me
just	3PL=know-be-NMLZ	NEG

‘We have not lived with them in even one *haus tambaran* (men’s house) nor (do we) know about them at all.’ (T32)

(13.149) Ngun **ko** ini anma **me**.

ngun	ko	ini	anma	me
2DU	just	ground	good	NEG

‘You two, (it) is not good land at all.’ (T11)

Lending support to this hypothesis is the alternative two-part negative construction, *ango* ... *kom(e)* ‘NEG’, in which the second element can be assumed to derive from *ko* ‘just’ plus *me* ‘*limbum* palm’. The second element is frequently reduced to *kom*, as may be seen in the following examples.

(13.150) **Ango** wala luwa **kom**.

ango	wala	luwa	kom
NEG	far.off	place	NEG

‘(It’s) not a far-off place at all.’ (T01)

(13.151) Unan **ango** wa ambi **kom**.

unan	ango	wa	ambi	kom
1PL.INCL	NEG	village	big	NEG

‘We are not a big village at all.’ (T32)

(13.152) **Ango** wutota **kom** mundotoma ando.

ango	wutota	kom	mundotoma	anda-o
NEG	long	NEG	short	that.SG-INTERJ

‘(The story is) not long at all; it’s a short one.’ (T08)

It is also possible to form negatives with only the (typically) second element, *kom(e)*, as in the following:

(13.153) Miki itim **kome**.

miki	itim	kome
tree.sp	trash	NEG

‘(It) is not a swamp at all.’ (T11)

(13.154) Ndinji **kome** ndi matina.

ndinji	kome	ndi	ma=ti-na
3PL.POSS	NEG	3PL	3SG=take-IRR

‘But (it) isn’t theirs, so they (won’t) get it.’ (T32)

(13.155) Isin wane mundu **kom**.

isi=n	wana-e	mundu	kom
soup=OBL	cook-DEP	food	NEG

‘(This) is not (the kind of) food that is cooked in soup.’ (T11)

(13.156) Kwe wat u iyen **kom**.

kwe	wat	u	i-en	kom
one	atop	from	go.PRF-NMLZ	NEG

‘It wasn’t just one who came onto (it).’ (Literally, ‘One was not a having-gone onto [it] [one].’) (T11)

Thus the claim could be made that forms such as *me* and *kom(e)* are undergoing a grammatical change reflecting the Jespersen’s Cycle (Dahl 1979), whereby the preverbal negative marker is being replaced by a postverbal negative marker. Still, the use of preverbal *ango* ‘NEG’ is (still) the most unmarked means of negation.

Finally, it must be noted here that there are also instances in which *me* is used alone without any apparent negative sense. Such uses seem more common with adjectives designating the greatness of someone or something, as in:

(13.157) E an namndu nīpat **me**!

e	an	namndu	nīpat	me
ay	1PL.EXCL	pig	giant	NEG

‘Ay, we (had) really giant pigs!’ (T11)

(13.158) Ambi ngata nda yangle **me** kenmbu nīpat.

ambi	ngata	anda	yangle	me	kenmbu	nīpat
big	grand	that.SG	strong	NEG	heavy	giant

‘That big huge (child) was very strong, terribly heavy.’ (T27)

Perhaps sentences such as those above should be taken to mean, for example, ‘not [*merely*] giant, [but rather] really, really giant’. Or perhaps they reveal a simply emphatic meaning of the particle *me*, one that is not limited to sentences of negative polarity. They could even be ironical statements.

13.4.2 Prohibitions

In prohibitions (i.e., negative commands), the regular negator *ango* ‘NEG’ is not used at all, but rather the prohibitive marker *wana(p)* ‘PROH’ is used, as in:

- (13.159) **Wanap** apka nīklop mana!
wanap apka nī=klop ma-na
PROH very 1SG=cross go-IRR
‘Don’t go and bypass me completely!’ (T11)

More examples of prohibitive statements can be found in the sections on negative commands (13.3.4) and on the speculative suffix *-t* (4.13).

13.4.3 Negative scope

An interesting fact about Ulwa negation is the scope of the negator. The tendency in Ulwa is to place *ango* within the first clause of multiclausal constructions, even when the scope of negation is smaller than the whole series of clauses—i.e., only one (subsequent) clause (or clausal element) is negated, as in:

- (13.160) An **ango** apa mbilop mbīwap.
an **ango** apa mbī-lo-p mbī-wap
1PL.EXCL NEG house here-go-PRF here-be.PST
‘We came home, but didn’t stay.’ (Literally, ‘We did not come home and stay.’) (T27)

- (13.161) **Ango** ulum ale we wandampen.
ango ulum ale-e we wandam-p-en
NEG palm scrape-DEP sago jungle-be-NMLZ
‘When (they) scrape sago palms, the sago starch is not (left behind) in the jungle.’
(Literally, ‘[It is] not [the case that], having scraped sago palms, the sago starch is [left behind] in the jungle.’) (T11)

- (13.162) **Ango** mat mīnjikan kīna:
ango ma=tī mīnjika=n kī-na
NEG 3SG=take speech=OBL say-IRR
‘Having gotten it, (they) wouldn’t say (the following):’ (Literally, ‘[It is] not [the case that they] get it and would say [the following:]’) (T27)

This rather early placement of *ango* occurs in conditional statements as well—that is, the negator may occur within the protasis, even when the verbal element to be negated properly belongs in the apodosis. In each of the following conditional statements, *ango* occurs within the protasis.

(13.163) **Ango** maka apwanam mapta inim landa.

ango	maka	apa-wanam	ma=p-ta		inim	la-nda
NEG	thus	house-side	3SG=be-COND		water	eat-IRR

‘As long as (she) is staying at the side of the house, (a recent mother) may not drink water.’ (T11)

(13.164) **Ango** mat ita nduwe malanda.

ango	ma=ti	i-ta		nduwe	ma=la-nda
NEG	3SG=take	go.PRF-COND		3PL.INT.PART	3SG=eat-IRR

‘If (he) brings it, they will not eat it alone.’ (T11)

(13.165) **Ango** amunpita ikali masinate.

ango	amun-p-ta	i-kali	ma=si-na-t-e
NEG	now-be-COND	hand-send	3SG=push-IRR-SPEC-DEP

‘If (a baby) is still very young, (then fathers) will not hold it.’ (T11)

In the following two conditional prohibitive statements, the negative marker *wana* ‘PROH’ occurs in the protasis, even though the negation properly occurs in the apodosis.

(13.166) **Wana** ambipita wa lolop ala wandampita ...

wana	ambi-p-ta	wa	lolop	ala[nji]	wandam-p-ta
PROH	big-be-COND	just	just	that.PL[.POSS]	jungle-be-COND

... alanji nji landa!

alanji	nji	la-nda
that.PL.POSS	thing	eat-IRR

‘When (you) are grown and are just (going around) in other people’s gardens, don’t eat their things!’ (T27)

(13.167) A un **wana** apa mapta luke natana!

a	un	wana	apa	ma=p-ta	luke	na-ta-na
INTERJ	2PL	PROH	house	3SG=be-COND	too	DETR-say-IRR

‘Hey, if you’re in the house, don’t talk either!’ (T27)

13.4.4 Negative responses

Finally, in this section on negation, it may be noted how one may use the word ‘no’ to respond negatively to a proposition. It is relatively uncommon to answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to questions in Ulwa: rather, interlocutors tend to respond with full answers or paralinguistic gestures (head movements or interjections such as *m*). It is, nevertheless possible to use the word *ase* ‘no’ (sometimes realized as *asa*), whether as a response to a question, or as a simple denial (without any question necessarily having been posed). The following are examples of its use.

(13.168) *Ndī man nan nīt ase.*

<i>ndī</i>	<i>ma=n</i>	<i>na=n</i>	<i>nī=ta</i>	ase
3PL	3SG=OBL	talk=OBL	1SG=say	no

‘They told me “no”.’ (T11)

(13.169) *Ase unan tīngīnpe.*

ase	<i>unan</i>	<i>tīngīn-p-e</i>
no	1PL.INCL	many-be-DEP

‘No, we are many (now).’ (T11)

(13.170) *Nī ango wa mbīpta ul wombīn ninda ...*

<i>nī</i>	<i>ango</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>mbī-p-ta</i>	<i>u-ul</i>	<i>wombīn=n</i>	<i>ni-nda</i>
1SG	NEG	village	here-be-COND	2SG=with	work=OBL	act-IRR

‘I won’t stay in the village and work with you.’

Ase nī umbe un ka wandam namana.

ase	<i>nī</i>	<i>umbe</i>	<i>u=n</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>wandam</i>	<i>na-ma-na</i>
no	1SG	tomorrow	2SG=OBL	let	jungle	DETR-go-IRR

‘No, tomorrow I’ll leave you and go to the jungle.’ (T26)

(13.171) *Asa mī mīnjikan ngunankap:*

asa	<i>mī</i>	<i>mīnjika=n</i>	<i>ngunan=kī-p</i>
no	3SG	speech=OBL	1DU.INCL=say-PRF

‘No, he said the following to us.’ (T11)

13.5 Reported speech

The speech of others can be reported either directly or indirectly. In direct, quotative reports, someone’s speech is presented (or purportedly presented) as a verbatim repetition of the original utterance. In Ulwa, direct discourse is constructed around (a minimum) of two, separate

clauses: one containing the quoted utterance (typically the second clause) and one reporting who uttered it (typically the first clause). Direct discourse constructions are thus of the form: ‘so-and-so said: “[what that person said]”’. They are generally formed with one of two verbs meaning ‘say’, *ta-* and *kī-*. The basic three-way TAM paradigms for these verbs (as well as the imperative and conditional forms) are as follows.

	‘say’	‘say’
stem	ta-	kī-
imperfective	t(e)	ke
perfective	tap	kap
irrealis	tana	kīna
imperative	tan	kīn
conditional	tata	kīta ~ kapta

Note that, since [k] generally does not exist word-finally (2.1.1), the imperfective form of the root *k-* requires the dependent-clause marker *-e* (that is, to prevent a phonotactically impossible form). Both roots, *ta-* and *kī-*, can form their conditional suffixes based on the verb stem, but only *kī-* seems to be capable of forming a conditional on the perfective form (i.e., there is no attested form **tapta*) (4.14).

These two roots are very frequently preceded by the form /na/. Due to the homophony of this form, it is often unclear whether it is functioning as the word *na* ‘talk’ (which is joining with the verb as a compound [literally, ‘to say talk’]) or it is functioning as the detransitivizing prefix *na-* (13.9.1).

13.5.1 Intransitive uses of verbs of speaking

In the following examples, the speaking verb (*ta-* or *kī-*) is used intransitively. The form *na* (when present) is glossed as the detransitivizing marker (although the argument could be made that it is the word *na* ‘talk’ functioning as the first half of a compound verb form; see above). Since the speaking verb is often transitive, however, the analysis of *na-* here as the detransitivizing marker is preferred, since it seems to be helping to reduce the valency of the verb, as seen in the following examples.

(13.172) Awal imbape una **natap**.

awal imba-p-e unan **na-ta-p**
yesterday night-be-DEP 1PL.INCL DETR-say-PRF
'Last night we talked.' (T32)

(13.173) Inom mĩ **nakap**.

inom mĩ **na-kĩ-p**
mother 3SG DETR-say-PRF
'Mother spoke.'

(13.174) Wiya mbi ul **natana** mbi.

u=iya mbĩ-i u-ul **na-ta-na** mbĩ-i
2SG=toward here-go.PRF 2SG=with DETR-say-IRR here-go.PRF
'(I) came to you here, came to speak with you here.' (T21)

13.5.2 Transitive uses of verbs of speaking

It is, however, much more common for the speaking verb to be transitive, taking as the object either the thing said or the person addressed. In the following examples, the object of the verb is the thing said (note that the detransitivizing marker *na-* is not present).

(13.175) Min na kuma **tap**.

min na kuma **ta-p**
3DU talk some say-PRF
'The two planned something.' (Literally, 'The two said some talks.')

(13.176) Nĩ ango na tĩngĩn **tana**.

nĩ ango na tĩngĩn **ta-na**
1SG NEG talk many say-IRR
'I won't tell many stories.' (T20)

(13.177) Nĩ mol na **ndĩtane**.

nĩ ma=ul na ndĩ=**ta-n-e**
1SG 3SG=with talk 3PL=say-IPFV-DEP
'I was telling the stories with him.' (T11)

(13.178) Ndĩ ndĩnap atwana **kĩna**.

ndĩ ndĩ=nap atwana **kĩ-na**
3PL 3PL=for question say-IRR
'They will ask about them.' (T27)

The last example above illustrates how reported questions can be expressed (namely, by saying literally ‘say a question’, where ‘question’ is the object of the verb of speaking).

Often, the verb of speaking takes as an object the thing said, without there being much semantic value of this object. That is, the object (always just a bare 3SG object-marker clitic) functions as an expletive, as in the following:

(13.179) Nī **mat** a!

nī	ma=ta	a
1SG	3SG=say	ah

‘I said, “ah!”’ (Literally, ‘I said it: “Ah!”’) (T11)

(13.180) Mī **mate** ankam alanji ala!

mī	ma=ta-e	ankam	alanji	ala
3SG	3SG=say-DEP	person	that.PL.POSS	that.PL

‘He said it (that he would kill their pigs), but those are other people’s (pigs)!’ (T11)

(13.181) Mī ambīwana **mat** a ...

mī	ambī=wana	ma=ta	a
3SG	SG.REFL=feel	3SG=say	ah

‘It thought to itself and said: “Ah! ...”’

... nī ta tata tīn mol li ina mane.

nī	ta	tata	tī-n	ma=ul	li	i-na	ma-n-e
1SG	already	papa	take-PRF	3SG=com	down	come-IRR	go-IPFV-DEP

“... I’m already able to get papa and come down with him.” (T05)

(13.182) **Makape** mī i.

ma=kī-p-e	mī	i
3SG=say-PRF-DEP	3SG	go.PRF

‘Having spoken, he went.’ (T34)

(13.183) Nī limndī minlipe **mat**:

nī	limndī	min=lī-p-e	ma=ta
1SG	eye	3DU=put-PRF-DEP	3SG=say

‘I saw the two of them and said:’ (T11)

As the above examples illustrate, it is common for verbs of speaking (or at least the verb *ta-*) to be defective—that is, the verb stem is often left unmarked for TAM (and loses its stem-final vowel). This occurs especially in situations such as those above, in which the object of speech is an expletive (or dummy) object.

The role of the object of the (transitive) speaking verb, however, need not be the thing spoken, but may instead be the person addressed. In such constructions, the word *na* ‘talk’ is often present before the object marker. This word may or may not be followed by the oblique marker =*n*. When this marker is present, then the construction is analyzed as a clause that consists of a transitive verb taking the person addressed as its direct object and an oblique phrase composed of the word *na* plus the oblique marker (i.e., literally, ‘to tell [someone] with/by means of speech/talk’). When the oblique marker is absent, on the other hand, then the construction is analyzed as a compound verb phrase in which the first (nominal) element occurs before the object. (In certain situations, however, it is impossible to tell whether the form *na* contains the enclitic =*n* or not, since, if *na* is followed by a word that begins with /*n*-/ or /*nd*-/, then the sequence /*nn*/—if ever present—would degeminate to [n].)

In the following examples, the verbs *ta-* and *kī-* ‘say’ are used transitively, taking as an object the person addressed and following the oblique phrase *na*=*n*.

(13.184) Nī **nan mat** nī ango makīke lunda.

nī	na=n	ma= ta	nī	ango	ma=kīke	lo-nda
1SG	talk=OBL	3SG=say	1SG	NEG	3SG=throw	go-IRR

‘I told her: “I won’t sell it.”’ (T37)

(13.185) Nī **nan ndīt** nga unji.

nī	na=n	ndī= ta	nga	unji
1SG	talk=OBL	3PL=say	this.SG	2PL.POSS

‘I said to them: “This is yours.”’ (T11)

(13.186) Ninji yanat mī **nan ndīkap**:

nīnji	yanat	mī	na=n	ndī= kī-p
1SG.POSS	daughter	3SG	talk=OBL	3PL=say-PRF

‘My daughter told them:’ (T27)

(13.187) Nī ine Tarambi **nan nīt**:

nī	i-n-e	Tarambi	na=n	nī= ta
1SG	come-PRF-DEP	[name]	talk=OBL	1SG=say

‘When I came, Tarambi told me:’ (T11)

(13.188) An **nan amblakap**:

an	na=n	ambla= kī-p
1PL.EXCL	talk=OBL	PL.REFL=say-PRF

‘We said to each other:’ (T27)

(13.189) Nĩ angos **nan ukĩn?**

nĩ angos **na=n** u=**kĩ-n**[a]
1SG what talk=OBL 2SG=say-IRR
'What should I tell you?' (T32)

(13.190) **Nan** nungolke **ngalakapta** ndĩ kalampin!

na=n nungolke ngala=**kĩ-p-ta** ndĩ kalam-p-n[a]
talk=OBL child this.PL=say-PRF-COND 3PL know-be-IRR
'Tell these children so that they'll know!' (Literally, 'If (you) tell these children with speech, they will know.')

(13.191) Mĩ **nan minte** ngun naman!

mĩ **na=n** min=**ta-e** ngun na-ma-n
3SG talk=OBL 3DU=say-DEP 3DU DETR-go-IMP
'He told the two of them: "Go!"' (T01)

Although dependent marking is not necessary, it seems to be possible, as in the last example above. Also, since the word *na* 'talk' is functioning as the head noun of its own oblique phrase in these constructions, it is possible for it to be modified by an adjective, as in the following:

(13.192) Ndĩ **na ilumĩ** ukĩnat.

ndĩ **na** **ilum=nĩ** u=**kĩ-na-t**
3PL talk little=OBL 2SG=say-IRR-SPEC
'They might tell you a little story.' (i.e., 'They might try to deceive you.')

In the following examples, the verbs *ta-* and *kĩ-* 'say' are also used transitively (again, taking as an object the person addressed); here, however, although the word *na* 'talk' is present, it does *not* take the oblique marker =*n*. Accordingly, these sentences are interpreted as containing compound verb phrases, in which the nominal component is separate from the verb stem, occurring before the object (i.e., they are separable verb constructions, 9.3.1).

(13.193) Nĩ **na makĩna** ase.

nĩ **na** ma=**kĩ-na** ase
1SG talk 3SG=say-IRR no
'I will tell him "no".'

(13.194) **Na** Joanna **kap** inom ngol man!

na Joanna **kĩ-p** inom nga=ul ma-n
talk [name] say-PRF mother this.SG=with go-IMP
'(I) told Joanna: "Go with this woman!"'

(13.195) Yanat mī **na makap**:

yanat mī **na** ma=**ki**-p
 daughter 3SG talk 3SG=say-PRF
 ‘(My) daughter told her.’ (T27)

(13.196) Nī **na mate** mī li.

nī **na** ma=**ta**-e mī li i
 1SG talk 3SG=say-DEP 3SG down go.PRF
 ‘I told her and she went down.’ (T32)

(13.197) Awal **na** yenanu ambi **ndate**.

awal **na** yenanu ambi anda=**ta**-e
 yesterday talk woman big that.SG=say-DEP
 ‘I told that big woman yesterday.’ (i.e. ‘my older sister’) (T32)

(13.198) Nī ango angos **na ukinate**.

nī ango angos **na** u=**ki**-na-t-e
 1SG NEG what talk 2SG=say-IRR-SPEC-DEP
 ‘I don’t have anything to tell you.’ (T05)

In another version of transitive clauses based on the verbs *ta-* and *ki-* ‘say’, an expletive 3SG pronominal object clitic (*ma=*) is used in place of *na* ‘talk’ and receives the oblique maker =*n*. The literal meaning of these constructions could be rendered as ‘tell [someone] with it (with ‘speech’ understood as the antecedent of ‘it’)’. They are illustrated below.

(13.199) Nī **man ngunte**:

nī **ma=n** ngun=**ta**-e
 1SG 3SG=OBL 2DU=say-DEP
 ‘I told you two.’ (T11)

(13.200) Ya nī **man mate**.

ya nī **ma=n** ma=**ta**-e
 coconut 1SG 3SG=OBL 3SG=say-DEP
 ‘“Coconuts,” I told him.’ (T11)

(13.201) Tiponīm ini mī tembipe nī **man Danny mat**.

Tiponīm ini mī tembipe nī **ma=n** Danny ma=**ta**
 [place] ground 3SG bad-be-DEP 1SG 3SG=OBL [name] 3SG=say
 ‘“The Tiponīm ground is bad,” I told Danny.’ (T11)

(13.202) Mī **man mat**:

mī **ma=n** **ma=ta**
 3SG 3SG=OBL 3SG=say
 ‘He told her.’ (T01)

(13.203) Nĩ **man unate**.

nĩ	ma=n	u=na-ta-e
1SG	3SG=OBL	2SG=talk-say-DEP

‘I’m telling you.’ (T11)

This last example illustrates the compound verb form (consisting of *na* ‘talk’ and *ta-* ‘say’) occurring along with the expletive-object-marker-plus-oblique-marker construction (*ma=n*).

13.5.3 Expressing the topic of speech

A topic spoken about can be referred to as a phrase consisting of the topic, possessive marking, and the word *na* ‘talk’ (literally something like ‘X’s story’, where X can be any kind of referent—a person, thing, or concept). Often the possessive marker is not included, as in all but the first of the examples below.

(13.204) **Manji na** latane.

manji	na	ala=ta-n-e
3SG.POSS	talk	that.PL=say-IPFV-DEP

‘(We) were talking about her.’ (Literally, ‘were saying those talks of her’) (T32)

(13.205) Nĩ amun maka ...

nĩ	amun	maka
1SG	now	thus

... **lamndu wonmbi ma na** tana manen.

lamndu	wonmbi	ma[nji]	na	ta-na	ma-n-en
pig	tusk	3SG[.POSS]	talk	say-IRR	go-IPFV-NMLZ

‘Now I’m thus going to tell the story of the boar tusk.’ (T13)

(13.206) Nĩ **ini man na** tane Wore un ango wap?

nĩ	ini	man[ji]	na	ta-n-e	Wore un	ango	wap
1SG	ground	3SG.POSS	talk	say-IPFV-DEP	[place] 2PL	which	be.PST

‘When I was talking about the land, where were you, Wores?’ (T11)

(13.207) Sande ndan **apa nda na** te.

Sande	anda=n	apa	anda	na	ta-e
Sunday	that.SG=OBL	house	that.SG[.POSS]	talk	say-DEP

‘Last Sunday, (he) was talking about that church.’ (*Sande* < TP) (T11)

If there is a person addressed in such constructions detailing the topic of conversation, then this person typically occurs as the direct object of the verb of speaking and the topic is included as an oblique phrase marked by =*n* following the word *na* ‘talk’. The possessive marker does not seem necessary, as in the following:

(13.208) Ndī **isi nan** antane.

ndī	isi	na=n	an=ta-n-e
3PL	salt	talk=OBL	1PL.EXCL=say-IPFV-DEP

‘They were asking us about salt.’ (T27)

(13.209) **Ndunduma nan** nīte nī mat:

ndunduma	na=n	nī=ta-e	nī	ma=ta
ancestor	talk=OBL	1SG=say-DEP	1SG	3SG=say

‘When (they) asked me about (their) ancestors, I said.’ (T11)

(13.210) Ninji ulum **ndī nan** nīkap.

nīnji	ulum	ndī	na=n	nī=kī-p
1SG.POSS	palm	3PL	talk=OBL	1SG=say-PRF

‘(She) told me about my sago palms.’ (T27)

13.5.4 Omission of verbs of speaking

In casual speech, the verb of speaking is sometimes omitted, presumably implied by the word *na* ‘talk’ plus the oblique marker =*n* (or by the expletive oblique phrase *ma=n*), as in the following:

(13.211) Nī **nan**:

nī	na=n
1SG	talk=OBL

‘I said.’ (T11)

(13.212) Nī wolka **man** Carobim u nul man!

Nī	wolka	ma=n	Carobim	u	nī=ul	ma-n
1SG	again	3SG=OBL	[name]	2SG	1SG=with	go-IMP

‘I in turn (told) Carobim: “Go with me!”’ (T11)

Sometimes speech is reported without any word of speaking at all to signal the quotation—that is, there is neither the verbs *ta-* or *kī-* ‘say’ nor the noun *na* ‘talk’ (or an expletive in its stead). Such quotations are signaled by pragmatic features, intonation, or

paralinguistic sounds or gestures. Often they follow a phrase of ‘seeing’, which may be used idiomatically to signal thought or reflection, as in:

(13.213) **Ni limndi ndala** ungsuwata wombĩn ambi nda.

nĩ	limndĩ	ndĩ=ala	ungsuwata	wombĩn	ambi	anda
1G	eye	3PL=for	2PL.poor	work	big	that.SG

‘I saw them (and said:) “You poor things—that’s big work.” (T11)

(13.214) Itom ndi **limndi anala a**

itom	ndi	limndĩ	an=ala	a
father	3PL	eye	1PL.EXCL=for	ah

‘(Our) fathers saw us (and said:) “Ah! ...”

... anji nungol ala ambi nape.

anji	nungol	ala	ambi	na-p-e
1PL.EXCL.POSS	child	that.PL	big	DETR-be-DEP

“... our sons have gotten big.” (T10)

As in the second example above, the exclamation *a* ‘ah’ often signals speech as well. It typically belongs at the end of a prosodic unit (with the rest of the quoted speech continuing at the start of the subsequent prosodic unit).

When recounting stories, people may also omit a verb of speaking to make the action livelier, as seen below.

(13.215) Ne may tata!

na-i	ma=i	tata
DETR-go. PRF	3SG=go.PRF	papa

‘(He) went, went to him (and said:) “Papa!” (T07)

Also, when conversations are recounted, the back-and-forth between two quoted speakers need not contain verbs of speaking between each turn, as in the following:

(13.216) Ni atwana mat a un ango luwa?

nĩ	atwana	ma=ta	a	un	ango	luwa
1SG	question	3SG=say	ah	2PL	which	place

‘I asked her: “Ah! Where are you [going]?”’

An ma we ndatĩna le.

an	ma	we	anda=tĩ-na	lo-e
1PL.EXCL	go	sago	that.SG=take-IRR	go-DEP

‘(And she said:) “We’re going to get sago starch.”’

Ande nol!
 ande na-lo
 ok DETR-go
 ‘(And I said:) “All right, go!”’ (T32)

The word *mĩnja* ‘speech’ often appears in clauses that introduce reported speech. Much like *na* ‘talk’, it may be used with an oblique marker along with a verb of speaking. It may serve a discourse-deictic function, pointing to what was just reported or what is just about to be reported (i.e., ‘[someone] said *this*’), as in:

(13.217) Nĩ **mĩnjan ndĩ** mambinalakan!
 nĩ **mĩnja=n** ndĩ=**ta** mambi=na-la-ka-n
 1SG speech=OBL 3PL=say 3SG.FOC=DETR-IRR-let-IMP
 ‘I told them: “Leave it alone!”’ (T32)

(13.218) Ndĩ **mĩnjan ke**: ...
 ndĩ **mĩnja=n** kĩ-e
 3PL speech=OBL say-DEP
 ‘They’re saying this: ...’

... Mĩ unanĩ wa mbĩpe.
 mĩ unan=nĩ wa mbĩ-p-e
 3SG 1PL.INCL=OBL village here-be-DEP
 ‘“It’s here in the village with us.”’ (T32)

(13.219) Thomas mĩ na nĩte nĩ **mĩnjan mat**:
 Thomas mĩ na nĩ=ta-e nĩ **mĩnja=n** ma=**ta**
 [name] 3SG talk 1SG=say-DEP 1SG speech=OBL 3SG=say
 ‘When Thomas told me, I said to him:’ (T32)

Frequently, however, the word *mĩnja* ‘speech’ occurs in a more elliptical construction, in which it takes oblique marking, but where there is no expressed verb, as in the following examples.

(13.220) Nĩnji inom mĩ **mĩnjan** a ...
 nĩnji inom mĩ **mĩnja=n** a
 1SG.POSS mother 3SG speech=OBL ah
 ‘My mother said: “Ah!” ...’

... nĩ inim lopop anmbĩ nay.
 nĩ inim lopo-p an-mbĩ na-i
 1SG water wash-PRF out-here DETR-go.PRF
 ‘“... I bathed and came out.”’ (T10)

(13.221) Kowe Marungun min **mīnjan** a ...

Kowe	Marungun	min	mīnja=n	a
[name]	[name]	3DU	speech=OBL	ah

‘Kowe and Marungun said: “Ah!” ...’

... una yeta la unan ma maytana!

unan	yeta	ala	unan	ma	ma=ita-na
1PL.INCL	man	that.PL	1PL.INCL	go	3SG=build-IRR

“... We are men; let’s go and build it!” (T10)

(Note the use of the interjection *a* ‘ah!’ in the two examples above.)

Sometimes just the word *mīnja* ‘speech’ stands alone, without any oblique marking, to introduce reported speech. In the examples below, the interjection *m* ‘hm!’ helps signal the start of quoted speech.

(13.222) Mi **mīnja m!**

mī	mīnja	m
3SG	speech	hm

‘She said: “Hm!”’ (T32)

(13.223) An līmndī ndala **mīnja m** ...

an	līmndī	ndī=ala	mīnja	m
1PL.EXCL	eye	3pl=for	speech	hm

‘We saw them and said: “Hm!” ...’

... ala ankam kuma lawo.

ala	ankam	kuma	alawa-o
that.PL	person	some	that.PL.INT-INTERJ

“... Those really are some different people!” (T10)

13.5.5 Indirect discourse

All of the examples of reported speech have thus far been quotative. In other words, information regarding what has been said (or is said or will be said) is presented directly, as if in the voice of the person who said it (or says it or will say it). It is also possible to present speech indirectly in Ulwa. In such constructions, two clauses are employed—a matrix clause containing the verb of speaking and a dependent clause containing the reported speech. The dependent clause (consisting of the indirect speech) is embedded within the matrix clause. Unlike relative clauses, however, which (in a head-internal analysis) may be analyzed as having (O)VS word

order, embedded dependent clauses of indirect discourse maintain Ulwa's canonical S(O)V word order. Of course, as a pro-drop language, the (pronominal) subject of the embedded clause is often omitted; this may be even more common when the subject of the embedded clause matches that of the matrix clause (e.g., 'he_i said that he_i ...'). In the following example, the form *na* (which is not necessarily required in such constructions) is analyzed as the detransitivizing marker *na-*.

(13.224) Alma mī Guren mī apa maytape **natap**.

Alma	mī	[Guren	mī	apa	ma=ita-p-e]	na-ta-p
[name]	3SG	[[name]	3SG	house	3SG=build-PRF-DEP]	DETR-say-PRF

'Alma said that Guren built the house.'

The verb in the embedded clause may be in the irrealis mood if the reported statement refers to something that has not necessarily already transpired, as in the following:

(13.225) Mī mol **malanda** nate.

mī	[ma=ul	ma=la- nda]	na-ta-e
3SG	[3SG=with	3SG=eat-IRR]	DETR-say-DEP

'She said that (she) would eat with him.' (T01)

(13.226) Ndī i **mana** nakap.

ndī	i	[ma- na]	na-kī-p
3PL	go.PRF	[go-IRR]	DETR-say-PRF

'They came and talked about going.' (T01)

(13.227) Dorothy awal makīke **lunda** na nīte.

Dorothy	awal	[ma=kike	lo- nda	na]	nī=ta-e
[name]	yesterday	[3SG=throw	go-IRR	talk]	1SG=say-DEP

'Yesterday, Dorothy told me that (she) would sell it.' (T37)

The last example above suggests that it may also be possible for the embedded clause of indirect discourse to be embedded within a noun phrase headed by the word *na* 'talk'. In this analysis, the literal rendering of this sentence would be something like 'yesterday, Dorothy told me would-sell-it talk'.

A reflexive pronoun may be used within the embedded clause of speech to refer to the speaker, i.e., the subject of the matrix clause (see examples 6.028 and 6.029 in 6.4 for illustrations of how binding principles apply within indirect discourse).

Often the verb of ‘speaking’ *ki-* (generally translated as ‘say, speak, talk, tell,’ etc.) is used to refer to ‘thinking’ (or other not-necessarily vocal events), as in the following examples. This use is limited to the verb *ki-*, which is otherwise mostly synonymous with the verb *ta-*.

(13.228) Alma mī Guren mī apa mayte **nakap**.

Alma	mī	[Guren	mī	apa	ma=ita-e]	na- ki -p
[name]	3SG	[[name]	3SG	house	3SG=build-DEP]	DETR-say-PRF

‘Alma thought that Guren was building the house.’

(13.229) Nī anmbī ina **nakap**.

nī	[an- mbi	i-na]	na- ki -p
1SG	[out-here	come-IRR]	DETR-say-PRF

‘I thought about coming out here.’ (i.e., ‘I thought that [I] would come out here.’) (T35)

(13.230) Im maya ata mana **nakap**.

[im	ma=iya	ata	ma-na]	na- ki -p
[tree	3SG=toward	up	go-IRR]	DETR-say-PRF

‘(He) thought about going up a tree.’ (i.e., ‘[He] thought that [he] would go up a tree.’) (T30)

The example above actually contains two degrees of embedding, since there is an irrealis verb designating purpose within the embedded clause of indirect speech/thought.

In the sentence below, the verb of ‘speaking’ *ki-* is assisted by the form *wana* ‘feel’, creating a compound surrounding the embedded clause of indirect speech/thought, thus functioning as a discontinuous (or separable) compound verb form (9.3.1).

(13.231) Nī **wana** ndī ndine lipe ndī anmape **nakap**.

nī	wana	[ndī	ndī=in-e	lī-p-e	ndī	anma-p-e]	na- ki -p
1SG	feel	[3PL	3PL=get-DEP	put-PRF-DEP	3PL	good-be-DEP]	DETR-say-PRF

‘I thought that they got them down and that they were good.’ (T11)

13.6 Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences express hypothetical situations and their presumed results. A basic conditional statement in Ulwa consists of two clauses, the first (the protasis) expressing the condition, and the second (the apodosis) expressing the consequence. There may be variations to this pattern, though, such as sentences that include more than one protasis, sentences that include

more than one apodosis, and sentences in which the result clause is not a statement, but rather a question or a command.

In the prototypical conditional sentence in Ulwa, the verb in the protasis is marked with the conditional suffix *-ta* (whether affixed to the full perfective form of the verb or to the verb stem, see 4.14). The verb in the apodosis is always marked as irrealis. This verb may (additionally) receive the suffix *-ta*, but only built from the irrealis form of the verb. That is, the verb in the apodosis cannot be in any way perfective- or imperfective-marked (with the exception of imperfective-marked verbs of ‘going’ used in periphrastic irrealis constructions, see 10.4). Thus, conditional sentences in Ulwa are taken always to be hypothetical. For implicative (or factual) conditions, Ulwa does not employ the suffix *-ta*, and thus—on grammatical grounds—these are not taken to be conditional sentences. Proclamations such as ‘if it rains, the ground gets wet’ would not be expressed as conditions in Ulwa; instead, a speaker would likely connect two clauses by subordinating one to the other and employing the dependent marker on the first (i.e., ‘[when] it rains, the ground gets wet’). The protasis always precedes the apodosis in an Ulwa conditional sentence.

Conditional clauses in Ulwa can variously be translated in English with ‘if’, ‘when’, ‘whenever’, ‘once’, ‘lest’, ‘even if’, or ‘even though’, depending on the context and intended meaning of the utterance. In the following examples of conditional sentences, most are translated with ‘if’, but some (i.e., 13.235, 13.236, and 13.237) are better translated with ‘when’.

(13.232) Inim **lopota** nĩ mana.

inim	lopo- ta	nĩ	ma-na
water	rain-IRR-COND	1SG	go-IRR

‘If it rains, I’ll go.’

(13.233) U atwana **nikĩta** nĩ utana.

u	atwana	nĩ=kĩ- ta	nĩ	u=ta-na
2SG	question	1SG=say-COND	1SG	2SG=say-IRR

‘If you ask me, I’ll tell you.’

(13.234) Itom mĩ **mbita** unan landa.

itom	mĩ	mbi-i- ta	unan	la-nda
father	3SG	here-go.PRF-COND	1PL.INCL	eat-IRR

‘If father comes, we’ll eat.’

(13.235) Nī anganika ma maya **mata** ngan lowonda.
 nī anganika ma ma=iya ma-**ta** ngan lo-wo-nda
 1SG after go 3SG=toward go-COND 1DU.EXCL IRR-sleep-IRR
 ‘When I later go, go to her, we two will sleep.’ (T27)

(13.236) We mī akīnakapīta u **mankapta** mī anmapīna.
 we mī akīnaka-p-ta u ma=nkī-p-**ta** mī anma-p-na
 sago 3SG young-be-COND 2SG 3SG=cut-PRF-COND 3SG good-be-IRR
 ‘When the sago starch is fresh, (then) when you prepare it, it will be good.’ (T11)

(13.237) **Ndīnkīta** ndul wa undana mane.
 ndī=nkī-**ta** ndī=ul wa unda-na ma-n-e
 3PL=cut-IRR-COND 3PL=with village go-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘When we have butchered them, we’re going to go home with them.’ (T33)

(13.238) Mī **anmapīta** we ande ndī wolka mol nena.
 mī anma-p-**ta** we ande ndī wolka ma=ul na-i-na
 3SG good-be-COND then ok 3PL again 3SG=with DETR-come-IRR
 ‘If he is well, then, OK, they would come back with him.’ (T24)

As the last example above illustrates, conditional sentences may contain the subordinator *we* ‘then’ to connect the two clauses (12.3.7). This example also illustrates the use of the conditional marker *-ta* following the copular suffix (10.3). The sentence below also contains a copular suffix, as well as a periphrastic ‘going’ verb in the apodosis in lieu of a simple irrealis verb.

(13.239) **Tembipīta** ndī mo **ina mane**.
 tembi-p-**ta** ndī ma=u **i-na** **ma-n-e**
 bad-be-COND 3PL 3SG=from come-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘Whenever (people) were sick, they were going to come from there.’ (T24)

The use of periphrastic ‘going’ verbs in an apodosis is further illustrated by the following sentence.

(13.240) Nduwe unīn anmbīlumopta ...
 ndī=we un=īn an-mbī-lumo-p-ta
 3PL=cut 2PL=OBL out-here-put-PRF-COND
 ‘Once (I) have cut them (tobacco leaves) out for you, ...’

... un nul ndinap **ndulunda mane**.
 un nī=ul ndī=ina-p **ndī=u-lo-nda** **ma-n-e**
 2PL 1SG=with 3PL=get-PRF 3PL=from-cut-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
 ‘... you, having gotten them with me, are going to peel them.’ (T37)

The sentence above also illustrates some of the complexity that is possible among conditional sentences in Ulwa. It is not uncommon for either the protasis or the apodosis (or both) to be multiclausal. Whereas the protasis in the sentence above is monoclausal (consisting of just a single verb, marked with the conditional suffix *-ta*), the apodosis is multiclausal (consisting of first a perfective-marked verb and then a periphrastic construction that gives the entire multiclausal apodosis its irrealis mood). Note that it is rare for the dependent-marker suffix to occur within conditional clauses, even within multiclausal apodoses or protases (that is, it does not occur anywhere except at the very end of the apodosis, as in the example above). These clauses are thus considered to be coordinate structures (12.2). The perfective-marked verb in this example can thus be considered an irrealis perfective (4.11); and the periphrastic construction (technically an irrealis-marked verb plus an imperfective-marked verb) can thus be considered the requisite irrealis construction of the apodosis.

The following example also illustrates an irrealis perfective in the apodosis, here morphologically clearer since the form of the verb is *lamap* (see 4.11).

(13.241) U mat ita nī **malamap** wa **mana**.
 u ma=tī i-ta nī ma=la-ama-p wa ma-na
 2SG 3SG=take go.PRF-COND 1SG 3sg=IRR-eat-PRF village go-IRR
 ‘If you bring it, I’ll eat it and go home.’ (T27)

In addition to exhibiting a multiclausal apodosis, the sentence above exemplifies a protasis that contains two verbs. The first verb *tī-* ‘take’, however, is often defective and is often semantically closely connected to the following verb (often *i-* ~ *ma-* ‘go’ or *na-* ‘give’), so this is perhaps not the clearest example of multiple clauses. In the following conditional sentences, the verb *tī-* ‘take’ is used both in the protasis and in the apodosis.

(13.242) Olsem u **ngalat** nīnata ...
 olsem u ngala=tī nī=na-ta
 thus 2SG this.PL=take 1SG=give-COND
 ‘So if you give these to me, ...’

... nī nīnji **ngalat** unanda.
 nī nīnji ngala=tī u=na-nda
 sg 1SG.POSS this.PL=take 2SG=give-IRR
 ‘... I’ll give mine to you.’ (*olsem* < TP) (T24)

(13.243) Ni ko nji **tī** unata ...
 nī ko nji **tī** u=na-ta
 1SG just thing take 2SG=give-COND
 ‘If I give you something, ...’

... u ko nji **tī** nīnanda.
 u ko nji **tī** nī=na-nda
 2SG just thing take 1SG=give-IRR
 ‘... (then) you should give me something.’ (T27)

In the sentence below, the verb *tī-* ‘take’ is marked for TAM (here, perfective), and thus this sentence provides an example of an irrealis verb and a perfective verb working together in the same protasis of a conditional sentence.

(13.244) Kalam **ngatīn** mol luta ngaya ndapīna.
 kalam nga=**tī-n** ma=ul lo-ta ngaya anda=p-na
 know this.SG=take-PRF 3SG=with go-COND far that.SG=be-IRR
 ‘If he gets this knowledge and goes around with it, he will be far away.’ (T11)

Notably, there is no conditional marking on the first verb in the protasis, even though it is not defective here. There are, however, instances in which multiple verbs in the protasis may be marked with the conditional suffix *-ta*. In such sentences, it can be assumed that each verb represents a condition that must be met for the state or event in the apodosis to be or occur. Often these are best translated in English with a single clause, often with a single verb. The Ulwa sentence, however, contains multiple verbs in the protasis that may constitute either a single clause with multiple verb phrases or a multiclausal protasis, as in the following example.

(13.245) U kwa **mapta** mundu **lata** ...
 u kwa ma=p-**ta** mundu **la-ta**
 2SG just 3SG=be-COND food eat-COND
 ‘If you eat the food there, ...’

... tamndī ko mundu ndiwalin.
 tamndī ko mundu ndī=wali-n[da]
 owner just food 3PL=hit-IRR
 ‘... (then) the owners will go hungry.’ (T27)

The sentence above has two verbs marked with the conditional suffix *-ta* in the protasis (literally, ‘if you are here and if [you] eat food ...’). Note that a simple irrealis form of *ama-* ‘eat’ (i.e., *la-*) is employed, and *not* an irrealis perfective form (i.e., **la-ama-*). This is because the

hypothetical event in the protasis is not perfective—that is, the event need not have been completed for the situation in the apodosis to be true (i.e., the landowners will be hungry [suffering from want of food] when you are there, eating their food).

Note, however, that verbs in the protasis clause (or clauses) should properly be marked as conditional only if the apodosis is in fact contingent on them. Thus, in the following sentence, the first verb (in fact a verbalized noun) receives no conditional suffix, but rather is dependent-marked.

(13.246) **Nungolkepe** nī mandīm sata ...

nungolke-p-e	nī	mī=andīm	sa-ta
child-be-DEP	1SG	3SG=for	cry-COND

‘When (I) was a child and I would cry for him (my father), ...’

... mī nīt awi līp nul wandam mana.

mī	nī=tī	awi	lī-p	nī=ul	wandam	ma-na
3SG	1SG=take	shoulder	put-PRF	1SG=with	jungle	go-IRR

‘... he would put me on his shoulder and go with me to the jungle.’ (T28)

The protasis may have any number of conditionally marked verbs, however. The following sentence contains three.

(13.247) **Mambilakata** mankīta ...

mambi=la-ka-ta	ma=nkī-ta
3SG.FOC=IRR-let-COND	3SG=cut-COND

‘If (we) abandon it, cut it (out), ...’

... keka itīm **nomopta** una wo lolop wapīn.

keka	itīm	na-[l]umo-p-ta	unan	wa	lolop	wa-p-n[a]
completely	trash	DETR-put-PRF-COND	1PL.INCL	just	just	village-be-IRR

‘... and throw (it) completely in the trash, (then) we will just stay (fine here) in the village.’ (T32)

It is also possible for the conditional suffix to appear on the verb (or verbs) in the apodosis. It is suspected that this is a form of overextension, marking a clause as conditional simply because it is connected to (by, indeed, being the result of) a conditional clause. This may be seen in the following examples.

(13.248) **Nditapta** kalam mī **natinangata**.

ndī=ita-p- ta	kalam	mī	na-tīnanga- ta
3PL=build-PRF-COND	knowledge	3SG	DETR-arise-COND

‘When (they) build them (school buildings), knowledge will increase.’ (T11)

(13.249) U mat nonal luwa **malta** ...

u	ma=tī	nonal	luwa	ma=lī- ta
2SG	3SG=take	wind	place	3SG=put-IRR-COND

‘If you put it out in the open air, ...’

... mī lowop **tembipita**.

mī	lo-wo-p	tembi-p- ta
3SG	IRR-sleep-IRR	bad-be-COND

‘... (then) it will go bad overnight.’ (T11)

Since clauses in the apodosis may also be marked with the conditional suffix *ta-*, it is sometimes not entirely clear whether a clause belongs to the protasis or to the apodosis (in instances in which a conditional sentence contains more than two clauses). The following sentence illustrates this possible ambiguity.

(13.250) Mat **ndinata** ndī **mankita** malanda.

ma=tī	ndī=na- ta	ndī	ma=nkī- ta	ma=la-nda
3SG=take	3PL=give-COND	3PL	3SG=cut-COND	3SG=eat-IRR

(a) ‘If (she) gives it to them, then they will prepare it and eat it.’
 (b) ‘If (she) gives it to them, and if they prepare it, then (they) will eat it.’ (T11)

While the previous examples all contain statements as apodoses, it is also possible for a conditional sentence to have a question or command following the protasis. In the following examples, a question occurs in the apodosis.

(13.251) Nī **mamata** olsem ko kwa **mbipita** ...

nī	ma=ma- ta	olsem ko	kwa	mbī-p- ta
1SG	3SG=go-COND	thus just	one	here-be-COND

‘If I were to go there, who would stay here, ...’

līmndī **ndutata** ay **nkita** ndul landa?

līmndī	ndī=uta- ta	ay	nkī- ta	ndī=ul	la-nda
eye	3PL=grind-COND	sago	cut-cond	3PL=with	eat-IRR

‘... watch after them, prepare sago, and eat with them?’ (*olsem* < TP) (T21)

Note the extensive use of conditional-marked verbs throughout the example above; indeed, every verb except the final irrealis verb in the apodosis displays the conditional suffix

-*ta*. The example below also has a question for its protasis (here, only one verb is marked with the suffix *-ta*).

(13.252) Un nambī **kenmbupīta** un anjikaka imbamka lunda?

un	nambī	kenmbu-p- ta	un	anjikaka	imbam-ka	lo-nda
2PL	body	heavy-be-COND	2PL	how	run-let	go-IRR

‘But if your body is heavy, how can you run around?’ (T35)

It is possible for the question word to occur in the protasis even when (at least in the English translation) the interrogative would be expected to occur in the apodosis, as is the case in the following example. This may be taken as related to the placement (and scope) of the negator *ango* in multiclausal constructions (13.4.3), especially since so many question words are etymologically related to *ango* ‘NEG’.

(13.253) Una **ango** luwapīta inim malanda?

unan	ango	luwa-p- ta	inim	ma=la-nda
1PL.INCL	NEG	place-be-COND	water	3SG=eat-IRR

‘Where will we drink water?’ (Literally, ‘We, if at which place, will drink water?’)
(T24)

It is also very common for apodoses to take the form of imperatives. In fact, conditional constructions often serve the pragmatic function of softening a request or command (13.2.2), as seen below.

(13.254) Un ma ya koya ata ma **maynapta** ...

un	ma	ya	ko=iya	ata	ma	ma=ina-p- ta
2PL	go	coconut	INDF=toward	up	go	3SG=get-PRF-COND

‘If you go, go up a coconut tree, and get it, ...’

... nditap ndītīl nap ndīt **ita** ...

ndī=ita-p	ndī=īl	na-p	ndī=ī	i-ta
3PL=build-PRF	3PL=husk	DETR-be	3PL=take	go.PRF-COND

‘... (and) if (you) tie them (the coconuts), husk them, and bring them, ...’

... una **ndutata** inim uta ndilan!

unan	ndi=uta- ta	inim	u-ta	ndi=la-n
1PL.INCL	3PL=grind-COND	water	put-COND	3PL=eat-IMP

‘... (then) we will grind them into water and eat them!’ (T14)

Although presented as a series of conditions, the first clauses in the sentence above are pragmatically tantamount to a request, i.e., ‘please get coconuts so that we may grind them and

eat them'. Note also how the conditional form *-ta* occurs in (what is translated here as) the apodosis. Further examples of conditional forms in imperatives follow.

(13.255) Un keka nul ndin umop ulwap ...
 un keka ni=ul ndi=n [l]umo-p ulwa-p
 2PL completely 1SG=with 3PL=OBL put-PRF nothing-be
 'If you plant all of them (the tobacco seedlings) with me ...'

... ndiwat **itapta** we un nol!
 ndi=wat ita-p-ta we un na-lo
 3PL=atop build-PRF-COND then 2PL DETR-go
 '... and cover them (with leaves), then you may leave!' (T35)

Sometimes, even without an imperative form, a conditional sentence can serve (pragmatically) as a request (see 13.3.3).

In some instances, the use of the conditional in imperatives may be seen as necessary to clarify a sequence of tasks that the speaker wishes the interlocutor to undertake, as in the following sentence.

(13.256) Inim ngan apin **ta** ...
 inim nga=n apin [li]-ta
 water this.SG=OBL fire put-COND
 'Put this water on the fire, ...'

... we inim ngan ndanan!
 we inim nga=n ndi=ana-n
 then water this.SG=OBL 3PL=scrub-IMP
 '... and then scrub with this water!' (T11)

Finally, in prohibitions, the conditional suffix *-ta* may be employed without any following apodosis, as in the following example. This may be considered a form of ellipses. Alternatively, it could be the case that the suffix here is related to (or an elongation of) the speculative suffix *-t* (4.13), which is also often used in negative commands (i.e., prohibitions).

(13.257) Wanap nji ndin **umopta**!
 wanap nji ndi=n [l]umo-p-ta
 PROH thing 3PL=OBL put-PRF-COND
 'Don't grow things!' (T11)

See 13.3.4 and 13.4.2 for more on prohibitions.

13.7 Counterfactual sentences

A counterfactual sentence is one which presents an event or state that the speaker considers to be untrue, often for the purpose of hypothesizing what would be (or would have been) the result of the event or state if it were or had been true.

In Ulwa, the irrealis mood is a natural resource for designating counterfactual statements. While one prolific use of the irrealis mood is to mark future states or events (which, in a sense, are perforce counterfactual), the irrealis mood can also be applied to hypothetical states or events in present or past time that are known not to be true. This is illustrated below.

(13.258) Apīn kali **malnda** inim ngalope nī makam.

apīn	kali	ma=lī- nda	inim	nga=lo-p-e	nī	ma=kamb
fire	send	3SG=put-IRR	water	this.SG=cut-PRF-DEP	1SG	3SG=shun

‘(I) would have burned it, but this rain came, so I didn’t want to.’ (T32)

(13.259) Wa **mbīpīna** Kowe awa mangusuwa asape mī i.

wa	mbī-p- na	Kowe	awa	mangusuwa	asa-p-e	mī	i
village	here-be-IRR	[name] INT	3SG.poor	hit-PRF-DEP	3SG	go.PRF	

‘(Kītalwe) would have stayed in the village, but Kowe himself hit the poor thing (Kītalwe) and he (Kītalwe) left.’ (T32)

The two sentences above posit hypothetical events in the past that are known not to have occurred. In each sentence, an irrealis form is used (to be contrasted with the perfective forms used to mark what was known to have occurred). Counterfactual statements are frequently used in conditional sentences, presenting hypothetical states or events, whether in the past (13.260 and 13.261) or in the present (13.262 and 13.263), as shown below.

(13.260) Nī ndīn ndul **sita** ...

nī	ndī=n	ndī=ul	si- ta
1SG	3PL=OBL	3PL=with	push-COND

‘If I had shown them (the birds) to them, ...’

... ndī ango uta tī **nīnanda**.

ndī	ango	uta	tī	nī=na- nda
3PL	NEG	bird	take	1SG=give-IRR

‘... (then) I would not have been able to take the birds for myself.’ (T27)

(13.261) U ukunda **nakita** ...

u [h]uk-unda-na na-kī-ta
2SG hook-go-IRR DETR-say-COND
'If you had thought of fishing, ...'

... u ilum atnī wambana **mokona**.

u ilum at=nī wambana moko-na
2SG little fight=OBL fish take-IRR
'... (then) you would have gotten many fish.' (Literally, 'take with little fight'; *huk* < TP) (T27)

(13.262) Ndī **ndandilaluta ndalin**.

ndī ndī=andila-lo-ta ndī=ali-n[da]
3PL 3PL=await-go-IRR-COND 3PL=scrape-IRR
'If they looked for them, they would scrape them.'

Ndī ango ndale.

ndī ango ndī=ali-e
3PL NEG 3PL=scrape-DEP
'But they don't scrape them.' (T27)

(13.263) A! Ala num tī **mbilta** nī mbu **wonlakana**.

a ala num tī mbī-lī-ta nī mbī-u won-la-ka-na
ah that.PL canoe take here-put-COND 1SG here-from cut-IRR-let-IRR
'Ah! If only those folks had a canoe here, I would cross from there.' (T32)

13.8 Passive voice

In a passive sentence, the more agentive argument of a transitive verb may be viewed as somehow demoted when compared to the more agentive argument in the active sentence counterpart: in Ulwa, the agent is typically left unexpressed in passive sentences. Syntactically, passive sentences are quite interesting in Ulwa, since they do not comply with the canonical verb-final clause structure. Despite their crosslinguistically unusual formation (in that they rely solely on a manipulation of word order), these constructions in Ulwa are considered here to be passive, since they satisfy common criteria for defining passives as such. Siewierska (2013) defines the passive construction according to five criteria:

1. it contrasts with another construction, the active;
2. the subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overtly expressed;

3. the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active;
4. the construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active;
5. the construction displays some special morphological marking of the verb.

First, the passive construction in Ulwa contrasts with the active—morphosyntactically, by reflecting a different order of basic constituents. Second, the subject of the active construction either is left unexpressed in the passive version or it occurs as an oblique phrase. Third, the subject of the passive corresponds to the object of the active equivalent. Fourth, the construction is pragmatically restricted (that is, the unmarked sentence type—and the one that occurs most frequently—is the active sentence type). Fifth, the construction displays special behavior on the part of the verb. This last point warrants further comment.

Although Siewierska's (ibid.) definition calls for "special morphological marking" on the verb, this need not be reflected inflectionally. Indeed, two methods of forming passive constructions are often noted: synthetic passives, which show special passive verbal morphology (e.g., verbal suffixes in Latin); and analytic passives, which are formed with the help of an additional verb (e.g., the auxiliary verb 'be' in English).

If one allows for the existence both of synthetic and of analytic passives in typologies of grammatical voice alternations, then one should also admit syntactic passives, should they exist. That is, if a language distinguishes passive sentences from their active equivalents solely by altering the position of the verb, then such constructions should be considered passives, even though they are certainly not prototypical ones. In Ulwa, passives are distinguished in exactly this way.

Active sentences in Ulwa have a fairly rigid basic constituent order (11.2). Although there is some flexibility in the placement of adverbs and other obliques, the verb is always clause-final, the object (if present) always immediately precedes the verb, and the subject always precedes the (object and) verb—that is, there is a fairly rigid SOV word order. In passive sentences, however, the verb occupies a different position: it precedes the subject (which corresponds semantically to the object of the active equivalent). The sentences below contrast active sentences (with the canonical SOV word order) with their passive equivalents (illustrating the inverted VS order). In each passive example, the subject argument corresponds to the object argument of its active equivalent.

- (13.264) Yeta mī lamndu **masap**.
 yeta mī lamndu **ma=asa-p**
 man 3SG pig 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘The man killed the pig.’
- (13.265) **Asape** lamndu mī.
asa-p-e lamndu mī
 hit-PRF-DEP pig 3SG
 ‘The pig was killed.’
- (13.266) Inom utam **nduwanap**.
 inom utam **ndī=wana-p**
 mother yam 3PL=cook-PRF
 ‘Mother cooked the yams.’
- (13.267) **Wanape** utam ndī.
wana-p-e utam ndī
 cook-PRF-DEP yam 3PL
 ‘The yams were cooked.’

As seen above, the order of elements in the passive sentences is markedly different from that of their active equivalents. In the passive sentences, the verb occurs initially, followed by the subject—that is, a VS constituent order, as opposed to the canonical S(O)V order of active sentences. To put this in terms of semantic roles (rather than grammatical relations), the canonical active transitive clause has the basic order AVP (where A is the more agent-like argument and P is the more patient-like argument, i.e., the object); passive clauses, on the other hand, have an order of VP. Thus, while in terms of grammatical relations, there is an inversion (the verb swaps places with the subject), in terms of semantic roles there is no change between the relative ordering of verb and patient. The fact that this patient-like argument is in fact the grammatical subject, however, is clear. First, it is the only obligatory argument of the verb. Second, this patient-like subject is marked not with the object marker but with the subject marker; although these are usually homophonous, there is a distinction in the 3SG form—*mī* for subjects and *ma* for objects (7.4, 11.3). Crucially, as in example (13.265) above, the marker *mī* (and not **ma*) follows (what must be) the subject of the passive clause. Third, as evidence that the semantic patient (the object of the equivalent active sentence) has been promoted to the role of subject, the verb in the passive sentence does not permit an object-marker proclitic.

There is, however, at least one complication. The verb in the passive clause (generally) requires the suffix *-e* (a form which can serve several functions in Ulwa). While primarily

functioning as a dependent marker that indicates that the verb which bears this suffix belongs to a clause that is dependent on a following clause, the suffix *-e* may also function as an imperfective aspect marker. Here, however, although this suffix is glossed (as elsewhere) as ‘DEP’ (that is, “dependent”), these passive sentences are analyzed as being independent (since they serve as complete sentences, without needing any additional clause, stated or implied). It is, however, very likely that—diachronically—passive sentences have developed from a type of dependent clause, namely, relative clauses, which can be analyzed as having inverted word order (12.4). Perhaps the examples above could be analyzed as relative clauses: e.g., example (13.267) above could actually mean something like ‘the yams that were cooked’. However, since these examples are all fully capable of serving as independent sentences, not dependent on any other clause, they are analyzed here as indeed passive sentences and not as relative clauses.

Also, it should be noted that the *-e* suffix does not appear (at least not overtly) in irrealis-mood passives. Since the irrealis suffix invariably ends in *-a*, and a phonological rule could syncopate a following /e/, it is, however, possible that there is an underlying *-e* suffix even in these irrealis-mood passives. The following is an example of an irrealis-mood passive sentence.

(13.268) Umbe **walinda** lamndu.
 umbe wali-**nda** lamndu
 tomorrow hit-IRR pig
 ‘The pig will be killed tomorrow.’

When passive clauses contain discontinuous verb forms (9.3.1), the entire verbal unit occurs preminally, as in the following:

(13.269) **Limndi ale** ankam.
limndi **ala-e** ankam
 eye for-DEP person
 ‘The man was seen.’

The following examples of simple passive sentences taken from texts reveal some of the pragmatic functions of passive sentences. In the first sentence below, (13.270), the speaker is introducing a new topic and placing emphasis on the action (the killing of pigs) and not on the agents of this action. In the second sentence below, (13.271), the role of the agent (the people who eat food in the dry season) is negligible; rather, the important point is—quite impersonally—that the dry season is a time when there is plenty food.

(13.270) *Asape nungol!*

asa-p-e nungol
hit-PRF-DEP child

‘Piglets were killed!’ (Literally, ‘Children [i.e., offspring of pigs] were killed!’) (T11)

(13.271) *Ane se ame mundu.*

ane sa-e ama-e mundu
sun cry-DEP eat-DEP food

‘When the sun is shining, food is eaten.’ (i.e., the dry season is a good time for finding food) (T36)

Although the agent of a passive sentence need not be expressed, it can be included as an oblique phrase. In active sentences, obliques (such as temporal adverbs) occur either in clause-initial position or immediately before the verb phrase (that is, before the verb in intransitive clauses, and before the object of the verb in transitive clauses). Likewise, the agent oblique phrase (if included) appears at the beginning of the passive clause, immediately before the verb. The oblique marker =*n* is used to identify the agent of passive verbs, as in the following sentences.

(13.272) *Ankamni toplipe mana.*

ankam=**ni** top-li-p-e mana
person=OBL throw-put-PRF spear

‘The spear was thrown by the man.’

(13.273) *Ndin asape lamndu.*

ndi=**n** asa-p-e lamndu
3PL=OBL hit-PRF-DEP pig

‘The pig was killed by them.’

(13.274) *Nungolni lukautimawpe nga.*

nungol=**ni** lukaut-im-wap-e nga
child=OBL look.after-TR-be.PST-DEP this.SG

‘This one was looked after by (my) son.’ (*lukautim* < TP) (T11)

It should be noted that passivized clauses are very rare in Ulwa discourse. It is suspected that—as relatively complex grammatical structures—they are being lost as the language suffers grammatical attrition in the face of obsolescence (see Chapter 15). In many situations where one might be expected to use a passive construction (i.e., situations in which the role of the agent of a transitive sentence is to be downplayed), alternate structures are often used. For example, some speakers use impersonal constructions: since a pronominal subject can be omitted (i.e., pro-

drop), it is possible to say something along the lines of ‘[they] did x’, in which the non-specific subject ‘they’ is unstated altogether, as in the following:

(13.275) Nip malpe.

ni-p ma=lī-p-e
die-PRF 3SG=put-PRF-DEP
‘(He) died and (they) buried him.’ (T32)

(13.276) Lungum anda mat Tapon nana.

lungum anda ma=tī Tapon na-na
long.spear that.SG 3SG=take [name] give-PRF
‘(They) gave a long spear to Tapon.’ (T03)

Although often not necessary to convey information, passive clauses fulfill a very useful role in discourse, since they enable certain relative clause constructions that would otherwise be impossible. In Ulwa relative clause constructions, only the subject argument is accessible to being relativized. In other words, the NP of the matrix clause that is modified by the relative clause (although it can fill any grammatical role within the matrix clause) must serve the role of subject of the embedded relative clause (see 12.4). It is thus impossible for this antecedent NP to serve as the direct object of the relative clause. Therefore, although it would be possible directly to translate into Ulwa a sentence like ‘Ginam saw the man that killed the pig’, it would not be possible directly to translate into Ulwa a sentence like ‘Ginam saw the pig that the man killed.’

Passivization, however, which can promote a direct object to subject, provides a means for conveying the meaning of a sentence like ‘Ginam saw the pig that the man killed’, changing the sentence, as it were, to a sentence like ‘Ginam saw the pig that was killed by the man.’ The sentence in Ulwa would appear as follows.

(13.277) Ginam līmndī ankamnī asape lamndu mala.

Ginam līmndī [ankam=nī asa-p-e] lamndu ma=ala
[name] eye [person=OBL hit-PRF-DEP] pig 3SG=for
‘Ginam saw the pig that the man killed.’ (Literally, ‘Ginam saw the pig that was killed by the man.’)

In the set of examples that follow, it may be seen that it is a straightforward process to have the head noun in the matrix clause (*lam* ‘meat’ in 13.279) correspond to the subject of the relative clause (*lam* ‘meat’ in 13.280). It is *not*, however, possible, for the head noun in the

matrix clause to correspond to a direct object in the relative clause (*lam* ‘meat’ in 13.281); but, rather, this can be conveyed by using a passive construction in the relative clause (13.282).

(13.278) Inom mī lam mawanap.

inom mī lam ma=wana-p
 mother 3SG meat 3SG=cook-PRF
 ‘Mother cooked the meat.’

(13.279) Lam mī nungol masap.

lam mī nungol ma=asa-p
 meat 3SG child 3SG=hit-PRF
 ‘The meat killed the child.’ (i.e., it poisoned him and he died)

(13.280) Inom mī nungol masape lam mawanap.

inom mī [nungol ma=asa-p-e] lam ma=wana-p
 mother 3SG [child 3SG=hit-PRF-DEP] meat 3SG=cook-PRF
 ‘Mother cooked the meat that killed the child.’

(13.281) Nungol mī lam mamap.

nungol mī lam ma=ama-p
 [name] 3SG meat 3SG=eat-PRF
 ‘The child ate the meat.’

(13.282) Inom mī nungolnī amape lam mawanap.

inom mī [nungol=nī ama-p-e] lam ma=wana-p
 mother 3SG [child=OBL eat-PRF-DEP] meat 3SG=cook-PRF
 ‘Mother cooked the meat that the child ate.’ (Literally, ‘Mother cooked the meat that was eaten by the child.’)

It is perhaps due to this usefulness that the passive voice *does* still appear in discourse, often in rather complex constructions that employ relative clauses, like this following sentence.

(13.283) U ko nananī nīwat lape mīnda ngawonp.

u ko nana=nī nī=wat la-p-e mīnda nga=won-p-e
 2SG just mama=OBL 1SG=atop plant-PRF-DEP banana this.SG=cut-PRF-DEP
 ‘You just cut this banana tree that was planted above me by mama.’ (T01)

13.9 Valency reduction and decreased transitivity

Passive sentences (13.8) can be thought of as reducing the valency of a verb. Since their active (transitive) equivalents have two core arguments (a subject and a direct object), whereas

they themselves have only one (a patient-like subject), the valency of the verb is considered decreased. This section is concerned with other means of reducing valency (or decreasing transitivity).

13.9.1 The detransitivizing prefix *na-*

There is an important bound morpheme in Ulwa that serves a number of grammatical functions, often with nuances that are difficult to explain, but whose basic function seems to be to reduce the transitivity of a verb. This is the verbal prefix *na-*, which is glossed as ‘DETR’ (‘detransitivized’). (Reasons for treating *na-* as a prefix rather than a clitic include the fact that it only occurs before verbs and the fact that object-marker proclitics may precede it.)

In Ulwa, there are not strong distributional or structural differences between what may be thought of as transitive and intransitive verbs. Many verbs with meanings that are often considered prototypically intransitive can, in Ulwa, have direct objects and, as such, may be marked with object-marker proclitics. For example, the verb *ma- ~ i-* ‘go’ can function simply as an intransitive verb, requiring no object (13.284). Alternatively, it can take as its object a destination (goal) and thus receive object marking (13.285). As an intransitive verb, it may even accept a postpositional phrase to demark a goal argument (13.286). And as a transitive verb, it may take an object even without an object-marker proclitic (13.287). These possible configurations may all be seen in the following examples.

(13.284) Nĩ **i**.

nĩ	i
1SG	go.PRF
‘I went.’ (T11)	

(13.285) Nĩ Kumba **ma=i**.

nĩ	Kumba	ma=i
1SG	Bun	3SG=go.PRF
‘I went to Bun (village).’ (T27)		

(13.286) Nĩ **ndiya i**.

nĩ	ndi= iya	i
1SG	3PL=toward	go.PRF
‘I went to them.’ (T11)		

(13.287) Mi i wandam iye.
 mī i wandam i-e
 3SG go.PRF jungle go.PRF-DEP
 ‘She went, went to the jungle.’ (T01)

Furthermore, as a transitive verb, *i* ‘go’ can even have both a direct object and a postpositional phrase marking an additional destination (i.e., goal), as in:

(13.288) Nī maya wa may.
 nī ma=iya wa ma=i
 1SG 3SG=toward village 3SG=go.PRF
 ‘I went to him in the village.’ (T32)

Thus the verb *ma-* ~ *i-* ‘go’ may be considered transitive (or at least *capable* of being transitive), taking as its direct object a goal argument. Even when there is no expressed object, the claim can be made that the verb is still transitive, only that the direct object has been left unexpressed.

Although it is possible for the verb *ma-* ~ *i-* ‘go’ to function as an intransitive verb without any special marking, it very commonly receives the prefix *na-*, which is believed here to serve the primary purpose of reducing transitivity, in this case changing the verb’s meaning from something perhaps better glossed as ‘go *to*’ to something meaning simply ‘go’, as in the following:

(13.289) Ndī nay.
 ndī na-i
 3PL DETR-go.PRF
 ‘They went.’ (T27)

(13.290) Mangusuwata namana.
 mangusuwata na-ma-na
 3SG.poor DETR-go-IRR
 ‘The poor thing will be going.’ (T32)

This same prefix is seen on the verb ‘go’ also when a single (goal) argument is expressed in a postpositional phrase (that is, the goal is *not* expressed as the direct object of the verb), as in the following:

(13.291) Mi maya **nay**.
 mĩ ma=iya **na-i**
 3SG 3SG=toward DETR-go.PRF
 ‘He went to her.’ (T07)

The same prefix *na-* ‘DETR’ can occur with other verbs, also marking them as intransitive.

In the first example below, the verb *ama- ~ la-* ‘eat’ is transitive. This sentence may be compared with examples (13.293) and (13.294), in which the same verb is intransitive.

(13.292) Tin mĩ **utam mamap**.
 tĩn mĩ **utam** **ma=ama-p**
 dog 3SG yam 3SG=eat-PRF
 ‘The dog ate the yam.’

(13.293) Ni ta **namap**.
 nĩ ta **na-ama-p**
 1SG already DETR-eat-PRF
 ‘I’ve already eaten.’

(13.294) Ndul **nalanda!**
 ndĩ=ul **na-la-nda**
 3PL=with DETR-eat-IRR
 ‘(Let’s) eat with them!’ (T24)

As a verbal affix that allows an otherwise transitive verb to lose its direct object argument, the prefix *na-* could theoretically be described as an antipassive morpheme, even if this is not a common description among languages with nominative-accusative morphosyntactic alignment, such as Ulwa (although see Heaton 2017:149ff. for a discussion of antipassives in nominative-accusative languages).

The morpheme *na-* is often better described not as changing the valency of a verb, but rather somehow *reducing* its transitivity. In the example below, the object of the verb is technically the question word *angos* ‘what?’; but given the fact that the event that the verb is encoding is far from being prototypically transitive (i.e., the situation is non-punctual, irrealis, etc., cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980), it is not surprising that the detransitivizing prefix *na-* is employed.

(13.295) Una angos **nalanda**?

unan angos **na-la-nda**
1PL.INCL what DETR-eat-IRR
'What shall we eat?' (T35)

The following examples illustrate how the verb *ita-* 'build' can likewise be detransitivized with the prefix *na-*. The first example is transitive with an object marker (*ma=* '3SG') on the verb (13.296); the second example is intransitive with the detransitivizing prefix on the verb (13.297).

(13.296) Mī **wat maytap**.

mī **wat** **ma=ita-p**
3SG ladder 3SG=build-PRF
'He built the ladder.' (T01)

(13.297) Mī **naytap**.

mī **na-ita-p**
3SG DETR-build-PRF
'He built (something).' (T11)

Verbs glossed as 'put' in Ulwa, which take as their direct object a goal argument, are also commonly marked with *na-* when there is no specific goal or when the goal is wished to be omitted, as in the following:

(13.298) I ndīn **nop**.

i ndī=n **na-u-p**
go.PRF 3PL=OBL DETR-put-PRF
'(They) went and planted them (somewhere).' (T27)

(13.299) **Nay** mat **nalp** mat wapa nduwatlīpe.

na-i ma=tī **na-li-p** ma=tī wapa ndī=wat-li-p-e
DETR-go.PRF 3SG=take DETR-put-PRF 3SG=take leaf 3PL=atop-put-PRF-DEP
'(They) came, took him, put him (somewhere), put him on the leaves.' (T01)

(13.300) Ndī namlipe mī ndīt anmbī **nalpe**.

ndī namli-p-e mī ndī=tī an-mbī **na-li-p-e**
3PL soft-be-DEP 3SG 3PL=take out-here DETR-put-PRF-DEP
'When they were soft, she took them out.' (T10)

This prefix may also be used when these verbs of 'putting' are used as the second element of verbal compounds, also with the effect of downplaying the direct object (goal argument) of the verb of 'putting', as in:

(13.301) Ndĩ **mamune nop.**

ndĩ ma=mune **na-u-p**
3PL 3SG=throw DETR-put-PRF
'They threw it around.' (T27)

(13.302) Ndĩ nji ngalan **ndĩnambĩ nop.**

ndĩ nji ngala=n ndĩ=nambĩ **na-u-p**
3PL thing this.PL=OBL 3PL=body DETR-put-PRF
'They blocked them with these things.' (T31)

Although the prefix *na-* serves a number of functions (some of them not always entirely clear), all of these relate in some way to altering verbs. Whereas seemingly similar markers such as object-marker proclitics appear both before verbs and before postpositions, the morpheme *na-* only occurs pre-verbally. Furthermore, when *na-* occurs *with* object-marker proclitics, these attach before /na-/ as part of their host, further suggesting that *na-* is a verbal prefix. Indeed, as the only true prefix in the language, *na-* is quite interesting, especially since Ulwa (as a verb-final language) otherwise conforms to typological expectations of employing suffixes as opposed to prefixes.

For uses of *nay* (or *ne*, both from *na-i*) as a TAM or discourse marker, see Chapter 15, on contact-influenced grammatical change in Ulwa.

13.9.2 Middle voice

One function of the prefix *na-* seems to be to create something like middle voice, showing that the agent of the verb is also affected by the verb (without being its grammatical object). Thus the verb *kuk-* 'gather' can have a middle voice sense when marked with *na-*, i.e., something like 'assemble, unite, or (perhaps) gather oneself', as in the following example (more examples are provided above in the discussion of separable verbs, 9.3.1).

(13.303) Mape **nakukawe.**

ma=p-e **na-kuk-aw-e**
3SG=be-DEP DETR-gather-put.IPFV-DEP
'While (he) was there, (they) were gathering.' (T17)

13.9.3 The prefix *na-* with the verb *ni-* ‘act, die’

Sometimes the role of *na-* is not as clear. It shows up at times, for example, with the verb *ni-* ‘act’, including some instances in which this verb has the (common alternate) meaning ‘die’. It is not, however, always present; and it is difficult to explain its presence as a form of detransitivization, as the verb *ni-* ‘act’ is not particularly transitive. When it does select an argument (i.e., when the verb has the sense of ‘do’), this argument is marked with the oblique marker =*n*, as in the following example.

(13.304) Ndi makape wombĩn **man ne**.

ndi	maka-p-e	wombĩn	ma= n	ni -e
3PL	thus-be-DEP	work	3SG=OBL	act-DEP

‘They used to do work like this.’ (T24)

Of course, since the oblique marker is often of the phonological form /*n*/, since the stem of the verb ‘act’ is always of the form /*n*/, and since degeminates consonants are typically degeminated, it could be argued that the example above is actually transitive, with the object marker *ma=* affixing directly to the verb stem. That is, since the surface form is [wo.mbĩn.ma.ne] ‘do work’, it could be that there is actually no (elided) oblique marker at all. Arguing against this theory, however, are examples in which the allomorph /*nĩ*/ appears as the oblique marker, such as the following:

(13.305) Wombĩn **anmani ne**.

wombĩn	anma= nĩ	ni -e
work	good=OBL	act-DEP

‘(They) were doing good work.’ (T27)

Nevertheless, it is possible that the verb *ni-* ‘act’ is moving towards becoming more prototypically transitive, helped in part by the phonological ambiguity of forms such as those in (13.304) above. This can perhaps explain what otherwise seems like redundancy in marking *ni-* ‘act’ with the detransitivizing *na-* prefix (seemingly without any change of meaning), as in the example below.

(13.306) Una umbe makape wombin **man naninda**.

unan	umbe	maka-p-e	wombin	ma= n	na-ni-nda
1PL.INCL	tomorrow	thus-be-DEP	work	3SG=OBL	DETR-act-IRR

‘Tomorrow we will do work like this.’ (T25)

The following examples show the presence (13.308) and absence (13.307) of the prefix *na-* when the verb has the sense ‘die’.

(13.307) Mī **nip**.

mī	ni-p
3SG	die-PRF

‘She died.’ (T23)

(13.308) Mī **nanip**.

mī	na-ni-p
3SG	DETR-die-PRF

‘She died.’ (T11)

13.9.4 The prefix *na-* with the copular suffix

The detransitivizing morpheme *na-* is often used with the copular suffix when it has a locative sense (i.e., ‘be present [at a location]’). It is often used in conjunction with *mbi* ‘here’. It may serve to make the identification of the location less definite (as in the first example below), but this is not always clearly the case (as in the second example below, in which it is uncertain why the location would be marked as less definite).

(13.309) Una ango luwa lunda? Mbi **nawap**.

unan	ango	luwa	lo-nda	mbi	na-wap
1PL.INCL	which	place	go-IRR	here	DETR-be.PST

‘Where should we have gone? We stayed.’ (i.e., ‘just stayed around?’) (T24)

(13.310) Wolka mo nay ...

wolka	ma= u	na-i
again	3SG=from	DETR-go.PRF

‘Again, (we) came from there, ...’

... anmbi mbi mbi **nap**.

an-mbi	mbi-i	mbi	na-p
out-here	here-go.PRF	here	DETR-be

‘...came out here, and are staying here.’ (T02)

13.9.5 The prefix *na-* with object-marker proclitics

Rather more challenging to explain, the detransitivizing prefix *na-* may be used in conjunction with object-marking proclitics. When present, the object marker always precedes the prefix *na-*. Interestingly, when the 3SG marker is used, it takes the form *mī=* (as it appears as a subject marker) and not the form *ma=* (as would otherwise be expected of an object marker). The fact that *na-* immediately precedes verb stems and follows object-marker proclitics (when present) is further support that this form is a verbal prefix. The following sentences exemplify the use of object markers along with the detransitivizing prefix *na-*.

(13.311) *Mī mol anmbi inim naye ...*

<i>mī</i>	<i>ma=ul</i>	<i>an-mbī-i</i>	<i>inim</i>	<i>na-i-e</i>
3SG	3SG=with	out-here-go.PRF	water	DETR-go.PRF-DEP

‘It went with it out into the water ...’

... ***minape.***

mī=na-p-e

3SG=DETR-be-DEP

‘... and stayed around there.’ (T05)

(13.312) *Mingusuwa mat nay ndī mīnanikape.*

<i>mingusuwa</i>	<i>ma=tī</i>	<i>na-i</i>	<i>ndī</i>	<i>mī=na-nkī-p-e</i>
3DU.poor	3SG=take	DETR-go.PRF	3PL	3SG=DETR-cut-PRF-DEP

‘The two poor things took it and they butchered it.’ (T11)

(13.313) *Ay ndīnamap.*

ay ***ndī=na-ama-p***

sago 3PL=DETR-eat-PRF

‘(They) have eaten the sago.’ (T11)

(13.314) *Min ndīnasap.*

min ***ndī=na-asa-p***

3DU 3PL=DETR-hit-PRF

‘The two killed them.’ (T01)

It may be that these forms have some level of reduced transitivity or that the object of the transitive verb is less definite. Sometimes, however, the direct object of the verb marked with both *na-* and an object marker is expressed as a full NP, as in the examples below. It is hard to see *na-* as a means of either reducing transitivity or definiteness in such examples—although, the third example below does seem best translated with an indefinite article.

(13.315) Ande an **wa mīnapīna**.

ande	an	wa	mī=na-p-na
ok	1PL.EXCL	village	3SG=DETR-be-IRR

‘OK, we’ll stay in the village.’ (T10)

(13.316) Yokombla mī nay **numbu mīnanip**.

Yokombla	mī	na-i	numbu	mī=na-ni-p
[name]	3SG	DETR-go.PRF	garamut	3SG=DETR-beat-PRF

‘Yokombla went and beat the *garamut* drum.’ (T11)

(13.317) **Apa ambi mīnayatana**.

apa	ambi	mī=na-ita-na
house	big	3SG=DETR-build-IRR

‘(I) will build a big house.’ (T37)

In some instances, it seems that the simultaneous use of the detransitivizing prefix *na-* and an object marker is attributable such frequent use of *na-* with certain verbs. For example, verb forms such as *nay* (< *na-* ‘DETR’ + *i* ‘go.PRF’) are so common, that it could be that—for some speakers—the *na-* prefix has fossilized to the verb root, having lost its original (detransitivizing) meaning, as in:

(13.318) *Nay i nay Imwa mīnay*.

na-i	i	na-i	Imwa	mī=na-i
DETR-go.PRF	go.PRF	DETR-go.PRF	[place]	3SG=DETR-go.PRF

‘(They) went and went, went to Imwa.’ (T11)

The hypothesis that *nay* has fossilized as a monomorphemic form may be supported by the fact that it itself may receive the *na-* prefix (in effect giving the verb stem *two* detransitivizing prefixes), as in:

(13.319) *Nī mol nay wa mbī nanay*.

nī	ma=ul	na-i	wa	mbī	na-na-i
1SG	3SG=with	DETR-go.PRF	village	here	DETR-DETR-go.PRF

‘I went with her and came home here.’ (T27)

The stem *kamb-* ‘shun’ also frequently seems to have a fossilized prefix *na-*, especially when the verb has the sense ‘suffice, have enough’, as in the following example.

(13.320) Nambi **nakamp**.

nambi	na-kamb-p
1SG.FOC	DETR-shun-PRF

‘As for me, I’ve had enough.’ (T27)

This form *nakamb-* can also take an additional object marker, as in the following examples.

(13.321) I *ndī* una **ndīnakam**.

i	<i>ndī</i>	unan	ndī=na-kamb
way	3PL	1PL.INCL	3PL=DETR-shun

‘The (traditional) customs—we shun them.’ (T11)

(13.322) Una **ndīnakam** nay.

unan	ndī=na-kamb	na-i
1PL.INCL	3PL=DETR-shun	DETR-go.PRF

‘We left them and came.’ (T32)

13.9.6 Multiple *na-* prefixes on a single verb

At times, however, the sheer number of *na-* markers in a given verb can be hard to account for morphosyntactically (even diachronically), and may be most simply explained as a sort of filler, as in the following examples.

(13.323) Unan **ndīnanalanda**.

unan	ndī=na-na-la-nda
1PL.INCL	3PL=DETR-DETR-eat-IRR

‘We will eat them.’ (T25)

(13.324) Mbī **nanap**.

mbī	na-na-p
here	DETR-DETR-be

‘(We) stayed around.’ (T27)

(13.325) Na ambi *ndī* mī **ndīnanatīn**.

na	ambi	<i>ndī</i>	mī	ndī=na-na-tī-n
talk	big	3PL	3SG	3PL=DETR-DETR-take-PRF

‘The big stories—he got them (already).’ (T27)

13.9.7 The prefix *na-* for ‘become’

There is another use of *na-*, which may be related (at least historically) to its function as a reducer of transitivity, valency, or definiteness. When used with the copular suffix, the form *na-*

often seems to give the verb a sense of ‘become’ rather than ‘be’ (although this is not always the case). The following sentences all convey the sense of ‘becoming’.

(13.326) *Mi wandam nap.*

<i>mī</i>	<i>wandam</i>	na-p
3SG	jungle	DETR-be

‘It’s become a jungle.’ (T11)

(13.327) *Asiya mī mundotoma nape.*

<i>asiya</i>	<i>mī</i>	<i>mundotoma</i>	na-p-e
string	3SG	short	DETR-be-DEP

‘The string has gotten short.’ (T12)

(13.328) *Ndī ambi nap kalam nap.*

<i>ndī</i>	<i>ambi</i>	na-p	<i>kalam</i>	na-p
3PL	big	DETR-be	know	DETR-be

‘They are already big and know.’ (Literally, ‘have become knowing’) (T11)

(13.329) *Ane naman awal nap.*

<i>ane</i>	<i>na-ma-n</i>	<i>awal</i>	na-p
sun	DETR-go-IPFV	afternoon	DETR-be

‘The sun is going; it’s becoming evening.’ (T14)

13.9.8 Objects demoted by preverbal obliques

Finally, in this section I examine a phenomenon in Ulwa that may be analyzed as a change in valency (or at least the demotion of a verbal argument). It is possible for the semantic object of a verb to appear as part of an oblique phrase. This occurs when an element intervenes between the (otherwise immediately preverbal) direct object and the verb. The element that motivates this demotion may be a postpositional phrase or an adjective functioning adverbially. In the following examples, the logical object of the verb contains oblique marking.

(13.330) *Ndīn we ndul landa.*

ndī=n	<i>we</i>	<i>ndī=ul</i>	<i>la-nda</i>
3PL=OBL	sago	3PL=with	eat-IRR

‘(They) would eat them (pieces of meat) with sago.’ (T28)

(13.331) **Man** al mol t̄in.

ma=**n** al ma=**ul** t̄i-**n**
3SG=**OBL** net 3SG=**with** take-**PRF**
'(It) got her with the mosquito net.' (T05)

(13.332) N̄inji yenat ngala ango apka **nd̄in** anma kalampe.

n̄inji yenat ngala ango apka **nd̄i=**n**** anma kalam-p-e
1SG.**POSS** daughter this.**PL** **NEG** very 3**PL**=**OBL** good know-be-**DEP**
'My daughters do not know them very well.' (T27)

(13.333) Nd̄i wa **sokoy**n ak̄inaka ine.

nd̄i wa **sokoy=**n**** ak̄inaka ina-e
3**PL** just tobacco=**OBL** new get-**DEP**
'They just harvest the tobacco prematurely.' (T32)

In the example below, it seems that even the question word *anjikaka* 'how?' can intervene, thereby motivating the demotion of the object.

(13.334) U **man** anjikaka t̄i inde iye ...

u ma=**n** anjikaka t̄i inda-e i-e
2**SG** 3SG=**OBL** how take walk-**DEP** go.**PRF**-**DEP**

... m̄i ko liyu?

m̄i ko li-u
3**SG** just fall-**PRF**

'How were carrying it around such that it just fell?' (T32)

Constructions such as these may, in a way, be considered antipassives, since the logical object of the transitive verb is demoted to an oblique phrase. It should be noted, however, that there is no verbal morphology (such as an affix) to signal this change.

13.10 Causative constructions

The syntactic process of passivization (13.8) and the morphological addition of the prefix *na-* (13.9) are both potential means of reducing valency in Ulwa. Many languages also have valency-increasing constructions, whereby a clause containing a verb that otherwise would permit only one (or two, etc.) arguments undergoes a morphosyntactic process such that it can permit two (or three, etc.) arguments. Ulwa has no known valency-increasing constructions. The addition of any core arguments requires the addition, as well, of an inflected verb—that is, the

addition of a clause. Thus, what are sometimes expressed through valency-increasing operations in other languages (e.g., applicatives, causatives, etc.) have as functional equivalents in Ulwa multiclausal constructions. This section provides some illustrations of how events involving causation are expressed in Ulwa. The following sections illustrate permissive constructions (13.11) and desiderative constructions (13.12), both of which are also formed with multiple clauses in Ulwa.

Events in which one participant causes another to act are expressed in Ulwa by a minimum of two clauses: one relating the causer to the causee, the other detailing the action of the causee (whether it involves other participants or not). In the following examples, the verb *ni-* ‘act’ is used along with a postpositional phrase headed by *ul* ‘with’ to convey the sense ‘force’. In these constructions, the clause with the causer as subject is marked as dependent (with the dependent marker *-e* following the verb); this first clause may thus be translated with a causal sense (i.e., ‘since ...’, see 12.3.2).

(13.335) Itom mĩ Kongos **mol nipe** ...

itom	mĩ	Kongos	ma= ul	ni-p-e
father	3SG	[name]	3SG=with	act-PRF-DEP

‘Father made Kongos ...’

... mĩ apa itap.

mĩ	apa	ita-p
3SG	house	build-PRF

‘... build a house.’ (Literally, ‘[Since] father acted with [i.e., forced] Kongos, he built a house.’)

(13.336) Yena mĩ numan **mol nipe** ...

yena	mĩ	numan	ma= ul	ni-p-e
woman	3SG	husband	3SG=with	act-PRF-DEP

‘The woman made (her) husband ...’

... mĩ asimu inap.

mĩ	asi-mu	ina-p
3SG	grass-seed	get-PRF

‘... buy rice.’ (Literally, ‘[Since] the woman acted with [i.e., forced] [her] husband, he got rice.’)

(13.337) Itom mĩ Kongos **mol nipta** ...

itom	mĩ	Kongos	ma= ul	ni-p-ta
father	3SG	[name]	3SG=with	act-PRF-COND

‘Father will make Kongos ...’

... mĩ apa itana.
 mĩ apa ita-na
 3SG house build-IRR
 ‘... build a house.’

In the last example above, a conditional statement is used to convey the irrealis sense of a causative (literally, ‘if father forces Kongos, he will build a house.’).

The idiom ‘to act with’ (i.e., ‘to force’) may be used in a single clause, without any other clause divulging what the person is forced to do, as in the following example. This lends further support that the causative constructions above are all truly composed of two clauses each.

(13.338) Itom mĩ Kongos **mol nip**.

itom mĩ Kongos ma=**ul** **ni-p**
 father 3SG [name] 3SG=with act-PRF
 ‘Father forced Kongos.’

In addition to ‘act with’, there is another idiom used in Ulwa to express compulsion. The form is *nambĩnkĩ-*, a compound verb literally meaning ‘dig at (one’s) body’. It conveys a weaker level of compulsion than *ul ... ni-* ‘act with’, and may be seen in the following sentence:

(13.339) Yena mĩ numan **manambĩnkape** ...

yena mĩ numan ma=**nambĩ-nkĩ-p-e**
 woman 3SG husband 3SG=body-dig-PRF-DEP
 ‘The woman made her husband ...’

... mĩ asimu inap.
 mĩ asi-mu ina-p
 3SG grass-seed get-PRF
 ‘... buy rice.’

The fact that examples such as (13.336) and (13.339) above are truly sets of two clauses is also borne out by uses of these causative verb phrases in situations where the would-be causee fails to complete the action, as in the following:

(13.340) Yena mĩ numan **mol nipe** ...

yena mĩ numan ma=**ul** **ni-p-e**
 woman 3SG husband 3SG=with act-PRF-DEP
 ‘Even though the woman pressured (her) husband, ...’

... mĩ angu asimu inap.
 mĩ angu asi-mu ina-p
 3SG NEG grass-seed get-PRF
 ‘... he didn’t buy rice.’

(13.341) Yena mĩ numan **manambĩnkape** ...

yena mĩ numan ma=**nambĩ-nkĩ**-p-e
 woman 3SG husband 3SG=body-dig-PRF-DEP
 ‘Even though the woman nagged (her) husband, ...’

... mĩ angu asimu inap.
 mĩ angu asi-mu ina-p
 3SG NEG grass-seed get-PRF
 ‘... he didn’t buy rice.’

That is, any putative ‘causing’ verb is really a verb of ‘asking’ or ‘persuading’, and in no way suggests any increase in valency.

13.10.1 Causatives in indirect discourse

Commands or requests made in reported speech may be viewed as forms of causatives, provided that the command or request being made leads to an action being performed.

In Ulwa, commands expressed in reported speech are particularly interesting, since they reveal a distinction between realis and irrealis moods. In English, for example, there is a degree of ambiguity created by sentences that employ non-finite verb forms (i.e., infinitives), such as the following: *Mary told John to leave*. Namely, it is not clear whether John actually left or not. In Ulwa, however, this distinction is always apparent, since the event must be expressed with two clauses, each with a finite verb form—thus, the (finite) form of the verb *to leave* must be marked for aspect and mood, revealing (in effect) whether Mary’s imperative actually led to the desired action (perfective aspect) or did not (irrealis mood). This may be seen in the two sentences below, the first with perfective aspect and the second with irrealis mood.

(13.342) Mawna mĩ **nan** Yawat **mate** mĩ **i**.

Mawna mĩ **na=n** Yawat ma=**ta-e** mĩ **i**
 [name] 3SG talk=OBL [name] 3SG=say-DEP 3SG go.PRF
 ‘Mawna told Yawat to leave (and he did).’ (Literally, ‘[Since] Mawna told Yawat, he left.’)

- (13.343) Mawna mī **nan** Yawat **mate** mī **mana**.
 Mawna mī na=**n** Yawat ma=**ta-e** mī **ma-na**
 [name] 3SG talk=OBL [name] 3SG=say-DEP 3SG go-IRR
 ‘Mawna told Yawat to leave (but it is unclear whether he did).’ (Literally, ‘[Since] Mawna told Yawat, he might have left [OR] he will leave.’)

The following two examples of causatives in indirect discourse come from texts.

- (13.344) **Nan mate** mī i masamasa mowonp.
na=n ma=**ta-e** mī i masamasa ma=**won-p**
 talk=OBL 3SG=say-DEP 3SG go.PRF tree.sp 3SG=cut-PRF
 ‘(She) told him to go cut the *masamasa* tree.’ (Literally, ‘[Since] [she] told him, he went and cut the *masamasa* tree.’) (T01)

- (13.345) Unan **na makīta** mī ndambikulili!
 unan **na** ma=**kī-ta** mī ndambi=**kuli-lī**
 1PL.INCL talk 3SG=say-COND 3SG 3PL.FOC=throw-put
 ‘Let’s tell him to throw them away!’ (Literally, ‘If we tell him, he will throw them away.’) (T11)

13.10.2 Factitive constructions

When someone or something is caused to have a certain attribute, Ulwa uses an idiom with the verb *me-* ‘sew’. The object of this verb is the acquired attribute and that which acquires it is expressed as an oblique phrase designated by the oblique marker =*n* (literally, ‘to sew [the attribute] to [that which acquires it]’). Examples of such factitive (or translative) constructions follow.

- (13.346) **Ndīn** wapata **mep**.
 ndī=**n** wapata **me-p**
 3PL=OBL dry sew-PRF
 ‘(He) made them (sores) dry.’ (Literally, ‘[He] sewed dry[ness] to them.’; i.e., he healed the sores.) (T11)
- (13.347) **Amblan** mundotoma **menda**.
 ambla=**n** mundotoma **me-nda**
 PL.REFL=OBL short sew-IRR
 ‘(We) will make ourselves short.’ (Literally, ‘[We] will sew short[ness] to ourselves.’; i.e., we will become less populous as a village) (T32)

(13.348) *Kika mī awlu apa mo man tembi mep.*
 kika mī awlu apa ma=u ma=n tembi me-p
 white.ant 3SG step house 3SG=from 3SG=OBL bad sew-PRF
 ‘The white ant nest has come to the house and made it bad.’ (Literally, ‘... sewed bad[ness] to it’; i.e., worsened it) (T37)

In the three examples above, the adjectives either may be functioning as abstract nouns or may (as is common in translative constructions in other languages) be functioning as predicate adjectives. The following example contains the noun *kalam* ‘knowledge/knowing’, which also commonly functions either as an adjective (‘knowing’) or as an abstract noun (‘knowledge’) (5.5).

(13.349) *Nan ndītap ndīn kalam mendat.*
 na=n ndī=ta-p ndī=n kalam me-nda-t
 talk=OBL 3PL=say-DEP 3PL=OBL know sew-IRR-SPEC
 ‘(We) told them so that (we) might teach them.’ (Literally, ‘might sew knowledge to them’) (T14)

Such ‘teaching’ constructions can admit two oblique phrases, one denoting the recipient of the knowledge (as in the example above) and the other denoting the material being taught (literally, ‘sew knowledge to someone with [respect to] something’), as in:

(13.350) *Nī nji ngalan unī kalam men.*
 nī nji ngala=n un=nī kalam me-n[da]
 1SG thing this.PL=OBL 2PL=OBL know sew-IRR
 ‘I will teach you these things.’ (T11)

In the example below, the object of the verb is a title that has been acquired.

(13.351) *Amblan ini tamndī mep.*
 ambla=n ini tamndī me-p
 PL.REFL=OBL ground owner sew-PRF
 ‘(They) made themselves the owners of the land.’ (Literally, ‘sewed [the title] of land-owner to themselves’) (T11)

While the verb *me-* ‘sew’ is the most common verb used in these constructions, the same factitive concept can be expressed with other verbs that show that a new quality is being ‘attached’, as in the following examples, which use the compound verb *watli-* ‘put atop’.

(13.352) Simban yeta ti **ambiwatlpe**.

Simban yeta ti ambi=**wat-li-p-e**
[name] man take SG.REFL=atop-put-PRF-DEP
'Simban made herself (like) a man.' (Literally, 'Simban took "man" and put [it] atop herself.')

(13.353) Mi yeta ambi ti **ambiwatlip**.

mi yeta ambi ti ambi=**wat-li-p**
3SG man big take SG.REFL=atop-put-PRF
'He's (like) a grown man!' (Literally, 'He took "big man" and put [it] atop himself.')

13.11 Permissive constructions

Constructions expressing permission function similarly to biclausal causative constructions. In the first clause is the verb *ka-* 'let, leave, allow', which takes as its object the person or thing being granted permission; in the second clause, the subject is this person or thing being granted permission and the verb explains what this subject is being permitted to do.

First, it may be shown how the verb *ka-* 'let, leave, allow' functions in simple monoclausal constructions. It should be noted that, in these clauses, the object of the verb is the *location* in which someone or something is being left. That which is being left, on the other hand, may be expressed in an oblique phrase using the oblique marker =*n* (cf. the argument structure of the verb *li-* 'put', 9.3.2). (For the irregular circumfix-like form of the irrealis of this verb, see 4.4 and 9.3.3.) The following sentences illustrate the use of *ka-* 'let, leave, allow' in simple monoclausal constructions.

(13.354) Mol i man Simundo **maka**.

ma=ul i ma=n Simundo ma=**ka**
3SG=with go.PRF 3SG=OBL [place] 3SG=let
'(They) went with him and left him at Simundo (village).'

(13.355) Dingo man **maka**.

Dingo ma=n ma=**ka**
[name] 3SG=OBL 3SG=let
'(They) left Dingo there.'

(13.356) *Mi nul mbi nin ka wolka nay.*
 mī nī=ul mbi-i nī=n ka wolka na-i
 3SG 1SG=with here-go.PRF 1SG=OBL let. PRF again DETR-go.PRF
 ‘She came with me, left me, and went again.’ (T27)

(13.357) *Ulum pul male we ndin maka.*
 ulum pul ma=ale-e we ndi=n ma=ka
 palm piece 3SG=beat-DEP sago 3PL=OBL 3SG=let
 ‘(They) were scraping a piece of sago palm but left the sago starch there.’ (T32)

(13.358) *Wana malakana!*
 wana ma=la-ka-na
 PROH 3SG=IRR-let-IRR
 ‘Don’t abandon it!’ (T11)

Interestingly, when functioning in biclausal permissive constructions, the verb *ka-* ‘let, leave, allow’ takes as its object the thing being permitted (not a location, as in the monoclausal sentences above), as in the following:

(13.359) *Ndinji ndilaka ndi minap.*
 ndinji ndi=la-ka ndi mi=na-p
 3PL.POSS 3PL=IRR-let 3PL 3SG=DETR-be
 ‘(They) let their possessions (just) stay (as they are).’ (Literally, ‘[They] let theirs; they stay.’) (T11)

(13.360) *Ndilakan ndi mapin!*
 ndi=la-ka-n ndi ma=p-n[a]
 3PL=IRR-let-IMP 3PL 3SG=be-IRR
 ‘Let them stay there!’ (Literally, ‘Let them! They will be there.’) (T25)

Such constructions often make use of conditional clauses, especially in commands, as shown below.

(13.361) *Nilakata ni mawl malanda!*
 ni=la-ka-ta ni ma=ul ma=la-nda
 1SG=IRR-let-COND 1SG 3SG=with 3SG=eat-IRR
 ‘Let me eat with him!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] let me, I will eat with him.’) (T01)

(13.362) *Unanji malakata mi ina!*
 unanji ma=la-ka-ta mi i-na
 1PL.INCL.POSS 3SG=IRR-let-COND 3SG come-IRR
 ‘Let our (granddaughter) come!’ (Literally, ‘If [you] let our [granddaughter], she will come.’) (T11)

(13.363) **Un ndilakata** kuma wapatapīta!

un	ndi=la-ka-ta	kuma	wapata-p-ta
2PL	3PL=IRR-let-COND	some	dry-be-COND

‘Let some of them dry!’ (Literally, ‘If you let them, some will be dry.’) (T11)

These permissive conditional sentences may be contrasted with the following sentence, in which the conditional verb form *lakata* ‘let, leave, allow’ is used in a protasis to mean, simply, ‘leave’ (that is, not a permissive construction); here, the object of *lakata* is the location where something is left.

(13.364) **Ndīn mumnopen luwa lakata** ...

ndi=n	mumne-u-p-en	luwa	la-ka-ta
3PL=OBL	cold.and.dark-put-PRF-NMLZ	place	IRR-let-COND

‘If (they) were to leave them in a cold and dark place ...’

... tomoy ndiwat mana.

tomoy	ndi=wat	ma-na
insect.sp	3PL=atop	go-IRR

‘... (then) the *tomoy* insects would go onto them.’ (T11)

Finally, it may be noted that the verb *ka-* ‘let, leave, allow’ is used frequently in an idiom meaning something like ‘forget about it!’, ‘don’t even mention it!’, ‘amazing!’, etc. In such expressions, the object marker typically takes the focus-marked pronominal form (6.7) and the verb takes an irrealis or imperative form. This use of *ka-* is illustrated below.

(13.365) **A mambilakan!**

a	mambi=la-ka-n
ah	3SG.FOC=IRR-let-IMP

‘Ah, forget it!’ (T11)

(13.366) **Mambilakan** anankin ngala!

mambi-la-ka-n	anankin	ngala
3SG.FOC-IRR-let-IMP	blood	this.PL

‘Amazing, the blood!’ (T01)

13.12 Desiderative constructions

The expression of wants in Ulwa follows patterns very similar to those of indirect discourse (13.5.5). Indeed, the most common way of expressing that one wants something to

happen is to use a verb of speaking or thinking, typically *kī-* and typically expressed in the perfective mood and with the detransitivizing prefix *na-* (thus, *nakap*, literally, ‘said’ or ‘thought’). This form has likely been somewhat fossilized as a word used to express desires.

The clause expressing the desire is a dependent clause embedded within a matrix clause that has as its subject the person who desires something. The verb in the dependent clause is always marked as irrealis, as in the following sentences (brackets enclose the embedded clauses).

(13.367) Sokoy ulwape nī nīnji wa mana **nakap**.

sokoy	ulwa-p-e	nī	[nīnji	wa	ma-na]	na-kī-p
tobacco	nothing-be-DEP	1SG	[1SG.POSS	village	go-IRR]	DETR-say-PRF

‘Since there’s no tobacco, I want to go to my village.’ (T27)

(13.368) Kaukaunī mankīna **nakap**.

[kaukau=nī	ma=nkī-na]	na-kī-p
[kaukau=OBL	3SG=dig-IRR]	DETR-say-PRF

‘(They) wanted to plant *kaukau* (sweet potato).’ (T32)

(13.369) Nīn u na tīna **nakap**.

[nī=n	u	na	tī-na]	na-kī-p
[1SG=OBL	from	talk	take-IRR]	DETR-say-PRF

‘(He) wants to get stories from me.’ (T27)

(13.370) Na ndan nīkīna **nakap**?

[na	anda=n	nī-kī-na]	na-kī-p
[talk	that.SG=OBL	1SG=say-IRR]	DETR-say-PRF

‘Do (you) want to tell me something?’ (T11)

The subject of the matrix clause (the person desiring something) need not be the subject of the embedded clause (the agent desired to do something). In the following sentence, the subject of the matrix clause is an understood third party, whereas the subject of the embedded clause is the speaker (1SG).

(13.371) Nī mana **nakap** nī mīnjan mat:

[nī	ma-na]	na-kī-p	nī	mīnja=n	ma=ta
[1SG	go-IRR]	DETR-say-PRF	1SG	speech=OBL	3SG=say

‘(Wala) wanted me to go, but I told him.’ (T32)

The form *nakap*, as seen above, can be used regardless of TAM distinctions: thus, for example, many of the sentences above have imperfective force, despite the (otherwise)

perfective-marking suffix *-p*. Moreover, the form *nakap* may be used without any conditional marking (*-ta*), even in the protasis of a conditional sentence, as in the following:

- (13.372) Nan nīkina **nakap** ...
 [na=n nī=kī-na] **na-kī-p**
 [talk=OBL 1SG=say-IRR] DETR-say-PRF
 ‘If (you) wanted to talk to me ...’

 ... na kali nīwatlīta.
 na kali nī=wat-lī-ta
 talk send 1SG=atop-put-COND
 ‘... (then you) should have sent a message to me.’ (T11)

- (13.373) Wutī munta lunda **nakap** ...
 [wutī mun[e]-ta lu-nda] **na-kī-p**
 [leg throw-COND put-IRR] DETR-say-PRF
 ‘If you want to throw your legs around ...’ (i.e., play sports) (T27)

In the second example above, the conditional marker *-ta* occurs within the embedded clause (instead of being affixed to the matrix clause verb *nakap*, cf. issues of scope in 13.4.3).

The semantic connection between verbs of speaking (or thinking) and verbs of desiring is understandable. Often, when one wants something, one talks about it (and almost certainly thinks about it). While *nakap* seems to be a fossilized form used in desiderative clauses, it is nevertheless possible to use other verbs of speaking to express desires, as in the following desiderative sentence, which uses the verb *ta-* ‘say’.

- (13.374) Nul mana **nate**.
 [nī=ul ma-na] **na-ta-e**
 [1SG=com go-IRR] DETR-say-DEP
 ‘(He) wanted to go with me.’ (T11)

In addition to these biclausal desiderative constructions, it is possible to express a desire in a single clause, simply by using an irrealis verb form. In such instances, it is not necessarily clear whether the person desiring the event encoded by the verb is the subject of the verb, the speaker of the clause, or both. In the following examples (all translated with ‘want’), the irrealis verb forms could, in other contexts, impart other meanings (e.g., ‘will’, ‘should’, etc., see 4.8).

(13.375) Nĩ lamndu **mawalinda**.

nĩ	lamndu	ma=wali-	nda
1SG	pig	3SG=hit-IRR	

‘I want to kill a pig.’

(13.376) Nĩ awal we **landa**.

nĩ	awal	we	la-nda
1SG	yesterday	sago	eat-IRR

‘I wanted to eat sago yesterday.’

(13.377) An inamba sokoy **inda**.

an	inamba[=n]	sokoy	in-nda
1PL.EXCL	money=OBL	tobacco	get-IRR

‘We want to buy tobacco.’ (T32)

(13.378) Apa **mana** i liwe ...

apa	ma- na	i	li-aw-e
house	go-IRR	go.PRF	fall-put.IPFV-DEP

‘(He) wanted to go home, but (he) went and fell ...’

... numbu anĩm nga mas.

numbu	anĩm	nga	ma=as
post	fork	this.SG	3SG=hit

‘... and the fork of the post pierced him.’ (T17)

(13.379) Nĩ ango wa **lunda**.

nĩ	ango	wa	lo-nda
1SG	NEG	village	go-IRR

‘I don’t want to go around in villages.’ (T32)

The last example above illustrates a negative desire. Often, to express that something is *not* desired, the verb *kamb-* ‘shun’ (see 2.2.2) is used (either in the imperfective/unmarked form *kam*, the dependent/imperfective form *kambe*, or the perfective form *kamp*), as shown in the following:

(13.380) Nĩ **kam(be/p)!**

nĩ	kamb(-e/-p)
1SG	shun(-DEP/-PRF)

(a) ‘I don’t want to!’
(b) ‘I don’t want it!’

To express that an object is desired, Ulwa simply employs the verb *tĩ-* ‘take’ in the irrealis mood. After all, to say, for example, that one ‘wants a spear’ means that one ‘wants to

take (i.e., obtain, have) a spear' (or, put otherwise: a proclamation such as 'I would take' links, by inference, to 'I want'). This is illustrated in the following:

(13.381) Nĩ mana **tĩna**.

nĩ	mana	tĩ-na
1SG	spear	take-IRR

'I want a spear.'

(13.382) Nĩ awal mana akĩnaka **tĩna**.

nĩ	awal	mana	akĩnaka	tĩ-na
1SG	yesterday	spear	new	take-IRR

'I wanted a new spear yesterday.'

Often the distinction between 'want' and 'need' in such instances is not explicit. The following sentence thus may be translated variably.

(13.383) Nĩ mana akĩnaka **tĩna**.

nĩ	mana	akĩnaka	tĩ-na
1SG	spear	new	take-IRR

(a) 'I want a new spear.'
(b) 'I need a new spear.'

Chapter 14

Topics in semantics

14.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe a few topics in lexical semantics, in the hopes of achieving three goals: 1) facilitating a clearer understanding of the Ulwa language in general, 2) recording information that is of particular interest to the Ulwa community, and 3) providing data that may be used in crosslinguistic typological comparisons. My objective here is by no means a complete formal treatment of Ulwa semantics, but rather a description of selected semantic domains that are of particular interest.

14.2 Polysemy and homonymy

Perhaps unsurprisingly for a language with a relatively small phonemic inventory and many monosyllabic and disyllabic morphemes and lexemes, Ulwa contains in its lexicon many pairs of same-sounding forms that have different meanings. It is not always possible to determine whether these pairs represent different meanings of a single word (polysemy) or such pairs are truly separate words that—due to historical accident—share the same phonological form (homonymy).

Given Ulwa's phonotactic constraints, the three phonologically shortest possible words should be *i*, *u*, and *a* (no other vowels are permitted word-initially, 2.3.1). Especially the forms *i* and *u* have a large number of meanings, representing a variety of parts of speech, as seen below.

<i>i</i>	noun, 'hand, arm'
<i>i</i>	noun, 'lime (calcium hydroxide)'
<i>i</i>	noun, 'behavior, habit, custom, way'
<i>i</i>	verb, 'go' (suppletive perfective form of <i>ma-</i>)
<i>i-</i>	verb stem, 'come' (this form is never found unaffixed, except as in above)
<i>i</i>	interjection expressing dejection ('alas')
<i>i</i>	predicate marker (Tok Pisin loan)
<i>u</i>	noun, 'ditch, creek'
<i>u</i>	pronoun, 'you' (2SG)
<i>u</i>	postposition, 'from, in, at, around, along'

<i>u-</i>	verb stem, ‘put’ (this form is never found unaffixed)
<i>u</i>	interjection expressing amazement (‘ooh’)
<i>a-</i>	verb stem, ‘break’ (this form is never found unaffixed)
<i>a</i>	interjection expressing shock or used as a filler (‘uh...’)

One of the difficulties in understanding Ulwa stems from the fact that there exists homophony among a number of important functional morphemes, especially when they undergo phonological changes. Some examples follow.

<i>ala</i>	demonstrative determiner, ‘those’
<i>ala</i>	postposition, ‘for, from’
<i>ka</i>	adverb, ‘thus, in this/that manner’
<i>ka</i>	postposition, ‘at, in, on’
<i>ka-</i>	verb, ‘let, leave, allow’, used in ‘separable verb’ constructions
<i>ka</i>	noun, ‘peak’ (as in <i>apaka</i> ‘roof’, literally, ‘house peak’)
<i>ma=</i>	object marker (3SG)
<i>ma-</i>	verb, ‘go’
<i>ma</i>	coordinator, ‘and’ (perhaps a recent innovation)
<i>ma</i>	possessive pronoun (3SG), abbreviated form of <i>manji</i>
<i>=n</i>	oblique marker
[n]	pronoun, ‘I’ (1SG), allomorph of <i>nī</i> when preceding a vowel
[-n]	nominalizer, allomorph of <i>-en</i> when following <i>e</i>
[n]	epenthetic utterance-final sound for some speakers
<i>-n</i>	TAM suffix (IMP)
<i>-n</i>	irregular TAM suffix: imperfective (IPFV) for <i>ma-</i> ‘go’, perfective (PRF) for <i>tī-</i> ‘take’ and <i>na-</i> ‘give’
<i>na-</i>	detransitivizing prefix
<i>na-</i>	verb, ‘give’
<i>-na</i>	TAM suffix (IRR)
<i>na</i>	noun, ‘talk, speech, story, message, thought, reason, language’
<i>na</i>	coordinator, ‘and’ (Tok Pisin loan)
<i>-p</i>	copular suffix
<i>-p</i>	TAM suffix (PRF)
[p]	epenthetic utterance-final sound for some speakers
<i>-t</i>	speculative suffix
[t]	verb, ‘take’, allomorph of <i>tī-</i> , used in ‘giving’ constructions
[-t]	conditional suffix, allomorph of <i>-ta</i> when preceding a vowel

The following pairs of identical forms are almost certainly true homonyms (as opposed to polysemes).

<i>ambla</i>	‘PL.REFL’
<i>ambla</i>	‘tooth’
<i>ina</i>	‘come [IRR]’
<i>ina</i>	‘liver’
<i>mana</i>	‘go [IRR]’
<i>mana</i>	‘spear’
<i>min</i>	‘3DU’
<i>min</i>	‘armband’
<i>un</i>	‘2PL’
<i>un</i>	‘okari nut tree’ (<i>Terminalia kaernbachii</i>)
<i>wal</i>	‘hit’
<i>wal</i>	‘ribs’

The following is a list of other pairs of identical forms that are very likely polysemes (as opposed to homonyms).

<i>anga</i>	‘piece’ or ‘side’
<i>apin</i>	‘fire’ or ‘pain’
<i>mbomala</i>	‘large firefly sp.’ or ‘large star (or planet)’
<i>mu</i>	‘fruit’ or ‘seed’ or ‘nut’ (the meaning ‘kidney’ is probably derived metaphorically; the meaning ‘blowfly’ may be polysemous)
<i>nali</i>	‘small firefly sp.’ or ‘small star’ (the meanings ‘spine of a sago frond’ and ‘ten’ are likely related to each other [see numerals, 7.6], but are polysemous with these other meanings of <i>nali</i>)

Some words in Ulwa have much greater ranges of meaning than any of their possible English equivalents. While these are not properly polysemes or homonyms, it may prove useful to provide a few examples of these words below.

<i>akinaka</i>	‘new, fresh, alive, raw, young’
<i>anma</i>	‘good, nice, true, smart, straight, healthy, well’
<i>na</i>	‘talk, speech, story, message, thought, reason, language’
<i>tembi</i>	‘bad, sick, poor, dirty’

Often a word derives a new meaning based on a metaphorical or metonymous relationship; for polysemes thus derived, see the section below (14.3); for Ulwa coinages for foreign concepts that employ metaphor or metonymy, see (14.9). There are also examples of polysemous relationships among color terms (14.5), body part terms (14.6), and terms expressing various temporal concepts (14.8).

14.3 Metaphor and metonymy

One productive means of expanding the lexicon is extending the meaning of an existing word. Two methods of doing so are identified below: metaphor (whereby meaning is extended based on a similarity between two referents) and metonymy (whereby meaning is extended based on an association between two referents). While many metaphors and metonyms have become ossified as the primary term used for certain referents (and thus are perhaps no longer viewed as semantic extensions), it is still possible for speakers to employ both metaphor and metonymy creatively. Although this may be done even when another word for a referent already exists, it is more common as a means of coining terminology for new concepts (see 14.9 below on coinages). Examples of metaphors include:

<i>ana</i>	‘parasitic person’, literally, ‘grass skit’ (an article of clothing that ‘hangs onto’ a person)
<i>mundotoma</i>	‘lacking’, literally, ‘short’ (the same metaphor as in English, e.g., ‘in short supply’, ‘came up short’, etc.)
<i>unduwan</i>	‘elder’, literally, ‘head’ (the part of the body that comes ‘first’)
<i>yawil</i>	‘full moon’, literally, ‘coconut moon’ (< <i>ya</i> ‘coconut’ + <i>iwil</i> ‘moon’, as the full moon resembles the coconut in roundness)

Metonymy is very common in Ulwa. Often the material from which something is made is used to refer to the end product, as in:

<i>asiya</i>	‘animal trap’ (made with <i>asiya</i> ‘string’)
<i>numbu</i>	‘ <i>garamut</i> drum’ (made from <i>numbu</i> ‘ironwood tree sp.’)
<i>we</i>	‘sago pancake’ (made directly from <i>we</i> ‘sago starch’, without first processing it into <i>ay</i> ‘jellied sago’)

Other forms of metonymy are possible as well, such as synecdoche, in which either the part comes to represent the whole (*pars pro toto*, as in the first example below) or the whole comes to represent the part (*totum pro parte*, as in the second example below).

isi 'soup' (typically containing *isi*, a native 'salt', made from the ashes of banana leaves)
ulum 'sago pith' (the soft, white insides of the *ulum* 'sago palm')

Other forms of metonymy are used as well, including:

iwil 'menstruation' (which has a cycle roughly equal in duration to that of the *iwil* 'moon'); as a further extension of meaning, *iwil* 'moon' can also be used euphemistically to refer to the vulva (*inmbi*)
nambana 'mask' (which is used represent a *nambana* 'spirit')
yopa 'peace' (which traditionally was signaled by painting oneself white to resemble a *yopa* 'cockatoo')

14.4 Formulaic expressions, greetings, and farewells

In Ulwa (as in Tok Pisin and many other languages of the Pacific), it is common to greet people with descriptions of what they are doing (e.g., 'you are bathing', 'you are chopping wood', etc.) or questions regarding what they have just done or are about to do (e.g., 'where were you?', 'where are you going?', etc.). It is not common (as in many European languages) to inquire into one's physical or emotional state. Such traditional greetings include, for example:

Inim lope. '(You) are bathing.'
U ango mana? 'Where are you going?' (pronounced [wangomana])

In addition, there is a set of formulae used to greet people at various times of the day. They are all formed with the adjective *anma* 'good', and it is not unlikely that they are calques from Tok Pisin, which (like English) employs greetings built from the adjective 'good' (*gut[pela]* in Tok Pisin) and the time of day. The Ulwa greetings are:

Umbenam anma! 'Good morning!'
Ane anma! 'Good day!' (literally, 'good sun')
Awal nambī anma! 'Good afternoon!' (literally, 'good body [of] yesterday')
Imba anma! 'Good evening/night!'

Farewells in Ulwa are typically proclamations that one is leaving or commands (not impolite) for the other party to go (or to stay). These, too, parallel traditional Tok Pisin valedictions. Examples are presented below.

<i>An mana!</i>	‘We (1PL.EXCL) shall go!’
<i>Un mbipina!</i>	‘Stay here!’ (addressed to multiple people)
<i>U mana!</i>	‘Go!’ (addressed to one person)

One form, clearly derived from such a command, has taken on a formulaic usage:

<i>Namanu!</i>	‘Goodbye!’ (addressed to someone leaving, perhaps derived from <i>na-</i> ‘DETR’ + <i>ma-</i> ‘go’ + <i>na-</i> ‘IRR’ + <i>u</i> ‘2SG’ or <i>-o</i> ‘INTERJ’)
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The formulaic greetings listed above may also be used as farewells, especially at nighttime (i.e., *imba anma* ‘good night’ can be used either to greet or to bid farewell).

Some polite formulaic expressions that are common among European languages like English (e.g., ‘please’, ‘thank you’, etc.) do not have direct equivalents in Ulwa. It is common, for example, for an Ulwa speaker not to say anything when receiving something from another person. To express strong gratitude, however, one may say *ninji anma* (literally, ‘my good’), which is akin to English ‘thank you’. To make a polite request, the modal adverb *kop* may be used along with an imperative, somewhat like the use of English ‘please’ (see 13.3.2).

14.5 Color terms

Color terms occur very infrequently in the Ulwa corpus. Given the paucity of data and variability in interpretation of the term “basic”, it is not possible to place Ulwa with perfect certainty within Berlin and Kay’s (1969) hierarchy of stages of basic color terms. That said, Ulwa seems to employ very few basic color terms. Indeed, even the term for ‘white’ (or ‘light’ as opposed to ‘dark’, i.e., less saturated)—which is supposed to be one of two basic color terms (when only two terms exist)—appears to be derived in Ulwa (see 2.3). (Of course, the fact that a color term has been derived synchronically from one or more other words does not perforce preclude it from being considered “basic”.)

The following is a list of terms for colors in Ulwa. Some of these words have been obtained through elicitation alone (asking for speakers to generate lists of color terms or

obtaining translations of Tok Pisin color terms); these are thus perhaps more suspect are marked with a plus sign (+) to identify them.

<i>waembil</i>	‘white’
<i>mbun</i>	‘black, blue, dark’
<i>mbunmana</i>	‘black’
<i>ngungun</i>	‘red’
+ <i>anem</i>	‘blue, purple’
<i>ane</i>	‘yellow, light’
<i>anembal</i>	‘light’
<i>andwana</i>	‘yellow’
+ <i>mīndit</i>	‘yellow’
+ <i>mīnal</i>	‘green’
+ <i>tondiway</i>	‘orange’
+ <i>lemetam</i>	‘brown’

Many of these are obviously derived from other words, typically nouns that refer to entities that exhibit the color in question. The word for ‘red’ (*ngungun*), for example, also refers to a species of red ant (it is used as a traditional medicine, boiled in a solution to treat coughs). The same word also refers to a species of plant with red seeds. (Yet another meaning of *ngungun*, ‘cyclone’, is less clearly connected to the color red.) The word for ‘green’ (*mīnal*) also means ‘taro’, a plant whose leaves are boiled to make a soup of very saliently green color. Similarly, *tondiway* ‘orange’ has as its more basic meaning a plant species with orange seeds used to make dyes. The word *lemetam* ‘brown’ also refers to a large hardwood tree, whose (brown) bark is used to bandage wounds. The color word *ane* ‘yellow, light’ also means ‘sun’ (*anembal* ‘light’ clearly contains *ane* ‘sun’ as well, but the form *mbal* is an obscure element; it possibly underlies *waembil* ‘white’ as well). The word *anem* ‘blue, purple’ is also the name both for a yam variety with purple flesh and for a necklace bead made from a blue seed. The meaning ‘scar’ that belongs to the form *mbun* ‘black, blue, dark’, is, however, more likely derived from the color term than vice versa (if, of course, this is not just a matter of homophony).

Some of the color terms in the list above—although not completely homonymous with other forms—bear very strong resemblances to nominals associated with those colors: *andwana* ‘yellow’ may be related to *anduan* ‘young sago palm’ and *mīndit* ‘yellow’ may be related to *mīnda* ‘banana’. The form *mbunmana* ‘black’ seems derived from *mbun* ‘black, blue, dark’, but exactly how this has occurred (or why) is unclear (perhaps < *mbun* ‘dark’ + *mana* ‘go [IRR]’ = ‘going dark’?).

For a possible etymology of *waembil* ‘white’, which contains the highly unusual phonetic form, *ae* ([æ]), see 2.3.

The form that seems least likely to have been derived is *mbun* ‘black, blue, dark’.

14.6 Body part terms

In this section I discuss terminology for the parts of the body, a domain that is often of interest to semantic typologists, anthropologists, and others.

First, it is not entirely clear whether there is a term in Ulwa that covers the human body in its entirety (that is, a word for ‘body’, distinct from *ankam* ‘person’). In practical terms, the word *nambi* ‘body’ does indeed function in this way, but—in lexicographical elicitation sessions—speakers have offered the semantic insight that *nambi* refers only to the *external* body—that is, skin, hair, and anything else visible on a person, but not internal organs, blood, bones, etc. Some speakers further insist on a distinction between *nambi* ‘(external) body’ and *nambi* ‘skin’, although such careful differentiation in texts is hard to parse out (if, however, one were to refer to an animal hide, for example, the proper term should be *nambi* ‘skin’, and not *nambi* ‘body’).

Languages divide up the body in different ways; sometimes, what are two categorically different body parts in the terminology of one language may be covered by the same term in another—i.e., the distinct designations of ‘hand’ and ‘arm’ in a language like English might be covered by a single designation in another language. Ulwa is one such language that does not differentiate between ‘hand’ and ‘arm’. The word *i* can be translated as either. Similarly, the word *wuti* refers to a part of the body that could be translated as either ‘foot’ or ‘leg’ in English.

While neither ‘foot’ nor ‘leg’ is taken to be a more basic meaning for *wuti* (and neither ‘hand’ nor ‘arm’ is taken to be a more ‘basic’ meaning for *i*), the word *monombam*, which can mean either ‘face’ or ‘forehead’, is assumed to have ‘forehead’ as its primary meaning, based on the typologically common semantic change of deriving a term for ‘face’ from a term referring to one particular part of the face, very often from ‘forehead’ (on *pars pro toto* synecdoche, see 14.2 above).

In other cases, there are distinctions made in Ulwa that are not common in, say, English. For example, there is no general term to cover ‘hair’ in Ulwa: the word *wonmi* refers only to ‘(top of the) head hair’, whereas *nil* refers only to ‘body hair (including a man’s beard)’.

Also, as is attested in many languages, body part terms may be used metaphorically in Ulwa, often to express spatial reference, as in:

<i>awi</i>	‘the side of’ (literally, ‘shoulder’)
<i>ip</i>	‘front’ (as of a house, literally, ‘nose’)
<i>unmbi</i>	‘back’ (as of a house, literally, ‘buttocks’)

The spatial metaphor of ‘nose’ to mean ‘front’ has been extended to a temporal metaphor to mean ‘earlier, former’, as seen in the example below.

(14.001) Mat **ip** ul manata ...

ma=ti	ip	ul	ma=na-ta
3SG=take	nose	with	3SG=give-COND

‘If (we) bring it first ...’ (Literally, ‘take it and give with nose’) (T32)

Indeed, the postposition/adverb *ipka* ‘before, earlier, first’ is transparently derived from the word *ip* ‘nose’ (plus the formative/postposition *ka* ‘thus, in this/that manner; at, in, on’).

There are a number of idioms based on body part terms; some cases are:

<i>uma ti</i>	‘be strong’ (literally, ‘take bone’)
<i>ti ip li</i>	‘destroy’ (literally, ‘take and put nose to’)
<i>awal nambi</i>	‘afternoon’ (literally, ‘body of yesterday’)

In other cases, a word whose primary meaning does not relate to the human body may be used metaphorically to refer to a body part, as in the following words.

<i>mitin</i>	‘testicle’ (literally, ‘egg’)
<i>mota</i>	‘throat’ (literally, ‘bamboo sp.’, cf. also <i>aninokam</i> ‘throat’)
<i>mu</i>	‘kidney’ (literally, ‘fruit’)
<i>timbil</i>	‘diaphragm’ (literally, ‘fence’)

It seems that the metaphorical use of *mitin* ‘egg’ to refer to testicles has pejorated the word *mitin* in all its senses. Many speakers thus avoid using *mitin* when referring to actual fowl or reptile eggs, instead using *yokomt̄in* (literally, ‘wild fowl egg’, < *yokomakan* ‘wild fowl’ + *mitin* ‘egg’) for all types of eggs, regardless of species.

The word for ‘finger’ (*imu*) is a compound, consisting of *i* ‘hand’ and a metaphorical use of *mu* ‘fruit’ (literally, ‘the fruit of the hand’). The individual fingers have mostly metaphorically derived names as well. They are:

<i>imu unduwan</i>	‘thumb’ (literally, ‘head finger’)
<i>imu ankam</i>	‘index finger’ (literally, ‘person finger’)
<i>imu wome</i>	‘middle finger’ (literally, ‘middle finger’)
<i>imu law</i>	‘ring finger’ (literally, ‘ti plant finger’)
<i>imu watangin</i>	‘pinky finger’ (literally, ‘last finger’)

Similarly, the word for ‘toe’ is *wutimu* (literally, ‘fruit of the foot’). The individual toes follow a similar naming scheme to that for the individual fingers, as seen below.

<i>wutimu unduwan</i>	‘big toe’
<i>wutimu ankam</i>	‘second toe’
<i>wutimu wome</i>	‘middle toe’
<i>wutimu law</i>	‘fourth toe’
<i>wutimu watangin</i>	‘pinky toe’

In many cultures, a particular organ is viewed as having certain importance—as the seat of emotion, thought, or both. In Ulwa, *ina* ‘liver’ functions much like either ‘heart’ or ‘mind’ in English, capable of referring to one’s center of reason or emotion. It forms part of the compound verb *inakawana-* ‘think’ (9.3.1), and may also play a part in the etymology of *angwena* ‘why?’ (13.2.2).

Similarly, the more general term *inji* ‘innards’ (likely, < *in* ‘in, inside’ + *nji* ‘thing’)—which can refer to the inside of anything, but typically refers to internal organs—can also have a metaphorical sense (cf. English ‘guts’), as in the following sentence.

(14.002) Una wa lolop wa **inji** wopapta.
 unan wa lolop wa **inji** wopa-p-ta
 1PL.INCL just just just innards all-be-COND
 ‘If we just have full hearts, ...’

... unan wa mbī napin.
 unan wa mbī na-p-n[a]
 1PL.INCL village here DETR-be-IRR
 ‘... then we will stay here (safely) in the village.’ (T32)

I conclude this section with a list of some basic body part terms.

<i>akunpu</i>	‘back of the skull’	<i>nambi</i>	‘skin’
<i>ambatim</i>	‘joint’	<i>nambi</i>	‘(external) body’
<i>anangum</i>	‘spine’	<i>nil</i>	‘body hair’
<i>anankin</i>	‘blood’	<i>nopa</i>	‘cheek’
<i>anen</i>	‘fat’	<i>nginim</i>	‘chin’
<i>aninokam</i>	‘throat’	<i>sinanan</i>	‘nail’
<i>atal</i>	‘anus’	<i>tambeta</i>	‘chest’
<i>awi</i>	‘shoulder’	<i>tanum</i>	‘lips’
<i>i</i>	‘hand, arm’	<i>tumbunma</i>	‘nape’
<i>ina</i>	‘liver’	<i>um</i>	‘neck’
<i>inapaw</i>	‘belly’	<i>uma</i>	‘bone’
<i>inji</i>	‘innards’	<i>umbopa</i>	‘stomach’
<i>inmbi</i>	‘vulva’	<i>unduwan</i>	‘head’
<i>inpu</i>	‘elbow’	<i>unet</i>	‘navel’
<i>ip</i>	‘nose’	<i>unmbi</i>	‘buttocks’
<i>kikal</i>	‘ear’	<i>unum</i>	‘clavicle’
<i>limndi</i>	‘eye’	<i>wal</i>	‘ribs’
<i>mama</i>	‘mouth’	<i>wanamba</i>	‘armpit’
<i>minandin</i>	‘gallbladder’	<i>wol</i>	‘breast’
<i>minane</i>	‘intestines’	<i>won</i>	‘penis’
<i>minim</i>	‘tongue’	<i>wonmi</i>	‘hair’
<i>minopal</i>	‘bladder’	<i>woplota</i>	‘lungs’
<i>misam</i>	‘brain’	<i>wuti</i>	‘leg, foot’
<i>monombam</i>	‘forehead’	<i>yom</i>	‘heart’
<i>mutam</i>	‘back’		

14.7 Kinship terms

The system of kinship terminology in Ulwa is fairly classificatory (as opposed to descriptive), in that a single term may refer to a large number of different types of relatives. It is, however, possible for Ulwa to employ more descriptive terminology by expanding upon the basic system with nominal modifiers. Gender distinctions are made among most of the basic kinship terms, and where they are not, gender may be specified by additional modifiers. Some of the basic kinship terms also indicate relative age (e.g., *atma* ‘older brother’).

Relatives of the ego’s parents’ generation can all be referred to as *itom* ‘father’ or *inom* ‘mother’, based on gender. That is, all male siblings of one’s father and mother are *itom* (as is, of course, one’s actual father) and all female siblings of one’s father and mother are *inom* (as is, of course, one’s actual mother). The spouses of one’s parents’ siblings are not seen as familial

relations per se, but—in the extended kinship system—can be referred to as ‘father’ and ‘mother’ as well, since they belong to that same generation.

One member of this parents’ generation, however, does receive a special designation: the ego’s mother’s brother is called *yawa* (cf. *kandere* ‘maternal uncle’ in Tok Pisin). Although it is possible to refer to this relation as *itom* ‘father’, it is more common to use the term *yawa* ‘maternal uncle’. This maternal uncle holds special responsibilities to his sisters’ children.

The ego’s mother’s brother’s wife is known as *ansi inom* ‘red buai (betel nut) mother’ (*ansi* is a word that appears in a number of kinship terms relating to the *yawa* ‘maternal uncle’, but its exact meaning in these contexts is unclear; elsewhere, this word means ‘red buai’ [the combination of betel nut, *daka* pepper, and lime]; it also refers to a gourd-like plant that may be used to store lime, and which was previously used to cover the penis; and it also may be used as slang for the penis itself). The counterpart to the *yawa* is the *ansi nungol*, the child of a man’s sister.

The ego’s father’s sister does not have the same pride of place or responsibilities as the mother’s brother; there is, however, a periphrastic way of referring to this relation: *ane inom* ‘paternal aunt’ (literally, ‘sun mother’). Nor does the ego’s father’s brother have similar responsibilities to his brother’s children. This relation may be called, generally, *itom* ‘father’.

For one’s actual biological parents, it is common to use the ‘nursery’ forms for direct address (i.e., as vocative forms). These are *tata* ‘papa’ and *nana* ‘mama’.

There are a few different terms to refer to the ego’s children, but the distinctions among them are not clear. A child may be called *nungol*, *nungolke*, *alum*, or *tawatip*. Any one of these may refer either to one’s biological child (that is, a ‘son’ or ‘daughter’) of any age or to any person of young age (whether related or not). Although none of these terms is marked for gender, *nungol* often implies a male child. There is a specific word for ‘daughter’, *yenat* (or *yanat*), which refers to one’s biological daughter or to other females of that generation in the extended kinship system. It is clearly related to *yena* ~ *yana* ‘woman, female’, perhaps also containing the element *t(i)* ‘take’—i.e., ‘the female that (one) has taken/gotten’.

When referring to one’s siblings, it is common to make distinctions both based on gender and based on relative age. There is no cover term for ‘sibling’ (of any gender or age), nor is there a cover term either for ‘brother’ or for ‘sister’ (unspecified for relative age). It is, however, possible to refer to a ‘younger sibling’, regardless of gender, with the word *wot*. This may be

further specified as *wot yeta* ‘younger brother’ (literally, ‘younger man’) or *wot yena* ‘younger sister’ (literally, ‘younger woman’). The term for ‘older brother’ is *atma*, and the term for ‘older sister’ is *atana*. Although a man has no way of speaking generally about a brother (whether younger or older), a woman may refer to any of her male siblings (regardless of his relative age) simply as *yeta* ‘man’.

The words *wot* ‘younger (sibling)’, *atma* ‘older brother’, and *atana* ‘older sister’ may be used to add specificity to family relations of the parents’ generation (i.e., aunts and uncles), as shown below.

<i>itom wot</i>	‘father’s younger brother’
<i>yawa wot</i>	‘mother’s younger brother’
<i>inom wot</i>	‘parent’s younger sister’
<i>ane inom wot</i>	‘father’s younger sister’
<i>itom atma</i>	‘father’s older brother’
<i>yawa atma</i>	‘mother’s older brother’
<i>inom atana</i>	‘parent’s older sister’
<i>ane inom atana</i>	‘father’s older sister’

For parent’s older siblings, it is also possible to use the modifier *ambi* ‘big’ instead of *atma* ‘older brother’, as in:

<i>itom ambi</i>	‘father’s older brother’
<i>yawa ambi</i>	‘mother’s older brother’

Grandparents may be referred to with the noun/adjective *ngata* ‘grand(parent)’, irrespective of gender. More specifically, though, the ego’s grandfathers are called *itom ngata*, and the ego’s grandmothers are called *inom ngata*. The term *ngata* is also used generally to refer to any old man or woman (cf. Tok Pisin *lapun* ‘old person’). It may also refer, broadly, to ‘ancestors’ or to members of a past generation. Sometimes the word *mom* is used as a vocative form to mean ‘grandmother’; it is a loan from the neighboring Ap Ma language.

Grandchildren are known as *yalum*. Great-grandparents and great-grandchildren alike are called *ndunduma*. This latter term is also commonly used with the general sense of ‘ancestors’, usually those from the distant past.

There is no special term for ‘wife’ that is distinct from general terms meaning ‘woman’. To refer to a wife, one may use either *yena* ‘woman’ or *yenanu* ‘woman’ (or their alternate pronunciations, *yana* and *yananu*). To refer to one’s husband, however, the special form *numan*

‘husband’ is used (the general term for ‘man’ *yeta* [or its alternate pronunciation *yata*] may be used by women to refer to their brothers, but generally not to their husbands). The form *yenanu* ‘woman, wife’ seems, of course, derived from *yena* ‘woman, wife’. It can probably be assumed that *yena* (clearly the analogue of *yeta* ‘man’) was the original word for ‘woman’. The form *yenanu* probably thus emerged as a word meaning ‘wife’. Perhaps the form /nu/ was connected to the adjective *nu* ‘near’ (i.e., *yenanu* ‘wife’ < *yena* ‘woman’ + *nu* ‘near’ = ‘the woman who is near to one’). The /nu/ component of *yenanu* might also have an etymological connection to the /nu/ of *numan* ‘husband’. Nevertheless, in contemporary usage, *yena* and *yenanu* are completely interchangeable: both can mean either ‘woman’ or ‘wife’, and neither meaning is more ‘basic’ to either of the forms.

To refer to people related to the ego by marriage, the general term *inga* ‘in-law’ is used. It may be combined with other kinship terms to add specificity, as in:

<i>wot inga yena</i>	‘younger brother’s wife’
<i>atma inga yena</i>	‘older brother’s wife’

A number of taboos dictate the proper relationship that one has with one’s in-laws. For example, it is forbidden to utter an in-law’s name. Instead, one will typically employ one or another circumlocution to refer to a person related by marriage.

It may also be noted that the term *tamndi* ‘owner’ has importance in kinship terminology. While otherwise referring to owners of physical property (e.g., land), *tamndi* may refer broadly to any kin, but especially the next of kin following a death in the family (i.e., children, parents, siblings, and spouse). Incidentally, when there is a death in a family, other relatives belonging to the extended family are referred to as *nambana ankam* (literally, ‘spirit person’).

I summarize and conclude this section with an annotated glossary of kinship terms in Ulwa.

<i>itom</i>	‘father’ (also a term of respect for older men and a general term for uncles [usually only paternal uncles]; sometimes means simply ‘man’)
<i>inom</i>	‘mother’ (also a term of respect for older women and a general term for aunts; sometimes means simply ‘woman’)
<i>tata</i>	‘papa’ (a ‘nursery’ term for ‘father’; also the vocative form for speakers of all ages)
<i>nana</i>	‘mama’ (a ‘nursery’ term for ‘mother’; also the vocative form for speakers of all ages)

<i>yawa</i>	‘mother’s brother’
<i>yawa wot</i>	‘mother’s younger brother’
<i>yawa atma</i>	‘mother’s older brother’ (also <i>yawa ambi</i>)
<i>itom wot</i>	‘father’s younger brother’
<i>itom atma</i>	‘father’s older brother’ (also <i>itom ambi</i>)
<i>ane inom</i>	‘father’s sister’
<i>ane inom wot</i>	‘father’s younger sister’
<i>ane inom atana</i>	‘father’s older sister’
<i>inom wot</i>	‘parent’s younger sister’
<i>inom atana</i>	‘parent’s older sister’
<i>ansi inom</i>	‘mother’s brother’s wife’
<i>ngata</i>	‘grand(parent), old person, ancestor’
<i>itom ngata</i>	‘grandfather, old man’
<i>inom ngata</i>	‘grandmother, old woman’
<i>ngata yawa</i>	‘mother’s mother’s brother’
<i>ndunduma</i>	‘great-grandparent, great-grandchild, ancestor’
<i>yalum</i>	‘grandchild’
<i>wot</i>	‘younger (sibling)’
<i>wot yeta</i>	‘younger brother’
<i>wot yena</i>	‘younger sister’
<i>atma</i>	‘older brother’
<i>atana</i>	‘older sister’
<i>yeta</i>	‘brother’ (only said by women) (or <i>yata</i> , both, literally, ‘man’)
<i>yena</i>	‘wife’ (literally, ‘woman’)
<i>yenanu</i>	‘wife’ (< <i>yena</i> ‘woman’ + <i>nu</i> ‘near’?)
<i>numan</i>	‘husband’
<i>nungol(ke)</i>	‘child’ (often ‘son’, but may refer to any young person, boy or girl)
<i>alum</i>	‘child’
<i>tawatip</i>	‘child’
<i>yetalum</i>	‘son, boy’
<i>yenalum</i>	‘daughter, girl’
<i>yenat</i>	‘daughter’ (or <i>yanat</i>)
<i>inga</i>	‘in-law’ (i.e., any relation through marriage)
<i>wot inga yena</i>	‘younger brother’s wife’
<i>atma inga yena</i>	‘older brother’s wife’
<i>wot yena numan</i>	‘younger sister’s husband’
<i>atana numan</i>	‘older sister’s husband’
<i>ansi nungol</i>	‘nephew, niece’ (only used to refer to a man’s sister’s child)
<i>ansi yanat</i>	‘niece’ (only used to refer to a man’s sister’s daughter)

14.8 Expressions of time

Ulwa’s vocabulary reflects some of its speakers’ traditional methods of marking time. The word for ‘year’, for example, is the same as the word ‘water’, *inim*. Living in the tropics,

Ulwa speakers do not experience significant seasonal changes in temperature or amount of sunlight per day; the most salient demarcation of the passing of years is the annual arrival of the rainy season (generally in November or December), during which time the rivers swell and much of the land becomes swampy. The word for ‘month’ is the same as the word for ‘moon’, *iwil*, reflecting, of course, the crosslinguistically common division of time based on the synodic month (roughly 29.5 days). Contemporary speakers use the term *iwil* to refer to the months of the Gregorian calendar, not lunar cycles.

There are also a number of interesting polysemes and derivatives within the semantic domain of ‘time’. The form *amun* means both ‘today’ and ‘now’ (cf. colloquial Tok Pisin *nau* ‘now, today’). Similarly, *awal* can mean either ‘yesterday’ or ‘afternoon’. Based in part on the existence of cognates in the Ulmapo languages for ‘afternoon’ but not for ‘yesterday’, it is assumed that the word *awal* in Ulwa originally meant ‘afternoon’ and subsequently took on the meaning ‘yesterday’ (cf. English ‘eve’). In the formula for ‘good afternoon’, it is possible to clarify ‘afternoon’ as *awal nambī*, literally, ‘body of yesterday’. Finally, the word for ‘morning’, *umbenam*, is clearly derived from the word for ‘tomorrow’ (*umbe*), the *nam* element perhaps serving an emphatic function (cf. Spanish *mañana* ‘morning, tomorrow’, German *Morgen* ‘morning, tomorrow’, English *morrow* and *tomorrow*, etc.).

As mentioned above, *amun* can mean either ‘today’ or ‘now’; within this latter meaning alone, *amun* can be employed to convey a range of temporal meanings, sometimes when modified by a copular suffix (see 8.3.1 on temporal adverbs). It can mean ‘recently’ or ‘still’ (among other things), as seen in the examples below.

(14.003) Ala **amun** manap lop.

ala	amun	ma=nap	lo-p
that.PL	now	3SG=for	go-PRF

‘They recently went (to Madang) for his sake.’ (T27)

(14.004) Nī **amunpe** wol ame.

nī	amun-p-e	wol	ama-e
1SG	now-be-DEP	breast	eat-DEP

‘I was still nursing.’ (T02)

In Ulwa, the passage of time is generally expressed with verbal constructions. The verb *wo-* ‘sleep’ (usually in the perfective form *wop*) has become almost fossilized as an adverb meaning ‘the next day’; but it is also possible to use other—often very long—expressions to

convey this meaning. The following examples illustrate the use of *wop* ‘sleep [PRF]’ to indicate the passage of one day.

(14.005) **Wope** nī man Chris mat.

wo-p-e	nī	ma=n	Chris	ma=ta
sleep-PRF-DEP	1SG	3SG=OBL	[name]	3SG=say

‘The next day, I told Chris.’ (T11)

(14.006) Nī ndīwanap **wop**

nī	ndī=wana-p	wo-p
1SG	3PL=cook-PRF	sleep-PRF

‘I cooked them, and the next day ...’

... wolka ndīt tamndī ndīn up.

wolka	ndī=tī	tamndī	ndī=n	u-p
again	3PL=take	owner	3PL=OBL	put-PRF

‘... in turn gave them to the owners.’ (T11)

The following is an example of a much longer periphrastic construction used to show the passage of a day.

(14.007) Awlu ilom ngawat u mat awe ...

awlu	ilom	nga=wat	u	ma=tī	aw-e
step	day	this.SG=atop	from	3SG=take	put.IPFV-DEP

‘On the next day ...’ (Literally, ‘taking a step away from this day’) (T11)

The verb *wop* ‘sleep [PRF]’ can also be used to express longer passages of time. In the example below, this verb is used transitively (with the amount of time passed as its direct object).

(14.008) Ilom lele **ndīwope** ...

ilom	lele	ndī= wo-p-e
day	three	3PL=sleep-PRF-DEP

‘After three nights, ...’

... atana mī nan wot yena mat:

atana	mī	na=n	wot	yena	ma=ta
older.sister	3SG	talk=OBL	younger	woman	3SG=say

‘... the older sister said to the younger sister.’ (T09)

In the following example, the passage of time is marked with the verb *tī-* ‘take’, which has as its direct object the amount of time passed. Here, as in the example above, the object marker is plural to mark the number of days, months, etc. that have passed.

(14.009) Iwil lele **nditine** yeta nga nan mat:

iwil	lele	ndi= tī -n-e	yeta	nga	na=n	ma=ta
moon	three	3PL=take-PRF-DEP	man	this.SG	talk=OBL	3SG=say

‘After three months, the man told her.’ (Literally, ‘having taken three months’) (T05)

14.9 (Relatively) recent coinages

When speakers wish to refer to things that have no traditional name in their language, they may coin new words for them. Most contemporary Ulwa speakers do not, however, commonly coin words. Instead, when speaking Ulwa, people will generally use a Tok Pisin loan word to refer to any concept that lacks an Ulwa name.

In the past, however, when confronted with new concepts, like ‘money’ or ‘matches’, speakers employed one of two basic methods for identifying such referents: 1) extending the meaning (metaphorically or metonymically) of an existing Ulwa word to refer to the new concept or 2) forming a compound noun, often one that describes periphrastically the new concept. The following are examples of words whose meanings have been extended to include new concepts.

<i>apin</i>	‘matches, lighter’ (literally, ‘fire’)
<i>mīndapan</i>	‘paper’ (literally, ‘banana leaf’)
<i>nīpīl</i>	‘rope’ (literally, ‘vine’)
<i>wanwane</i>	‘policeman’ (literally, ‘mushroom’; the policeman’s hat apparently made him resemble a mushroom)

The following are examples of compounds formed to describe new concepts. (Where a compound is typically written as a single orthographic word, a hyphen is included below to show the breaks between conjuncts.)

<i>asi-mu</i>	‘rice’ (literally, ‘grass seed’)
<i>i-nangin-mana</i>	‘official, civil servant’ (literally, ‘going claw hands’?; the etymology is obscure, but it is perhaps related to the official’s ability to catch people; cf. the English expression ‘the long arm of the law’)
<i>inim tembi</i>	‘alcohol’ (literally, ‘bad water’)
<i>mbomala nangum</i>	‘flashlight’ (literally, ‘firefly shoot’)
<i>tilwa num</i>	‘car’ (literally, ‘road canoe’)

Sometimes multiple means of coining words coexist for a single referent. There are, for example, a number of ways to refer to money. The word *palpal* ‘ceremonial armband’ may be extended in meaning (presumably due to the armband’s material value). Another form, *inamba* ‘money’, also seems originally to have referred to a type of armband. Alternatively, a compound may be used, such as *wombasa anga* ‘piece of clay pot’ or *ata monam mu* ‘high fruit of the *monam* tree’, both of whose etymologies are obscure.

14.10 Traditional names

The people of Manu village typically have multiple names. Almost everyone has one or more traditional names, but people are most commonly referred to and addressed by their modern names (western given names, often Biblical or English). If a person has more than one traditional name, one of these is considered primary. As mentioned above (14.7), it is taboo for someone to utter the primary name of an in-law.

The use of last names (family names) is a relatively new practice, and many of the current oldest living generation (born before 1950 or so) do not have last names that they use. Those who first adopted last names did so by selecting one of their own names or the name of a relative; this then became the name that would be passed down—patrilineally—to children.

The meanings of most names are unknown; while the etymologies of some may have been obscured through time, it is likely that many names are loans from neighboring languages. This is especially suspected to be the case where names contain sounds that are foreign to Ulwa, such as [ŋ], which occurs in the name *Kanang* (pronounced [kananŋ]). Also, while there is generally free variation in pronunciation between [l] and [r] in the Ulwa phoneme /l/, there is a strong preference for some proper names to be pronounced with the rhotic [r] (and they are, accordingly, written with <r> and not <l>). These, too, may be loans from neighboring languages. Names in Ulwa are marked for gender.

The following is a list of some common traditional male names.

Alimban	Anam
Alma	Ayndin
Ambinme	Banjiwa
Amiwa	Gambri
Amombi	Ganmali

Guren
Kanang
Kapos
Kawat
Kayta
Kolpe
Konawa
Kongos
Kowe
Malman

Manama
Mongima
Nomnga
Wekumba
Womel
Yaruwa
Yawat
Yokombla
Yolomban
Yomali

The following is a list of some common traditional female names.

Ambonda
Asingona
Awandana
Damnda
Ginam
Gwam
Jukan
Kawana
Mapana
Maple

Mawna
Sinda
Tambana
Tangin
Tanom
Woni
Yambin
Yambit
Yanapi
Yawana

Chapter 15

The structural consequences of language loss

15.1 Introduction

This chapter provides some hypotheses about the nature of contact-induced language change in Ulwa. These must all remain merely hypotheses, since—without the presence of any significant documentation prior to 2015—it is impossible to know with any certainty what the structure of the language was like in the more-distant past. Still, based in part on older speakers’ grammaticality judgements of younger speakers’ speech and in part on suspicious structural similarities to (or clear borrowings from) Tok Pisin, we may outline some of the most important changes Ulwa has faced and is facing in light of rapid language loss.

Although Ulwa has likely always been in contact with other languages (given the linguistic ecology of the Sepik) and has probably undergone changes due to areal influences, it is assumed that the greatest external force to affect the language has been Tok Pisin, which first came to the Ulwa community in the twentieth century and has become the first language of all ethnic Ulwas and the *only* language of the majority of ethnic Ulwas.

15.2 Lexical changes

The most obvious linguistic effect of Tok Pisin can be seen in the lexicon. It is very common for Ulwa speakers to infuse their speech with Tok Pisin loan words. Sometimes these borrowings are clearly motivated by the lack of native vocabulary for certain concepts (e.g., Tok Pisin *balus* ‘airplane’, *hausik* ‘hospital’, etc.). Often, however, speakers use Tok Pisin words simply because they come more readily to mind or because they do not know the Ulwa word. In some instances, it may be better to view the use of Tok Pisin words as a form of code-switching, as indeed some speakers switch between Ulwa and Tok Pisin both intersententially and intrasententially (that is, at the lexical level).

Tok Pisin words are generally changed to accommodate the phonology of Ulwa (see 15.3 below).

15.3 Phonological changes

Even though the number of native lexical items used in speech appears to have diminished—even among the oldest speakers—Ulwa’s native phonology seems still to be intact. That is, there are not any indications that older speakers have shifted their phonologies due to influences from Tok Pisin. In fact, many speakers impose Ulwa phonotactics on their variety of Tok Pisin. For example, older Ulwa speakers often produce [l] for /r/ in Tok Pisin words (e.g., [kal] for Tok Pisin /kar/ ‘car’, [lalim] for Tok Pisin /larim/ ‘let’, etc.). They often also prenasalize all voiced stops in Tok Pisin (e.g., [mbilas] for Tok Pisin /bilas/ ‘decoration’, [ndok] for Tok Pisin /dok/ ‘dog’, [ngutpela] for Tok Pisin /gutpela/ ‘good’, etc.). Many younger Ulwas (that is, those who are generally non-speakers, but perhaps know a few words), however, seem not to have acquired the phonology of Ulwa. They often fail to prenasalize word-initial voiced stops (as this is phonotactically prohibited in Tok Pisin); and—when prenasalized voiced stops occur intervocally—they syllabify the word such that the nasal gesture ends up as a discrete nasal segment that is the coda of one syllable and the stop gesture ends up as the onset of the following syllable (i.e., they fail to treat prenasalized voiced stops as single segments).

15.4 Morphosyntactic changes

Ulwa also seems to be undergoing morphosyntactic changes due to contact with Tok Pisin and to language loss in general. For example, speakers may be less likely to make use of appropriate TAM suffixes on verbs, or they may omit such verbal morphology entirely. Whereas Ulwa exhibits a mandatory three-way distinction in TAM, manifested by verbal suffixes, Tok Pisin does not inflect verbs at all for TAM. As speakers shift more and more to Tok Pisin, they observe these distinctions in Ulwa less and less. Similarly, when speakers *do* make use of a perfective or irrealis suffix, they sometimes use an unexpected stem-final vowel. The underlying stem-final vowel of many verbs is never seen in the imperfective (or unmarked) form (4.3), and it may be the case that younger speakers are not acquiring this underlying form, instead creating perfective and irrealis forms based on analogy to other verbs. For example, a speaker might say **inde-p* for *inda-p* ‘walk [PRF]’, unaware that the underlying root is *inda-*, since this form never appears as a surface form.

While the aforementioned changes may all be viewed simply as mistakes (or ungrammaticality) and seem to reflect a general reduction of grammatical forms, there are also morphosyntactic innovations (although clearly due to contact and language shift) that would not be viewed as mistakes. These are mostly calques from Tok Pisin, a highly analytic language. Thus, even though Ulwa has the ability to express a host of temporal, aspectual, and modal meanings through its verbal morphology, speakers have begun to incorporate periphrases to express such distinctions. These may be used in place of or in addition to the more synthetic Ulwa structures. This appears to be in keeping with hypotheses that speakers in endangered language situations tend to rely more on analytic constructions, replacing or reducing the number of their morphologically marked (i.e., synthetic) alternatives (Andersen 1982:97).

A very common form of this morphosyntactic calquing from Tok Pisin is the use of the past form of the copular suffix (*-wap*) as a free lexeme following the verb to signal continuous or progressive (or, occasionally, habitual) aspect. This is thought here to be derived by the very similar role of *stap* ‘be’ in Tok Pisin. Not only does the Ulwa suffix parallel the Tok Pisin word in meaning (both are used in copular constructions to signal the location of the subject), but it also resembles the Tok Pisin word phonologically (the two forms rhyme). In the following example, the perfective form of the verb is used, but with the form *wap* following it to signal continuous action in the past.

(15.001) Ala mawl i **wap**.
 ala ma=ul i **wap**
 that.PL 3SG=with go.PRF be.PST
 ‘They were going with her.’ (T11)

In proper Ulwa, the same sentence would be rendered as follows, with the imperfective form of the same verb.

(15.002) Ala mawl **man**.
 ala ma=ul ma-n
 that.PL 3SG=with go-IPFV
 ‘They were going with her.’

Sentences such as first example above, (15.001), are thus likely influenced by structures in Tok Pisin. The sentence below reflects how this concept might most naturally be rendered in Tok Pisin.

(TP) Ol i go i **stap** wantaim em.
 ol i go i **stap** wantaim em
 3PL PRED go PRED be with 3SG
 ‘They were going with her.’

Note that Tok Pisin makes use of the predicate marker *i* in such constructions. This form is phonologically identical to the suppletive perfective form of the verb ‘go’ in Ulwa, a chance similarity that has perhaps influenced the adoption of this construction.

In the example below, *wap* serves a habitual function. Here it follows a verb that is already marked as imperfective (that is, it is marked with the dependent marker *-e*, 4.6).

(15.003) Kapos wapata anda mati inde **wap**.
 Kapos wapata anda ma=tĩ inda-e **wap**
 [name] old that.SG 3SG=take walk-DEP be.PST
 ‘That old (man) Kapos used to carry it.’ (T11)

The use of a (historically) bound suffix (*-wap* ‘be.PST’) as an unbound auxiliary verb is particularly interesting, since it runs counter to claims of the unidirectionality of grammaticalization changes (i.e., full verb > auxiliary > clitic > affix, Hopper & Traugott 1993:108). This unusual development in Ulwa could thus offer further indication of how endangered languages may not be as fully constrained by universal tendencies as fully viable languages are (cf. Campbell & Muntzel 1989 for abundant examples of highly irregular phonological changes that are attested in obsolescent languages).

Some speakers of Ulwa also make use of iconic repetition of verbs to signal iterative (or, occasionally, durative) aspect. This, too, seems influenced from Tok Pisin, in which verbs may be repeated to signal iterative action (although this could, of course, also reflect a general tendency in languages towards iconic representation of iterated activity). The following examples illustrate the use of repeated verbs to signal repetitive (15.004) and durative (15.005) action.

(15.004) **Ndalep ndalep ndalep ...**
ndi=ale-p ndi=ale-p ndi=ale-p
 3PL=scrape-PRF 3PRF=scrape-PRF 3PL=scrape-PRF
 ‘(They) scraped and scraped and scraped them, ...’

... yawt tĩ nduwep.
 yawt tĩ ndĩ=we-[u-]p
 machete take 3PL=cut-put-PRF
 ‘... (and then) got machetes and cut them.’ (T11)

(15.005) Wa Yalamba wa wap **mawap mawap mawap**
 wa Yalamba wa wap ma=wap ma=wap ma=wap
 just Korokopa village be.PST 3SG=be.PST 3SG=be.PST 3SG=be.PST
 ‘(He) just stayed at Korokopa village for quite some time.’ (T32)

A form of the verb ‘go’ (often either the root *ma-* alone or the perfective form *i* with the detransitivizing prefix, i.e., *nay* or *ne*) may be used to show iterative or durative aspect as well. This, too, parallels some uses of Tok Pisin *i go*, and is illustrated below.

(15.006) Mĩ minyam tĩ ambĩlip **naye**.
 mĩ minyam tĩ ambĩ=li-p **na-i-e**
 3SG feces take SG.REFL=put-PRF DETR-go.PRF-DEP
 ‘He kept soiling himself.’ (T31)

(15.007) Wopata mapen makape
 Wopata ma=p-en maka=p-e
 [place] 3SG=be-NMLZ thus=be-DEP
 ‘Those who lived in Wopata were like this, ...’

... wombĩn ndĩn ne **i**.
 wombĩn ndĩ=n ni-e **i**
 work 3PL=OBL act-DEPgo.PRF
 ‘... doing work, for some time.’ (T14)

As in the Tok Pisin *i go* construction, the ‘go’ element in Ulwa may be repeated—even multiple times—as in the following examples.

(15.008) Una awal matane **nay** ...
 unan awal ma=ta-n-e **na-i**
 1PL.INCL yesterday 3SG=say-IPFV-DEP DETR-go.PRF
 ‘We kept discussing it yesterday, ...’

... **nay nay nay**.
na-i na-i na-i
 DETR-go.PRF DETR-go.PRF DETR-go.PRF
 ‘... over and over.’ (T32)

(15.009) Una wombīn nita **ma ma ma** ...
 unan wombīn=n n-i-ta **ma ma ma**
 1PL.INCL work=OBL act-IRR-COND go go go
 ‘And when we work on and on ...’ (T32)

Also likely calqued from Tok Pisin are some idiomatic expressions, such as using the equivalent of *stap na kam* ‘be (in a place) and come’ to express the notion of coming from a place (here, too, employing the copular suffix as a free lexeme). The Ulwa equivalent of the Tok Pisin construction may be seen in the following sentence.

(15.010) Nambi Madang **wap mbiye** ...
 nambi Madang **wap** **mbi-i-e**
 1SG.FOC [place] be.PST here-go.PRF-DEP
 ‘As for me, when I came from Madang, ...’

... nī maka Wombasame mī Wonmelma mintap.
 nī maka Wombasame mī Wonmelma min=ta-p
 1SG thus [name] 3SG [name] 3DU=say-PRF
 ‘... I talked about Wombasame and Wonmelma.’ (T11)

15.5 Syntactic change

Speakers may also be employing fewer and fewer syntactic structures in Ulwa. Thus, the more complex constructions in the language, such as relative clauses and passive constructions, may be avoided entirely by some speakers (or are simply unknown to them).

Other syntactic changes may be due specifically to Tok Pisin influence. Although the order of basic clausal constituents does not seem to have been affected by the prevalence of Tok Pisin (that is, Ulwa’s SOV word order has not shifted towards Tok Pisin’s SVO word order), the structure of NPs may be changing due to Tok Pisin influence, as some speakers occasionally place adjectives before their nominal heads (following Tok Pisin syntax) instead of after them (as more traditionally in Ulwa).

15.6 Borrowed function words

In addition to grammatical calques such as those detailed above (15.4), speakers of Ulwa frequently employ Tok Pisin loan words for grammatical functions. Commonly borrowed

function words include: *bai* ‘will’, *i* (predicate marker), *ken* ‘can, may’, *laik* ‘about to’, *mas* ‘should, must’, *maski*, ‘although’, *na* ‘and’, *nogut* ‘lest’, *o* ‘or’, *olsem* ‘thus’, *sapos* ‘if’, *save* (habitual marker), *tasol* ‘but’, and *taim* (or [tem]) ‘when(ever)’.

The adoption of the Tok Pisin conjunctions *na* ‘and’ and *o* ‘or’ can be seen as filling a gap in the Ulwa lexicon, since—prior to contact with Tok Pisin—the language did not have any word used to coordinate phrases or clauses (this having been accomplished through juxtaposition, 12.2). The following sentences contain borrowed coordinating conjunctions.

(15.011) Mat lip **na** amun wolka kwa ngol ne.

ma=ti	li-p	na	amun	wolka	kwa	nga=ul	ni-e
3SG=take	put-PRF	and	now	again	one	this.SG=with	act-DEP

‘(I) left it and now in turn (I) am making this one.’ (T12)

(15.012) U imbape i **o** anepe i?

u	imba-p-e	i	o	ane-p-e	i
2SG	night-be-DEP	go.PRF	or	sun-be-DEP	go.PRF

‘Did you go at night or go during the day?’ (T32)

Loan subordinators from Tok Pisin include *maski* ‘although’ and *taim* ‘when(ever)’ (sometimes pronounced in the form of the presumably earlier loan, [tem]). These function words occur at the beginning of a dependent clause. In traditional forms of Ulwa, the dependent marker *-e* would have sufficed to convey such concessive or temporal notions. With these words, however, the dependent marker may be used as well (as in the first example below), or it may be omitted (as in the second example).

(15.013) **Maski** u ma awlop maka lowonda.

maski	u	ma	awlop	ma=ka	lo-wo-nda
although	2SG	go	in.vain	3SG=at	IRR-sleep-IRR

‘Even if you go and get lost, (you) can sleep there.’ (T24)

(15.014) **Tem** ndi ndinji ngin motop inim pe ...

tem	ndi	ndinji	ngin	ma=top	inim	[li-]p-e
time	3PL	3PL.POSS	net	3SG=throw	water	put-PRF-DEP

‘Whenever they threw their net into the water ...’

... wambana nungol kotine bai an malanda

wambana	nungol	ko=ti-n-e	bai	an	ma=la-nda
fish	child	INDF=take-PRF-DEP	will	1PL.EXCL	3SG=eat-IRR

... and got a small fish, (then) we would eat it.’ (T27)

The second example above also illustrates the use of a Tok Pisin auxiliary verb, *bai* ‘will’. Such modal verbs—e.g., *bai* ‘will’, *ken* ‘can, may’, or *mas* ‘should, must’—may occur along with irrealis-marked Ulwa verbs. The Tok Pisin verb *save* (‘know’), which can function as an auxiliary in that language to mark habitual aspect, is also a common loan word in Ulwa, usually used with imperfective (often dependent) marking on the verb, the traditional means of marking habitual aspect in Ulwa. The following sentences illustrate the use of the borrowed Tok Pisin function words *mas* ‘should, must’ (15.015), *ken* ‘can, may’, (15.016), and *save*, ‘HAB’ (15.017).

(15.015) U **mas** matan!

u	mas	ma=ta-n[a]
2SG	must	3SG=say-IRR

‘You should tell it!’ (T27)

(15.016) Un **i ken** mawan utap ma ndin mankina.

un	i	ken	ma=wan	uta-p	ma	ndi=n	ma=nki-na
2PL	PRED	can	3SG=above	grind-PRF	go	3PL=OBL	3SG=dig-IRR

‘You can clear over it and plant them there.’ (T37)

(15.017) Nambi ni **save** inim lope

nambi	ni	save	inim	lope-e
1SG.FOC	1SG	HAB	water	wash-DEP

‘As for me, I bathe.’ (T11)

The first example above, (15.015), may also be interpreted as an imperative (lacking the final vowel of the irrealis suffix and thus instead exhibiting the imperative suffix). The second example above, (15.016), illustrates the use of the Tok Pisin predicate marker *i*, here probably just adopted along with the verb *ken* ‘can, may’—that is, reanalyzed as a unitary auxiliary verb *iken*. The predicate marker *i* does appear elsewhere in Ulwa discourse, but—due to its homophony with the suppletive perfective form of the verb ‘go’ (*i*), it is often hard to tease out whether the form [i] is being used as the predicate marker or as a calque of Tok Pisin *go* ‘go’, which is used to achieve similar grammatical functions.

15.7 Detransitivization of loan verbs

This chapter may be concluded with a description of one very interesting contact phenomenon in Ulwa: when Tok Pisin verbs are borrowed into Ulwa, they are typically treated as intransitive. The logical object of the verb is *not* indexed by an object marker, but instead appears as the head of an oblique phrase marked by the oblique marker =*n*. This occurs even in spite of the presence of the Tok Pisin transitive suffix *-im*, whose etymology is likely obscure to speakers. The Tok Pisin verb is usually employed without any TAM marking (as in Tok Pisin). It may, however, be followed by a verb of ‘going’ (*ma-* ~ *i* or *unda-*), which can carry TAM meaning. The examples below illustrate the use of Tok Pisin loan verbs without any suffix or following auxiliary verb. Note the absence of any grammatical object and the use of the oblique marker =*n*.

(15.018) Ndī i awnī **tambuim**.

ndī	i	aw=nī	tambu-im
3PL	go.PRF	betel.nut=OBL	taboo-TR

‘They went and forbade (taking) the betel nut.’ (T11)

(15.019) Nī ta wa man **pilim**.

nī	ta	wa	ma=n	pil-im
1SG	already	just	3SG=OBL	feel-TR

‘I had already just felt it.’ (T32)

(15.020) Unji yena unji inin **painim!**

unji	yena	unji	ini=n	pain-im
2PL.POSS	woman	2PL.POSS	ground=OBL	find-TR

‘(They) are your women; (so) find your land!’ (T11)

One Tok Pisin loan, however, *does* seem to permit objects: *helpim* ‘help’, generally pronounced [alpim] in Ulwa, which (like some dialects of Tok Pisin) lacks [h] (voiceless glottal fricatives); Ulwa furthermore forbids word-initial [e] (mid front vowels). In the following example, the 2SG object marker is the direct object of the verb.

(15.021) **Walpim** unji wombīn man ninda.

u=help-im	unji	wombīn	ma=n	ni-nda
2SG=help-TR	2SG.POS	work	3SG=OBL	act-IRR

‘(I) will help you do your work.’ (T26)

The examples below illustrate various verbs of ‘going’ used to convey aspect or modality as part of a phrase containing a detransitivized Tok Pisin loan verb. The logical object is still expressed in an oblique phrase.

(15.022) Ndīn **boilim i** ndala ya motap.

ndī=n	boil-im	i	ndī=ala	ya	ma=uta-p
3PL=OBL	boil-TR	go.PRF	3PL=for	coconut	3SG=grind-PRF

‘(I) boiled them and ground a coconut for them.’ (T11)

(15.023) Una gaden ngalan **pinisim iye**.

unan	gaden	ngala=n	pinis-im	i-e
1PL.INCL	garden	this.PL=OBL	finish-TR	go.PRF-DEP

‘We have finished these gardens.’ (*gaden* also < TP) (T25)

(15.024) Ala ndīn **rabisim mana**.

ala	ndī=n	rabis-im	ma-na
that.PL	3PL=OBL	rubbish-TR	go-IRR

‘They will mess with them.’ (T11)

(15.025) Una unanji grup ngan **pasim ma!**

unan	unanji	grup	nga=n	pas-im	ma
1PL.INCL	1PL.INCL.POSS	group	this.SG=OBL	tie-TR	go

‘Let’s form our group!’ (*grup* also < TP) (T24)

(15.026) Ala amblol le amblan **winim unde**.

ala	ambla=ul	lo-e	ambla=n	win-im	unda-e
that.PL	PL.REFL=with	go-DEP	PL.REFL=OBL	win-TR	go-DEP

‘They go around with each other, competing with each other.’ (T27)

(15.027) Ya, i mas tokples ngan **lainim unda**.

ya	i	mas	tokples	nga=n	lain-im	unda
yeah	PRED	must	tokples	this.SG=OBL	learn-TR	go

‘Yeah, (we) have to teach (them) this *tokples* (vernacular).’ (*ya, i, mas, tokples* also < TP) (T11)

Again, the loan verb *helpim* ‘help’ is exceptional in allowing an object, as seen below.

(15.028) Nungol ndī **malpim unde** ...

nungol	ndī	ma=help-im	unda-e
child	3PL	3SG=help-TR	go-DEP

... mol inamban nji ndine.

ma=ul	inamba=n	nji	ndī=ina-e
3SG=with	money=OBL	thing	3PL=get-DEP

‘The children are helping him buy things.’ (T27)

The loan verb *lukautim* ‘look after’ is also exceptional in that it seems to take the copular suffix rather than using a periphrastic construction with a verb of ‘going’ to convey TAM meaning. This perhaps reflects the fact that this verb has been adopted into Ulwa as a non-verbal element. Still, like most loan verbs that come from Tok Pisin, *lukautim* does not permit an object, but rather makes use of oblique phrases marked by =*n*, as seen below.

(15.029) Nī ango tiki ankam kuman **lukautimpīna**.

nī	ango	tiki	ankam	kuma= <i>n</i>	lukaut-im-p-na
1SG	NEG	again	person	some=OBL	look.after-TR-be-IRR

‘I won’t look after other people anymore.’ (T33)

Chapter 16

Conclusions and directions for further research

The primary goal in writing this grammatical description of Ulwa has been to make accessible some information on this otherwise unknown language, itself a member of an otherwise unknown language family (Ulmapo). The documentation and description of Ulwa is an urgently needed undertaking, since the language is suffering rapid attrition. Essentially no younger people are acquiring the language and those older people who do speak the language often appear to do so with difficulty in recalling words or employing grammatical structures.

This dissertation is intended to offer an overview of some of the most important phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic features of Ulwa, presented such that the information could be of value to typologists as well as other linguists. These grammatical descriptions are based on eleven months spent in Manu village, studying the language with native speakers.

Much work remains to be done. The most urgent task for linguists interested in Ulwa is further documentation. Most importantly, further research should be conducted with speakers from the other three villages where Ulwa is spoken. This present grammatical description is almost entirely limited to the dialect of Ulwa as spoken in Manu village, where I spent most of my eleven months conducting field research. Manu has an estimated 70 fluent speakers, whereas the larger Ulwa-speaking villages of Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul have—combined—some 600 fluent speakers. Moreover, the dialect spoken in these three communities is significantly different from that spoken in Manu. Thus, it could prove very informative to study the speech of these three villages so that we may extend knowledge of lexical and grammatical variation within Ulwa. Also, insights from grammatical analyses of the Maruat-Dimiri-Yaul dialect could reveal grammatical features that are not found or are unclear in the Manu dialect or could help explicate otherwise confusing features of the Ulwa language, features that remain obscure in this grammatical description based almost entirely on the Manu dialect.

Further documentation is also needed of Ulwa's two sister languages, Mwakai and Pondi. I conducted field research on both of these languages in 2016 and intend to write a monograph on the entire language family, providing sketch grammars for all three languages, a sociocultural introduction to the language family and its speakers, and comparative linguistic analysis and

historical reconstruction where possible. Still, my time spent in each village was short, and further field work is desperately needed. Mwakai is likely the most endangered of the three languages, and thus, perhaps, the most urgent to document further. Although there seem to be few (if any) competent speakers remaining in its two ancestral villages of Mongol and Kaimbal, it is possible that some fluent older speakers are currently residing in a large settlement near Angoram town. Pondi, which is likely the most vital of the three languages, also seems to exhibit some of the most complex grammatical structures. Thus, it would be of great diachronic and typological interest also to conduct further research in Langam village, where Pondi is still spoken.

With further documentation and description it is hoped that we can gain a better understanding of some of the grammatical phenomena sketched here in this reference grammar. Specifically, we should look more deeply into Ulwa's more unusual grammatical features such as its syntactic passives, detransitivizing marking (and valency reduction in general), object indexing, and conditional verbal suffixation.

Although this dissertation is only a sketch of the Ulwa language—one which certainly contains some inadequacies and probably some errors—it is hoped nevertheless that it provides a solid foundation for future research into the language and its family, research that may offer insight into the prehistory of the Sepik area, as well as inform linguistic theory more generally.

Chapter 17

Texts

17.1 Introduction

This chapter contains three Ulwa texts, *Way Inom* ('The Mother of the Turtle', 17.2), *Amblom Yena* ('The Woman Amblom', 17.3), and *Anmoka* ('Snakes', 17.4). The versions of the texts included here are all based on recordings that I have collected in the field. These recordings can all be found online with the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR):

<https://wurin.lis.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1035105>

The transcriptions in this chapter are presented in the practical phonemic orthography. Minor speech errors and nonlinguistic vocalizations such as coughs have not been included in these clean versions. The translations are meant to be fairly literal, while still capturing the spirit of the stories being told. Where it is thought helpful, footnotes are included to explicate relevant cultural information, clarify aspects of the narrative, or indicate words borrowed from Tok Pisin.

17.2 *Way Inom* ('The Mother of the Turtle')

This is a traditional story told by Ayndin Bram on 16 November 2016, at his home in Manu village. Examples from this text that appear within this dissertation are labeled "T05". The audio recording can be found on the ELAR website (file name *ulwa006.wav*). It is about eight-and-a-half minutes long (8:40).

The story is an etiology of sea turtles. The Ulwa people live at a considerable remove from the ocean and probably did not have much direct familiarity with the ocean traditionally. That said, there must have been a long history of trade routes leading to the sea and its contents. For example, the lime (calcium hydroxide) used in chewing betel nut is produced from seashells.

The story runs roughly as follows: A woman lives alone with her son. Every morning she goes out on the river with him in her canoe to check her fish traps. One day she finds a small turtle caught in a trap. The boy becomes fond of the turtle and keeps it as a pet. He feeds the turtle fish and it grows bigger and bigger. One day, however, an eagle swoops down and snatches both the boy and his turtle. It carries them far away, ultimately dropping them on the top of a sago palm. With no way down, the two live together in a crevice at the top of the palm. The turtle continues to grow and grow. Once it has become rather large, it begins testing its strength, climbing up and down the stalk of the palm with pieces of wood on its shell. When it gets strong enough, it climbs down the palm, uproots a house from a village, and carries it off. It goes back up the palm to fetch its owner, carries him down, and puts him in the house. The turtle then goes off to find a wife for its owner, who is by now a grown man. It picks up a young woman fast asleep and carries her back to the owner in his new house. The man and woman live together with the turtle and have children of their own. The children grow up, but the man never tells him about the special nature of this turtle. One day, one of his sons shoots an arrow at the turtle and hits it in the eye. The turtle decides to leave the family forever, running off to the sea, where it can still be seen to this day as the giant sea turtle.

Way inom.

way inom
turtle mother

The mother of the turtle.¹

Way ango ambi me.

way ango ambi me
turtle NEG big NEG

The turtle wasn't big at all.

Njukuta ndoy.

njukuta anda-o
small that.SG-INTERJ

It was small!

Inom mĩ—

inom mĩ
mother 3SG

A woman—

Inom mĩ wa unde iwa lan inim andawe.

inom mĩ wa unda-e iwa ala=n inim anda=aw-e
mother 3SG just go-DEP basket that.PL=OBL water that.SG=put.IPFV-DEP

A woman used to just go around, setting fish traps² in the water.

Iwa lan inim andawe umbenam unde ndi we ...

iwa ala-n inim anda=aw-e umbenam unda-e ndĩ=i we
basket that.PL=OBL water that.SG=put.IPFV-DEP morning go-DEP 3PL=go.PRF then

(She) would put fish traps in the water, go to them in the morning, and then, ...

... ndin u kundan nĩmban ndĩwale ndikuk nji awe.

ndĩ=in u kundan nĩmban ndĩ=wali-e ndĩ=kuk nji aw-e
3PL=in from eel gudgeon 3PL=hit-DEP 3PL=gather thing put.IPFV-DEP

... from within them, kill eels and gudgeon and gather them into something (i.e., a basket).

Ndikuk nji awe mĩ wolka i ndĩn up.

ndĩ=kuk nji aw-e mĩ wolka i ndĩ=n u-p
3PL=gather thing put.IPFV-DEP 3SG again go.PRF 3PL=OBL put-PRF

After gathering them into something, she again went and set them.

¹ This is something like a title to the story, 'mother' referring to the fact that this is a story about the origin of the (sea) turtle.

² The *iwa* basket (here translated as 'fish trap') is a traditional basket woven from sago fronds; it is shaped like a vase (or funnel) and is used to catch fish in the river over night as they swim into the wide mouth and get trapped at the other end of the basket.

Iye wolka i ndikukaw.

i-e wolka i ndī=kuk-aw
go.PRF-DEP again go.PRF 3PL=gather-put.IPFV
Having gone, (she) again went and gathered them (the fish).

Ndi we iye way nungol kotin.

ndī=i we i-e way nungol ko=tī-n
3PL=go.PRF then go.PRF-DEP turtle child INDF=take-PRF
(She) went to them, and having gone, (she) caught a little turtle.³

Way nungol mī iwa mene.

way nungol mī iwa ma=in-e
turtle child 3SG basket 3SG=in-DEP
The little turtle was in the trap.

Manji nungol mat ambin num malip.

manji nungol ma=tī ambī=n num ma=lī-p
3SG.POSS child 3SG=take SG.REFL=OBL canoe 3SG=put-PRF
(She) got her child and put (him) in her canoe.⁴

Alum ulwap numan ulwapeno.

alum ulwa-p numan ulwa-p-en-o
child nothing-be husband nothing-be-NMLZ-INTERJ
(She) didn't have a child⁵—didn't have a husband.

Mawe awa iyen.

mawe awa i-en
3SG.INT.PART INT go.PRF-NMLZ
She herself used to go out alone.

Yanat mati nungol mati ambin num malip.

yanat ma=tī nungol ma=tī ambī=n num ma=lī-p
daughter 3SG=take child 3SG=take SG.REFL=OBL canoe 3SG=put-PRF
(She) put her daughter⁶—her son into her canoe.

Wolka mol i iwa ndi we ...

wolka ma=ul i iwa ndī=i we
again 3SG=with go.PRF basket 3PL=go.PRF then
(She) in turn went with him, went to the fish traps and then,

³ Literally, a 'child turtle'.

⁴ Here the story backs up to what the woman had done before catching the turtle in her trap.

⁵ The speaker makes a mistake ('child') but corrects it ('husband').

⁶ The speaker makes another mistake ('daughter') but again corrects it ('child/son').

... iye way mī matine matī nungol manane.

i-e way mī ma=tī-n-e ma=tī nungol ma=na-n-e
go.PRF-DEP turtle 3SG 3SG=take-PRF-DEP 3SG=take child 3SG=give-PRF-DEP
... having gone—the turtle—when (she) got it, (she) gave it to her son.

Nungol mī ikali mas mat uta ndenlip.

nungol mī i-kali ma=si ma=tī uta anda=in-li-p
child 3SG hand-send 3SG=push 3SG=take shell that.SG=in-put-PRF
The son grabbed it and put it in a (coconut) shell.

Mat uta ndalp mala unde.

ma=tī uta anda=li-p ma=ala unda-e
3SG=take shell that.SG=put-PRF 3SG=for go-DEP
(He) put it in the shell and started going around for the sake of it.⁷

Mala wambana mīnwata ndimoke manane.

ma=ala wambana mīnwata ndi=moko-e ma=na-n-e
3SG=for fish rotten 3PL=take-DEP 3SG=give-PRF-DEP
For the sake of it, (he) gave rotten fish to it.

Mī ndame nay nay.

mī ndi=ama-e na-i na-i
3SG 3PL=eat-DEP DETR-go.PRF DETR-go.PRF
It ate them for quite some time.

Way mī nay ambi nap.

way mī na-i ambi na-p
turtle 3SG DETR-go.PRF big DETR-be
And the turtle went and got big.

Inom mī mol nay.

inom mī ma=ul na-i
mother 3SG 3SG=with DETR-go.PRF
The mother went with him (her son).

Inom mol iyen mambi nungol mī ambi nap.

inom ma-ul i-en mambi nungol mī ambi na-p
mother 3SG=with go.PRF-NMLZ 3SG.FOC child 3SG big DETR-be
And as for the mother who went around with him—(her) son got big.

Ambi nape way mī luke ambi nap.

ambi na-p-e way mī luke ambi na-p
big DETR-be-DEP turtle 3SG too big DETR-be
(He) got big and the turtle got big, too.

⁷ That is, the boy started going around the river to look for food for his pet turtle.

Ambi nape nogat!

ambi na-p-e nogat
big DETR-be-DEP no
(It) got big, but no!⁸

Wolka wop mol iye nogat!

wolka wo-p ma=ul i-e nogat
again sleep-PRF 3SG=with go.PRF-DEP no
Again, the next day,⁹ (the mother) went with him (the son), but no!¹⁰

Mi ikali way nungol man uta mol si.

mī i-kali way nungol ma=n uta ma=ul si
3SG hand-send turtle child 3SG=OBL shell 3SG=with push
He held the little turtle with the (coconut) shell.

Amangala nda kwa i wapa li ka i.

amangala anda kwa i wapa li ka i
eagle that.SG just go.PRF wing down let go.PRF
But an eagle¹¹ just came, came with (its) wings pointing down.

Kwa mangusuwa—

kwa mangusuwa
just 3SG.poor
Just, the poor thing—

Num mo nungol man kwa way mol tīn.

num ma=u nungol ma=n kwa way ma=ul tī-n
canoe 3SG=from child 3SG=OBL just turtle 3SG=with take-PRF
(The eagle) got the boy with the turtle from the canoe.

Mat i matī nowe ndo malip.

ma=tī i ma=tī nowe anda=u ma=lī-p
3SG=take go.PRF 3SG=take palm.sp that.SG=from 3SG=put-PRF
And (it) brought him and put him on a *nowe*¹² sago palm.¹³

Matī nowe ndo malipe mī mawatpe.

ma=tī nowe anda=u ma=lī-p-e mī ma=wat-p-e
3SG=take palm.sp that.SG=from 3SG=put-PRF-DEP 3SG 3SG=atop-be-DEP
Having put him on the *nowe* sago palm, he (the boy) stayed atop it.

⁸ The Tok Pisin loan *nogat* ‘no’ is signaling that something bad is about to happen.

⁹ Literally ‘slept’.

¹⁰ *Nogat* ‘no’ < Tok Pisin.

¹¹ A large, brown predatory bird, similar to an eagle.

¹² A large sago palm species that has no thorns on its stem.

¹³ In some versions of the story, the eagle wishes to remove the boy and the turtle from the river, since the boy has been feeding the turtle all the fish that the eagle would otherwise hunt.

Mi mawatpe way mat ambul inde.

mī ma=wat-p-e way ma=tī ambi=ul inda-e
3SG 3SG=atop-be-DEP turtle 3SG=take SG.REFL=with walk-DEP

While he was staying atop it, (he) carried the turtle around with himself.

Way mī nay ambi nap.

way mī na-i ambi na-p
turtle 3SG DETR-go.PRF big DETR-be

The turtle went and got big.

Way mī nay ambi nape ...

way mī na-i ambi na-p-e
turtle 3SG DETR-go.PRF big DETR-be-DEP

After the turtle went and got big, ...

... inom mī wa ma na tap ma sal sap.

inom mī wa ma[nji] na ta-p ma[nji] sal sa-p
mother 3SG just 3SG[.POSS] talk say-PRF 3SG[.POSS] tear cry-PRF

... the mother just spoke about him and cried about him (the boy).¹⁴

Mi nay.

mī na-i
3SG DETR-go.PRF

He went.

Ay nungol mī ulum mo mape.

ay nungol mī ulum ma=u ma=p-e
ay child 3SG palm 3SG=from 3SG=be-DEP

Ay, the child was living within (a crevice in) the sago palm.

Way mī mo map mol minawap.

way mī ma=u ma=p ma=ul mī=na-wap
turtle 3SG 3SG=from 3SG=be 3SG=with 3SG=DETR-be.PST

The turtle was (also) within it, living with him.

Mawap mawap way mī keka ambi ngata nap.

ma=wap ma=wap way mī keka ambi ngata na-p
3SG=be.PST 3SG=be.PST turtle 3SG completely big grand DETR-be

(They) stayed and stayed there, and the turtle got really huge.

Way mī keka ambi nape ...

way mī keka ambi na-p-e
turtle 3SG completely big DETR-be-DEP

Once the turtle was really big, ...

¹⁴ Literally, ‘said his talk’ and ‘cried his tears’, the second of which is something like a cognate accusative.

... imbape mī mol awlu unum kwa men u.

imba-p-e mī ma=ul awlu unum kwa ma=in u
night-be-DEP 3SG 3SG=with step crevice one 3SG=in from
... one night, he (the boy) stepped out with it from within one crevice (to another).

Awlu ato unum kwa men u lowonda mane.

awlu ata-u unum kwa ma=in u lo-wo-nda ma-n-e
step up-from crevice one 3SG=in from IRR-sleep-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
Having stepped up into another crevice, (he) was going to sleep (there).

Lowonda mane way mī mala ne.

lo-wo-nda ma-n-e way mī ma=ala na=i
IRR-sleep-IRR go-IPFV-DEP turtle 3SG 3SG=for DETR-go.PRF
As (he) was going to sleep, the turtle went for his sake.

Li ne.

li na-i
down DETR-go.PRF
(It) went down.

Ulum ma nambi ka li wandam nay.

ulum ma[nji] nambi ka li-i wandam na-i
palm 3SG[.POSS] skin on down-go.PRF jungle DETR-go.PRF
(It) went down along the bark of the sago palm and went toward the jungle.

Li wandam may molop.

li wandam ma=i ma=lo-p
down jungle 3SG=go.PRF 3SG=go-PRF
(It) went down to the jungle and went around.

Molop impul kotin ...

ma=lo-p im-pul ko=ti-n
3SG=go-PRF wood-piece INDF=take-PRF
(It) went around, got a piece of wood, ...

... mas ambī awi lip.

ma=si ambī[nji] awi li-p
3SG=push SG.REFL[.POSS] shoulder put-PRF
... and put it on its shoulder.

Mas ato ambī mutoma watlip.

ma=si ata-u ambī[nji] mutoma wat-li-p
3SG=push up-from SG.REFL[.POSS] backbone atop-put-PRF
(It) put it (the wood) up onto its back.

Mat i atay ulum maya ata i.

ma=tī i ata-i ulum ma=iya ata i
3SG=take go.PRF up-go.PRF palm 3SG=toward up go.PRF
(It) brought it and went up, went up the sago palm.

Ata iwap a wolka mat i li.

ata i-wap wolka ma=tī i li-i
up go.PRF-be.PST again 3SG=take go.PRF down-go.PRF
Having gone up, (the turtle) again brought it (the wood) down.

Mat i li nay matī li ...

ma=tī i li na-i ma=tī li-i
3SG=take go.PRF down DETR-go.PRF 3SG=take down-go.PRF
(It) brought it, went down, brought it down, ...

... wandam nay inakawana.

wandam na-i ina-ka-wana
jungle DETR-go.PRF liver-in-feel
... went to the jungle, and thought.

Mī ambiwana mat: “A!”

mī ambī=wana ma=ta a
3SG SG.REFL=feel 3SG=say ah
It thought to itself and said: “Ah!”

“Nī ta tata tīn mol li ina mane.”

nī ta tata tī-n ma=ul li i-na ma-n-e
1SG already papa take-PRF 3SG=with down come-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
“I’m already able to get papa and come down with him.”¹⁵

“Nī tata tīn mol li ina!”

nī tata tī-n ma=ul li i-na
1SG papa take-PRF 3SG=with down come-IRR
“So I’ll get papa and come down with him!”

makap

ma=kī-p
3SG=say-PRF
(He) thought this.

Ango amunpe.

ango amun-p-e
NEG now-be-DEP
But not immediately.

¹⁵ The turtle was carrying the wood as a test to see whether he would be able to carry the boy (his ‘papa’) down from atop the palm.

Ango amunpe atay matina.

ango amun-p-e ata-i ma=tī-na
NEG now-be-DEP up-go.PRF 3SG=take-IRR
(It) wouldn't go up and get him immediately.

Kop mala i inim i i wa ndī li ...

kop ma=ala i inim i i wa ndī li-i
just 3SG=for go.PRF water go.PRF go.PRF village 3PL down-go.PRF
(It) just went for his sake, went to the water, went, went down to the villages, ...

... ndule i apa kongomlīp.

ndī=u-l-e i apa ko=angom-lī-p
3PL=from-go-DEP go.PRF house INDF=pull.out-put-PRF
... went around in them, went, and pulled out a house.

Apa kongomlīp wa molop.

apa ko=angom-lī-p wa ma=lo-p
house INDF=pull.out-put-PRF village 3SG=cut-PRF
(It) pulled out a house and cleared a village.

I apa kongomlīp mat i matanelip.

i apa ko=angom-lī-p ma=tī i ma=tane-lī-p
go.PRF house INDF=pull.out-put-PRF 3SG=take go.PRF 3SG=stand-put-PRF
(It) went and pulled out a house, brought it, and stood it up.

Keka wandam ndī way mawa wandam ndīlop.

keka wandam ndī way mawa wandam ndī=lo-p
completely jungle 3PL turtle 3SG.INT jungle 3PL=cut-PRF
Completely, the gardens—the turtle itself cut the gardens.

Mīnal o mil o utam o nongontam—

mīnal o mil o utam o nongontam
taro or sugar or yam or kaukau
(Whether it be) taro or sugarcane or yam or *kaukau* (sweet potato)—¹⁶

Mī keka ndīn up.

mī keka ndī-n u-p
3SG completely 3PL=OBL put-PRF
He planted them all.

Ndī keka ambip.

ndī keka ambi-p
3PL completely big-be
They (the crops) were really big.

¹⁶ The coordinator *o* 'or' is borrowed from Tok Pisin.

Wowal lamndu mi nditin ndit i ...

wowal	lamndu	mi	ndi=ti-n	ndi=ti	i
chicken	pig	3SG	3PL=take-PRF	3PL=take	go.PRF

Chickens and pigs—it got them, brought them, ...

... ndikuk wandam mop.

ndi=kuk	wandam	ma=u-p
3PL=gather	jungle	3SG=put-PRF

... and gathered them into the garden.

Apa membamup.

apa	ma=imbam-u-p
house	3SG=under-put-PRF

(The turtle) put (the livestock) under the house.

Ande.

ande
ok
OK.

Mi wolka impul matin mat ...

mi	wolka	im-pul	ma=ti-n	ma=ti
3SG	again	wood-piece	3SG=take-PRF	3SG=take

It again got a piece of wood ...

... ambī mutoma watlīpe.

ambī[nji]	mutoma	wat-lī-p-e
SG.REFL[.POSS]	back	atop-put-PRF-DEP

... and put it on its shell.

Mol i atay ulum maya atay.

ma=ul	i	ata-i	ulum	ma=iya	ata-i
3SG=with	go.PRF	up-go.PRF	palm	3SG=toward	up=go.PRF

(It) went with it, went up, went up the sago palm.

Ulum mat ataywape mat nay li nay.

ulum	ma=ti	ata-i-wap-e	ma=ti	na-i	li	na-i
palm	3SG=take	up-go.PRF-be.PST-DEP	3SG=take	DETR-go.PRF	down	DETR-go.PRF

(On the) palm, got it (the piece of wood), went up, brought it down, and went down.

Mat nay li wandam i ambiwana.

ma=ti	na-i	li-i	wandam	i	ambi=wana
3SG=take	DETR-go.PRF	down-go.PRF	jungle	go.PRF	SG.REFL=feel

(The turtle) bought it (the wood) down, went to the jungle, and thought to itself.

Mat: “Ni ata ma matin mol li ina.”

ma=ta nī ata ma ma=tī-n ma=ul li i-na
3SG=say 1SG up go 3SG=take-PRF 3SG=with down come-IRR

(It) thought: “I shall go up, get him, and come down with him.”

Al matin.

al ma=tī-n
net 3SG=take-PRF

(It) got a mosquito net.

Al mī apa mī alanda menwapen nda.

al mī apa mī al anda ma=in-wap-en anda
net 3SG house 3SG net that.SG 3SG=in-be.PST-NMLZ that.SG

The mosquito net, the house—there was a mosquito net in it.¹⁷

Man mol tī i.

ma=n ma=ul tī i
3SG=OBL 3SG=with take go.PRF

(The turtle) brought it (the mosquito net) with it (the house).

Man mol tī i matanelipape ...

ma=n ma=ul tī i ma=tane-lī-p-ap-e
3SG=OBL 3SG=with take go.PRF 3SG=stand-put-PRF-PRF-DEP

After (the turtle) had brought it (the mosquito net) with it (the house) and stood it up, ...

... mī imbape nay mī nawowe.

mī imba-p-e na-i mī na-wo-e
3SG night-be-DEP DETR-go.PRF 3SG DETR-sleep-DEP

... it went at night, while he (the man) was sleeping.

Unumpe menpe wowe ...

unum-p-e ma=in-p-e wo-e
crevice-be-DEP 3SG=in-be-DEP sleep-DEP

While (the man) was sleeping in the crevice, inside it, ...

... mī i mokum ne i membam i.

mī i mokum na-i i ma=imbam i
3SG go.PRF stealth DETR-go.PRF go.PRF 3SG=under go.PRF

... it (the turtle) went, went stealthily, went, went under him.

Mat ato ambī mutam watlip.

ma=tī ata-u ambī[nji] mutam wat-lī-p
3SG=take up-from SG.REFL[.POSS] back atop-put-PRF

(The turtle) got him and put him up onto its back.

¹⁷ The speaker is clarifying what the turtle had done: the house that the turtle had pulled out for the growing young man had a mosquito net inside it.

Ankam ngatan ambi mutam watlip.

ankam	ngata=n	ambi[nji]	mutam	wat-li-p
person	grand=OBL	SG.REFL[.POSS]	back	atop-put-PRF

(It) put the huge person on its back.

Ankam ngatan ambi mutam watlip ande ...

ankam	ngata=n	ambi[nji]	mutam	wat-li-p	ande
person	grand=OBL	SG.REFL[.POSS]	back	atop-put-PRF	ok

Having put the huge man on its back, OK, ...

... mokum mat le.

mokum	ma=tĩ	lo-e
stealth	3SG=take	go-DEP

... (it) began bringing him carefully.

Naye ulum ma nambi ka nay li ...

na-i-e	ulum	ma[nji]	nambi	ka	na-i	li-i
DETR-go.PRF-DEP	palm	3SG[.POSS]	skin	on	DETR-go.PRF	down-go.PRF

(It) went and went down the bark of the palm ...

... wandam nay.

wandam	na-i
jungle	DETR-go.PRF

... and went to the jungle.

Keka matĩ i atay apa may.

keka	ma=tĩ	i	ata-i	apa	ma=i
completely	3SG=take	go.PRF	up-go.PRF	house	3SG=go.PRF

(The turtle) brought him all the way up to the house.

Mat i ata apa may mol i.

ma=tĩ	i	ata	apa	ma=i	ma=ul	i
3SG=take	go.PRF	up	house	3SG=go.PRF	3SG=with	go.PRF

(It) brought him up to the house and went with him.

Al men i matĩ menlip.

al	ma=in	i	ma=tĩ	ma=in-li-p
net	3SG=in	go.PRF	3SG=take	3SG=in-put-PRF

(It) went into the mosquito net and put him inside it.

Mĩ al men ka wop.

mĩ	al	ma=in	ka	wo-p
3SG	net	3SG=in	at	sleep-PRF

He slept in the mosquito net.

Mī al men ka wop awlu anmbu inakawanap: “A!”

mī al ma=in ka wo-p awlu an-mbī-u ina-ka-wana-p a
3SG net 3SG=in at sleep-PRF step out-here-from liver-in-feel-PRF ah

He slept in the mosquito net, came out, and thought: “Ah!”

“Nanjikaka liwap?”

nanjikaka li-i-wap
1SG.how down-go.PRF-be.PST

“How did I come down like this?”

Way mī asi man wat wan make.

way mī asi ma=n wat wan ma=ka-e
turtle 3SG sit 3SG=OBL ladder above 3SG=let-DEP

The turtle was sitting at the top of his ladder.¹⁸

Lop man wat wan maka map.

lop ma=n wat wan ma=ka ma=p
lie 3SG=OBL ladder above 3SG=let 3SG=be

(The turtle) lay at the top of his ladder and stayed there.

Mape limndī malipe mī anmbi inakawana:

ma=p-e limndī ma=lī-p-e mī an-mbī-i ina-ka-wana
3SG=be-DEP eye 3SG=put-PRF-DEP 3SG out-here-go.PRF liver-in-feel

(It) was there watching him, when he (the man) came out and thought:

“Nanjikaka li?”

nanjikaka li-i
1SG.how down-go.PRF

“How did I get down like this?”

“A!”

a

ah

“Ah!”

Inakawane: “Nanjikaka li?”

ina-ka-wana-e nanjikaka li-i
liver-in-feel-DEP 1SG.how down-go.PRF

(He) was thinking: “How did I get down like this?”

“Nī ata ndawap nanjikaka liye?”

nī ata anda=wap nanjikaka li-i-e
1SG up that.SG=be.PST 1SG.how down-go.PRF-DEP

“I was up there, so how did I get down like this?”

¹⁸ This is the ladder (or stairs) leading up to the house, which, like all houses in the region, would have been built on stilts.

Limndi way mala.

limndi way ma=ala
eye turtle 3SG=for
(He) saw the turtle.

“Way ngangusuwa ngapinate mī ko mī mase—”

way nga ngusuwa nga=p-na-t-e mī ko mī mas-e
turtle this.SG poor this.SG=be-IRR-SPEC-DEP 3SG just 3SG must-DEP
(And he thought:) “This turtle, the poor thing; it might be this (turtle)—it just; it must¹⁹ have—”

“Ata i ko nītīn nīt liwap.”

ata i ko nī=ī-n nī=ī li-i-wap
up go.PRF just 1SG=take-PRF 1SG=take down-go-PRF-be.PST
“(It) went up and just got me and brought me down.”

Makap inakawanap.

ma=kī-p ina-ka-wana-p
3SG=say-PRF liver-in-feel-PRF
(He) said it and thought.

Mawap imbape mī wolka nawo.

ma=wap imba-p-e mī wolka na-wo-Ø
3SG=be.PST night-be-DEP 3SG again DETR-sleep-IPFV
(He) stayed the night there and again he fell asleep.

Wolka nawowe mī mala yana angla nol.

wolka na-wo-e mī ma=ala yana angla na-lo
again DETR-sleep-DEP 3SG 3SG=for woman await DETR-go
After again sleeping, it (the turtle) went searching for a wife for him.

Way nga wa mala yana anglale.

way nga wa ma=ala yana angla-lo-e
turtle this.SG just 3SG=for woman await-go-DEP
This turtle was just searching for a wife for him.

I wa kwa may inim i li ...

i wa kwa ma=i inim i li-i
go.PRF village one 3SG=go.PRF water go.PRF down-go.PRF
(It) went, went to one village, went downstream, ...

... wa kwa may atay.

wa kwa ma=i ata-i
village one 3SG=go.PRF up-go.PRF
... went to another village, and then went up (into the village).²⁰

¹⁹ *Mas* ‘must’ < Tok Pisin.

²⁰ The turtle was going to village after village along the river to find a wife for its master.

Atay wa mo le yana amunji nungol anma ndawa.

ata-i wa ma=u lo-e yana amun-nji nungol anma ndawa
up-go.PRF village 3SG=from go-DEP woman now-thing child good 3PL.INT
(It) went up, going around the village, (looking for) suitable young women.

Mī i apa ndin u le i līmndī mala.

mī i apa ndī=in u lo-e i līmndī ma=ala
3SG go.PRF house 3PL=in from go-DEP go.PRF eye 3SG=for
It went, went around inside the houses, went, and saw her.²¹

Līmndī mala mokum al men u matin.

līmndī ma=ala mokum al ma=in u ma=tī-n
eye 3SG=for stealth net 3SG=in from 3SG=take-PRF
(It) saw her and stealthily got her from out of (her) mosquito net.

Man al mol tīn.

ma=n al ma=ul tī-n
3SG=OBL net 3SG=with take-PRF
(It) got her with the mosquito net.

Mat ambī mutam watlip mat i.

ma=tī ambī[nji] mutam wat-lī-p ma=tī i
3SG=take SG.REFL[.POSS] back atop-put-PRF 3SG=take go.PRF
(It) got her onto its back and brought her.

Mat i itom maya apa i.

ma=tī i itom ma=iya apa i
3SG=take go.PRF father 3SG=toward house go.PRF
(It) brought her and went home to the man.

Itom maya apa i mat makanalip.

itom ma=iya apa i ma=tī ma=kana-lī-p
father 3SG=toward house go.PRF 3SG=take 3SG=beside-put-PRF
(It) went home to the man and put her next to him.

Mat iye keka mol i ...

ma=tī i-e keka ma=ul i
3SG=take go.PRF-DEP completely 3SG=with go.PRF
Having brought her, (it) went all the way with her, ...

... maya al men i mat monilip.

ma=iya al ma=in i ma=tī moni-lī-p
3SG=toward net 3SG=in go.PRF 3SG=take among-put-PRF
... went to him into (his) mosquito net, and put her within (it).

²¹ That is, the turtle finally saw the woman that it thought would make a good wife for its master.

Mi mol wop.

mī ma=ul wo-p
3SG 3SG=with sleep-PRF
She slept with him.²²

Mol wope yana mī tīnanga līmndī wa mala.

ma=ul wo-p-e yana mī tīnanga līmndī wa ma=ala
3SG=with sleep-PRF-DEP woman 3SG arise eye just 3SG=for
Having slept with him, the woman got up and noticed him.

Limndi ankam ngala.

līmndī ankam nga=ala
eye person this.SG=for
(She) saw this person.

Mi keka sewap sewap sewap ...

mī keka sa-e-wap sa-e-wap sa-e-wap
3SG completely cry-DEP-be.PST cry-DEP-be.PST cry-DEP-be.PST
And she cried and cried ...

... sewap keka awalpe imbape wop.

sa-e-wap keka awal-p-e imba-p-e wo-p
cry-DEP-be.PST completely afternoon-be-DEP night-be-DEP sleep-PRF
... and cried throughout the afternoon, throughout the night, and into the next day.

Keka makawape makape imbape wop.

keka maka-wap maka-p-e imba-p-e wo-p
completely thus-be.PST thus-be-DEP night-be-DEP sleep-PRF
It was totally like that, like this, every night.

Inim iwīl lele ndītīn.

iwīl lele ndī=tī-n
moon three 3PL=take-PRF
Three years²³—months passed.

Iwīl lele ndītīne yeta nga nan mat:

iwīl lele ndī=tī-n-e yeta nga na=n ma=ta
moon three 3PL=take-PRF-DEP man this.SG talk=OBL 3SG=say
And after three months, the man told her:

²² That is, she slept in the same bed as him. The young woman was asleep this whole time she was being transported.

²³ The speaker makes a mistake ('year') but corrects it ('month').

“Nawa ango kalam me nī i ungsuwalu iwap.”

nawa ango kalam me nī i ungsuwa=lu i-wap
1SG.INT NEG know NEG 1SG go.PRF 2SG.poor=withgo.PRF-be.PST

“I really don’t know how I went and came to stay with you, you poor thing.”

“Nī ango kalam me wanjikaka iwap.”

nī ango kalam me wanjikaka i-wap
1SG NEG know NEG 2SG.how go.PRF-be.PST

“I don’t know how you got here.”

“Nī ango kalam me.”

nī ango kalam me
1SG NEG know NEG

“I don’t know.”

“Way nga tap ungsuwa ti iwapape.”

way nga tap ungsuwa ti i-wap-ap-e
turtle this.SG maybe 2SG.poor take go.PRF-be.PST-PRF-DEP

“Maybe this turtle brought you, you poor thing.”

“Nī ango angos na ukinate.”

nī ango angos na u=kī-na-t-e
1SG NEG what talk 2SG=say-IRR-SPEC-DEP

“I don’t have anything to tell you.”

“Awlopen luwa nda nguna map.”

awlop-p-en luwa anda ngunan ma=p
in.vain-be-NMLZ place that.SG 1DU.INCL 3SG=be

“That strange place—we are in it.”

“Nguna mbi nanap.”

ngunan mbi na-na-p
1DU.INCL here DETR-DETR-be.PRES

“We are staying here.”

Mi nasape mi mala li lamndu masap.

mī na-sa-p-e mī ma=ala li-i lamndu ma=asa-p
3SG DETR-cry-PRF-DEP 3SG 3SG=for down-go.PRF pig 3SG=hit-PRF

After she cried, he went down for her and killed a pig.

Yeta mi mala li lamndu masap ...

yeta mī ma=ala li-i lamndu ma=asa-p
man 3SG 3SG=for down-go.PRF pig 3SG=hit-PRF

The man went down for her, killed a pig, ...

... manke man up.

ma=nk-e ma=n u-p
3SG=cut-DEP 3SG=OBL put-PRF

... butchered it, and put it (in the house) for her.

Mol min ndimondop.

ma=ul min ndi=mondo-p
3SG=with 3DU 3PL=dry-PRF

With her²⁴—the two dried them (the butchered pieces of meat).

Ndimonde ndame ndiwatpe.

ndi=mondo-e ndi=ama-e ndi=wat-p-e
3PL=dry-DEP 3PL=eat-DEP 3PL=atop-be-DEP

(They continued) drying them, eating them, and relying²⁵ on them.

Way nga minin twa kana map.

way nga min=in twa kana ma=p
turtle this.SG 3DU=OBL hearth beside 3SG=be

And this turtle stayed there with them next to the hearth.

Way nga minin twa kana mape mi nan mat:

way nga min=in twa kana ma=p-e mi na=n ma=ta
turtle this.SG 3DU=OBL hearth beside 3SG=be-DEP 3SG DETR=OBL 3SG=say

And while this turtle stayed there with them next to the hearth, he (the man) said to her:

“Tsk!”

tsk

INTERJ

“Tsk!”²⁶

“Way nga mi tap utin uti i wap.”

way nga mi tap u=ti-n u=ti i-wap
turtle this.SG 3SG maybe 2SG=take-PRF 2SG=take go.PRF-be.PST

“This turtle, maybe he got you and brought you.”

“Ni ango kalam me.”

ni ango kalam me
1sg NEG know NEG

“I don’t know.”

²⁴ The start of this sentence (that is, using the postposition *ul* ‘with’ as something like a coordinator ‘and’) may be influenced from Tok Pisin grammar.

²⁵ Literally ‘being atop’.

²⁶ Phonetically this is a dental click ([|]). In Ulwa it is a paralinguistic sound used to express shock, compassion, or dismay. Here it signals the man’s sympathy for the woman.

Way mī minin twa kana map.

way mī min=n twa kana ma=p
turtle 3SG 3DU=OBL hearth beside 3SG=be

The turtle stayed there with them next to the hearth.

Minin twa kana mape min ame.

min=in twa kana ma=p-e min ama-e
3DU=OBL hearth beside 3SG=be-DEP 3DU eat-DEP

While (it) stayed with them there by the hearth, the two would eat.

Mundu ndikuk man awe mī ndame.

mundu ndi=kuk ma=n aw-e mī ndi=ama-e
food 3PL=gather 3GSG=OBL put.IPFV-DEP 3SG 3PL=eat-DEP

(They) would gather food for it and it would eat them (the food items).

Ndame nay nay ...

ndi=ama-e na-i na-i
3PL=eat-DEP DETR-go.PRF DETR-go.PRF

(It) ate them and ate them ...

... way mī keka ne ambi nīpat ngata nap.

way mī keka na-i ambi nīpat ngata na-p
turtle 3SG completely DETR-go.PRF big giant grand DETR-be

... until the turtle totally went and got big, giant, huge.

Way mī keka ne ambi nīpat ngata nap ande.

way mī keka na-i ambi nīpat ngata na-p ande
turtle 3SG completely DETR-go.PRF big huge giant DETR-be ok

The turtle completely went big, giant, huge, OK.

Mī inakawane—

mī ina-ka-wana-e
3SG liver-in-feel-DEP

He was thinking—

Ita tata mī inakawane mīnape.

i-ta tata mī ina-ka-wana-e mī=na=p-e
go.PRF-COND papa 3SG liver-in-feel-DEP 3SG=DETR-be-DEP

If (he) went—the papa was thinking around there.²⁷

Min yena mol minap min alum ndinanayn.

min yena ma=ul mī=na-p min alum ndi=na-na-in
3DU woman 3sg=with 3SG=DETR-be 3DU child 3PL=DETR-DETR-get

They—(he) stayed around there with his wife, and they had children.

²⁷ This line is hard to follow and may be a bit confused.

Min alum ndinanayne.

min alum ndĩ=na-na-in-e
3DU child 3PL=DETR-DETR-get-DEP
They had children.

E yeta uwe ko way ma nan alum ndĩkĩna!

e yeta uwe ko way ma[nji] na=n alum ndĩ=kĩ-na
hey man 2SG.INT.PART just turtle 3SG[.POSS] talk=OBL child 3PL=say-IRR
Hey, man, you yourself should have just told the children about the turtle!²⁸

“Un wana mbĩwap angos ngan anjikalakana!”

un wana mbĩ-wap angos nga=n anjika-la-ka-na
2PL PROH here-be.PST what this.SG=OBL how.many-IRR-let-IRR
“Don’t do something (bad) to this (turtle) here!”²⁹

Way mĩ nĩ min ndĩwana ande.

way mĩ nĩ min ndĩ=wana ande
turtle 3SG 1SG 3DU 3PL=hear ok
The turtle, I, they two, heard them, OK.³⁰

Mĩ alum ndĩnayne way mĩ mala inim namana man.

mĩ alum ndĩ=na-in-e way mĩ ma=ala inim na-ma-na ma-n
3SG child 3PL=DETR-get-DEP turtle 3SG 3SG=from water DETR-go-IRR go-
IPFV

(After) he (the man) had children, the turtle was going to go away from him, (back) to the water.

Mala inim namana mane.

ma=ala inim na-ma-na ma-n-e
3SG=from water DETR-go-IRR go-IPFV-DEP
(It) was going to go away from him to the water.

Imbape ala maka longom tĩ manana.

imba-p-e ala maka longom tĩ ma=na-na
night-be-DEP that.PL thus dream take 3SG=give-PRF
At night, they³¹ gave him (the man) a dream like this.

Nan mat: “Nĩ wandĩm inim namana.”

na=n ma=ta nĩ u=andĩm inim na-ma-na
talk=OBL 3SG=say 1SG 2SG=from water DETR-go-IRR
(It) told him: “I will go from you (back) to the water.”³²

²⁸ The narrator is addressing the man in the story, who should have told his children that this turtle that lives around them is no ordinary turtle, but something like a foster parent to their own parents. The line seems to have a false start.

²⁹ This is something along the lines of what the father should have told his children.

³⁰ This line seems to be confused.

³¹ The demonstrative pronoun here perhaps refers to spirits that grant people dreams at night.

³² The man has a premonitory dream, in which the turtle tells him that it will leave him.

Itom mī wop umbenam lamndu masap.

itom	mī	wo-p	umbenam	lamndu	ma=asa-p
father	3SG	sleep-PRF	morning	pig	3SG=hit-PRF

The man slept and in the morning killed a pig.

Wonmelma.

Wonmelma

[name]

Wonmelma.

Lamndu manji wi Wonmelma.

lamndu	manji	wi	Wonmelma
pig	3SG.POSS	name	[name]

The pig's name was Wonmelma.³³

Masape way mol minanamap.

ma=asa-p-e	way	ma=ul	mī=na-na-ama-p
3SG=hit-PRF-DEP	turtle	3SG=with	3SG-DETR-DETR-eat-PRF

After (he) killed it, (he) ate it with the turtle.

At kwa man mī mat man ani lip.

at	kwa	ma=n	mī	ma=ti	ma=n	ani	li-p
end	one	3SG=OBL	3SG	3SG=take	3SG=OBL	bilum	put-PRF

One piece (of the meat)—he put it in the *bilum* (net bag) for it (the turtle).

Way mī ango man ka li mana.

way	mī	ango	ma=n	ka	li	ma-na
turtle	3SG	NEG	3SG=OBL	let	down	go-IRR

The turtle wouldn't (yet) leave him and go down.

Mi kop mol mape.

mī	kop	ma=ul	ma=p-e
3SG	just	3SG=with	3SG=be-DEP

It just stayed with him.

Mi ko mol mape nogat!

mī	ko	ma=ul	ma=p-e	nogat
3SG	jus	3SG=with	3SG=be-DEP	no

It just stayed with him—no!³⁴

³³ Wonmelma is a figure from another very popular traditional Ulwa tale. Examples taken from a telling of his story are labeled “T01” in this dissertation.

³⁴ *Nogat* ‘no’ < Tok Pisin.

Itom manji alum ndi ndi—

itom manji alum ndi ndi
father 3SG.POSS child 3PL 3PL

The father's children, they—

Min numan yena ul wandam mane.

min numan yena ul wandam ma-n-e
3DU husband woman with jungle go-IPFV-DEP

They—the husband was going around the jungle with (his) wife.

I nan nungolke ngalakapta ndi kalampin!

i na=n nungolke ngala=ki-p-ta ndi kalam-p-n[a]
ay talk=OBL child this.PL=say-PRF-COND 3PL know-be-IRR

Ay, tell these children so that they'll know!³⁵

Nogat.

nogat

no

No.³⁶

Alum yeta mi ko mawap nali wongita tin ...

alum yeta mi ko ma=wap nali wongita ti-n
child man 3SG just 3SG=be.pst spine bow take-PRF

The son just stayed there and got a sago-frond bow ...³⁷

... ko way ngusuwa man limndi mo maka mas.

ko way ngusuwa ma=n limndi ma=u maka ma=asa
just turtle poor 3SG=OBL eye 3SG=from thus 3SG=hit

... and just hit the poor turtle like this in the eye.

Yeta mi way mi anmbi inim i.

yeta mi way mi an-mbi-i inim i
man 3SG turtle 3SG out-here-go.PRF water go.PRF

The man³⁸—the turtle went out into the water.

Mase mika nali nungun ma limndi upe.

ma=asa-e mika nali mi nungun ma[nji] limndi u-p-e
3SG=hit-DEP thus spine 3SG break 3SG[.POSS] eye put-PRF-DEP

Having hit it, the spine thus broke into its eye.

³⁵ The narrator is again addressing the man in the story.

³⁶ *Nogat* 'no' < Tok Pisin, here used to express the fact that something did not occur (i.e., the father never did tell his children about the turtle.)

³⁷ That is, a set of bow and arrow, in which the arrow is made from a *nali* 'sago-frond spine'.

³⁸ This seems to be another false start.

Mĩ mol anmbi inim nay.

mĩ ma=ul an-mbĩ-i inim na-i
3SG 3SG=with out-here-go.PRF water DETR-go.PRF

It went with it (the spine arrow) out into the water.

Mĩ mol anmbi inim naye mĩnape.

mĩ ma=ul an-mbĩ-i inim na=i-e mĩ=na-p-e
3SG 3SG=with out-here-go.PRF water DETR-go.PRF-DEP 3SG=DETR-be-DEP

It went with it out into the water and stayed around there.

Itom mĩ wa i manglalop.

itom mĩ wa i ma=angla-lo-p
father 3SG village go.PRF 3SG=await-go-PRF

The man went to the village and searched for it.

“Inom ngata ngusuwa nda ango luwa nay?”

inom ngata ngusuwa anda ango luwa na-i
mother grand poor that.SG which place DETR-go.PRF

“Where did that poor grandmother go?”³⁹

Ndĩ atwana nungolke ndĩte.

ndĩ atwana nungolke ndĩ=ta-e
3PL question child 3PL=say-DEP

They asked the children.

Alum ndĩte alum ndĩ nat: “An ango kalam me.”

alum ndĩ=ta-e alum ndĩ na-ta an ango kalam me
child 3PL=say-DEP child 3PL DETR-say 1PL.EXCL NEG know NEG

(They) asked the children and the children replied: “We don’t know.”

Yenanu nungol mawape nan mat: “Nogat ya!”

yananu nungol ma=wap-e na=n ma=ta nogat ya
woman child 3SG=be.PST-DEP talk=OBL 3SG=say no yes

But the daughter later⁴⁰ told him (the father): “No!”⁴¹

“Yeta nda maswape!”

yeta anda ma=as-wap-e
man that.SG 3SG=hit-be.PST-DEP

“That boy hit it!”

³⁹ The man and woman refer to the (female) turtle as ‘grandmother’, since it was a foster parent to them and therefore a foster grandparent to their children.

⁴⁰ Translated here as ‘later’, *mawape* literally means something like ‘having been there’.

⁴¹ In other words, she confesses that she and the other children had been lying; *nogat* ‘no’ and *ya* ‘yes’ < Tok Pisin.

“Nali wongita ndan mangusuwa limndi anda maswap.”

nali	wongita	anda=n	mangusuwa	limndi	anda=ka	ma=as-wap
spine	bow	that.SG=OBL	3SG.poor	eye	that.SG=in	3SG=hit-be.PST

“(He) hit the poor thing in the eye with that sago-frond bow.”

Itom mi way manakap tinanga se.

itom	mi	way	ma=nakap	tinanga	sa-e
father	3SG	turtle	3SG=for	arise	cry-DEP

The father got up and began to cry on account of the turtle.

Way mi ta awalpe imbape i ...

way	mi	ta	awal-p-e	imba-p-e	i
turtle	3SG	already	afternoon-be-DEP	night-be-DEP	go.PRF

The turtle—already in the afternoon⁴²—went at night, ...

... maya apa i limndi man mol si.

ma=iya	apa	i	limndi	ma=n	ma=ul	si
3SG=toward	house	go.PRF	eye	3SG=OBL	3SG=with	push

... went to him in the house, and showed him (its injured) eye.

“Ngam u nin limndi ngaka nase.”

nga-nam	u	ni=n	limndi	nga=ka	ni=asa-e
this.SG-INT	2SG	1SG=OBL	eye	this.SG=in	1SG=hit-DEP

“This is it—you shot me in my eye.”⁴³

“Ni wandim namana man.”

ni	u=andim	na-ma-na	ma-n
1SG	2SG=from	DETR-go-IRR	go-IPFV

“So I’m going to go to away from you.”

Itom mi mala wop wolka li lamndu masap.

itom	mi	ma=ala	wo-p	wolka li-i	lamndu	ma=asa-p
father	3SG	3SG=for	sleep-PRF	again down-go-PRF	pig	3SG=hit-PRF

The next day, the man went down again and killed a pig for it.

Wolka lamndu kwa masape mol minanamap ...

wolka lamndu	kwa	ma=asa-p-e	ma=ul	mi=na-na-ama-p
again pig	one	3SG=hit-PRF-DEP	3SG=with	3SG=DETR-DETR-eat-PRF

Having killed another pig, (he) ate it with it (the turtle) ...

... at kuma ndin man ame naytap.

at	kuma	ndi-n	ma=n	ame	na-ita-p
end	some	3PL=OBL	3SG=OBL	basket	DETR-tie-PRF

... and tied some pieces (of meat) up in his basket.

⁴² The speaker again corrects his diction.

⁴³ The turtle presumably speaks this line, as well as the following one.

Ndit manane mi ndit nay ...

ndi=ti ma=na-n-e mi ndi=ti na-i
3PL=take 3SG=give-PRF-DEP 3SG 3PL=take DETR-go.PRF

(He) gave them (the pieces of meat) to it (the turtle), and it took them and went, ...

... inim nay.

inim na=i
water DETR-go.PRF

... went into the water.

Inim naye una amun limndi way ambi ndanden

inim na-i-e unan amun limndi way ambi anda=andi-en
water DETR-go.PRF-DEP 1PL.INCL now eye turtle big that.SG=for-NMLZ

Having gone into the water, we now see that big turtle.

Ndi angumoni nimal ando inim-p.

ndi angumoni nimal anda=u inim-p
3PL swelling river that.SG=from water-be

They are in the swelling river,⁴⁴ in the water.

Ndi angumoni nimal mo inimpe.

ndi angumoni nimal ma=u inim-p-e
3PL swelling river 3SG=from water-be-DEP

They are in the water in the swelling river.

Una way ambi way ambi ndi—

unan way ambi way ambi ndi
1PL.INCL turtle big turtle big 3PL

We—big turtles, the big turtles—

Ndinam ndi angumoni nimal map.

ndi-nam ndi angumoni nimal ma=p
3PL-INT 3PL swelling river 3SG=be

They're the ones; they live in the swelling river.

Mawnam.

maw-nam
correct-INT

That's it.

⁴⁴ That is, the ocean: *angumoni nimal* 'swelling river, ocean, sea' may perhaps best be thought of as a compound noun, especially since it has the (non-canonical) order adjective-noun. The big turtles referred to here are sea turtles.

17.3 *Amblom Yena* ('The Woman Amblom')

This is a traditional story told by Yanapi Kua on 26 May 2017, at her home in Manu village. Examples from this text that appear within this dissertation are labeled "T16". The audio recording can be found on the ELAR website (file name *ulwa020.wav*). It is a little over two minutes long (2:17).

The story is (among other things) an etiology of the moon. In the tale, a wicked woman named Amblom lives in the village. Whenever the men and women of the village go off into the jungle to harvest sago starch, she captures their children, decapitates them, and eats them. And she hides their bones in the top of a sago palm. Eventually, however, the parents discover Amblom's secret and decide to kill her. She evades them, however, by climbing the palm where she keeps their bones. They run to the palm but she exerts a magical force over it, so there is little that they can do to get her down. In some versions of the story she taunts the parents by throwing feces at them (that is, the final product of their eaten children). They cannot chop down the palm, nor can they shoot her down with arrows. Finally, a mysterious stranger comes to the village, supposedly a friend of one of the villagers. Versed in magic, he is able to shoot down Amblom with an enchanted arrow. She falls to her death and the villagers butcher her body. They begin distributing her flesh as meat, offering to the stranger whichever body part he prefers. He refuses all the choicest cuts, requesting instead Amblom's vulva. He places the vulva on a frond of the palm where she was hiding, whereupon it transforms into a glowing torch. Using this torch, he has great success hunting pigs. The stranger's friend learns of his fruitful hunts, but does not know his secret. The stranger, not wanting to reveal his magical glowing vulva, instructs his friend simply to build a regular torch out of coconut flower sheaths. The friend has some initial success killing a small pig, but, when he tries to kill a larger one, he himself is nearly killed by the boar. Suspecting that he has been tricked, he spies on the stranger's home, discovering the magical vulva. However, while trying to grab it, he clumsily disrupts the vulva and sends it flying off into space where it remains to this day as the moon. The Ulwa conception that there is something feminine about the moon can still be seen in the fact that the word *iwil* means both 'moon' and 'menstruation', no doubt related to the similarity in duration of the lunar and menstrual cycles.

The story also contains an epilogue in which the stranger builds a huge ladder to rescue his magical vulva (now the moon). He manages to reach the moon and dangle from it. While hanging there, however, a colony of bats comes by to inspect this strange new being. When he declines the fruit that they offer him, they become suspicious that he is not one of them, so they yank him away. And no human since has been able to reach the moon. In some versions of the story, these bats are said to be the stars that surround the moon.

Amblom Yena mī—

Amblom	Yena	mī
[name]	woman	3SG

Amblom Yena—

ndī nungolke ndīn man līp ...

ndī	nungolke	ndī=n	ma=n	lī-p
3PL	child	3PL=OBL	3SG=OBL	put-PRF

They (other villagers) left (their) children with her ...

... wandam unde ulum ale.

wandam	unda-e	ulum	ali-e
jungle	go-DEP	palm	scrape-DEP

... when (they) would go around in the jungle and scrape sago palms.

Mī wa mape.

mī	wa	ma=p-e
3SG	village	3SG=be-DEP

She stayed in the village.

Ndīnji unduwan nduwe we ndame ...

ndīnji	unduwan	ndī=we	we	ndī=ama-e
3PL.POSS	head	3PL=cut	then	3PL=eat-DEP

(She) would cut off their heads and then eat them, ...

... uma ndīt li unde ndīkuk maka ulum nowe nda ndīn—

uma	ndī=ti	li	unda-e	ndī=kuk	maka	ulum	nowe	anda
bone	3PL=take	down	go-DEP	3PL=gather	thus	palm	palm.sp	that.SG

... bring (their) bones down, and pile them—like, that *nowe* sago palm—

Ndīkuk mo ma awi up.

ndī=kuk	ma=u	ma[nji]	awi	u-p
3PL=gather	3SG=from	3SG[.POSS]	shoulder	put-PRF

(She) piled them there onto its shoulder.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ That is, she piles the eaten children's bones into a crevice in the *pangal* frond of the palm.

Ndī nokoplīp limndī mala.

ndī nokop-lī-p limndī ma=ala
3PL hide-put-PRF eye 3SG=for

But they (the parents) hid and saw her.

I ma nan amblakap.

i ma[nji] na=n ambla=kī-p
go.PRF 3SG[.POSS] talk=OBL PL.REFL=say-PRF

They went and talked about her.

Matina nakap iye.

ma=tī-na na-kī-p i-e
3SG=kill-IRR DETR-say-PRF go.PRF-DEP

(They) wanted to kill her.

Mī li awlu ulum mo ma we ...

mī li i awlu ulum ma=u ma we
3SG down go.PRF step palm 3SG=from go then

But she went down (from her house) and stepped onto the palm, and then ...

... ulum mī keka i wutotap.

ulum mī keka i wutota-p
palm 3SG completely go.PRF tall-be

... the palm went and got really tall.⁴⁶

Wutotape ndī wongīta tīn mol asap ulwape.

wutota-p-e ndī wongīta tī-n ma=ul asa-p ulwa-p-e
tall-be-DEP 3PL bow take-PRF 3SG=with hit-PRF nothing-be-DEP

Since (it) was tall, they could hit nothing when they got a bow and shot with it.

Kwa ngawa wandam ngo i ndiya wa i.

kwa ngawa wandam nga=u i ndī=iya wa i
one this.SG.INT jungle this.SG=from go.PRF 3PRF=toward village go.PRF

But someone just came from out of the jungle and went to them in the village.

Wongīta matīn man mawl as.

wongīta ma=tī-n ma=n ma=ul asa
bow 3SG=take-PRF 3SG=OBL 3SG=with hit

(He) took the bow and shot at her with it.

Manji sawi manip mawl ase.

manji sawi ma=ni-p ma=ul asa-e
3SG.POSS magic 3SG=act-PRF 3SG=with hit-DEP

(He) sang his magic charm and shot with it.

⁴⁶ Amblom works some magic to make the palm grow tall.

Kwa mī man ambī aweta kap.

kwa	mī	ma=n	ambī[nji]	aweta	kī-p
one	3SG	3SG=OBL	SG.REFL[.POSS]	friend	say-PRF

Someone⁴⁷ said that it was his friend.

“A nīnji aweta anda ko matīna!”

a	nīnji	aweta	anda	ko	ma=tī-na
ah	1SG.POSS	friend	that.SG	just	3SG=hit-IRR

“Ah, that friend of mine will really hit her!”

Mī asika sawi manip ulwape.

mī	asi-ka	sawi	ma=ni-p	ulwa-p-e
3SG	sit-let	magic	3SG=act-PRF	nothing-be-DEP

He (the stranger) sat and sang the magic spell to the end—

Keka man u wongīta matīn ...

keka	ma=n	u	wongīta	ma=tī-n
completely	3SG=OBL	from	bow	3SG=take-PRF

Totally—(he) got the bow from him (his friend) ...

... keka mase mī keka nip.

keka	ma=asa-e	mī	keka	ni-p
completely	3SG=hit-DEP	3SG	completely	die-PRF

... and totally hit her and she died completely.

Ulum molop li līp ...

ulum	ma=lo-p	li	lī-p
palm	3SG=cut-PRF	down	put-PRF

(They) cut the sago palm down ...

... men u uma ndīkuk anmbup.

ma=in	u	uma	ndī=kuk	an-mbī-u-p
3SG=in	from	bone	3PL=gather	out-here-put-PRF

... and gathered the bones out from within it.

Mankap at kot mananda nate.

ma=nkī-p	at	ko=tī	ma=na-nda	na-ta-e
3SG=cut-PRF	end	INDF=take	3SG=give-IRR	DETR-say-DEP

(They) butchered her and talked about giving a piece (of her body) to him (the stranger).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ That is, one of the villagers identifies the stranger as his friend.

⁴⁸ Having butchered Amblom Yena's fallen body, the villagers distribute her body parts as food. The stranger (as the hero of the day) is offered various body parts.

Mi kambī man ndit: “M!”

mī kamb ma=n ndī=ta m
3SG shun 3SG=OBL 3PL=say no

But he didn’t want it and told them: “No!”

“Un maka ma nambīpen ngat nīnata ...”

un maka ma[nji] nambī-p-en nga=tī nī=na-ta
2PL thus 3SG[.POSS] body-be-NMLZ this.SG=take 1SG=give-COND

“If you, like this, give me this thing on her body, ...”⁴⁹

“... nī mat mana.”

nī ma=tī ma-na
1SG 3SG=take go-IRR

“... I will take it and go.”

Mi mat i mas isi pul mat lip.

mī ma=tī i ma=si isi pul ma=tī lī-p
3SG 3SG=take go.PRF 3SG=push young.pangal piece 3SG=take put-PRF

He brought it and pushed it onto a piece of young *pangal* frond.⁵⁰

Kukumbe isi pul mat līpe mī tembip.

kukumbe isi pul ma=tī lī-p-e mī tembi-p
palm.sp pangal piece 3SG=take put-PRF-DEP 3SG bad-be

(He) put it on a piece of young *kukumbe*⁵¹ palm *pangal* frond, but it was bad.

Mi mas nowe isi pul mat līpe ...

mī ma=si nowe isi pul ma=tī lī-p-e
3SG 3SG=push palm.sp young.pangal piece 3SG=take put-PRF-DEP

So he pushed it onto a piece of young *nowe* palm *pangal* frond ...

... mī anmap!

mī anma-p
3SG good-be

... and it was good!⁵²

⁴⁹ The stranger rejects the offers of various body parts, asking instead for Amblom Yena’s vulva.

⁵⁰ *Isi* ‘young *pangal* frond’ is a younger form of *wema* ‘*pangal*’—that is, sago palm fronds that are used in weaving. In this case, the *pangal* frond is being used as a pike.

⁵¹ Here the narrator specifies the species of palm to which the young *pangal* pike belongs.

⁵² The mysterious hero, clearly familiar with magic, knows that Amblom Yena’s vulva has special properties. He is experimenting with different species of *pangal* fronds to discover how to harness its power.

Pe mī ma anenisin namndu nduwalep.

pe	mī	ma[nji]	ane-nisi=n	namndu	ndī=wali-e-p
DEP	3SG	3sg[.poss]	sun-flower.sheath=OBL	pig	3PL=hit-DEP-be

And then he, with its torch,⁵³ was killing pigs.⁵⁴

Manji aweta mī i.

manji	aweta	mī	i
3SG.POSS	friend	3SG	go.PRF

But then his friend came.

Mangop ana mangop.

ma=ango-p	ana	ma=ango-p
3SG=NEG-PRF	grass.skirt	3SG=pull.out-PRF

(And the stranger) lied to him, tricked him.⁵⁵

“U ma ila we apīn lumope namndu kotīn!”

u	ma	ila	we	apīn	lumope	namndu	ko=tī-n
2SG	go	morota	cut	fire	put-PRF-DEP	pig	INDF=take-IMP

“Go and cut *morota* fronds, put them on the fire, and kill a pig!”⁵⁶

Mī i ila we apīn up namndu tike mase ...

mī	i	ila	we	apīn	u-p	namndu	tike	ma=asa-e
3SG	go.PRF	morota	cut	fire	put-PRF	pig	small	3SG=hit-DEP

He went and cut *morota* fronds, put them on the fire, hit a small pig, ...

... mī nip.

mī	ni-p
3SG	die-PRF

... and it died.

Mī numbu mane mī i mankape

mī	numbu	ma=ni-e	mī	i	ma=nkī-p-e
3SG	garamut	3SG=beat-DEP	3SG	go.PRF	3SG=cut-PRF-DEP

He beat the *garamut* drum until he came, and (they) butchered it.⁵⁷

⁵³ Literally, its ‘sun-coconut-flower-sheath’. The flower pods of coconuts were traditionally used as torches.

⁵⁴ Now affixed to the proper species of *pangal* frond, the vulva emits a light like a torch, which the stranger can use to hunt pigs at night.

⁵⁵ The verbs here are difficult to parse. The verb ‘lie’ may be a verbalized form of the negator *ango* ‘NEG’. There may also be an idiom ‘pull off one’s grass skirt’ meaning ‘trick’, containing the component *ango(m)* ‘pull out’.

⁵⁶ The stranger’s friend has come in order to learn how the stranger has been so successful in hunting pigs. The stranger tricks him, however, in that he tells him to make a regular torch out of *morota* (sago palm fronds), not revealing anything of the incandescent vulva.

⁵⁷ Having successfully killed a (small) pig, the friend summons the stranger by beating the *garamut* drum, so that the two may work together to butcher the pig.

Mat: “Mawnam.”

ma=ta maw-nam
3SG=say correct-INT
(And the stranger) said: “That’s it.”

Mĩ nay awlu ambi mo ma awi we ...

mĩ na-i awlu ambi ma=u ma[nji] awi i we
3SG DETR-go.PRF step big 3SG=from 3SG[.POSS] shoulder go.PRF then
He went and stepped onto the shoulder of a big one, but then ...⁵⁸

... ambi mĩ keka mat nin ndil.

ambi mĩ keka ma=tĩ nin ndĩ=lĩ
big 3sg completely 3SG=take thorn 3PL=put
... the big one (pig) completely got him and put (him) on thorns.

Ka atay nipe.

ka ata i ni-p-e
thus up go.PRF die-PRF-DEP
(He) went up like that and (nearly) died.⁵⁹

Mĩ wa i tawa ndul mawap.

mĩ wa i tawa ndĩ=ul ma=wap
3SG village go.PRF wound 3PL=with 3SG=be.PST
He went home and stayed there with his wounds.

I mangani wonp.

i ma=angani won-p
go.PRF 3SG=behind cut-PRF
(He) went behind his back.⁶⁰

Njin iwĩl mase mĩ keka i atay anam i.

nji=n iwĩl ma=asa-e mĩ keka i ata-i anam i
thing=OBL moon 3SG=hit-DEP 3SG completely go.PRF up-go.PRF sky go.PRF
(He) hit the moon with something and it went completely up, went to the sky.⁶¹

Anam maye mĩ anmbi.

anam ma=i-e mĩ an-mbĩ-i
sky 3SG=go.PRF-DEP 3SG out-here-go.PRF
When (it) went to the sky, he (the stranger) came out.

⁵⁸ The friend goes out a second time, trying to kill a larger pig this time.

⁵⁹ This second pig is too much for the hunter to handle; while he is climbing onto the pig’s shoulders to attack it, the pig bucks, pushing the hunter into a thorny tree, injuring him severely.

⁶⁰ Literally, ‘cut behind him’. The injured friend goes to the home of the stranger without him knowing.

⁶¹ While spying, the injured friend spots the magical vulva (here, referred to euphemistically—or with foreshadowing—as the ‘moon’); he somehow disrupts it and it flies up into the sky.

“Ninji aweta nda nangani wonp!”

nīnji aweta anda nī=angani won-p
1SG.POSS friend that.SG 1SG=behind cut-PRF

“That friend of mine has gone behind my back!”

Mī tamben mayte i atay.

mī tamben ma=ita-e i ata-i
3SG ladder 3SG=build-DEP go.PRF up-go.PRF

He (the stranger) went and built a ladder⁶² and climbed up.

I si membamlipe ato ul ka.

i si ma=imbam-lī-p-e ata-u ul ka
hand push 3SG=under-put-PRF-DEP up-from with let

(He) put his hand under it (the moon) and hung (onto it).

Ato ul ke nīplopa ngala i.

ata-u ul ka-e nīplopa ngala i
up-from with let-DEP flying.fox this.PL go.PRF

As (he) hung, some flying foxes came.

Wapan masine i.

wapa=n ma=si-ni-e i
wing=OBL 3SG=push-beat-DEP go.PRF

(They) came and played with him with (their) wings.

Wawana mu kot manane.

wawana mu ko=tī ma=na-n-e
plant.sp fruit INDF=take 3SG=give-PRF-DEP

(They) gave him a *wawana* fruit.⁶³

Mī man ndīt: “Ango mundu kom un mat nīnan!”

mī ma=n ndī=ta ango mundu kom un ma=tī nī=na-n
3SG 3SG=OBL 3PL=say NEG food NEG 2PL 3SG=take 1SG=give-PRF

But he told them: “That’s not food at all you gave me!”

Ndī i ma nan amblakap.

ndī i ma[nji] na=n ambla=kī-p
3PL go.PRF 3SG[.POSS] talk=OBL PL.REFL=say-PRF

They went and talked about him.⁶⁴

⁶² A *tamben* ‘ladder’ is very tall, used for climbing trees, as opposed to a *wat* ‘ladder’, which is shorter and leads up to the entrance of a stilted house.

⁶³ The flying foxes are curious about this new creature (a man) that has come to join their realm in the sky. They give him *wawana* fruit, which is something a flying fox (but not a human) would typically eat.

⁶⁴ When the man refuses the *wawana* fruit as something inedible, the flying foxes become suspicious and wary about having him around.

Wop wolka i umbenam i.

wo-p wolka i umbenam i
sleep-PRF again go.PRF morning go.PRF

The next day, (they) came again, came in the morning.

Ato mawlop.

ata-u ma=u-lo-p
up-from 3SG=from-go-PRF

(They) grabbed onto him.

Iwil membam u motop anmbilip.

iwil ma=imbam u ma=top an-mbī-lī-p
moon 3SG=under from 3SG=throw out-here-put-PRF

(And they) threw him out from under the moon.

Em Amblom manji mīnam.

em Amblom manji mī-nam
3SG [name] 3SG.POSS 3SG-INT

That's it;⁶⁵ that's Amblom's (story).

⁶⁵ The pronoun *em* '3SG', used here as an interjection is a loan from Tok Pisin.

17.4 *Anmoka* ('Snakes')

This is a description of a traditional cultural practice, as told by Tangin Kapos on 1 June 2017, at her home in Manu village. This text is part of a larger conversation between Tangin Kapos and Gweni Tungun. Examples from this conversation that appear within this dissertation are labeled “T30”. The audio recording can be found on the ELAR website (file name *ulwa035.wav*). The entire recording is almost six minutes long (5:51); the following text, however, represents about the first minute (0:57) of the text.

In this text, Tangin describes a traditional method of inducing labor, which would be used when a husband suspected that his wife was overdo in carrying their child. The husband would kill a snake and wrap its body in a banana leaf, as if it were prepared food. He would then give this package to his wife, who, thinking it was food, would unwrap it, see the snake, and get a shock, which—it was believed—would induce her to bear the child on that very night.

Anmoka stori.

anmoka stori
snake story
A snake story.⁶⁶

Nambi save anmoka ala namnapen

nambi save anmoka ala namna-p-en
1SG.FOC HAB snake for afraid-be-NMLZ
As for me, I'm afraid of snakes.⁶⁷

Ni wandam mata ankam anmoka matim mapta ...

ni wandam ma-ta ankam anmoka ma=ati-m ma=p-ta
1SG jungle go-COND person snake 3SG=hit-IRR 3SG=be-COND
Whenever I go to the jungle and people kill a snake there,

... ni mandi namnap unip.

ni ma=andi namna-p uni-p
1SG 3SG=for afraid-be shout-PRF
... I shout in fear about it.

⁶⁶ *Stori* 'story' < Tok Pisin.

⁶⁷ The habitual marker *save* (literally 'know') is borrowed from Tok Pisin.

Wopa ndawa u mana mane.

wopa andawa u ma-na ma-n-e
all that.SG.INT from go-IRR go-IPFV-DEP

(I'm) going to go far from there.

Ango anmoka ndala nambi nīpatpe.

ango anmoka ndī=ala nambi nīpat-p-e
NEG snake 3PL=for skin giant-be-DEP

(I) don't have thick skin for snakes.⁶⁸

Anmoka ndī ala ipka inom ala nambī kenmbupe ...

anmoka ndī ala ipka inom ala nambī kenmbu-p-e
snake 3PL that.PL before mother that.PL body heavy-be-DEP

Snakes⁶⁹—people in the past, when mothers were pregnant,⁷⁰ ...

... itom ala ndīwale ndīn muku ite ...

itom ala ndī=wali-e ndī=n muku ita-e
father that.PL 3PL=hit-DEP 3PL=OBL package tie-DEP

... the fathers used to kill them (snakes), tie them up into packages (with leaves), ...

... ndit wa unde ndimune ndīwat awe.

ndī=ti wa unda-e ndī=mune ndī=wat aw-e
3PL=take village go-DEP 2PL=throw 3PL=atop put-IPFV-DEP

... bring them home, and toss them (the wrapped snakes) to them (pregnant women).⁷¹

“U alum man nambī ka wap ngayap.”

u alum ma=n nambī ka wap ngaya-p
2SG child 3SG=OBL body on be.PST far-be

“You've been with a child on your body for (too) long.”⁷²

“Wap ngayape oke.”

wap ngaya-p-e oke
be.PST far-be-DEP ok

“(You've) been (that way) for (too) long, OK.”⁷³

Manap anmoka matīm map ...

ma=nap anmoka ma=atī-m ma=p
3SG=for snake 3SG=hit-IRR 3SG=be

Having killed a snake for her there, ...

⁶⁸ Literally, ‘not for the snakes is skin giant’, i.e., the speaker is easily frightened by snakes.

⁶⁹ After the preceding prologue about the speaker's fear of snakes, she begins now to describe a traditional means of inducing labor that relies on a woman's fear of snakes.

⁷⁰ Literally, ‘bodies (have) heaviness’.

⁷¹ That is, the husband would toss the leaf-wrapped snake to his wife as if it were food.

⁷² This is what a husband might say to his presumed overdo wife.

⁷³ *Oke* ‘OK’ < Tok Pisin.

... man muku itap matī ma ...

ma=n	muku	ita-p	ma=tī	ma
3SG=OBL	package	tie-PRF	3SG=take	go

... made a package with it, and brought it (home), ...

... angop mundu tī mawatlīp mat mananda.

ango-p	mundu	tī	ma=wat-lī-p	ma=tī	ma=na-nda
NEG-be	food	take	3SG=atop-put-PRF	3SG=take	3SG=give-IRR

... (the husband), pretending that it was food, would give it to her.⁷⁴

Mat manata mī makanakawmop ...

ma=tī	ma=na-ta	mī	ma=kanaka-[l]umo-p
3SG=take	3SG=give-COND	3sg	3sg=unwrap-put-PRF

When (he) has given it to her, she would unwrap it, ...

... līmndī mandī mandī unipīna: “Yi!”

līmndī	ma=andī	ma=andī	uni-p-na
eye	3SG=for	3SG=for	shout-be-IRR

... see it, and shout⁷⁵ about it: “Eek!”

Mala namnap unipīna.

ma=ala	namna-p	uni-p-na
3SG=for	afraid-be	shout-be-IRR

(She) would shout in fear of it.

Ta manji alum mī tīnangata mī mokotnda

ta	manji	alum	mī	tīnanga-ta	mī	ma=kot-nda
already	3SG.POSS	child	3SG	arise-COND	3SG	3SG=break-IRR

Already her baby would get up, and she would bear⁷⁶ it.

Olsem mī amun imbapta mī mandī unipta ...

olsem	mī	amun	imba-p-ta	mī	ma=andī	uni-p-ta
thus	3SG	now	night-be-COND	3SG	3SG=for	shout-PRF-COND

And so,⁷⁷ it—that night, when she shouted about it ...

... mī imbapta alum mī tīnangana.

mī	imba-p-ta	alum	mī	tīnanga-na
3SG	night-be-COND	child	3SG	arise-IRR

... it—that night—the baby would get up.

⁷⁴ Literally, ‘in a false way taking (the name) “food” and putting (it) on it (the snake)’.

⁷⁵ The form *unipīna* ‘shout [IRR]’ appears to be an alternate form of *uninda*, seemingly formed with the irrealis copular suffix.

⁷⁶ The form *kotnda* ‘break [IRR]’ appears to be an alternate form of *kotina*, exhibiting the allomorph *-nda* of the irrealis suffix *-na*.

⁷⁷ *Olsem* ‘thus’ < Tok Pisin.

Men u tinangata mĩ imbapta mokotnda.

ma=in u tinanga-ta mĩ imba-p-ta ma=kot-nda
3SG=in from arise-COND 3SG night-be-COND 3SG=break-IRR

When (the baby) would get up inside her, she would bear it that night.

Chapter 18

Lexicon

18.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a basic (bilingual) dictionary of Ulwa. First, in the following section (18.2), 1,277 Ulwa lexical entries are presented alphabetically, each with an English definition (or explanation). This is by no means meant to be a complete dictionary of Ulwa vocabulary. It does, however, include every Ulwa word that appears in this dissertation, as well as a number of other words found in texts or recorded during elicitation session. The subsequent section (18.3) provides an English-to-Ulwa word list. This is intended to be a quick and simple means of finding words in Ulwa: as such, it does not provide lengthy definitions, nor does it include Ulwa words that have no simple English definition (such as the names of a native varieties of banana).

18.2 Ulwa-to-English

In the following dictionary, the Ulwa words are organized alphabetically, following the conventions of English (and Tok Pisin) alphabetization. For ease of use, the digraphs <mb>, <nd>, <ng>, <nj>, and <ae> are treated as series of two characters each. That is, although each represents a single phoneme in Ulwa, they are alphabetized as if they were composed of separate letters. Thus, for example, the words *ana* ‘scrub’, *anda* ‘that’, and *ane* ‘sun’ are presented in that order, even though *ana* and *ane* share the first two phonemes, whereas *anda* has a different second phoneme. This separation of phonologically more similar words is made in the interest of facilitating the discovery of lexical items. The one exception to this scheme is that word-initial prenasalized voiced stops are treated as distinct graphemes and, as such, received their own letter headings (**Mb**, **Nd**, **Ng**, **Nj**). (Proper nouns that begin with these phonemes, are written, however, without the nasal component, see 1.5, and they are alphabetized accordingly). The letter <ɨ> immediately follows <i> in the alphabetization scheme used here.

Ulwa verbs are identified with the abbreviation *v.* at the beginning of the English definition. The entry for the Ulwa verb takes the form of the verb’s stem. (For more on the conjugation of verbs, see 4.5.) If a verb has multiple stems (e.g., the irregular verb *ama-* ~ *la-* ‘eat’), each stem receives its own entry in the dictionary. Separable verbs are written with a space between the separable elements, to help show how these words may be used (see 9.3.1–3).

A – a

a¹	<i>v.</i> break	-al	[irregular perfective suffix] (for si ‘push’)
a²	ah, uh	al¹	long, thin beam in a house, running to the roof atop the kukun
a³	[question particle]	al²	traditional mosquito net
akal	tinea; ringworm; any white, ashy skin condition	al³	traditional skirt for men
akatoma	fork	al nambi	bed sheet
akīnaka	new, fresh, alive, raw, young	ala¹	for, from
akīnanga	frond skin	ala²	those [PL]
akum	basket made from sago fronds, used as a container to hold things	alakamb	<i>v.</i> dislike, disapprove of, hate
akunpu	back of the skull (occipital bone)		

alalama	matured coconut fruit, older than andimoni , but not yet wapata ‘dry’		
alaman	large sago palm sp. with spines	ambinwe	own (dual reflexive possessive pronoun) ourselves [DU.INCL.EXCL], yourselves [DU], themselves [DU] (dual partitive intensive reflexive pronoun)
ale	v. scrape (as a sago palm)	ambi	myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself (singular reflexive pronoun)
alima	v. beat (as sago pulp)	ambinji	my own, your [SG] own, his own, her own, its own (singular reflexive possessive pronoun)
Alimban	[male name]	Ambinme	[male name]
Alkumot	[female name]	ambla¹	ourselves [PL.INCL.EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL] (plural reflexive pronoun)
Alma	[male name]	ambla²	tooth
almba	hornbill bird	amblanji	our [PL.INCL/EXCL] own, your [PL] own, their [PL] own (plural reflexive possessive pronoun)
almbine	banana sp. of the plantain variety; the plant has bunches with very many fruits	amblawa	ourselves [PL.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL] (plural intensive reflexive pronoun)
alsa	scorpion	amblawali	v. fight, battle
alum	child, baby	amblawe	ourselves [PL.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [PL], themselves [PL] (plural partitive intensive reflexive pronoun)
alwoma	support in a house, tied perpendicularly under the al	Amblom	[female name]
ama	v. eat, drink, chew, bite, suck, smoke (tobacco)	Ambonda	[female name]
Amal	site of the third Manu village, near present-day Bun village	ambunmbi	back of the <i>haus tambaran</i> (men’s house)
amam	insect sp. that lives in the water, similar to a ladybug	ambuwe	myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself (singular partitive intensive reflexive pronoun)
amangala	brown eagle-like bird	Ambwat	Kambot (village)
amba	<i>haus tambaran</i> , men’s house, spirit house; clan; magic	ame	basket made from sago shoots, used for carrying sago starch; uterus, marsupial pouch
ambatim	joint		
ambawa	myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself (singular intensive reflexive pronoun)		
Ambawanam	[male name]		
Ambayam	[female name]		
ambep	front of the <i>haus tambaran</i> (men’s house)		
ambet	magic, poison		
ambi	big; much; big man, God		
ambin	ourselves [DU.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [DU], themselves [DU] (dual reflexive pronoun)		
ambinawa	ourselves [DU.INCL/EXCL], yourselves [DU], themselves [DU] (dual intensive reflexive pronoun)		
ambinji	our [DU.INCL/EXCL] own, your [DU] own, their [DU]		

amendum	stinging nettle sp. with small leaves	andila	waiting for, awaiting (also angla)
ametamal	spoon made from a coconut shell	andilalo	v. hunt, seek (also anglalo)
Amiwa	[male name]	andim	for, from
amla	tree sp.	Andimali	Dimiri (village)
Amombi	[male name]	andimoni	young (drinking) coconut fruit
amun	now, today, nowadays, recently, still, yet	andin	for, from
amunji	young person	ando	there, thence
an	we [PL.EXCL]	anduwan	young sago palm
an nambi	waistcloth, clothing	andwana	yellow
an=	us [PL.EXCL]	ane	sun; midday, day; yellow, light
ana¹	grass skirt made from sago shoots, dress; a parasitic person	Ane anma!	Good day!
ana²	hair on the tip of an animal's tail	ane inom	aunt (father's sister)
ana³	v. scrub, scratch	ane inom atana	aunt (father's older sister)
anam	sky; lightning	ane inom wot	aunt (father's younger sister)
Anam	[male name]	ane mongi	banana sp. with sweet, green fruit, traditionally only eaten by men
anam wapata	thunder	ane uta	small brown bird with a beak like a parrot's that sings in the dry season
anambi	as for us [PL.EXCL] (focus pronoun)	ane wapata	dry season
anangum	spine, backbone	ane wombam	noon, midday
anankin	blood	anem	plant sp. with seeds used for making necklace beads; yam sp. with purple flesh; blue, purple
anapa	sister	anem nambum	rainbow
anapot	short grass skirt for men	anembal	light (color)
anasa	pickaxe used for scraping sago	anen	fat, grease
anat	ginger-like plant, used to treat coughs	anenisi	torch
anaw	paddle; fishtail; outboard motor	anga	piece, side
anawa	we/us ourselves [PL.EXCL] (intensive pronoun)	angani	rear, behind, after
anda	that	angani ka	v. follow
andana	left, left-hand	anganika	after, later, soon
andanam	that is it (emphatic pronoun)	angay	five
ande	OK	angay angay	twenty-five
andi	OK (alternate pronunciation of ande)	angay kwe kwe	
andin	those [DU]	mowon ndiwatlip	six
andi¹	for, from	angay kwe lele	
andi²	sago shoot	ndiwon ndiwatlip	eight
andil	careful, slow, quiet	angay kwe nini	

minwon ndiwatlip seven
angay kwe
watanginila ndiwon
ndiwatlip nine
angay lele fifteen
angay lele kwe
mowon ndiwatlip sixteen
angay lele lele
ndiwon ndiwatlip eighteen
angay lele nini
minwon ndiwatlip seventeen
angay lele
watanginila ndiwon
ndiwatlip nineteen
angay nini ten
angay nini kwe
mowon ndiwatlip eleven
angay nini lele
ndiwon ndiwatlip thirteen
angay nini nini
minwon ndiwatlip twelve
angay nini
watanginila ndiwon
ndiwatlip fourteen
angay watanginila twenty
angin vine sp.
angla waiting for, awaiting (also **andila**)
anglalo v. hunt, seek (also **andilalo**)
ango¹ no, not (negator)
ango² which?; where?
ango³ v. pull out, pick
ango luwa where?
ango tem when?
angom li v. pull out, uproot
angos¹ what?
angos² whatever, whatsoever, anything
angos nji whatever
angumoni swelling
angumoni nimal ocean, sea
angun tail; fin, fishtail
angwena why?
ani *bilum*, net bag, string bag
aninokam throat, windpipe
anim forking stick

animasi python
anji our [PL.EXCL], ours [PL.EXCL]
anjika how many?
anjikaka how?; what's the matter?
ankam person
ankam unduwan fifty
ankam unduwan
nali sixty
ankam unduwan
nali lele eighty
ankam unduwan
nali nini seventy
ankam unduwan
nali watanginila ninety
ankin vegetable sp.
anma¹ good, nice, true, smart, straight, healthy, well
anma² v. go out
anma wanani v. be happy
anmbasa v. chase
anmbi v. come out
anmbi outside
anmoka snake
anmopa *tulip* greens (*Gnetum gnemon*)
anmot post used in the middle of a house to support the roof
ansi *red buai* (betel nut); a gourd-like plant used to store lime, previously used to cover the penis; penis (slang)
ansi inom aunt (mother's brother's wife)
ansi nungol nephew, niece (only used to refer to a man's sister's child)
ansi yanat niece (only used to refer to a man's sister's daughter)
ansimu gourd-like drum
anul grass, grassland
anwe we/us ourselves [PL.EXCL] (from among several)
-ap [perfective suffix] (in double perfective constructions)
apa house, building
apa ini floor of a house
apa mot veranda, awning

apaka roof
apembam area beneath a stilted house
apep front of the house
apin fire, matches, lighter; pain
apin inim perspiration
apin munda banana sp. with sweet, small, red fruit, traditionally only eaten by men

apin nangin large fire tongs
apin ngin smoke
apin we sago cooked on the fire
apinal swamp
apinsi ash, ashes
apka very
aplatam table, shelf
apombam middle of the house
apot shelf that hangs above the hearth, used for drying and smoking meat and fish

apunmbi back of the house
apwanam side of the house
apwane insect sp., the adult form of the **minkin** grub

asa¹ nah (denial)
asa² v. hit, stab, shoot; kill
ase no (denial)
asi grass
asi ka v. sit, sit down
asimu rice
Asingona [female name]
asiya string, thread; animal trap made of string; fishing line

asiyot grass knife
asimna nose ring traditionally worn by men

at¹ fight, battle
at² end, piece
ata up, upward, upstream
ata monam mu money
atal anus
atala v. laugh
atali v. put up
atana older sister
atana numan brother-in-law (older sister's husband)

atay v. go up

afi v. hit, stab, shoot; kill (irregular irrealis stem)
atma older brother
atma inga yena sister-in-law (older brother's wife)

Atuma [female name]
atwana question
atwana ki v. ask
atwana ta v. ask
aw¹ *buai*, betel nut (the *Areca catechu* palm or its seed) –
aw² v. put (imperfective form of **u**)

aw ilowan young betel nut tree, just grown from a shoot
aw limndi youngest (immature) stage of betel nut
aw ulum young, somewhat wet betel net (the stage following **kakila**)
aw wapata mature, 'dry' betel nut (the stage following **pisima**)

awa [intensive marker]
Awaka [male name]
awal afternoon, evening; yesterday
awal nambi afternoon
Awal nambi anma! Good afternoon!
awalawa bird sp. that is usually red or green and looks like a parrot

awame rice-like seed of a *limbum* palm, commonly eaten by children

Awandana [female name]
awaw lie, untruth
awena female friend (of a woman)
aweta (male) friend
awi shoulder, the side of
awil white, thin, very long yam sp.
awlop in vain
awlu step
awnaka tree sp.
awngala small, black, yellow-breasted bird

awpane butterfly
awsingin eagle-like bird
ay¹ sago, jellied sago

ay²	ow, ay	ayna	scarf worn by women in mourning; <i>bilum</i> (net bag) for carrying babies
aya	ah me		
aylat	millipede		
aymoma	stick used for stirring sago	Ayndin	[male name]
		aypul	scoop of jellied sago

B (mb)

Banjiwa	[male name]	Bulon	region immediately surrounding the fifth (and current) Manu village
Bay	[male name]		

D (nd)

Damnda	[female name]	Dimes	[male name]
Dim	Biwat (village); name of the original Manu village	Dumngul	[male name]
		Dingo	[male name]

E – e

-e¹	[dependent marker suffix]	e²	[question particle]
-e²	[imperfective suffix]	e³	hey, ay
e¹	[free dependent marker]	-en	[nominalizing suffix]

G (ng)

Gambri	[male name]	Guren	[male name]
Ganmali	[male name]	Gwam	[female name]
Ginam	[female name]		

I – i

i¹	hand, arm	i⁷	[predicate marker] (from Tok Pisin)
i²	behavior, habit, custom, way	i ambatim	elbow
i³	lime (calcium hydroxide)	i name	upper arm
i⁴	v. come	i nangum	forearm
i⁵	v. go (suppletive perfective form of ma)	ika	riverbank
i⁶	alas	ika uta	v. count
		ikali li	v. grab, hold, catch

ila *morota* frond
ilom day
ilu root
ilum piece; little, few
ilumka a little
im tree
im nalistick
im nambi bark
im nangin branch
imba night, evening
Imba anma! Good evening!, Good night!
imbam under, below
imbam ka v. run
imbın water refuse (the discarded run-off from strained sago starch)
imnde basket used for straining sago
imot log
impul piece of wood
imu finger
imu ankam index finger
imu law ring finger
imu unduwan thumb
imu watangin pinky finger
imu wome middle finger
Imwa region surrounding **Wopata** village
in¹ in, into
in² v. get, collect
ina¹ liver; the seat of reasoning and emotion
ina² v. get, collect (alternate stem of **in**)
inakawana v. think
inamba armband; money
inane mature edible grub, either of the **minkin** or **mundu** species
inanginmana official, civil servant
inapaw belly
inapum right, right-hand
inda v. walk
inga in-law (i.e., any relation through marriage)
ingwa spider
ini ground, land, earth, soil

inim water, rain, liquid; year
inim ambi flood
inim mo ma v. swim
inim nkı v. celebrate
inim tembi alcohol
inimndum small sago sp. with short spines
inimnji water spirit; dew
inimpul lake, pond
inji innards, guts
inkaw mountain
inmbı vulva
inmbı minim clitoris
inmi hole
inom mother; term of respect for older women; general term for aunts; any adult woman
inom atana aunt (parent's older sister)
inom ngata grandmother, old woman
inom wot aunt (parent's younger sister)
inpu elbow
intip cassowary bone
inum ground, burial spot
ip nose, front
ip ka v. precede
ipka before, earlier, first
ipwat front
isi¹ traditional salt made from the ashes of burnt banana leaves; soup
isi² young *pangal* frond (a younger form of **wema**)
isi monombam u v. pray
ita v. build, make; tie
itenmbu bamboo container, cup
itım trash
ititil dust
itom father; term of respect for older men; general term for uncles (usually only paternal uncles); any adult man
itom ambi uncle (father's older brother)
itom atma uncle (father's older brother)
itom ngata grandfather, old man
itom wot uncle (father's younger brother)

iwa	vase-shape basket woven from sago fronds, used to catch fish	iwil	moon; month; menstruation; vulva (euphemism)
iwāl	horizontal beam in a house crossing on top of the kukun	iya¹	to, toward
iwanal	small red or brown ant	iya²	yeah (affirmation)
		iyō	yes (affirmation)

i

=in	[oblique marker] (allomorph of =n)	-ip	[perfective suffix] (in double perfective constructions)
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J (nj)

Jukan	[female name]
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K – k

ka¹	at, in, on	kanam	beside, near, next to
ka²	v. let, leave, allow	Kanang	[male name]
ka³	thus, in this manner, in that manner	Kanangula	[male name]
ka⁴	peak	Kanangwa	alternate name of Amali village
kaka	completely (also keka)	kananum	boil, abscess
kakīla	young, wet betel nut (the stage following aw limndī)	Kapos	[male name]
kalam	knowledge, wisdom; knowing, knowledgeable, wise	katmombe	black stinging ant
kali li	v. send	kaw	song
kalim	cassowary	kawa	small green nut that is chewed
kalingana	praying mantis	Kawana	[female name]
Kalingana	[male name]	Kawat	[male name]
kalum	egg yolk	kawni	v. sing
kamb	v. shun, avoid	kayanmali	lizard sp. with a horn on the back of its head
Kambok	Kambuku (village)	Kayngam	[male name]
Kamen	the ancestral village of Ulwa and neighboring language communities, near present-day Kambaramba village	Kayta	[male name]
kana	beside, near, next to	keka	completely (also kaka)
kanaka lumō	v. unwrap	kekaka	one each, one by one, just a few (also kwekaka)
		kenmbu	problem, heavy
		kī	v. say, speak, tell, talk, think
		kīka	white ant, white ant nest

kikal	ear	kukul	basket for carrying sago
kikal wana	v. hear, listen	kukum	grasshopper
kikal wopa	deaf	kukumali	bird sp.
kike u	v. throw	kukumbe¹	clay pot used to hold water
kilakili	tiny frog sp. that lives on leaves	kukumbe²	sago palm sp. with no spines
Kitalwe	[male name]	kukun	horizontal beam on the top of a house, under the roof
kitimngile	banana sp. with very large fruit, second in size only to wowi bananas	kuli li	v. throw
klop	v. cross, pass	kulkul	bird sp.
ko=	[indefinite marker]	kuma¹	some
ko	just, simply, without care, without reason	kuma²	who? [NSG]
kokawe	bird sp.	kuman	large wildfowl
kol	v. break, split	kumanji	whose? [NSG]
Kolpe	[male name]	Kumba	Bun (village)
kom	[negative marker]	kumblima	long, bean-like <i>daka</i> pepper sp.
komblam	chair	kun	v. break, break off
kome	[negative marker]	kundan	eel
Konawa	[male name]	kunya	yam sp. with red skin and reddish-pink flesh
Kongos	[male name]	kwa¹	just, simply, without care, without reason
kop¹	just, simply, without care, without reason	kwa²	one (also kwe)
kop²	please	kwa³	someone; other, another
kot	v. break, bear	kwa⁴	who? [SG]
Kowe	[male name]	kwanji	whose? [SG]
kuk u	v. gather, pile; assemble, unite	kwe	one (also kwa)
		kwekaka	one each, one by one, just a few (also kekaka)

L – I

la-	[irregular irrealis prefix] (for ka ‘let’, wo ‘sleep’)	lamndu mu	blue fly that follows pigs and stings
la¹	those [PL] (abbreviate form of ala)	lamndu unduwan	twenty
la²	v. eat, drink, chew, bite, suck, smoke (tobacco) (irregular irrealis stem of <i>ama</i>)	lamndu uta	bird sp.
laka	v. let, leave, allow (irregular irrealis stem of <i>ka</i>)	langay	red-and-black parrot-like bird
lam	meat, flesh	lanjin	ariid catfish
lamban	nut, larger than betel nut and also chewed	lapa	v. plant
lamndu	pig (also namndu)	law	ti plant
		le	<i>kanda</i> , rattan cane
		lele	three
		lemetam	large hardwood tree; brown spade
		lemta	spade

li¹	down, downward, downstream	lolop	just (likely from Ap Ma)
li²	v. fall	longom	dream
li³	v. go down	lop ka	v. lie, lie down
lindin	edible fern sp.	lopo	v. rain, wash, bathe
linginane	spiderweb	lowo	v. sleep; burn (intransitive); swell (irregular irrealis stem of wo)
li	v. put	lu	with
limndi	eye	luke	too
limndi ala	v. look, see, watch	lumnjap	Sepik garfish
limndi inim	tear, teardrop	lumo	v. put
limndi li	v. watch	lungum	long spear made of sharpened <i>limbum</i> palm stem, used to fight
limndi uta	v. check, examine	luwa	place
limndi wopa	blind		
lingin	fog		
liwa	dawn		
lo	v. cut, go		

M – n

-m	[irregular irrealis suffix] (for asa ~ afi ‘hit’)	mana	spear
m	mhm, hm!	manal	hot water
ma¹	v. go	Manama	[male name]
ma²	and	manana	river snail
ma=	him/her/it	manangum	stick with decorations used in dances
mae	shovel, spade	mangusuwa	the poor thing
maep	bird sp.	mangusuwata	the poor thing
maka	thus, in this manner, in that manner	manji	his/her(s)/its
malaliwa	snake sp.	manjimanji	maggot
Malman	[male name]	Mapana	[female name]
mama	mouth	Maple	[female name]
mamal	yawn	mapu	<i>Oxyeleotris</i> fish
Mamala	Maruat (village)	Marungun	[male name]
maman	dragonfly	masamasa	tree sp.
Mamanu	downstream half of the old Wopata village	matamal	sharp; difficult; angry
mambi	as for him/her/it (focus pronoun)	matlaka	rat sp.
Mambilakan!	Forget about it!, Amazing!, Shocking!	maw	correct, right
mambun	bedbug	mawa	(he/him) himself/(she/her) herself/(it) itself (intensive pronoun)
mamnda	stinging nettle sp. with large leaves	mawe	(he/him) himself/(she/her) herself/(it) itself (from among several)
mamwapa	owl	maweka	also, moreover (also moweka)

Mawna [female name]
mawnam that's it!
may eel-tailed catfish
me¹ *limbum* palm
me² [negative marker]
me³ v. sew
membul small pigeon-like bird with brown sides
metmet swamp dwarf
mi splinter, strand, fiber (inside the husk of a coconut)
mil sugarcane
mimin louse
min¹ they [DU]
min² armband
min= them [DU]
minam urine
minambi as for them [DU] (focus pronoun)
minawa (they/them) themselves [DU] (intensive pronoun)
mingusuwa the poor things [DU]
mingusuwata the poor things [DU]
mini= them [DU] (allomorph of **min=**)
minwe (they/them) themselves [DU] (from among several)
minyam feces
misam brain
misimisi story
mī he/she/it
mīkī tree sp.
mīkī itim swamp
Mikilwe jungle region near Manu
mīli tall ginger
mīmīl u v. wring (as sago fibers), squeeze, strain
mīnal taro; green
mīnal anmoka green snake sp.
mīnam he/she/it is the one (emphatic pronoun)
mīnandīn gallbladder
mīnane intestines
mīnanum mature, fully ripe betel nut (the stage following **aw wapata**)

mīnda banana
mīndam pus
mīndapan banana leaf; paper
mīndit yellow
mīngamata whatchamacallit
mīnīm tongue
mīnja speech
mīnji their [DU], theirs [DU]
mīnjika this/that kind of speech
mīnkīn small, edible sago grub sp., the larva of the **apwane** insect
mīnkīn ulum sago palm sp. with many spines, used for harvesting **mīnkīn** grubs
mīnkīn we sago pancake fried with **mīnkīn** grubs
mīnoma cold, cool
mīnopal bladder
mīnwata wet, ripe, rotting, rotten, spoiled
mīsisīna v. arrange
mītīn¹ egg; testicle
mītīn² language
mm uh-uh
moko v. take, take one-by-one, catch
mokum stealth
molpan tree spirit
mom grandmother (from Ap Ma)
moma leaf tied in an overhand knot used to summon the spirit of the deceased
monam tree sp.
Monde [male name]
mondin fruit sp. similar to a watermelon
mondo v. dry, smoke
mongi banana sp. with sweet, thin, long fruit
mongi ankam banana sp. with sweet, red fruit, traditionally only eaten by men
Mongima [male name]
moni¹ between, among

moni²	red bird with a beak like a parrot's	mulwat	bird sp.
moniwot	croton shrub	mumne	cold and dark
monombam	forehead, face	mumul	fungus, mold
monop	full, sated	muna	large, brown ant sp.
mop li	v. tie	mundotoma	short, lacking
Morombi	Raten (village)	mundu	animal, food
Mosombla	Yaul (village)	mundum	edible, mid-sized grub, the larva of the nitil insect
mota	bamboo used for cooking fish; bamboo flute; throat stick, bundle; bunch of coconuts	mune u	v. throw
motam	stick, bundle; bunch of coconuts	mungul	edible fern sp. with small leaves
moweka	also, moreover (also maweka)	mungun	ring
mu¹	fruit, seed, berry nut; head or tip of a tool; kidney	mupu	core of a tree or palm; meat of a coconut, sago palm, or betel nut
mu²	blowfly	mutam¹	back (of the body)
Mukamba	[male name]	mutam²	tree sp. with leaves used to wrap sago or bandage wounds
muku	package, packet	mutoma	backbone
mukuwi	older sago palm that has gone to flower (i.e., it has shoots emerging)	mwa	opening, door, window

Mb – mb

mbalanji	enemy	mbomala	large firefly sp.; large star, planet
mbatmbat	tilapia (likely from Ap Ma)	mbomala nangum	flashlight
mbi	v. come here	mbu	here, hence
mbinmbin	grave, cemetery	mbuka	quickly
mbi	here, hither	mbun	black, blue, dark; scar
mbilanda	palm sp. used to make bows	mbunmana	black
mblandu	rat sp. that lives in the water		

N – n

-n¹	[imperative suffix]	-n⁴	[nominalizing suffix]
-n²	[irregular imperfective suffix] (for ma 'go')		(allomorph of -en when following /e/)
-n³	[irregular perfective suffix] (for tī 'take', na 'give', i 'come')	=n	[oblique marker]
		n¹	I (allomorph of nī when preceding a vowel)
		n²	[epenthetic utterance-final sound for some speakers]

-na	[irrealis suffix]	Nambul	[male name]
na¹	talk, speech, story, message, thought, reason, language	nambum	inner membrane of an egg shell
na²	v. give	namle	plant sp. that grows in swamps
na³	v. feed	namli	soft, smooth
na⁴	and (from Tok Pisin)	namna	afraid
na-	[detransitivizing prefix]	namndu	pig (also lamndu)
naka	after, later, soon (abbreviated form of anganika)	nana	mama (a nursery term for ‘mother’); the vocative form of inom for speakers of all ages
nakam wanmbi	wild, short <i>daka</i> pepper sp.	nangin	fire tongs, scissors
nakamb	v. suffice, have enough	nangu	poisonous, brown lizard sp. with a diamond-shaped head
nakap	on account of, because of, for	nangum	shoot, seedling
nali¹	small firefly sp.; small star	nanim	ironwood tree sp., used to make paddles for canoes
nali²	spine of a sago frond used to make baskets or arrows	Nanimwat	the name of the old Yamen village
nali³	ten	naniwe	banana sp. with small, sweet fruit
nali angay	fifty	nap¹	on account of, because of, for
nali kwe kwe	eleven	nap²	yam thorn
nali kwe lele	thirteen	nap³	arrow, fishing spear
nali kwe nini	twelve	nasaliwa	leech
nali kwe		nataw¹	big, brown gecko
watanginila	fourteen	nataw²	white spot on the skin
nali lele	thirty	natnat	greens, vegetables
nali nini	twenty	nawa	I/me myself (intensive pronoun)
nali nini angay	twenty-five	Nawoli	[male name]
nali watanginila	forty	ne	v. harvest
-nam	[intensifier suffix]	netil	plant sp. with black seeds
Namanu!	Goodbye! (addressed to someone who is leaving)	ni¹	v. act, do; die
nambana¹	ancestral spirit, ghost; mask depicting a spirit’s face	ni²	v. beat
nambana²	large, hard, white yam sp.	nil	body hair
nambana³	sago palm flower	nil nopa	beard
nambana ankam	extended family member	nim	nest
nambi¹	skin, hide	nin	thorn, spine
nambi²	as for me (focus pronoun)	nini	two
nambiwe u	v. peel	nipum	<i>kunai</i> grass (<i>Imperata cylindrica</i>)
nambï	body; the external body, including only skin and hair	nipum amba	grassland
nambïlumo	v. block	nisi	coconut flower sheath; bunch of betel nut
nambïnkï	v. make, nag		
nambït	smell, odor		
nambït wana	v. smell, sniff		
nambli	feather, fur		

nitil	insect sp., the adult form of the mundum grub	nongan u	v. vomit
=nī	[oblique marker] (allomorph of =n)	nongontam	<i>kaukau</i> , sweet potato
nī	I	nopa	cheek
nī=	me	nopal	coconut frond, used in roofing
nīki	v. dig, cut, butcher (with epenthetic vowel)	nopal u	v. crush
nīkīn	hiccup, belch	nowe	large sago palm sp. with no spines
nīkit	lizard	nu	near
nīmal	river	nuku	flatus
Nīmalnu	Manu (village)	num	canoe, boat
nīmban	gudgeon fish	numan	husband
nīmīn	mucus	numbu	ironwood tree sp. (<i>Vitex cofassus</i>); <i>garamut</i> drum; post of a house
nīmtu	very small, green, yellow-breasted bird	numbu motam	mallet used to beat the <i>garamut</i> drum
nīndiwe	small sago palm sp. with no spines	numbunum	large red bee
nīnil	sago palm sp.	numīni	ditch
nīnji	my, mine	numnata	earthquake
Nīnji anma!	Thank you!	nuna	large, mosquito-like insect
nīpa	breadfruit	nungol	child (often ‘son’, but may refer to any young person, boy or girl)
nīpat	giant	nungolke	child (often ‘son’, but may refer to any young person, boy or girl)
nīpīl	vine, rope	nungum	sucker of a plant, used to plant new bananas, sago palms, etc.
nīplopa	flying fox	nungun u	v. break
nīpokonam	hard	nunu	various, many
nīte	<i>kundu</i> drum	nunu ika	always, often
nki	v. dig, cut, butcher	nupu	bottom, base; side of the coconut fruit without eyes; part of the yam that is planted in soil
nokal	beak	nuwe	I/me myself (from among several)
nokop lī	v. hide		
nokosam	Java almond tree		
Nol!	Go!; Let’s go!		
nom	clay stand used to hold pots over a fire		
Nomnga	[male name]		
nonal	wind, breath; the Holy Spirit		
nonal u	v. breathe		
nonalni	v. blow (of wind)		
Nongami	[male name]		

Nd – nd

-nda	[irrealis suffix] (allomorph of -na)	nda	that (abbreviated form of anda)
		ndam	bridge

ndambi	as for them [PL] (focus pronoun)
ndawa	(they/them) themselves [PL] (intensive pronoun)
ndin	they [DU] (alternate form of min?)
ndi	they [PL]
ndi=	them [PL]
ndil	pandanus
ndilpot	basket
ndinam	they are the ones (emphatic pronoun)

ndingonim	brown ant sp.
ndingusuwa	the poor things [PL]
ndingusuwata	the poor things [PL]
ndinji	their [PL], theirs [PL]
ndolum	bird sp.
ndukumbu	palm sp. used in construction
ndunduma	great-grandparent, great-grandchild, ancestor
nduwe	(they/them) themselves [PL] (from among several)

Ng – ng

nga	this
ngala	these [PL]
ngam	this is it (emphatic pronoun)
ngan	we [DU.EXCL]
ngan=	us [DU.EXCL]
nganambi	as for us [DU.EXCL] (focus pronoun)
nganangan	<i>daka</i> pepper seed
nganawa	we/us ourselves [DU.EXCL] (intensive pronoun)
nganji	our [DU.EXCL], ours [DU.EXCL]
nganwe	we/us ourselves [DU.EXCL] (from among several)
ngata	grand, big; grandparent, old person, ancestor
ngata yawa	maternal great-uncle (mother's mother's brother)
ngaya	far, long (time)
ngin¹	these [DU]
ngin²	net, fish trap woven around a cane hoop
ngin	cloud
nginim	chin
ngom li	v. spit
ngowil	black ant sp.
ngum¹	long, white yam sp.
ngum²	poisonous snake sp. that lives both in water and on land
ngun	you [DU]

ngun=	you [DU]
nguna	we [DU.INCL] (abbreviated form of ngunan)
ngunambi	as for you [DU] (focus pronoun)
ngunan	we [DU.INCL]
ngunan=	us [DU.INCL]
ngunanambi	as for us [DU.INCL] (focus pronoun)
ngunanawa	we/us ourselves [DU.INCL] (intensive pronoun)
ngunanji	our [DU.INCL], ours [DU.INCL]
ngunanwe	we/us ourselves [DU.INCL] (from among several)
ngunawa	you yourselves [DU] (intensive pronoun)
ngungun¹	red ant; red
ngungun²	plant sp. with red seeds
ngungun³	cyclone
ngungusuwa	you poor things [DU]
ngungusuwata	you poor things [DU]
ngunguswa	cockroach
ngunji	your [DU], yours [DU]
ngunmbi	banana sp. of the plantain variety with medium-sized fruit in big bunches
ngunwe	you yourselves [DU] (from among several)
ngusuwa	poor, pitiful

Nj – nj

nji	thing	njukuta	small, thin, narrow
njimana	housefly		

O – o

-o	[intensifier/vocative suffix]	-op	[perfective suffix] (in double perfective constructions)
o	or (from Tok Pisin)		

P – p

-p¹	[copular suffix]	pe	[free dependent marker]
-p²	[perfective suffix]	-pina	[irrealis copular suffix]
p	[epenthetic utterance-final sound for some speakers]	pīsima	older, somewhat dry betel nut (the stage following awulum)
pal	main shoot of a sago palm, used as a horizontal beam in houses to support the floor	Pisuwa	[male name]
palmana	thick, wide	piya	small banana sp. of the plantain variety
palam	cane grass	Plas	[male name]
palpal	ceremonial armband; money	pop li	v. sweep
pat	shoot that emerges from the bulb of a yam	popotala	big, brown frog sp.
pawla	wild yam sp. with long bulb	pul	piece, place

S – s

sa	v. cry, shine	si	v. push
sakīma	tool for digging out canoes, adze	sikal	fly sp.
sakla	platform; stretcher	Simban	[female name]
saklup	broom	simbili	blue-and-brown-striped lizard sp.
sal	tear, teardrop	simīnda	banana sp. of the plantain variety with large bunches (second only to almbīne in number of fruits)
samban	pot for cooking		
sambulumbu	flying insect sp.	sina	small, young bamboo stalk; small knife made from bamboo
samnang	yam sp. with pink flesh		
sandīpal	basket made from coconut fronds	Sinanam	[female name]
sasi	initiation rites		
sawi	saliva, magic		

sinanan	nail, fingernail
sinananangin	claw
sinangul	Jew's harp
Sinda	[female name]
sini	v. play
sinokoy	crop
siwi	large, edible sago grub sp., the larva of the tambin insect
simbin	large storage pot
sokoy	tobacco
somine	fish sp.

sum	edible sago grub (minkin or siwi) in a slightly more matured state
Supam	[female name]
supangasa	banana sp. of the plantain variety with the second smallest fruit (after yokomakan)
suwan	mesh
Suwol	[male name]

T – t

-t¹	[conditional suffix] (allomorph of -ta when preceding a vowel)
-t²	[speculative suffix]
-ta	[conditional suffix]
ta¹	already
ta²	crossbeam, floor support in a house that sits atop the pal , underneath the <i>limbum</i> palm stem
ta³	v. say, speak, tell, talk, think
tal	tail feather
Talamba	jungle region near Manu
taman	roof beam that sits atop supports
Tambana	[female name]
tambanji	black, sharp-beaked bird
tamben	ladder used to climb trees
tambeta	chest
tambin	insect sp., the adult form of the siwi grub
tambin ulum	tall, thin sago palm sp. that, when fallen and dry, often contains siwi grubs
tambontam	yam sp. with yellow-whitish skin and white flesh
tambumana	dull
tamndi	owner, kin, next of kin
tana	stone, axe
tanatmu	stone axe, axe head
tanawen	hoe

tane li	v. stand, stand up
tanen	brown, yellow-legged bird
tangam	sprout, bud
Tangin	[female name]
Tanom	[female name]
tanum	lips
tap	maybe
Tapon	[male name]
Tarambi	[male name]
tata	papa (a nursery term for 'father'); the vocative form of itom for speakers of all ages
Taw	jungle region near Manu
tawa	wound, sore
tawatal	scab
tawatip	child
tawi	magic
tem	time, when (from Tok Pisin)
tembi	bad, sick, poor, dirty; badness, sickness
Tiwen	jungle region near Wopata
ti	v. take
tike	small
tiki	again, anymore, else
tikli ka	v. turn, turn around
til	husk, shell
tilwa	road, path, trail, track
tilwa num	car
timal	buttress root
timbil	fence; diaphragm
tin	dog

finanga	v. arise, get up
fingin	many
tiponim	cuscus
Tiponim	section of Manu village where the school was built
Tiringin	[male name]
tomal u	v. pour
tomona	brown, sharp-nosed frog sp.
tomoy	insect sp. that lives around hearth ashes
tondiway	plant sp. with orange seeds used to make dyes; orange
tongan	mosquito-swatter
tongla	headdress

tongonat¹	flying insect sp.
tongonat²	small, black frog sp.
top li	v. throw
topinka	v. forget
tukul	fish trap made from bamboo posts shaped into a V
tul	crow-like black bird sp.
tumbunma	nape of the neck
tumbu ifim	outhouse, toilet
tumopa	heap, pile
tumul ka	v. bend
Tupuk	[male name]
twa	hearth

U – u

u¹	you [SG]
u²	from, in, at, around, along
u³	v. put
u⁴	ditch, creek
u⁵	oooh
u=	you [SG]
ul	with
ul ni	make, force, pressure
ul watka	v. float
ula	v. weave
ulep li	v. jump
ulet	clay bowl, dish
ulo	v. peel
ulum	sago palm; sago pith
ulumbi	wild taro
ulwa	nothing
um	neck
uma	bone; fish hook
umba	garbage heap
umbe	tomorrow
umbenam	morning
Umbenam anma!	Good morning!
umbopa	stomach
umo	v. put (abbreviated form of lumo)
un¹	you [PL]
un²	okari nut tree
un=	you [PL]

una	we [PL.INCL] (abbreviated from of unan)
unambi	as for you [PL] (focus pronoun)
unan	we [PL.INCL]
unan=	us [PL.INCL]
unanambi	as for us [PL.INCL] (focus pronoun)
unanawa	we/us ourselves [PL.INCL] (intensive pronoun)
unanji	our [PL.INCL], ours [PL.INCL]
unanwe	we/us ourselves [PL.INCL] (from among several)
unapin	bee
unawa	you yourselves [PL] (intensive pronoun)
unda¹	enemy, vital spot, target
unda²	go around
unden	stem of the betel nut palm; container for catching water from strained sago
unduwan	head; elder
unduwan apin	headache
unet	navel, umbilical cord
ungusuwa¹	you poor thing [SG]
ungusuwa²	you poor things [PL]
ungusuwata¹	you poor thing [SG]
ungusuwata²	you poor things [PL]

uni v. shout
unji¹ your [SG], yours [SG]
unji² your [PL], yours [PL]
unmbi buttocks, rear
unum clavicle; crevice
unwe you yourselves [PL] (from among several)
upa mosquitofish
upan small fish
upin Victoria crowned pigeon
uta¹ bird
uta² one-hundred
uta³ coconut shell, plate (also **wuta**)

uta⁴ v. grind (as coconut meat), rub, wipe, scoop, catch (fish) with a net
uta nini two-hundred
uta lele three-hundred
utal worm
utam yam
utan cough
utan uta v. cough
util refuse, leftovers
uwe¹ you yourself (from among several)
uwe² tree sp. whose oil is used to clean rusted metal

W – w

wa¹ village
wa² just, simply, without care, without reason
waembil white
waenkän plant sp. similar to **ankän**, but with leaves with white backsides
wakan wallaby
wal ribs
wala¹ far, far-off
wala² rat sp.
wala luwa far-off place
wala uta bat
wali¹ v. hit, stab, shoot; kill
wali² little green, yellow, or brown frog sp.
walimot dove, pigeon
wam bark strap used for climbing palm trees
wambana fish
wambi as for you [SG] (focus pronoun)
wambiin small, green nut that is chewed
wan¹ over, above
wan² sago shoot, main stalk running along a sago frond

wana¹ v. feel, taste, sense, think
wana² v. cook
wana³ [prohibitive marker] (also **wanap**)
wanaki v. call
wanam side; wooden shield
wanamba armpit
wananum hot, warm
wanap [prohibitive marker] (also **wana**)
wanawni v. call, summon
wandam jungle, woods; garden
wandana curry-flavored vegetable, used for treating coughs
wandapata fallow garden
wandil bird sp.
wandiwandii small, black frog sp.
Wangasa [male name]
wanmbi *daka*, betel nut pepper
wanwane mushroom; policeman
-wap [past copular suffix]
wapa leaf; wing
wapal caterpillar
wapata old, dry
wasi tree sp. whose seeds are used to repel cockroaches
wat¹ atop, onto

wat²	ladder, steps leading to a stilted home	wokomana	conch shell
watangin	last bunch (of bananas) to emerge; last	wokomana	orchid sp. with large leaves
watanginila	four	wol	breast
watlo	v. clear, cut down	wol minda	banana sp. (alternate name for wowi minda)
wawa	you yourself (intensive pronoun)	wol mindam	milk
wawal	hive (for ants, bees, etc.)	wolka	again, in turn
wawana	plant sp. with fruit eaten by flying foxes	wolmu	nipple
wawat	segment (as between joints in a sugarcane)	wolname	tadpole
way	turtle	womba¹	big, brown lizard sp.
way sokoy	tobacco sp. with short, oval-shaped leaves	womba²	tree sp. whose sap is drunk to treat illness
we¹	sago starch, fresh sago, sago pancake	wombam	middle
we²	then, and then	wombasa	clay pot
we³	alone, only	wombasa anga	money
we nangin	small fire tongs	Wombasame	[male name]
we u	v. cut	wombin	work, job, task, activity
Wekumba	[male name]	wombulalaw	kingfisher
welo	v. box (as one's ears)	wome	middle, trunk
wema	<i>pangal</i> frond	Womel	[male name]
wemali	large pot for stirring sago	womotana	frog
wemana	small colorful gecko	won	penis
wen	handle (as of the anasa)	won inim	semen
wenta	small black bird sp. whose call is believed to announce a visitor's arrival	won ka	v. cut, cross
wepal	dry, dead sago palm	wondawonda	small, brown frog sp. with small eyes and a big belly
wewun	clay pot for storing dry sago starch	wondi	bandicoot
wi	name	wongita	bow, bow and arrow
wipam	arrow, arrow tip; bullet	wonglin	cup, ladle for hot water used in making ay
wiwila	light (not heavy)	Woni	[female name]
wiwina	v. fly	wonmbi	tusk (as of a boar)
-wo	[intensifier/vocative suffix] (alternate form of -o)	Wonmelma	[male name]
wo¹	v. sleep; burn (intransitive); swell	wonmi	hair
wo²	very own [possessive intensifier]	wop	the next day
woka	flower of the banana plant	wopa	all; whole, entire, full; everything, everyone
wokin	big man, important person	wopana	waist skirt
		Wopata	site of the fourth Manu village, still used as a hunting campsite
		wopaw	ball
		woplota	lungs
		wot	younger; younger sibling

wot inga yena	sister-in-law (younger brother's wife)
wot yena	younger sister
wot yena numan	brother-in-law (younger sister's husband)
wot yeta	younger brother
wotnya	black bird sp.
wowal	chicken
wowane	feathers worn ceremonially
wowaw	rainbow fish; fish scale
wowi mında	banana sp. with the largest fruit of all, traditionally only eaten by men (its sweet fruits are used to make yamkwe)
woyambın	pointlessly, fruitlessly
wulın u	v. rest, relax, pause
wulis	platform
wun	fan

wusim	crocodile
Wusimali	[male name]
wusimi	bamboo panpipes
wuta	coconut shell, plate (also uta)
wuti	leg, foot
wuti ambatım	knee
wuti anmot	shin, lower leg
wuti limndi	anklebone
wuti name	thigh, upper leg
wuti yombam	sole of the foot
wutimu	toe
wutimu ankam	second toe
wutimu law	fourth toe
wutimu unduwan	big toe
wutimu watangin	pinky toe
wutimu wome	middle toe
wutini	v. dance
wutiwuti	duck
wutota	tall, long

Y – y

ya	coconut; white of the egg
ya inim	coconut milk
Yaka	[female name]
yakal	edible, black-and-yellow, caterpillar-like insect
yakal inom	bird sp.
yakam	traditional shoe made from sago fronds
yakeka	bean
Yalamba	Korokopa (village)
yalum	grandchild
Yaluwa	[male name]
yamangla	cloth-like part of the coconut tree bark
yamangla	hawk
yamanyawi	bird-of-paradise
yambalpa	devil-like spirit in the form of a man
yambi	tall, white tree sp.
Yambin	[female name]
yambipal	centipede
yambisa	big, white, soft yam sp.
Yambit	[female name]

Yambiwa	upstream half of the old Wopata village
Yambul	site of the second Manu village, near present-day Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul villages
yami¹	bird sp.
yami²	insect sp.
yamkwe	sago fried with banana and coconut
yana	woman, wife, female (also yena)
yanalum	daughter, girl (also yenalum)
yananu	woman, wife (also yenanu)
Yanapi	[female name]
yanat	daughter (also yenat)
yangimot	tasty, sweet
yangle	strong
yangun	mosquito
yangusole	green stinging nettle sp.
yanimana	plant sp. with round leaves used to perfume the body during dances

Yaruwa	[male name]	yeta	man, male, brother (only said by women) (also yata)
yata	man, male, brother (only said by women) (also yeta)	yeta utam	class of yam varieties without spines
yatalum	son, boy (also yetalum)	yetalum	son, boy (also yatalum)
yawa¹	uncle (mother's brother)	Yetani	Yamen (village)
yawa²	sago strainer	yïwa	mound (as one built of soil to plant a yam)
yawa ambi	uncle (mother's older brother) (also yawa atma)	yokam	arrow shaft
yawa atma	uncle (mother's older brother) (also yawa ambi)	yokomakan	banana sp. of the plantain variety with the smallest fruit of all
yawa wot	uncle (mother's younger brother)	yokomakan	small wildfowl
Yawana	[female name]	Yokombla	[male name]
Yawat	[male name]	yokomtïn	wildfowl egg
yawatalin	small eel sp.	Yolomban	[male name]
yawe	sago pancake cooked with coconut	yom	heart
yawil	full moon	yoma	brown snake sp.
yawin	sugar glider	yomal	<i>aibika</i> greens (<i>Abelmoschus manihot</i>)
yawt	machete, knife (also yot)	Yomali	[male name]
yena	woman, wife, female (also yana)	yomba	<i>balbal</i> greens (<i>Erythrina variegata</i>)
yena utam	class of yam varieties with spines	yombam	palm of the hand
yenalum	daughter, girl (also yanalum)	yopa	cockatoo; peace, peace treaty
yenanu	woman, wife (also yananu)	yot	machete, knife (also yawt)
yenat	daughter (also yanat)	yuname	small brown bird sp. that sings in the morning

18.3 English-to-Ulwa

The following word list provides translations from English to Ulwa. It is organized alphabetically by the basic English translations for words in the Ulwa lexicon. It is intended to be used as a general guide and is by no means exhaustive. More detailed definitions of Ulwa words are provided in section 18.2 above.

A – a

a	ko=	anus	atal
a little	ilumka	anymore	tiki
above	wan	anything	angos
abscess	kananum	are	-p
act v.	ni	arise v.	tinanga
activity	wombin	arm	i
adze	sakima	armband	min, palpal, inamba
afraid	namna	armpit	wanamba
after	angani, anganika, naka	around	u
afternoon	awal, awal nambi	arrange v.	misisina
again	wolka, tiki	arrow	wipam, nap
ah	a	arrow shaft	yokam
ah me	aya	as for her	mambi
<i>aibika</i> greens	yomal	as for him	mambi
alas	i	as for it	mambi
alcohol	inim tembi	as for me	nambi
alive	akinaka	as for them	ndambi, minambi
all	wopa	as for us	anambi, unanambi,
allow v.	ka, laka		nganambi, ngunanambi
alone	we	as for you	wambi, unambi, ngunambi
along	u	ask v.	atwana ta, atwana ki-
already	ta	ash	apinsi
also	maweka, moweka	ashes	apinsi
always	nunu ika	assemble v.	kuk u
am	-p	at	u, ka
among	moni	atop	wat
an	ko=	aunt	ane inom, ansi inom, inom
ancestor	ngata, ndunduma	avoid v.	kamb
and	ma, na	awaiting	andila, angla
angry	matamal	awning	apa mot
animal	mundu	axe	tana
anklebone	wuti limndi	axe head	tanatmu
another	kwa	ay	e

B – b

baby	alum	big	ambi, ngata
back	mutam	big man	wokin, ambi
backbone	anangum, mutoma	big toe	wufimu unduwan
bad	tembi	<i>bilum</i>	ani
badness	tembi	bird	uta
bag	ani	bird-of-paradise	yamanyawi
<i>balbal</i> greens	yomba	bite v.	ama, la
ball	wopaw	Biwat (village)	Dim
bamboo	mota, sina	black	mbunmana, mbun
banana	minda	black ant	katmombe, ngowil
banana leaf	mindapan	bladder	minopal
bandicoot	wondi	blind	limndi wopa
bark	im nambi, yamangla	block v.	nambilumo
base	nupu	blood	anankin
basket	ame, imnde, akum, iwa, kukul, ndilpot, sandipal	blow v.	nonalni
bat	niplopa, wala uta	blowfly	mu
bathe v.	lopo	blue	anem, mbun
battle	at	boat	num
battle v.	amblawali	body	nambi
be v.	-p	body hair	nil
be happy v.	anma wanani	boil	kananum
beak	nokal	bone	uma
beam	al, pal, taman	bottom	nupu
bean	yakeka	bow	wongita
bear v.	kot	bowl	ulet
beard	nil nopa	box v.	welo
beat v.	ni, alima	boy	nungol, nungolke, yata, yatalum, yeta, yetalum
because of	nakap, nap	brain	misam
bed sheet	al nambi	branch	im nangin
bedbug	mambun	breadfruit	nipa
bee	unapin, numbunum	break v.	a, kol, kun, nungun u
before	ipka	breast	wol
behavior	i	breath	nonal
behind	angani	breathe v.	nonal u
belch	nikin	bridge	ndam
belly	inapaw	broom	saklup
below	imbam	brother	yata, yeta
bend v.	tumul ka	brother-in-law	atana numan, wot yena numan
berry	mu	brown	lemetam
beside	kana, kanam	brown ant	muna, ndingonim, iwanal
betel nut	aw	bud	tangam
between	moni		

build v. **ita**
bullet **wipam**
Bun (village) **Kumba**
bunch of betel nut **nisi**
bunch of coconuts **motam**
bundle **motam**

burn v. **wo, lowo**
butcher v. **nkī, nīkī**
butterfly **awpane**
buttocks **unmbī**
buttress root **tīmal**

C – c

call v. **wanaki, wanawni**
cane grass **palam**
canoe **num**
car **tīlwa num**
careful **andīl**
cassowary **kalim**
cassowary bone **intip**
catch v. **ikali lī, uta, moko**
caterpillar **wapal, yakal**
catfish **may, lanjin**
celebrate v. **inim nkī**
cemetery **mbinmbin**
centipede **yambipal**
chair **komblam**
chase v. **anmbasa**
check v. **līmndī uta**
cheek **nopa**
chew v. **ama, la**
chest **tambeta**
chicken **wowal**
child **alum, nungol, nungolke,**
tawatip
chin **ngīnim**
civil servant **inanginmana**
clan **amba**
clavicle **unum**
claw **sinananangin**
clear v. **watlo**
clitoris **inmbī mīnim**
clothing **an nambi**
cloud **ngin**
cockatoo **yopa**
cockroach **ngunguswa**

coconut **ya**
coconut frond **nopal**
coconut milk **ya inim**
cold **mīnoma, mumne**
come v. **i**
come here v. **mbi**
come out v. **anmbi**
completely **keka, kaka**
conch shell **wokomana**
container **unden**
cook v. **wana**
cool **mīnoma**
core **mupu**
correct **maw**
cough **utan**
cough v. **utan uta**
count v. **ika uta**
creek **u**
crevice **unum**
crocodile **wusim**
crop **sinokoy**
cross v. **klop, won ka**
crossbeam **iwal, kukun, ta, alwoma**
croton shrub **moniwot**
crowned pigeon **upin**
crush v. **nopal u**
cry v. **sa**
cup **itenmbu, wonglin**
cuscus **tīponim**
custom **i**
cut v. **lo, nkī, nīkī, we u, won ka**
cut down v. **watlo**
cyclone **ngungun**

D – d

<i>daka</i>	wanmbi	ditch	numini, u
<i>daka</i> pepper seed	nganangan	do v.	ni
dance v.	wufini	dog	tin
dark	mbun, mumne	don't	wana, wanap
daughter	yanalum, yanat, yenalum, yenat	door	mwa
dawn	liwa	dove	walimot
day	ilom	down	li
deaf	kikal wopa	downstream	li
devil	yambalpa	downward	li
dew	inimnji	dragonfly	maman
diaphragm	timbil	dream	longom
die v.	ni	drink v.	ama, la
difficult	matamal	drum	ansimu, numbu, nite
dig v.	nki, niki	dry	wapata
Dimiri (village)	Andimali	dry v.	mondo
dirty	tembi	dry season	ane wapata
disapprove of v.	alakamb	duck	wutiwuti
dish	ulet	dull	tambumana
dislike v.	alakamb	dust	itifil
		dwarf	metmet

E – e

eagle	amangala, awsingin	elder	unduwani
ear	kikal	else	tiki
earlier	ipka	end	at
earth	ini	enemy	mbalanji, unda
earthquake	numnata	entire	wopa
eat v.	ama, la	evening	imba, awal
eel	kundan, yawatalin	everyone	wopa
egg	mitin, yokomtin	everything	wopa
egg yolk	kalum	examine v.	limndi uta
eh?	a, e	extended family	nambana ankam
elbow	inpu, i ambatim	eye	limndi

F – f

face	monombam	fan	wun
fall v.	li	far	ngaya, wala
fallow garden	wandapata	far-off	wala

far-off place	wala luwa
fat	anen
father	itom, tata
feather	nambli, wowane
feces	minyam
feed v.	na
feel v.	wana
female	yana, yananu, yena, yenanu
fence	tĩmbil
fern	lindĩn, mungul
few	ilum
fiber	mi
fifty	ankam unduwan
fight	at
fight v.	amblawali
fin	angun
finger	imu
fingernail	sinanan
fire	apĩn
fire tongs	nangĩn
firefly	mbomala, nali
first	ipka
fish	wambana, upan
fishing line	asiya
fishtail	anaw, angun
five	angay
flashlight	mbomala nangum
flatus	nuku
flesh	lam
flood	inim ambi
floor	apa ini

flower	woka, nambana
flower sheath	nisi
flute	mota
fly v.	wiwina
flying fox	nĩplopa
fog	lingĩn
follow v.	angani ka
food	mundu
foot	wutĩ
for	ala, andĩ, andĩm, andĩn, nakap, nap
force v.	ul ni
forearm	i nangum
forehead	monombam
forget v.	topinka
Forget about it!	Mambilakan!
fork	akatoma, anĩm
four	watangĩnila
fourth toe	wutĩmu law
fresh	akĩnaka
friend	awena, aweta
frog	womotana
from	ala, andĩ, andĩm, andĩn, u
frond skin	akĩnanga
front	ipwat, ip
fruit	mu
fruitlessly	woyambĩn
full	wopa, monop
full moon	yawĩl
fungus	mumul
fur	nambli

G – g

gallbladder	mĩnandĩn
<i>garamut</i> drum	numbu
garbage heap	umba
garden	wandam
gather v.	kuk u
gecko	nataw, wemana
get v.	in, ina
get up v.	tĩnanga
ghost	nambana
giant	nĩpat
ginger	anat, mĩli

girl	yana, yanalum, yena, yenalum
give v.	na
go v.	ma, i, unda, lo
go around v.	unda
go down v.	li
go out v.	anma
go up v.	atay
God	ambi
good	anma
Good afternoon!	Awal nambĩ anma!

Good day!	Ane anma!	grassland	anul, nipum amba
Good evening!	Imba anma!	grave	mbinmbin
Good morning!	Umbenam anma!	grease	anen
Good night!	Imba anma!	great-grandchild	ndunduma
Goodbye!	Namanu!	great-grandparent	ndunduma
grab v.	ikali li	great-uncle	ngata yawa
grand	ngata	green	minal
grandchild	yalum	greens	natnat
grandfather	itom ngata	grind v.	uta
grandmother	inom ngata, mom	ground	ini, inum
grandparent	ngata	gub	minkin, siwi, mundum,
grass	asi, anul		inane, sum
grass knife	asiyot	gudgeon fish	nimban
grasshopper	kukum	guts	inji

H – h

habit	i	hey	e
hair	wonmi	hiccup	nikin
hand	i	hide	nambi
handle	wen	hide v.	nokop li
hard	nipokonam	him	ma=
hardwood tree	lemetam	him himself	mawa, mawe
harvest v.	ne	himself	ambawa, ambuwe, ambĩ
hate v.	alakamb	his	manji
<i>haus tambaran</i>	amba	his own	ambinji
hawk	yamangla	hit v.	asa, afi, wali
he	mi	hither	mbi
he himself	mawa, mawe	hive	wawal
he is the one	minam	hm	m
head	unduwan	hoe	tanawen
headache	unduwan apin	hold v.	ikali li
headdress	tongla	hole	inmi
healthy	anma	Holy Spirit	nonal
heap	tumopa	hook	uma
hear v.	kikal wana	hornbill bird	almba
heart	yom	hot	wananum
heavy	kenmbu	hot water	manal
hence	mbu	house	apa
her	ma=	housefly	njimana
her herself	mawa, mawe	how many?	anjika
her own	ambinji	how?	anjikaka
here	mbi, mbu, nga	hundred	uta
hers	manji	hunt v.	anglalo, andilalo
herself	ambawa, ambuwe, ambĩ	husband	numan

husk **tīl**

I – i

I **nī**
I myself **nawa, nuwe**
if **-ta**
ill **tembi**
illness **tembi**
important person **wokin**
in **in, ka, u**
in that manner **maka, ka**
in this manner **maka, ka**
in turn **wolka**
in vain **awlop**
in-law **inga**
index finger **imu ankam**

initiation rites **sasi**
innards **inji**
intestines **mīnane**
into **in**
ironwood tree **numbu, nanīm**
is **-p**
it **mī, ma=**
it is the one **mīnam**
its **manji**
its own **ambinji**
itself **ambawa, ambuwe, ambī,**
 mawa, mawe

J – j

Java almond tree **nokosam**
jellied sago **ay**
Jew's harp **sinangul**
job **wombin**
joint **ambatim**

jump v. **ulep li**
jungle **wandam**
just **ko, kop, kwa, lolop, wa**
just a few **kekaka, kwekaka**

K – k

Kambot (village) **Ambwat**
Kambuku (village) **Kambok**
kanda **le**
kaukau **nongontam**
kidney **mu**
kill v. **asa, afi, wali**
kin **tamndi**
kingfisher **wombulalaw**

knee **wuti ambatim**
knife **yot, yawt, sina**
knowing **kalam**
knowledge **kalam**
knowledgeable **kalam**
Korokopa (village) **Yalamba**
kunai grass **nipum**
kundu drum **nite**

L – l

lacking **mundotoma**

ladder **wat, tamben**

ladle	wonglin	light weight	wiwila
lake	inimpul	lighter	apin
land	ini	lightning	anam
language	mitin, na	<i>limbum</i>	me
last	watangin	lime	i
later	anganika, naka	lime gourd	ansi
laugh v.	atala	lips	tanum
leaf	wapa	liquid	inim
leave v.	ka, laka	listen v.	kikal wana
leech	nasaliwa	little	ilum
left-hand	andana	liver	ina
leftovers	util	lizard	nikit
leg	wuti	log	imot
let v.	ka, laka	long	wutota
Let's go!	Nol!	long time	ngaya
lie	awaw	look v.	limndi ala
lie down v.	lop ka	louse	mimin
light	ane	lower leg	wuti anmot
light color	anembal	lungs	woplota

M – m

machete	yot, yawt	middle	wombam, wome
maggot	manjimanji	middle finger	imu wome
magic	tawi, sawi, ambet, amba	middle toe	wutimu wome
make v.	ita	might	-t
male	yata, yeta	milk	wol mindam
mallet	motam	millipede	aylat
mama	nana	mine	ninji
Maruat (village)	Mamala	mold	mumul
man	yata, yeta, itom	money	ata monam mu, inamba, wombasa anga, palpal
Manu (village)	Nimalnu	month	iwil
many	tingin, nunu	moon	iwil
mask	nambana	moreover	maweka, moweka
matches	apin	morning	umbenam
maybe	tap	<i>morota</i>	ila
me	ni=	mosquito	yangun
me myself	nawa, nuwe	mosquito net	al
meat	lam	mosquito-swatter	tongan
men's house	amba	mosquitofish	upa
menstruation	iwil	mother	inom, nana
mesh	suwan	mound	yowa
message	na	mountain	inkaw
mhm	m	mouth	mama
midday	ane wombam, ane		

much	ambi	my	ninji
mucus	nīmīn	my own	ambinji
mushroom	wanwane	myself	ambawa, ambuwe, ambī

N – n

nag v.	nambīnkī	next of kin	tamndī
nah	asa	next to	kana, kanam
nail	sinanan	nice	anma
name	wi	niece	ansi nungol, ansi yanat
nape	tumbunma	night	imba
narrow	njukuta	nipple	wolmu
navel	unet	no	ase, ango
near	nu, kana, kanam	noon	ane wombam
neck	um	nose	ip
nephew	ansi nungol	not	ango
nest	nim	not at all	me, kom, kome
net	ngin	nothing	ulwa
net bag	ani	now	amun
new	akīnaka	nowadays	amun
next day	wop	nut	mu

O – o

occipital bone	akunpu	onto	wat
ocean	angumoni nīmal	ooh	u
odor	nambīt	opening	mwa
official	inangīnmana	or	o
often	nunu ika	orange	tondiway
OK	ande, andi	orchid	wokomana
okari nut tree	un	other	kwa
old	wapata	our	anji, unanji, nganji, ngunanji
old man	itom ngata	our own	amblanji, ambinji
old person	ngata	ours	anji, unanji, nganji, ngunanji
old woman	inom ngata	ourselves	ambla, amblawa, amblawe, ambin, ambinawa, ambinwe
older brother	atma	outboard motor	anaw
older sister	atana	outhouse	tumbu itīm
on	ka	outside	anmbī
on account of	nakap, nap	over	wan
one	kwa, kwe		
one by one	kekaka, kwekaka		
one each	kekaka, kwekaka		
only	we		

ow
owl

ay
mamwapa

owner
Oxyeleotris fish

tamndi
mapu

P – p

package **muku**
packet **muku**
paddle **anaw**
pain **apin**
palm **ulum**
palm of the hand **yombam**
pandanus **ndil**
pangal **wema**
panpipes **wusimi**
papa **tata**
paper **mindapan**
pass v. **klop**
path **filwa**
pause v. **wulin u**
peace **yopa**
peak **ka**
peel v. **ulo, ambiwe u**
penis **won, ansi**
penis gourd **ansi**
person **ankam**
perspiration **apin inim**
pickaxe **anasa**
piece **ilum, pul, anga, at**
piece of wood **impul**
pick v. **ango**
pig **lamndu, namndu**
pigeon **walimot**
pile **tumopa**
pile v. **kuk u**
pinky finger **imu watangin**
pinky toe **wutimu watangin**
pitiful **ngusuwa**

place **luwa, pul**
planet **mbomala**
plant v. **lapa**
plate **uta, wuta**
platform **wulis, sakla**
play v. **sini**
please **kop**
pointlessly **woyambin**
poison **ambet**
policeman **wanwane**
pond **inimpul**
poor **ngusuwa**
poor thing **mangusuwa, mangusuwata**
poor things **ndingusuwa, ndingusuwata, mingusuwa, mingusuwata**

post **numbu, anmot**
pot **kukumbe, samban, simbin, wemali, wewun, wombasa**

pouch **ame**
pour v. **tomal u**
pray v. **isi monombam u**
praying mantis **kalingana**
precede v. **ip ka**
pressure v. **ul ni**
problem **kenmbu**
pull out v. **angom li, ango**
purple **anem**
pus **mindam**
push v. **si**
put v. **li, u, lumo, umo**
put up v. **atali**
python **animasi**

Q – q

question **atwana**
quickly **mbuka**

quiet **andil**

R – r

rain	inim	rice	asimu
rain v.	lopo	right	maw
rainbow	anem nambum	right-hand	inapum
rainbow fish	wowaw	ring	mungun, asimna
rat	wala, matlaka, mblandu	ring finger	imu law
rattan	le	ringworm	akal
Raten (village)	Morombi	ripe	mīnwata
raw	akinaka	river	nimal
rear	angani, unmbi	river snail	manana
reason	na	riverbank	ika
recently	amun	road	tīlwa
red	ngungun	roof	apaka
red ant	ngungun, iwanal	root	ilu
<i>red buai</i>	ansi	rope	nīpil
refuse	util	rotten	mīnwata
refuse water	imbīn	rotting	mīnwata
relax v.	wulīn u	rub v.	uta
rest v.	wulīn u	run v.	imbam ka
ribs	wal		

S – s

sago	ay, we	scrub v.	ana
sago palm	ulum	sea	angumoni nimal
sago pancake	we	second toe	wutīmu ankam
sago pith	ulum	see v.	līmndī ala
sago shoot	andī, wan	seed	mu
sago starch	we	seedling	nangum
sago strainer	yawa	seek v.	anglalo, andīlalo
saliva	sawi	segment	wawat
salt	isi	-self	awa
sated	monop	-selves	awa
say v.	ta, kī	semen	won inim
scab	tawatal	send v.	kali lī
scale	wowaw	sense v.	wana
scar	mbun	Sepik garfish	lumnjap
scarf	ayna	sew v.	me
scissors	nangīn	sharp	matamal
scoop v.	uta	she	mī
scorpion	alsa	she herself	mawa, mawe
scrape v.	ale	she is the one	mīnam
scratch v.	ana	shelf	apot, aplatam

shell	uta, wuta, fil	soup	isi
shield	wanam	spade	mae, lemta
shin	wuŋi anmot	speak v.	ta, ki
shine v.	sa	spear	mana, lungum, nap
shoe	yakam	speech	mĩnja, na
shoot	nangum	spider	ingwa
shoot v.	asa, aŋi, wali	spiderweb	lingĩnane
short	mundotoma	spine	nali, anangum, nin
shoulder	awi	spirit	nambana, molpan, inimnji
shout v.	uni	spirit house	amba
shovel	mae	spit v.	ngom li
shun v.	kamb	splinter	mi
sick	tembi	split v.	kol
sickness	tembi	spoiled	mĩnwata
side	anga, wanam	spoon	ametamal
side of	awi	sprout	tangam
simply	ko, kop, kwa, wa	squeeze v.	mĩmil u
sing v.	kawni	stab v.	asa, aŋi, wali
sister	anapa	stand	nom
sister-in-law	atma inga yena, wot inga yena	stand v.	tane li
		star	mbomala, nali
sit v.	asi ka	stealth	mokum
skin	nambi	stem	unden
skirt	ana, anapot, al, wopana	step	awlu
sky	anam	steps	wat
sleep v.	wo, lowo	stick	im nali, anĩm
slow	andĩl	still	amun
small	njukuta, ŋike	stinging nettle	amendum, mamnda, yangusole
smart	anma	stomach	umbopa
smell	nambĩt	stone	tana
smell v.	nambĩt wana	stone axe	tanatmu
smooth	namli	story	misimisi, na
smoke	apĩn ngĩn	straight	anma
smoke v.	mondo	strain v.	mĩmil u
snake	anmoka	strand	mi
sniff v.	nambĩt wana	strap	wam
soft	namli	stretcher	sakla
soil	ini	string	asiya
sole	wuŋi yombam	string bag	ani
some	kuma	strong	yangle
someone	kwa	suck v.	ama, la
son	nungol, nungolke, yatalum, yetalum	sucker	nungum
		suffice v.	nakamb
song	kaw	sugar glider	yawĩn
soon	anganika, naka	sugarcane	mil
sore	tawa		

sun **ane**
 swamp **apīnal, mīkī itīm**
 sweep v. **pop lī**
 sweet **yangīmot**

sweet potato **nongontam**
 swell v. **wo, lowo**
 swelling **angumoni**
 swim v. **inim mo ma**

T – t

table **aplatam**
 tadpole **wolname**
 tail **angun**
 tail feather **tal**
 take v. **tī, moko**
 talk **na**
 talk v. **ta, kī**
 tall **wutota**
 target **unda**
 taro **mīnal**
 task **wombīn**
 taste v. **wana**
 tasty **yangīmot**
 tear **sal, līmndī inim**
 tell v. **ta, kī**
 ten **nali**
 testicle **mītīn**
 Thank you! **Nīnji anma!**
 that **anda, nda**
 that is it **andanam**
 that kind of speech **mīnjika**
 that's it! **mawnam**
 their **ndīnji, minji**
 their own **amblanji, ambinji**
 theirs **ndīnji, minji**
 them **ndī=, min=, mini=**
 them themselves **ndawa, nduwe,
 minawa, minwe**
 themselves **ambla, amblawa, amblawe,
 ambin, ambinawa,
 ambinwe**
 then **-e, e, pe, we**
 thence **ando**
 there **ando**
 these **ngala, ngin**
 they **ndī, min, ndin**
 they are the ones **ndīnam**

they themselves **ndawa, nduwe,
 minawa, minwe**
 thick **palmana**
 thigh **wutī name**
 thin **njukuta**
 thing **nji**
 think v. **inakawana, wana, ta, kī**
 this **nga**
 this is it **ngam**
 this kind of speech **mīnjika**
 thou **u, u=**
 thorn **nin, nap**
 those **ala, la, andin**
 thought **na**
 thread **asiya**
 three **lele**
 throat **aninokam, mota**
 throw v. **kīke u, kuli lī, mune u,
 top lī**
 thumb **imu unduwan**
 thunder **anam wapata**
 thus **maka, ka**
 ti plant **law**
 tie v. **mop lī, ita**
 tilapia **mbatmbat**
 time **tem**
 tinea **akal**
 to **iya**
 tobacco **sokoy**
 today **amun**
 toe **wutīmu**
 toilet **tumbu itīm**
 tomorrow **umbe**
 tongue **mīnīm**
 too **luke**
 tooth **ambla**
 torch **anenisi**
 toward **iya**

track	filwa
trail	filwa
trap	asiya, ngin, tukul, iwa
trash	itim
treaty	yopa
tree	im
true	anma

<i>tulip</i> greens	anmopa
turn around v.	fikli ka
turtle	way
tusk	wonmbi
twenty	lamndu unduwan
two	nini

U – u

uh	a
uh-uh	mm
umbilical cord	unet
uncle	yawa, itom
under	imbam
unite v.	kuk u
unwrap v.	kanaka lumo
up	ata
upper arm	i name
upper leg	wuti name

uproot v.	angom li
upstream	ata
upward	ata
urine	minam
us	an=, unan=, ngan=, ngunan=
us ourselves	anawa, anwe, unanawa, unanwe, nganawa, nganwe, ngunanawa, ngunanwe
uterus	ame

V – v

various	nunu
vegetables	natnat
veranda	apa mot
very	apka
very own	wo

village	wa
vine	nipil, angin
vital spot	unda
vomit v.	nongan u
vulva	inmbi, iwil

W – w

waistcloth	an nambi
waiting for	andila, angla
walk v.	inda
wallaby	wakan
want v.	ki
warm	wananum
was	-wap
wash v.	lopo
watch v.	limndi ala, limndi li
water	inim
way	i

we	an, unan, una, ngan, ngunan, nguna
we ourselves	anawa, anwe, unanawa, unanwe, nganawa, nganwe, ngunanawa, ngunanwe
weave v.	ula
well	anma
were	-wap
wet	minwata
what?	angos
what's the matter?	anjikaka

whatchamacallit	mĩngamata	wildfowl	yokomakan, kuman
whatever	angos, angos nji	will be	-pina
whatsoever	angos	wind	nonal
when	tem	window	mwa
when?	ango tem	windpipe	aninokam
where?	ango luwa, ango	wing	wapa
which?	ango	wipe v.	uta
white	waembil	wisdom	kalam
white ant	kika	wise	kalam
white of the egg	ya	with	ul, lu
who?	kwa, kuma	woman	yana, yananu, yena, yenanu, inom
whole	wopa	woods	wandam
whose?	kwanji, kumanji	work	wombin
why?	angwena	worm	utal
wide	palmana	wound	tawa
wife	yana, yananu, yena, yenanu	wring v.	mimil u
wild taro	ulumbi		
wild yam	pawla		

Y – y

yam	utam	you yourself	uwe, wawa
Yamen (village)	Yetani	you yourselves	unwe, unawa, ngunwe, ngunawa
Yaul (village)	Mosombla	young	akinaka
yawn	mamal	young person	amunji
ye	un, un=, ngun, ngun=	young sago palm	anduwan
yeah	iya	younger	wot
year	inim	younger brother	wot yeta
yellow	mindit, andwana, ane	younger sibling	wot
yes	iyo	younger sister	wot yena
yesterday	awal	your	unji, ngunji
yet	amun	your own	ambinji, amblanji, ambinji
you	u, u=, un, un=, ngun, ngun=	yours	unji, ngunji
you poor thing	ungusuwa, ungunuwata	yourself	ambawa, ambuwe, ambĩ
you poor things	ungusuwa, ungunuwata, ngungusuwa, ngungusuwata	yourselves	ambla, amblawa, amblawe, ambin, ambinawa, ambinwe

SWADESH 100-WORD LIST

The following is a list of 100 basic vocabulary items in Ulwa, following Swadesh's (1971:283) list of 100 words. Where deemed useful, alternate words or clarifications of meaning are provided in footnotes.

1	I	nĩ	26	root	ilu
2	you ⁷⁸	u	27	bark ⁷⁹	im nambi
3	we ⁸⁰	an	28	skin	nambi
4	this	nga	29	flesh	lam
5	that	anda	30	blood	anankĩn
6	who ⁸¹	kwa	31	bone	uma
7	what	angos	32	grease	anen
8	not	ango	33	egg	mĩtĩn
9	all	wopa	34	horn ⁸⁵	wonmbi
10	many	tĩngĩn	35	tail	angun
11	one ⁸²	kwe	36	feather	nambli
12	two	nini	37	hair ⁸⁶	wonmi
13	big	ambi	38	head	unduwān
14	long	wutota	39	ear	kĩkal
15	small	njukuta	40	eye	limndĩ
16	woman ⁸³	yena	41	nose	ip
17	man ⁸⁴	yeta	42	mouth	mama
18	person	ankam	43	tooth	ambla
19	fish	wambana	44	tongue	mĩnim
20	bird	uta	45	claw ⁸⁷	sinananangĩn
21	dog	tĩn	46	foot	wutĩ
22	louse	mimin	47	knee ⁸⁸	wutĩ ambatĩm
23	tree	im	48	hand	i
24	seed	mu	49	belly	inapaw
25	leaf	wapa	50	neck	um

⁷⁸ This is the 2SG form. 2DU is *ngun* and 2PL is *un*.

⁷⁹ Literally = *im* 'tree' + *nambi* 'skin'.

⁸⁰ This is the 1PL.EXCL form. 1PL.INCL is *unan*, 1DU.EXCL is *ngan*, and 1DU.INCL is *ngunan*.

⁸¹ This is the SG form. The NSG form is *kuma*.

⁸² Also *kwe*.

⁸³ Also *yana*.

⁸⁴ Also *yata*.

⁸⁵ This word actually means 'tusk' (as a boar's tusk), the closest known equivalent in Ulwa.

⁸⁶ This is hair on the top of the head. Hair on the rest of the body is *nil*.

⁸⁷ Literally = *sinanan* 'nail' + *nangĩn* 'tongs'.

⁸⁸ Literally = *wutĩ* 'leg, foot' + *ambatĩm* 'joint'.

51	breasts	wol	76	rain ⁸⁹	inim
52	heart	yom	77	stone ¹⁰²	tana
53	liver	ina	78	sand ¹⁰³	tana isi
54	drink ⁹⁰	ama	79	earth	ini
55	eat ⁹¹	ama	80	cloud	ngin
56	bite ⁹²	ama	81	smoke ¹⁰⁴	apin ngin
57	see ⁹³	limndi ala	82	fire	apin
58	hear ⁹⁴	kikal wana	83	ash ¹⁰⁵	apinsi
59	know ⁹⁵	kalamp	84	burn ¹⁰⁶	wo
60	sleep ⁹⁶	wo	85	path	tilwa
61	die	ni	86	mountain	inkaw
62	kill ⁹⁷	asa	87	red ¹⁰⁷	ngungun
63	swim ⁹⁸	inim mo ma	88	green ¹⁰⁸	minal
64	fly	wiwila	89	yellow ¹⁰⁹	mindit
65	walk	inda	90	white	waembil
66	come	i	91	black ¹¹⁰	mbunmana
67	lie	lop ka	92	night	imba
68	sit	asi ka	93	hot	wananum
69	stand	tane li	94	cold	minoma
70	give	na	95	full	monop
71	say ⁹⁹	ta	96	new	akinaka
72	sun	ane	97	good	anma
73	moon	iwil	98	round ¹¹¹	wopaw
74	star ¹⁰⁰	nali	99	dry	wapata
75	water ¹⁰¹	inim	100	name	wi

⁸⁹ This word also means 'water'.

⁹⁰ This word also means 'eat' and 'bite'.

⁹¹ This word also means 'drink' and 'bite'.

⁹² This word also means 'drink' and 'eat'.

⁹³ Literally = *limndi* 'eye' + *ala* 'for, from'.

⁹⁴ Literally = *kikal* 'ear' + *ala* 'for, from'.

⁹⁵ Literally = *kalam* 'knowing' + *-p* 'be'.

⁹⁶ This is the same form as the verb 'burn'.

⁹⁷ Also *wali*.

⁹⁸ Literally, 'go on the water' (*inim* 'water' + *ma* '3SG' + *u* 'on' + *ma* 'go').

⁹⁹ Also *ki*.

¹⁰⁰ This refers to a (perceived) small star. A (perceived) large star is *mbomala*.

¹⁰¹ This word also means 'rain'.

¹⁰² The word *tana* is more commonly used to refer (metonymically) to the traditional stone axe.

¹⁰³ Literally = *tana* 'stone' + *isi* 'salt'.

¹⁰⁴ Literally = *apin* 'fire' + *ngin* 'cloud'.

¹⁰⁵ Literally = *apin* 'fire' + *isi* 'salt'.

¹⁰⁶ This verb is intransitive. It is the same form as the verb 'sleep'.

¹⁰⁷ This word also refers to a red species of ant, a plant species with red seeds, and a cyclone.

¹⁰⁸ This word also refers to taro.

¹⁰⁹ Also *andwana* and *ane*.

¹¹⁰ Also *mbun*.

¹¹¹ This word actually means 'ball', the closest known equivalent in Ulwa.

SWADESH 200-WORD LIST

The following is a list of 200 basic vocabulary items in Ulwa, following Swadesh's (1952:456f.) list of 200 words. Where deemed useful, alternate words or clarifications of meaning are provided in footnotes.

1	all	wopa	21	child ¹¹²	nungol
2	and ¹¹³	ma	22	cloud	ngin
3	animal	mundu	23	cold	mīnoma
4	ashes ¹¹⁴	apīnsi	24	to come	i
5	at ¹¹⁵	ka	25	to count ¹²⁴	ika uta
6	back	mutam	26	to cut ¹²⁵	lo
7	bad ¹¹⁶	tembi	27	day ¹²⁶	ane
8	bark ¹¹⁷	im nambi	28	to die	ni
9	because ¹¹⁸	angwena	29	to dig	nkī
10	belly	inapaw	30	dirty ¹²⁷	tembi
11	berry ¹¹⁹	mu	31	dog	tīn
12	big	ambi	32	to drink ¹²⁸	ama
13	bird	uta	33	dry ¹²⁹	wapata
14	to bite ¹²⁰	ama	34	dull	tambumana
15	black ¹²¹	mbunmana	35	dust	itītil
16	blood	anankīn	36	ear	kīkal
17	to blow ¹²²	nonalni	37	earth	ini
18	bone	uma	38	to eat ¹³⁰	ama
19	to breathe	nonal u	39	egg	mītin
20	to burn ¹²³	wo	40	eye	līmndī

¹¹² Also *nungolke*, *alum*, and *tawatip*.

¹¹³ This may be a recent innovation.

¹¹⁴ Literally = *apīn* 'fire' + *isi* 'salt'.

¹¹⁵ Also *u*.

¹¹⁶ This word also means 'dirty'.

¹¹⁷ Literally = *im* 'tree' + *nambi* 'skin'.

¹¹⁸ This word actually means 'why?', but may be able to function similarly to 'because'.

¹¹⁹ Or 'fruit'. This word also means 'seed'.

¹²⁰ This word also means 'to drink', 'to eat', and 'to suck'.

¹²¹ Also *mbun*.

¹²² Literally *nonal* 'wind, breath' + *ni* 'do'.

¹²³ This verb is intransitive. It is the same form as the verbs 'to sleep' and 'to swell'.

¹²⁴ Literally 'rub at the hand' (*i* 'hand' + *ka* 'at' + *uta* 'rub')

¹²⁵ Also *nkī*, *nīkī*, *we u*, and *won ka*.

¹²⁶ This is 'day' as opposed to 'night'. The primary meaning of *ane* is 'sun'. The word for 'day' as a countable interval of time is *ilom*.

¹²⁷ This word also means 'bad'.

¹²⁸ This word also means 'to bite', 'to eat', and 'to suck'.

¹²⁹ This word also means 'old'.

¹³⁰ This word also means 'to bite', 'to drink', and 'to suck'.

41	to fall	li	66	hand	i
42	far	ngaya	67	he	mī
43	fat	anen	68	head	unduwan
44	father	itom	69	to hear ¹³¹	kikal wana
45	to fear ¹³²	namnap	70	heart	yom
46	feather	nambli	71	heavy	kenmbu
47	few	ilum	72	here	mbī
48	to fight ¹³³	amblawali	73	to hit ¹⁴²	wali
49	fire	apīn	74	to hold ¹⁴³	ikali lī
50	fish	wambana	75	how?	anjikaka
51	five	angay	76	to hunt ¹⁴⁴	anglalo
52	to float ¹³⁴	ul watka	77	husband	numan
53	to flow ¹³⁵	ma	78	I	nī
54	flower ¹³⁶	woka	79	ice ¹⁴⁵	–
55	to fly	wiwina	80	if ¹⁴⁶	-ta
56	fog	līngīn	81	in ¹⁴⁷	in
57	foot ¹³⁷	wutī	82	to kill ¹⁴⁸	asa
58	four	watangīnila	83	to know ¹⁴⁹	kalamp
59	to freeze ¹³⁸	–	84	lake ¹⁵⁰	inimpul
60	to give	na	85	to laugh ¹⁵¹	atala
61	good ¹³⁹	anma	86	leaf ¹⁵²	wapa
62	grass	asi	87	left	andana
63	green ¹⁴⁰	mīnal	88	leg ¹⁵³	wutī
64	guts	injī	89	to lie	lop ka
65	hair ¹⁴¹	wonmi	90	to live ¹⁵⁴	-p

¹³¹ Literally = *kikal* ‘ear’ + *ala* ‘for, from’.

¹³² Literally = *nomna* ‘afraid’ + *-p* ‘be’.

¹³³ Literally = *ambla* ‘PL.REFL’ + *wali* ‘hit’.

¹³⁴ Literally ‘let atop with’ (*ul* ‘with’ + *wat* ‘atop’ + *ka* ‘let’).

¹³⁵ For ‘to flow’, the verb *ma* ‘to go’ is used in Ulwa.

¹³⁶ There is no cover term for ‘flower’ in Ulwa. This word refers to the flower of the banana plant.

¹³⁷ This word also means ‘leg’.

¹³⁸ There is no word that means ‘to freeze’ in Ulwa.

¹³⁹ This word also means ‘straight’.

¹⁴⁰ This word also refers to taro.

¹⁴¹ This is hair on the top of the head. Hair on the rest of the body is *nil*.

¹⁴² Also *asa*. Both forms mean both ‘to hit’ and ‘to kill’.

¹⁴³ Literally = *i* ‘hand’ + *kali* ‘send’ + *lī* ‘put’.

¹⁴⁴ Literally = *angla* ‘awaiting’ + *lo* ‘go’; also *andīlalo*.

¹⁴⁵ There is no word that means ‘ice’ in Ulwa.

¹⁴⁶ This is a verbal suffix that signals the apodosis of a condition.

¹⁴⁷ Also *ka* and *u*.

¹⁴⁸ Also *wali*. Both forms mean both ‘to hit’ and ‘to kill’.

¹⁴⁹ Literally = *kalam* ‘knowing’ + *-p* ‘be’.

¹⁵⁰ Literally = *inim* ‘water’ + *pul* ‘piece’.

¹⁵¹ Literally = *atal* ‘anus’ + *a* ‘break’.

¹⁵² This word also means ‘wing’.

¹⁵³ This word also means ‘foot’.

¹⁵⁴ This is a copular suffix.

91	liver	ina	116	red ¹⁵⁵	ngungun
92	long	wutota	117	right (correct)	maw
93	louse	mimin	118	right(-hand)	inapum
94	man ¹⁵⁶	yeta	119	river	nīmal
95	many	tīngin	120	road	tilwa
96	meat	lam	121	root	ilu
97	mother	inom	122	rope	nīpīl
98	mountain	inkaw	123	rotten ¹⁶³	mīnwata
99	mouth	mama	124	to rub ¹⁶⁴	uta
100	name	wi	125	salt ¹⁶⁵	isi
101	narrow ¹⁵⁷	njukuta	126	sand ¹⁶⁶	tana isi
102	near	nu	127	to say ¹⁶⁷	ta
103	neck	um	128	to scratch	ana
104	new	akīnaka	129	sea ¹⁶⁸	angumoni nīmal
105	night	imba	130	to see ¹⁶⁹	līmndī ala
106	nose	ip	131	seed ¹⁷⁰	mu
107	not	ango	132	to sew	me
108	old ¹⁵⁸	wapata	133	sharp	matamal
109	one ¹⁵⁹	kwe	134	short	mundotoma
110	other ¹⁶⁰	kwa	135	to sing ¹⁷¹	kawni
111	person	ankam	136	to sit	asi ka
112	to play ¹⁶¹	sini	137	skin	nambi
113	to pull	angom lī	138	sky	anam
114	to push	si	139	to sleep ¹⁷²	wo
115	to rain ¹⁶²	lopo	140	small ¹⁷³	njukuta

¹⁵⁵ This word also refers to a red species of ant, a plant species with red seeds, and a cyclone.

¹⁵⁶ Also *yata*.

¹⁵⁷ This word also means ‘small’ and ‘thin’.

¹⁵⁸ This word also means ‘dry’.

¹⁵⁹ Also *kwa*.

¹⁶⁰ There is no clear translation for ‘other’ in Ulwa, but *kwa* ‘one; someone; who’ is close. The plural equivalent of *kwa* in such cases is *ala* ‘those’.

¹⁶¹ Literally = *si* ‘push’ + *ni* ‘do’.

¹⁶² This word also means ‘to wash’.

¹⁶³ This word also means ‘wet’.

¹⁶⁴ This word also means ‘to wipe’.

¹⁶⁵ Properly this refers to a native ‘salt’ made from the sodium-rich ash of burnt banana leaves.

¹⁶⁶ Literally = *tana* ‘stone’ + *isi* ‘salt’.

¹⁶⁷ Also *kī*.

¹⁶⁸ Literally = *angumoni* ‘swelling’ + *nīmal* ‘river’.

¹⁶⁹ Literally = *līmndī* ‘eye’ + *ala* ‘for, from’.

¹⁷⁰ This word also means ‘berry’ (or ‘fruit’).

¹⁷¹ Literally = *kaw* ‘song’ + *ni* ‘do’.

¹⁷² This is the same form as the verbs ‘to burn’ and ‘to swell.’

¹⁷³ This word also means ‘narrow’ and ‘thin’.

141	to smell ¹⁷⁴	nambit wana	165	thin ¹⁷⁵	njukuta
142	smoke ¹⁷⁶	apin ngin	166	to think ¹⁸⁹	inakawana
143	smooth	namli	167	this	nga
144	snake	anmoka	168	thou	u
145	snow ¹⁷⁷	–	169	three	lele
146	some	kuma	170	to throw ¹⁹⁰	kike u
147	to spit	ngom li	171	to tie ¹⁹¹	mop li
148	to split	kol	172	tongue	minim
149	to squeeze	mimil u	173	tooth	ambla
150	to stab ¹⁷⁸	asa	174	tree	im
151	to stand	tane li	175	to turn	tikli ka
152	star ¹⁷⁹	nali	176	two	nini
153	stick ¹⁸⁰	im nali	177	to vomit	nongan u
154	stone ¹⁸¹	tana	178	to walk	inda
155	straight ¹⁸²	anma	179	warm	wananum
156	to suck ¹⁸³	ama	180	to wash ¹⁹²	lopo
157	sun	ane	181	water ¹⁹³	inim
158	to swell ¹⁸⁴	wo	182	we ¹⁹⁴	an
159	to swim ¹⁸⁵	inim mo ma	183	wet ¹⁹⁵	minwata
160	tail	angun	184	what?	angos
161	that	anda	185	when? ¹⁹⁶	ango tem
162	there ¹⁸⁶	ando	186	where? ¹⁹⁷	ango luwa
163	they ¹⁸⁷	ndi	187	white	waambil
164	thick ¹⁸⁸	palmana	188	who?	kwa

¹⁷⁴ Literally = *nambit* ‘smell’ + *wana* ‘sense’.

¹⁷⁵ This word also means ‘small’ and ‘narrow’.

¹⁷⁶ Literally = *apin* ‘fire’ + *ngin* ‘cloud’.

¹⁷⁷ There is no word that means ‘snow’ in Ulwa.

¹⁷⁸ For ‘stab’, a verb meaning ‘hit’ (*asa* or *wali*) is used in Ulwa.

¹⁷⁹ This refers to a (perceived) small star. A (perceived) large star is *mbomala*.

¹⁸⁰ Literally = *im* ‘tree’ + *nali* ‘star’.

¹⁸¹ The word *tana* is more commonly used to refer (metonymically) to the traditional stone axe.

¹⁸² This word also means ‘good’.

¹⁸³ This word also means ‘to bite’, ‘to drink’, and ‘to eat’.

¹⁸⁴ This is the same form as the verbs ‘to burn’ and ‘to sleep’.

¹⁸⁵ Literally, ‘go on the water’ (*inim* ‘water’ + *ma* ‘3SG’ + *u* ‘on’ + *ma* ‘go’).

¹⁸⁶ Literally = *anda* ‘that’ + *u* ‘from, in, at, around, along’.

¹⁸⁷ This is the 3PL form. 3DU is *min*.

¹⁸⁸ This word also means ‘wide’.

¹⁸⁹ Literally ‘feel in the mind/heart’ (*ina* ‘liver [the seat of reason]’ + *ka* ‘in’ + *wana* ‘feel’).

¹⁹⁰ Also *kuli li*, *mune u*, and *top li*.

¹⁹¹ Also *ita*.

¹⁹² This word also means ‘to rain’.

¹⁹³ This word also means ‘year’.

¹⁹⁴ This is the 1PL.EXCL form. 1PL.INCL is *unan*, 1DU.EXCL is *ngan*, and 1DU.INCL is *ngunan*.

¹⁹⁵ This word also means ‘rotten’.

¹⁹⁶ Literally = *angos* ‘which?’ + *tem* ‘time’ (*tem* < Tok Pisin *taim* ‘time’).

¹⁹⁷ Literally = *angos* ‘which?’ + *luwa* ‘place’.

189	wide ¹⁹⁸	palmana	195	woman ¹⁹⁹	yena
190	wife ²⁰⁰	yenanu	196	woods	wandam
191	wind	nonal	197	worm	utal
192	wing ²⁰¹	wapa	198	ye ²⁰²	un
193	wipe ²⁰³	uta	199	year ²⁰⁴	inim
194	with ²⁰⁵	ul	200	yellow ²⁰⁶	mĩndit

¹⁹⁸ This word also means ‘thick’.

¹⁹⁹ Also *yana*, *yenanu*, and *yananu*. All forms can mean either ‘woman’ or ‘wife’.

²⁰⁰ Also *yananu*, *yena*, and *yana*. All forms can mean either ‘woman’ or ‘wife’.

²⁰¹ This word also means ‘leaf’.

²⁰² This is the 2PL form. 2DU is *ngun*.

²⁰³ This word also means ‘to rub’.

²⁰⁴ This word also means ‘water’.

²⁰⁵ This is a postposition with comitative meaning. For instrumental meanings, the oblique marker =*n* can be used.

²⁰⁶ Also *andwana* and *ane*.

STANDARD SIL-PNG WORD LIST (190 ITEMS)

The following is a list of 190 items (170 words and 20 phrases) in Ulwa, based on the standard survey word list used by SIL in Papua New Guinea. The list, developed by Lee and Pence (1962) was revised in 1999 such that the items are grouped according to semantic domains. Where deemed useful, alternate words or clarifications of meaning are provided in footnotes.

1	head	unduwan	21	thumb ²⁰⁷	imu unduwan
2	hair ²⁰⁸	wonmi	22	leg ²¹¹	wuti
3	mouth	mama	23	heart	yom
4	nose	ip	24	liver	ina
5	eye	limndi	25	bone	uma
6	neck	um	26	blood	anankin
7	belly	inapaw	27	baby	alum
8	skin	nambi	28	girl ²¹²	yenalum
9	knee ²⁰⁹	wuti ambatim	29	boy ²¹³	yetalum
10	ear	kikal	30	old woman ²¹⁴	inom ngata
11	tongue	mimim	31	old man ²¹⁵	itom ngata
12	tooth	ambla	32	woman ²¹⁶	yena
13	breast	wol	33	man ²¹⁷	yeta
14	hand	i	34	father	itom
15	foot ²¹⁰	wuti	35	mother	inom
16	back	mutam	36	brother ²¹⁸	atma
17	shoulder	awi	37	sister	anapa
18	forehead	monombam	38	name	wi
19	chin	nginim	39	bird	uta
20	elbow	inpu	40	dog	tin

²⁰⁷ Literally = *i* 'hand' + *mu* 'fruit' + *unduwan* 'head'.

²⁰⁸ This is hair on the top of the head. Hair on the rest of the body is *nil*.

²⁰⁹ Literally = *wuti* 'leg, foot' + *ambatim* 'joint'.

²¹⁰ This word also means 'leg'.

²¹¹ This word also means 'foot'.

²¹² Also *yena* (or *yana*). Words for 'child' (unmarked for gender) are: *alum*, *nungol*, *nungolke*, and *tawatip*.

²¹³ Also *yeta* (or *yata*). Words for 'child' (unmarked for gender) are: *alum*, *nungol*, *nungolke*, and *tawatip*.

²¹⁴ Literally = *inom* 'mother' + *ngata* 'grand'.

²¹⁵ Literally = *itom* 'father' + *ngata* 'grand'.

²¹⁶ Also *yana*.

²¹⁷ Also *yata*.

²¹⁸ There is no cover term for 'brother' in Ulwa. This word means 'older brother'.

41	pig ²¹⁹	lamndu	66	to die	ni
42	cassowary	kalim	67	to burn ²³¹	wo
43	wallaby	wakan	68	to fly	wiwina
44	flying fox	nīplopa	69	to swim ²³²	inim mo ma
45	rat ²²⁰	wala	70	to run	imbam ka
46	frog	womotana	71	to fall down	li
47	snake	anmoka	72	to catch ²³³	ikali li
48	fish	wambana	73	to cough ²³⁴	utan uta
49	person	ankam	74	to laugh ²³⁵	atala
50	to sit	asi ka	75	to dance ²³⁶	wutīni
51	to stand	tane li	76	big	ambi
52	to lie down	lop ka	77	small	njukuta
53	to sleep ²²¹	wo	78	good	anma
54	to walk	inda	79	bad	tembi
55	to bite ²²²	ama	80	long	wutota
56	to eat ²²³	ama	81	short	mundotoma
57	to give	na	82	heavy	kenmbu
58	to see ²²⁴	limndi ala	83	light	wiwila
59	to come	i	84	cold	mīnoma
60	to say ²²⁵	ta	85	hot	wananum
61	to hear ²²⁶	kikal wana	86	new	akinaka
62	to know ²²⁷	kalamp	87	old ²³⁷	wapata
63	to drink ²²⁸	ama	88	round	wopaw
64	to hit ²²⁹	wali	89	wet	mīnwata
65	to kill ²³⁰	asa	90	dry ²³⁸	wapata

²¹⁹ Also *namndu*.

²²⁰ Also *matlaka* and *mblandu*.

²²¹ This is the same form as the verb ‘to burn’.

²²² This word also means ‘to eat’ and ‘to drink’.

²²³ This word also means ‘to bite’ and ‘to drink’.

²²⁴ Literally = *limndi* ‘eye’ + *ala* ‘for, from’.

²²⁵ Also *kī*.

²²⁶ Literally = *kikal* ‘ear’ + *ala* ‘for, from’.

²²⁷ Literally = *kalam* ‘knowing’ + *-p* ‘be’.

²²⁸ This word also means ‘to bite’ and ‘to eat’.

²²⁹ Also *asa*. Both forms mean both ‘to hit’ and ‘to kill’.

²³⁰ Also *wali*. Both forms mean both ‘to hit’ and ‘to kill’.

²³¹ This verb is intransitive. It is the same form as the verb ‘to sleep’.

²³² Literally, ‘go on the water’ (*inim* ‘water’ + *ma* ‘3SG’ + *u* ‘on’ + *ma* ‘go’).

²³³ Literally = *i* ‘hand’ + *kali* ‘send’ + *li* ‘put’.

²³⁴ Literally = *utan* ‘cough’ + *uta* ‘rub’.

²³⁵ Literally = *atal* ‘anus’ + *a* ‘break’.

²³⁶ Literally = *wuti* ‘leg’ + *ni* ‘do’.

²³⁷ This word also means ‘dry’.

²³⁸ This word also means ‘old’.

91	full	monop	119	horn ²³⁹	wonmbi
92	road	tılwa	120	wing ²⁵⁰	wapa
93	stone ²⁴⁰	tana	121	claw ²⁵¹	sinananangın
94	earth	ini	122	tail	angun
95	sand ²⁴¹	tana isi	123	one ²⁵²	kwe
96	mountain	inkaw	124	two	nini
97	fire	apın	125	three	lele
98	smoke ²⁴²	apın ngın	126	four	watangınıla
99	ashes ²⁴³	apınsi	127	five	angay
100	sun	ane	128	ten ²⁵³	angay nini
101	moon	iwil	129	taro	mınal
102	star ²⁴⁴	nali	130	sugarcane	mil
103	cloud	ngın	131	yam	utam
104	rain ²⁴⁵	inim	132	banana	mında
105	wind	nonal	133	sweet potato	nongontam
106	water ²⁴⁶	inim	134	bean	yakeka
107	vine	nıpıl	135	axe ²⁵⁴	tana
108	tree	im	136	knife ²⁵⁵	yawt
109	stick ²⁴⁷	im nali	137	arrow ²⁵⁶	wipam
110	bark ²⁴⁸	im nambi	138	net bag	ani
111	seed	mu	139	house	apa
112	root	ilu	140	tobacco	sokoy
113	leaf ²⁴⁹	wapa	141	morning	umbenam
114	meat	lam	142	afternoon	awal
115	fat	anen	143	night	imba
116	egg	mıtın	144	yesterday	awal
117	louse	mimin	145	tomorrow	umbe
118	feather	nambli	146	white	waembil

²³⁹ This word actually means ‘tusk’ (as a boar’s tusk), the closest known equivalent in Ulwa.

²⁴⁰ The word *tana* is more commonly used to refer (metonymically) to the traditional stone axe.

²⁴¹ Literally = *tana* ‘stone’ + *isi* ‘salt’.

²⁴² Literally = *apın* ‘fire’ + *ngın* ‘cloud’.

²⁴³ Literally = *apın* ‘fire’ + *isi* ‘salt’.

²⁴⁴ This refers to a (perceived) small star. A (perceived) large star is *mbomala*.

²⁴⁵ This word also means ‘water’.

²⁴⁶ This word also means ‘rain’.

²⁴⁷ Literally = *im* ‘tree’ + *nali* ‘star’.

²⁴⁸ Literally = *im* ‘tree’ + *nambi* ‘skin’.

²⁴⁹ This word also means ‘wing’.

²⁵⁰ This word also means ‘leaf’.

²⁵¹ Literally = *sinanan* ‘nail’ + *nangın* ‘tongs’.

²⁵² Also *kwa*.

²⁵³ Literally = *angay* ‘five’ x *nini* ‘two’.

²⁵⁴ Literally ‘stone’.

²⁵⁵ Also *yot*. These words refer to a larger knife (machete). A smaller knife is a *sina*, traditionally made from *sina* ‘bamboo’.

²⁵⁶ Also *nap*. ‘Bow and arrow’ is *wongıta*.

147	black ²⁵⁷	mbunmana	159	yes	iyo
148	yellow ²⁵⁸	mĩndit	160	no	ase
149	red ²⁵⁹	ngungun	161	not	ango
150	green ²⁶⁰	mĩnal	162	I	nĩ
151	many	tĩngĩn	163	you (singular)	u
152	all	wopa	164	he	mĩ
153	this	nga	165	we two ²⁶¹	ngan
154	that	anda	166	you two	ngun
155	what?	angos	167	they two	min
156	who?	kwa	168	we ²⁶²	an
157	when? ²⁶³	ango tem	169	you (plural)	un
158	where? ²⁶⁴	ango luwa	170	they	ndĩ

171	He is hungry. ²⁶⁵	Mundu mas.
172	He eats sugarcane.	Mĩ mil ame.
173	He laughs a lot. ²⁶⁶	Mĩ nunu ika atalaye.
174	One man stands. ²⁶⁷	Yeta kwe tanelĩp.
175	Two men stand.	Yeta nini tanelĩp.
176	Three men stand.	Yeta lele tanelĩp.
177	The man goes.	Yeta mĩ man.
178	The man went yesterday	Yeta mĩ awal i.
179	The man will go tomorrow.	Yeta mĩ umbe mana.
180	The man eats the yam.	Yeta mĩ utam mame.
181	The man ate the yam yesterday.	Yeta mĩ awal utam mamap.
182	The man will eat the yam tomorrow.	Yeta mĩ umbe utam malanda.
183	The man hit the dog.	Yeta mĩ tĩn masap.
184	The man didn't hit the dog.	Yeta mĩ ango tĩn masap.
185	The big man hit the little dog.	Yeta ambi mĩ tĩn njukuta masap.
186	The man gave the dog to the boy. ²⁶⁸	Yeta mĩ tĩn matĩ yetalum manan.
187	The man hit the dog and went.	Yeta mĩ tĩn masap i.
188	The man hit the dog when the boy went. ²⁶⁹	Yetalum iye yeta mĩ tĩn masap.
189	The man hit the dog and it went.	Yeta mi tĩn masap mĩ i.
190	The man shot and ate the pig.	Yeta mĩ lamndu masap mamap.

²⁵⁷ Also *mbun*.

²⁵⁸ Also *andwana* and *ane*.

²⁵⁹ This word also refers to a red species of ant, a plant species with red seeds, and a cyclone.

²⁶⁰ This word also refers to taro.

²⁶¹ This is the exclusive (dual) form. The inclusive (dual) form is *ngunan*.

²⁶² This is the exclusive (plural) form. The inclusive (plural) form is *unan*.

²⁶³ Literally = *angos* 'which?' + *tem* 'time' (*tem* < Tok Pisin *taim* 'time').

²⁶⁴ Literally = *angos* 'which?' + *luwa* 'place'.

²⁶⁵ Literally, 'food hits him'.

²⁶⁶ Literally, 'he laughs often'.

²⁶⁷ This and all subsequent translations use *yeta* for 'man'. This is very literal. More colloquial Ulwa would more likely use *ankam* 'person' in such sentences.

²⁶⁸ The translation of *yetalum* for 'boy' here (and in 188) is very literal. More colloquial Ulwa would use the word *nungol* 'child' in such sentences.

²⁶⁹ The order of the clauses in the translation is reversed, reflecting typical Ulwa syntax.

GLOSSARY OF TOK PISIN WORDS ENCOUNTERED IN THIS DISSERTATION

The following is an annotated glossary of Tok Pisin words used in the (otherwise) English glosses and translations of Ulwa, because they more closely capture the meaning of the Ulwa word. In the list below, the Ulwa translation is given in *italics*, along with an English explanation.

- aibika** (*yomal*). A leafy green vegetable (*Abelmoschus manihot*) that is harvested in the jungle. Its long, soft leaves are commonly cooked in coconut milk (cf. **tulip**).
- bilum** (*ani*). A net bag woven of strings and typically worn around the neck; smaller ones are often used to carry items such as tobacco and betel nut. The Ulwa term has come to be applied to modern, factory-made bags as well.
- buai** (*aw*). The *Areca catechu* palm, whose seed (or ‘nut’, i.e., ‘betel nut’) is chewed as a stimulant, especially when combined with **daka** (*wanmbi*) and lime (calcium hydroxide). The palm is grown in Manu both for personal consumption and for export. Both the Tok Pisin term and the Ulwa term can also be applied to the nut of the plant or to the combination of the nut with **daka** and lime (together alternatively called **red buai**, or *ansi* in Ulwa).
- daka** (*wanmbi*). The leaf or flower of the *Piper betle* (‘pepper’) vine, commonly chewed with **buai** (*aw*) and lime (calcium hydroxide) to make **red buai** (*ansi*).
- garamut** (*numbu*). A large slit-drum made from a hollowed log of the ironwood tree (*Vitex cofassus*) (the tree may also be referred to by the same name, either in Tok Pisin or in Ulwa). The drum is struck as a gong to communicate messages or summon people to a location. The drums may be decorated with carvings. In Ulwa, the word *numbu* may also be used to refer to the vertical posts of a house, since these, too, are made from lumber of this tree.
- haus tambaran** (*amba*). A traditional ancestral worship house (‘men’s house’ or ‘spirit house’). Before being abolished in the latter half of the twentieth century (after the arrival of Christian missionaries), these ‘spirit houses’ were the exclusive domain of Ulwa men who had been initiated with secret rites (including body scarification). The practices of these initiates have largely remained secret, but they are known to have included communal dining

(sometimes on human flesh), singing, and dancing. In the Sepik area, ‘spirit houses’ are also colloquially referred to as **haus boi**.

- kanda** (*le*). Several species of climbing palm (rattan cane) that are used to weave the internal walls of houses.
- kaukau** (*nongontam*). The varieties of sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) that are harvested and consumed in Papua New Guinea. Although more common in the Highlands, some Manu villagers do grow this crop at home in the Sepik lowlands. The varieties grown are typically white sweet potatoes, with lighter flesh and skin than more orange-colored American varieties.
- kunai** (*nipum*). A blade-like grass (*Imperata cylindrica*) not found directly in the Ulwa area, but in nearby grasslands.
- kundu** (*nite*). A small hand drum with a body of wood and vibrating membrane of lizard skin that is struck with the hand. It is used in traditional dances and to accompany singers (who are also usually the ones playing the drum).
- limbum** (*me*). A species of palm whose stems are split and flattened to be used for flooring and baskets. The term typically refers not to the palm, but to the flattened product derived from it, or—possibly—to a strip of this flattened stem.
- morota** (*ila*). Sago palm fronds, used in house construction to make thatch roofs. Traditionally, these were also used by the Ulwa people to keep track of time (by breaking a frond for each day that has passed).
- pangal** (*wema*). Woven sago palm fronds used to make the outside walls of houses.
- tokples** (*na* ‘talk’, *mīīn* ‘egg’, *unanji na* ‘our [EXCL] talk’, etc.). Any of the hundreds of vernacular languages of Papua New Guinea, often contrasted with **Tok Pisin**, the nation’s *lingua franca*. There is no clear equivalent for this word in Ulwa (and it is commonly used as a loan in that language), but *na* ‘talk, speech, story, message, thought, reason, language’ may convey this meaning, especially when used with a possessive marker. The word *mīīn* ‘egg’ may also be used to mean ‘language’.
- tulip** (*anmopa*). A leafy green vegetable (*Gnetum gnemon*) that is harvested in the jungle. It has opposite leaf arrangement (hence the name ‘two leaf’, since the leaves are all in pairs). It is commonly cooked in coconut milk (cf. **aibika**).

LIST OF TEXTS USED IN EXAMPLES

The following is a list of all texts from which the examples in this grammar are taken. I recorded these texts in Manu village in 2016 and 2017. The column marked “ELAR” indicates the file numbers for the archived recordings and annotations associated with each text (see <https://wurin.lis.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1035105>). Only speakers’ initials are included below; their full names are given following this list:

Text	ELAR	Speaker(s)	Date	Description
T01	ulwa001	YK	22.06.2016	Wonmelma
T02	ulwa002	AB	16.11.2016	Origins of the Manu people
T03	ulwa003	AB	16.11.2016	Story of tobacco
T04	ulwa004	AB	16.11.2016	AB’s family
T05	ulwa006	AB	16.11.2016	Story of the turtle (17.2)
T06	ulwa008	AB	16.11.2016	Story of sago
T07	ulwa009	AB	16.11.2016	Ambawanam Ngata
T08	ulwa010	AB	16.11.2016	Story of splitting the coconut
T09	ulwa011	AB	16.11.2016	Molpan Ngata
T10	ulwa013	TG	20.11.2016	TG’s childhood
T11	ulwa014	TK, YK	28.04.2017	Conversation near the schoolyard
T12	ulwa015	TG	21.05.2017	Making shell armbands
T13	ulwa016	TG	21.05.2017	Boar’s tusk decorations
T14	ulwa018	TG	21.05.2017	Eating in the <i>haus tambaran</i> (men’s house)
T15	ulwa019	YK	26.05.2017	Ititil Yena
T16	ulwa020	YK	26.05.2017	Amblom Yena (17.3)
T17	ulwa021	YK	26.05.2017	Gasuwa’s trip to the spirit world
T18	ulwa022	YK	26.05.2017	Scraping sago
T19	ulwa023	YK	26.05.2017	Story of Ulimal making the river
T20	ulwa024	YK	26.05.2017	YK’s children
T21	ulwa026	AJ	27.05.2017	When AJ was sick
T22	ulwa027	AJ	27.05.2017	AJ’s trips to Angoram
T23	ulwa028	AJ	27.05.2017	Going between Wopata and Manu
T24	ulwa029	AJ	27.05.2017	Getting tattoos
T25	ulwa030	AJ	27.05.2017	Preparing food
T26	ulwa031	AJ	27.05.2017	Making plans for tomorrow
T27	ulwa032	TK	29.05.2017	TK’s trip to Bun village
T28	ulwa033	GT, TK	01.06.2017	Gweni’s childhood
T29	ulwa034	GT, TK	01.06.2017	The battle at Talamba
T30	ulwa035	GT, TK	01.06.2017	Snakes (17.4) / crocodile hunt
T31	ulwa036	GT, TK	01.06.2017	When GT’s child died / poisoning fish
T32	ulwa037	AB, TG	12.06.2017	Conversation near the schoolyard

T33	ulwa038	AB, AJ	19.06.2017	Conversation about dry season
T34	ulwa039	AB, AJ	19.06.2017	Murder at Maruat village
T35	ulwa040	AB, AJ	19.06.2017	Discussing what they did yesterday
T36	ulwa041	AB, AJ	19.06.2017	Discussing plans for the evening
T37	ulwa042	AB, AJ	19.06.2017	AB's plans for growing tobacco

Speakers:

AB	Ayndin (aka Joseph) Bram
TG	Tarambi (aka David) Gambri
AJ	Ambasap (aka Christina) Jomia
TK	Tangin (aka Rosa) Kapos
YK	Yanapi (aka Yaka) Kua
GT	Gweni Tungun

THE ULWA COSMOGONY

The Ulwa people have a traditional story that tells of the origin of the universe and the creation of the first people. It runs roughly as follows:

Long ago there was Ambawanam Ngata, a great man who lived in the universe all alone. He built village after village, until finally he built the current village (i.e., our world). Still, he had no wife and no children. Living alone, he set out to build a *garamut* drum. While hacking at the wood with his stone axe to carve the drum, he accidentally cut his leg. When blood began to pour out, he grabbed a leaf to tie around the wound. After staunching most of the blood, he took half of a split coconut shell, put it under his leg, and let the rest of the blood flow into it. When the bleeding stopped, he took the other side of the coconut shell and enclosed his blood between the two halves. He put the blood-filled coconut under the awning of his house and resumed building his *garamut* drum. Meanwhile, the coconut, which had transformed into an egg, hatched. Inside the egg were a man and a woman.

The man left the egg and headed out to see Ambawanam Ngata working on his *garamut* drum. Shocked to see another human, Ambawanam Ngata asked the man who he was and where he had come from. The man led him back to the awning of the house, whereupon Ambawanam Ngata shot the broken coconut-egg with an arrow, and the woman fell out. Having forbidden the woman to follow him, Ambawanam Ngata went back to work on his *garamut* drum. But disregarding his order, the woman came upon him while he was carving the drum. He shouted at her to leave, as it is taboo for a woman to be present while a *garamut* drum is being made. The woman and the man left together. The woman found a yam and cooked it in the fire. She scraped off the ashes and put the cooked yam in a coconut shell. She gave this to the man, telling him to bring it to their “father”. The man did just that: he went to Ambawanam Ngata and called to him, “Papa!” But Ambawanam Ngata told the man: “I am not your father; I am your grandfather.” And Ambawanam Ngata left for good, flying off to live in the clouds.

In the now-Christian Ulwa-speaking villages, the man and woman who hatched from the coconut-egg are often equated with Adam and Eve, and Ambawanam Ngata is of course seen as an equivalent to (if not the same entity as) the Christian God. Indeed, it is unclear how much (if any) of this story predates Christian influence, or if some aspects of it are derived from Christian mythology.

The Ulwa people have another traditional story that tells of the origins of the peoples of New Guinea and (perhaps) the greater world. It runs roughly as follows:

Long ago, alone in this world were an old man and an old woman, who lived together as husband and wife. The old woman desperately wanted a child, but the couple was unable to conceive one. So the old woman prayed to the gods and—in a dream—was told what to do. She was to gather clay and mold it into the shape of a man; then she was to put the clay man into the fire to bake and take him out once his body had cooked to a fine golden brown.

The next morning, the woman set out to do just that. She gathered some clay, molded it into the shape of a man, and put this clay man into the fire. Having put the clay man in the fire, she headed out to go fishing. She fished and fished, losing track of the time. Meanwhile, the clay man continued to bake, turning brown, then browner, and then—since he was in the fire much too long—black as night. Once fully blackened, the clay man—now a living boy—jumped out of the fire and began to run. The old man, who was home, saw this black child and shrieked in fright. The boy, startled by the old man's yelling, ran away into the jungle, where he became a jungle spirit. Later it was said that his descendants are the people of the Solomon Islands, whose skin is notably darker than that of the people of the main island of New Guinea.

Eventually, the old woman returned to find the fire having died down, but no child inside. After her husband explained what he had seen, the old woman, not at all deterred, tried again—this time resolving to keep watch by the fire. She gathered more clay, molded it into a second man, and placed this second clay man into the fire. She watched as the clay started to darken. When the clay man had reached a nice golden brown, she removed him from the fire. He came to life, and she considered him her son.

So very pleased with the results, the old woman decided to try to make one final child—only now the fire had died down completely. So she decided to bake this man in the sun instead. She gathered clay, molded the man, and put him out in the sun. He baked and baked, but his color never managed fully to darken. Nevertheless, he too came alive—another son. He was like his two brothers, only white in complexion. The old woman took the two sons that remained and brought them home to introduce them to their father.

The old man was also pleased with new sons, and so he decided then and there to allot to each his inheritance. He called the two boys over. Grabbing a coconut, he split it in two—one side held the eyes of the coconut, the other side the rear. He threw the two halves before the

children, telling the older son (the brown-skinned one) that he may choose first. Foolishly, the older son chose the rear end of the coconut. The younger son was left with no choice but to take the eye side. The father spoke to them as follows: “Ah, my son, you are older, but you have chosen foolishly. For you must hold this closed end of the coconut before your face, unable to see far; you will not have an easy life; you must work hard for your livelihood; but this land here will be yours, and it is good land. And you, my younger son, you have before you the eyes of the coconut; you will hold this side before your face, and you will see far; you will make great advances compared to your brother, but you must live far away from here.”

And with that he sent his sons off into the world. The brown-skinned one was to be the father of all people alive today in the region. Years later, when white people came to New Guinea, they were recognized as the descendants of the white-skinned child.

The village of Manu has an account of its origins as well, extending into the legendary past, which runs roughly as follows:

Long ago, the ancestors of everyone—Ulwa-speakers and everyone else who now lives along the Sepik River—came from far off, in unknown lands lying to the distant west. Eventually, they settled in a place called Kamen (near present-day Kambaramba village). All the clans and all the language groups lived together—Ulwa, Biwat, Ap Ma, Kanda, Mwakai, Pondi, and so on. But the leading clan in this massive village was called Kamen (after which the town was named). One day, the Kamen clan killed a huge crocodile. But, contrary to custom, the leaders of the clan did not share the meat with the other clans. Greatly angered, the other clans declared war on the Kamen clan, killing some of them. In the disorderly fighting that ensued, people from other (bystander) clans were killed as well. Eventually the entire settlement was at war, every clan fighting for itself. With peace no longer tenable at Kamen, all the clans split up.

The Ulwa clan was itself divided into four sub-clans: Nīmalnu (Manu), Mamala (Maruat), Andīmalī (Dimiri), and Mosombla (Yaul). The Nīmalnu clan first settled in Dim (near present-day Biwat). But the Biwat clan began to enter this land, and wars ensued between the two groups. (The Biwat are the famously aggressive Mundugumor people of Mead’s 1935 study). Avoiding further warfare, the Nīmalnu clan moved to a second village, Yambul (in the area of the present-day Maruat, Dimiri, and Yaul villages).

When the other Ulwa sub-clans moved to this area, too, however, the Nimalnu clan moved to yet another (third) village, Amali (about five hours away from the current village location, in the direction of the Bun clan).

This proved a very desirable location, but incessant warring with the Bun community (closely related linguistically to the Biwat community) prompted the Nimalnu clan to move yet again, to the fourth village, which itself was divided into two areas: Yambiwa and Mamanu. This two-part village, about two hours away from the current one, is still known to the people of Manu, and is often visited and used as a base from which to hunt. Its full name is *Wa Wapata* (literally, 'old village'), but it is usually called by a shortened form, *Wopata*. By the time of its arrival to this fourth village, the Nimalnu clan had itself grown so large as to consist of seven sub-clans: three clans lived at the Yambiwa part of the village and four clans lived at the Mamanu part of the village. This fourth village, although a refuge from the bellicose Bun people, proved unhygienic. In the swampy climate, the Nimalnu clan came close to total extinction, as many people died from disease. The sub-clans were reduced in number from seven to four, which is the current number of Manu clans.

It was because of this poor climate, as well as a desire for better access to water and to colonial Australian administrative services, that the Nimalnu people started moving in the 1960s to their fifth (and current) village, in the area known locally as Bulon, but now commonly referred to as Manu.

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