# Yonggom Wambon, a Dumut language of West Papua

ANNOTATED TEXTS WITH GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY

# Yonggom Wambon, a Dumut language of West Papua

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**Wilco van den Heuvel**



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# Preface

As its primary aim, this book intends to make Drabbe's 1959 description of (Yonggom) Wambon available to a wider scientific public. As such, the book is in line with my earlier reanalysis of Drabbe's description of Aghu (Drabbe 1957), which was published in 2016.

More than in my reanalysis of Aghu, I have been struck by the density of Drabbe's work. In only 45 pages (!), Drabbe managed to present an incredible amount of language data. This publication takes a few hundred pages for their re-representation and reanalysis, and also includes a 500-item wordlist that Drabbe had written a few years earlier. The present publication attempts both to increase our understanding of the peculiarities of this individual language and—together with other more or less recent publications on the languages in the area—to contribute to our understanding of the past and present of this still very under-documented part of our globe. An area where—as Drabbe foresaw—minority languages are disappearing, giving way to a common (national) language. I am grateful to Drabbe for having unravelled some of the complexities of the languages in this area, which, in his words, form 'an eldorado for the practitioners of general linguistics', 'a labyrinth without escape for missionaries', and—in my words—offer a unique and highly valuable perspective on specific communities in a specific space and time.

# Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in this book follow the category labels proposed in the Leipzig glossing rules. If the Leipzig glossing rules do not provide a label for the respective category, I followed the labels proposed in Lehmann (2004). If these also do not provide a label, I have come up with a label myself.

| | |
|---|---|
| a | adjective (3.3) |
| A | agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb |
| ADDR | addressee (3.1.2) |
| adv | adverb (3.4) |
| AFFMT | affirmative (4.4) |
| AG | agentive (4.1.1) |
| ARG | argument (4.1.2) |
| CFT | counterfactual (5.5.2) |
| CIRC | circumstantial (4.1.1) |
| cnj | conjunction (3.8; 5.3) |
| COM | comitative (3.7) |
| COMPL | completive (2.4.3) |
| CON | connective (used for *te,* see 5.3.4 and *o,* see 3.7) |
| COP | copula (4.3.2) |
| dem | demonstrative (3.2.5) |
| DIST | distant demonstrative (3.2.5) |
| DS | different subject (5.2) |
| EMPH | emphatic (pronoun) (3.2.1; 3.2.2) |
| ENUM | enumerative phrasal conjunction (*erek*, 3.8) |
| FUT | future tense (2.3.4.2) |
| GROUND | marker of ground or reason (5.3.5) |

| | |
|---|---|
| INT | intentional (2.3.2.3) |
| intr | intransitive (2.2; 4; 4.2) |
| IQ | information question (4.6.2) |
| IRR | irrealis (2.1; 2.2; 2.3.3.1; 2.3.3.2; 2.3.4.2) |
| ITER | iterative (aspect) (2.4.1) |
| lit. | literally |
| LNK | possessive linker (*e*, 3.1.5) |
| MOV | movement (3.7) |
| n | noun (3.1) |
| NEG | negative (2.3.2.2; 2.6) |
| NEX | marker of non-existence (*ndoj*, 4.3.3; 4.5.1) |
| NI | non-first person (see 2.3.1) |
| NMLZ | nominaliser (2.3.2.1) |
| NOM | nominative marker (*et*, 4.1.3) |
| PAST | past tense (2.3.4.1) |
| PL | plural (3.1.3; 3.3) |
| pn | person-number |
| POSS | possessive (3.2.3; 3.2.4) |
| pp | postposition (3.7) |
| PROH | prohibitive (2.5.2) |
| pron | pronoun (3.2) |
| Q | question (4.3.2.2) |
| RECP | reciprocal marker (3.2.4.4) |
| REFL | reflexive marker (3.2.4.3) |
| RLS | realis (2.2; 2.3.3.1; 2.3.3.3; 2.3.3.4; 2.3.3.5; 2.3.4.1) |
| S | single argument of a canonical intransitive verb |
| SEQ | sequential (*a*, 5.3.3) |
| SG | singular |
| SIM | marker of simultaneity (2.3.1.1) |
| SR | subordinate clause (*e,* 5.3.2) |
| SS | same subject (2.3.1.2) |
| STAY | marker of presence (*mbon*, 2.7) |
| THEM | thematic marker (*ege*, 5.4) |

| | |
|---|---|
| TNG | Trans New Guinea |
| tr | transitive (2.2; 4; 4.2) |
| v | verb (2) |
| V | vowel (of unspecified quality) (1.1.1) |
| VN | verbal noun (2.3.2.4) |
| VOC | vocative (3.1.2) |

# Introduction

## This book and Drabbe's spraakkunst

The present book can be seen as an adaptation of Drabbe's 1959 description of Wambon in his *Kaeti en Wambon, twee Awyu dialecten*. In addition, it presents a wordlist of over 500 items, which was collected by Drabbe but never published; this has been added to the present book as an appendix.

When Father Drabbe wrote his 'spraakkunst', he had already published descriptions of more than 20 other languages (Wurm 1954:301). Although his method had its weaker points, his work was of such quality that parts of it—including his spraakkunst of Kaeti and Wambon—were published by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Land-en Volkenkunde. Apart from his secondary education, in which he studied the classical languages Greek and Latin, Drabbe had received no linguistic training. This means that he was sometimes criticised for his work, especially for his somewhat idiosyncratic terminology, and for the limited attention that he could give to phonetic detail (see e.g. Wurm 1954:300). Nevertheless, Wurm considers Drabbe's method as sound, and as 'the only one which could be expected to yield the maximum profit both for missionary work … and linguistics' (Wurm 1954:300).

In line with my earlier adaptation of Drabbe's Aghu description (Van den Heuvel 2016), my intention has been to make the text collection, lexical material and grammatical analysis available to a wider public, including those who are not competent in Dutch. Although the present book is entirely based on Drabbe (1959), and generally follows his grammatical analysis rather closely, at points I have added some of my own insights, or tried to make a connection with relevant developments in linguistic theory that have taken place since the 1950s (e.g. a growing understanding of clause chaining and switch reference).

This adaptation has been written as a follow-up to the project *The Awyu–Dumut family of Papuan languages in its linguistic and cultural context*. In this project, the different languages that are part of the Greater Awyu language group were compared and documented in more detail.[1] At times, I have made reference to other publications that have resulted from this project, especially where new insights shed light on analytical problems within Aghu.

Great care has been taken to indicate clearly in the text where my analysis differs from Drabbe's. At the same time, in order to enhance the comparison between this book and the original, each section includes a list of references to the corresponding sections in Drabbe (1959): these are provided in a footnote at the start of each section. The structure of this book follows that of Drabbe: Part I, consisting of Chapters 1–5, is a grammatical introduction to the texts; Part II deals with vocabulary; and Part III is a collection of texts. All tables and figures, unless otherwise indicated, are my representations.

## Language classification[2]

Yonggom Wambon is just one of the many different languages on which Drabbe published.[3] Drabbe speaks about Wambon as a 'dialect' of the Awyu language, other 'dialects' being Sjiagha and Jenimu (Drabbe 1950), Pisa (Drabbe 1947), Aghu (Drabbe 1957, Van den Heuvel 2016), and Kaeti (Mandobo; Drabbe 1959). Elsewhere, Drabbe calls these varieties 'languages' (e.g. Drabbe 1959:4, 115). As was set out in Van den Heuvel (2016:5), there are good grounds for both of these characterisations. On the one hand, these language varieties are part of a ***dialect continuum***, in which speakers from adjacent localities, e.g. A, B, C, D and E, speak slightly differently. In such a (somewhat simplified) situation, speakers from B will understand speakers from A and C, but not D, while speakers from C will understand speakers from B and D, but not A and E, etc. On the other hand, the varieties described by Drabbe are so different that they are not mutually intelligible and rightly considered different ***languages***.

1 This project took place at the Vrije Universiteit University of Amsterdam, and was supported by De Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, reference number 380-89-020.

2 Drabbe 1959: Section 1, p. 115a.

3 See e.g. the list of publications in Gonda and Anceaux (1970) or Carrington (1996).

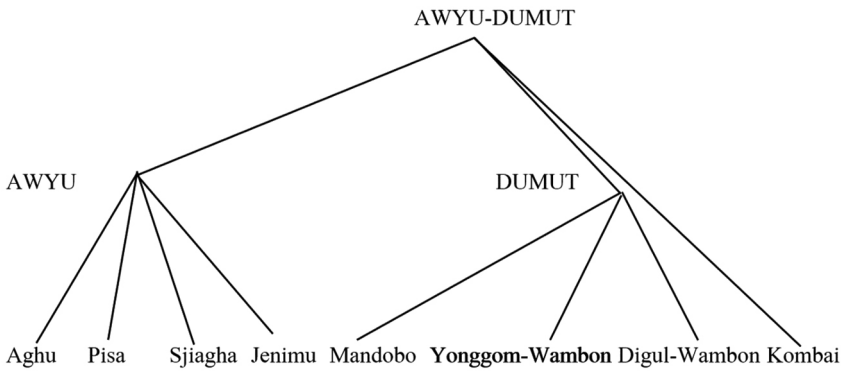



**Figure 1: Yonggom Wambon as a member of the Dumut branch of the Awyu–Dumut language family.[4]**

The Yonggom Wambon language belongs to the Dumut branch of the Awyu–Dumut language family, see Figure 1. For the history behind this classification, the reader is referred to De Vries (2020:3–6), Van den Heuvel (2016:5–6) and Wester (2014:4–5) and the references given there.

As has been argued by De Vries and others, the Awyu–Dumut languages form part of the larger Greater Awyu family (De Vries 2020:3–6, and the extensive references given there; for the inclusion of Awbono and Bayono in Greater Awyu see Usher 2023b). Generally, the Awyu–Dumut family (or Greater Awyu) is considered to be part of the Trans New Guinea (TNG) family, primarily on the basis of its pronouns and some basic vocabulary (see e.g. Voorhoeve 2005, Ross 2005, followed by Pawley 2005:94, but also Hammarström 2012). Hypotheses about any intermediate levels of classification remain somewhat speculative or await further investigation.

Of the possible intermediate levels of classifications between TNG and Greater Awyu, the grouping of Greater Awyu with the Ok languages seems most promising, although opinions differ as to whether a genetic relation between the two groups can indeed be established. De Vries (2020), on the one hand, follows Van den Heuvel and Fedden (2014), who argue that there is insufficient evidence to establish a genetic relationship between the two. They base their argument mainly on the scarcity of shared bound morphology and point out that they cannot yet make use of a reconstruction of proto-Ok. Timothy Usher, on the other hand, has made a reconstruction of proto-Ok (Usher 2023a), and argues that Ok and

4 Unless otherwise indicated, all figures were created by the author.

Greater Awyu—in his words: Digul river—are genetically related (Usher 2023c). He comes up with a list of over 45 Ok–Awyu–Dumut cognates with regular sound correspondences, but, unfortunately, does not discuss the scarcity of evidence for shared bound (inflectional) proto-morphology.

Some years earlier, Suter and Usher had argued that the Awyu–Dumut languages are related to both Ok and the Kamula–Elevala languages. They write that they consider it 'likely that the Kamula–Elevala languages are most closely related to the Awyu–Dumut languages and their closest relatives' (Suter and Usher 2017:128). However, in spite of the importance that they attribute to systematic sound correspondences between Awyu–Dumut and Kamula–Elevala, these are not provided; the evidence for the putative genealogical link between these groups does not go beyond a list of 12 proto-Awyu–Dumut – proto-Kamula–Elevala, 7 proto-Awyu – proto-Kamula–Elevala and 2 proto-Dumut – Kamula–Elevala lookalikes. At present then, systematic sound correspondences seem to give support to a genealogical link between the Awyu–Dumut languages and the Ok languages, with the lack of shared bound proto-morphology still waiting to be explained. The putative genealogical link to Kamula–Elevala, however, remains—as long as systematic sound correspondences have not been established yet—highly hypothetical.

## Language name, location speakers

This section first gives the location of Yonggom Wambon as explained in Drabbe (1959), and Drabbe's explanation about the use of the name Wambon as an endonym and exonym. In the second part of this section, I go into the position of Yonggom Wambon compared to other Wambon varieties.

Yonggom Wambon is spoken along the upper part of the Kao river, see Figure 2.

For a good understanding of Drabbe's description, which follows below, I have included Figure 3, which also presents the Muyu river, which is a tributary of the Kao river, itself a tributary of the Digul river. The variety described by Drabbe was spoken in the little village of Waniktit ('Wanik mouth'), which lies along the river Wanik, a tiny tributary of the Kao river.

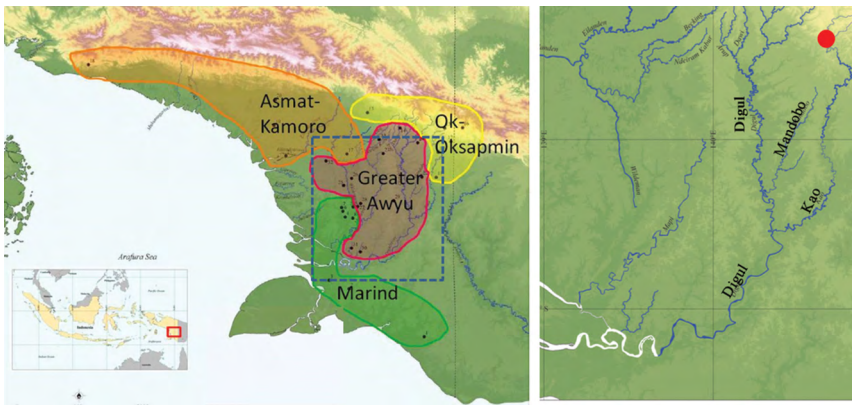



**Figure 2: Greater Awyu and surrounding language groups.**

Note: The red dot indicates where Yonggom Wambon is spoken, at the upper part of the Kao river.

Source: Jaap Fokkema, VU University Amsterdam.

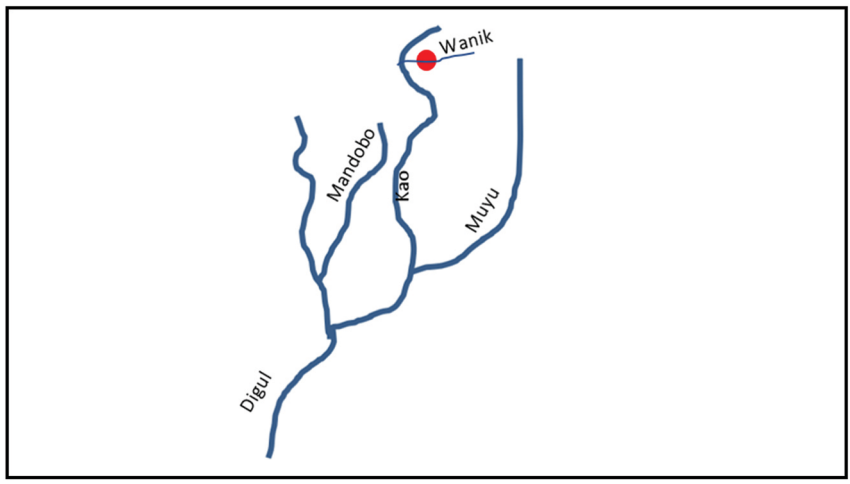



**Figure 3: Yonggom Wambon and surrounding rivers.**

Note: The river names are written in black. The red dot represents the village of Waniktit, where the variety was spoken that is described in the present publication.

The name Wambon is used by some as an exonym and by others as an endonym. Drabbe (1959:115) writes:

> When one asks those who live along the Muyu river where the Wambons live, they point to groups of people that live more to the west, in the direction of the Kao river. When one asks those living in the area between the Muyu and the Kao whether they are Wambon,

> they deny with indignation and point further westwards. Also along the Kao people deny being Wambon, and tell the person bothering them that Wambon are those who live in the Mandobo basin. There, however, one refers to the North … . In the North, close to the Koreom,[5] we find people who call themselves Wambon; they live in six villages: Waniktit, Jumgubub, Anumjandit, Maramsan (new place Mirapjandit), Ukjandit and Wombon (not Wambon!), and number around 1,000 people. Note that the Wambon people whose dialect we describe here are not those who are called Wambon by the Kaeti's [speakers of Mandobo], who speak a subdialect of Mandobo.

Finally, consider Figure 4. This map gives the names that Wambon people use to refer to rivers (written in italics) and the groups of people in their environment (in red).[6] The name *Ngewop* 'skirt bearers' is, according to Drabbe, used for the 'Awyu's', by which he means the speakers of Aghu—see Van den Heuvel (2016:4) for a map of the speakers of Aghu.

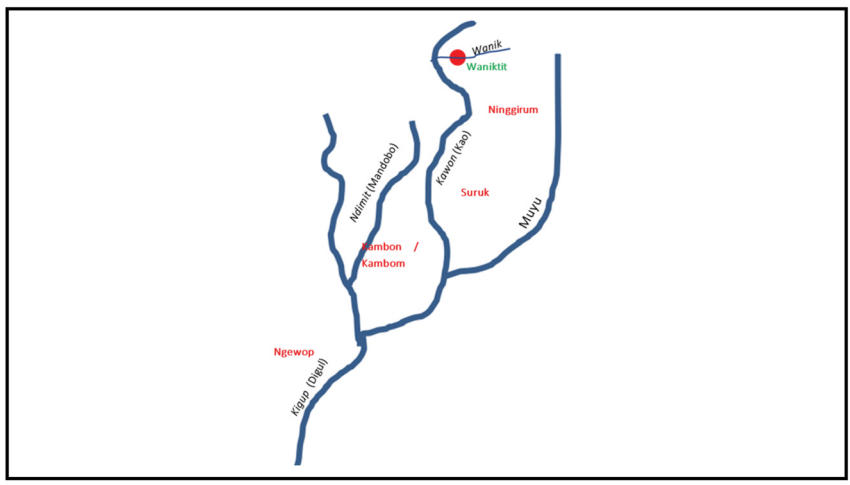



**Figure 4: Yonggom Wambon and surrounding rivers, including Wambon names.**

Notes: As with Figure 3, the river names are written in black and the red dot represents the village of Waniktit, where the variety described here was spoken. Here, the Wambon names for the rivers and a village are included. The words in red represent exonyms for neighbouring groups of people.

5 Koreom is the name of a hill, see Text 11.11.

6 Drabbe (1959) consistently has *Kambon,* while Drabbe's 1956 wordlist (see the Appendix) gives *Kambom*, with final *m* rather than *n*. The same wordlist also gives *Og-Iwe* as the sacral name for the Kao river. It also provides the names of two tribes along the upper stream of the Kao and the Muyu rivers: Sagit and Morop, respectively, the latter living in the mountains.

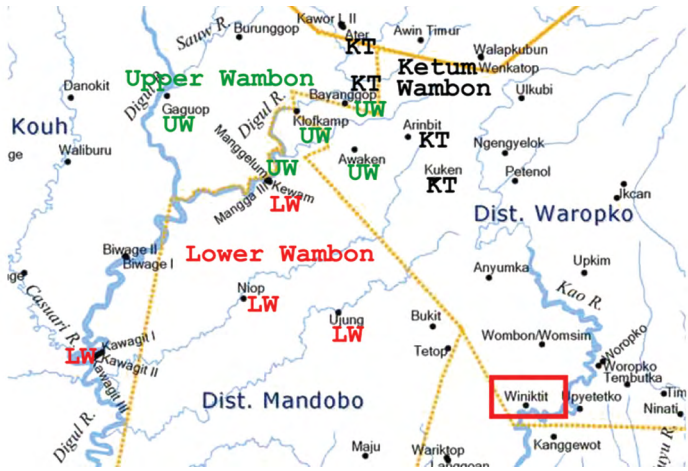



**Figure 5: The location of the different Wambon dialects as described by Jang (2003).**

Notes: This map is a print screen from part of the map in Jang (2003:2). The codes LW (Lower Wambon), UW (Upper Wambon) and KT (Ketum Wambon) are mine; they are placed as close as possible to the location of the village where the respective dialect is spoken. I also added the red square around the village Winiktit = Waniktit, the place that the present Yonggom description is based on.

Source: Author's depiction, after Jang (2003:38).

We now come to the question: How does the Yonggom Wambon variety described here relate to other designations of Wambon varieties? De Vries (2020:5) points out that Jang, in his survey report on the languages of the south-eastern foothills in Papua, distinguishes three varieties of Wambon: Ketum Wambon, Lower Wambon and Upper Wambon, the latter also called Kenon Wambon, Kenondik Wambon or Digul Wambon (Jang 2003:20–27). The Digul variety was described by De Vries and Wiersma in 1992, while Jang has been working on a grammatical description of the same variety. Wester (2014) refers to an unpublished version of this description (Jang 2008) and states that Jang's 'Kenyam Wambon'—which seems to be another name for Lower Wambon—might correspond to Yonggom Wambon.

Although it is outside the scope of this text to discuss the linguistic differences between the different Wambon varieties, it may be helpful to visualise the location of Waniktit, which was where Drabbe's Yonggom Wambom language helpers lived, with respect to the areas where the various Wambon varieties are spoken. This is done in Figure 5. It can clearly be seen that Waniktit is located to the south-east of the varieties that Jang classified as Lower Wambon (or Kenyam Wambon). Based on its geographical location,

therefore, it is to be expected that Yonggom Wambon is indeed linguistically closer to varieties of Lower Wambon than to varieties of the other Wambon dialects.

Whereas Yonggom Wambon is probably closer to Lower Wambon than to other Wambon varieties, it is relevant to consider the outcome of Wester's application of Huson and Bryant's NeighborNet algorithm to the Awyu–Dumut languages (Wester 2014:43–44; Huson and Bryant 2016). According to the network graph produced by this algorithm, Yonggom Wambon is more similar to Mandobo than to Digul Wambon, a similarity which is explained as an indication of contact. Again, given the close geographical proximity of Yonggom Wambon to (varieties classified as) Mandobo in an area of dialect continua, this is hardly surprising.

# Part I: Grammatical introduction

# 1

# Phonology[1]

## 1.1 Phoneme inventory

### 1.1.1 Vowels and diphthongs

The vowels of Yonggom Wambon (YW) are given in the following figure.

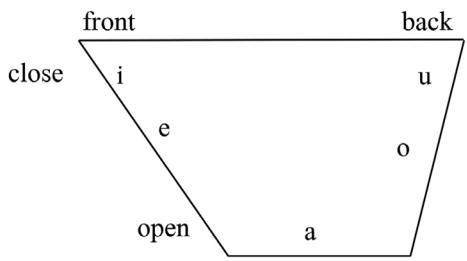



**Figure 6: YW vowels.**

The vowel /e/ is described by Drabbe as 'a sound between [ɛ] in Dutch *pet* "hat" and [ɪ] in Dutch *pit* "pip"'. There is no phonemic difference in length for vowels:

> In general, the vowels are short, sometimes a little lengthened, but a difference between short and long never leads to a difference in meaning. (Drabbe 1959:115b)

The following minimal pairs illustrate phonemic vowel contrasts.

1 Drabbe 1959: Sections 2–6, pp. 115b–117a.

### /i/ versus /e/ (versus /a/)

*in* 'hit' vs *en* 'eat'; *ip* 'name' vs *ep* 'there' vs *ap* 'nest'; *ŋgit* 'cold' vs *ŋget* 'kind of palm'; *kim* 'die' vs *kem* 'downstream'; *ndimo* 'touch' vs *ndemo* 'wear clothes covering the private parts'; *kirop* 'kind of fish' vs *kerop* 'eye'.

### /e/ versus /a/

*enop* 'wood' vs *anop* 'tongue'; *erek* 'ENUM' (see Chapter 3, Section 3.8) vs *arek* 'kind of parrot'; *ket* 'flower' vs *kat* 'outside'; *tet* 'tired' vs *tat* 'sheath'.

### /a/ versus /o/ (versus /u/)

*sagat* 'casque of cassowary' vs *sagot* 'kind of marsupial'; *mba* 'sit' vs *mbon* 'STAY'; *ŋgan* 'earring made of cassowary feather' vs *ŋgon* 'happy' vs *ŋgun* 'time'; *ja* 'lie' vs *jo* 'call, shout' vs *ju* '3SG'.

### /o/ versus /u/

*ok* 'water' vs *uk* 'lung'; *on* 'thing' vs *un* 'roast'; *ŋgop* 'arrow' vs *ŋgup* '2SG. EMPH'; *kok* 'full-grown' vs *kuk* 'white'; *kop* 'in' vs *kup* 'COM'; *mok* 'piece of fruit' vs *muk* 'hoof'; *mon* 'crumb' vs *mun* 'boy', *amok* 'in vain' vs *amuk* 'all'.

YW has one diphthong: /ae/. It is spelled by Drabbe as *aẹ*, where the dot probably indicates that [ẹ] is shorter in duration than [a], and that the two sounds are part of the same syllable.[2] As will be argued in Section 1.2.1, *ae* is analysed as a single vowel. Examples are *mbaet* 'land'; *aet* 'vomit (n)'; *korae* 'kind of fish'; *taem* 'shoot'; *omae* 'one'; *otagae* 'again'; *aetokmo* 'several'.

## 1.1.2 Consonants

The following table gives an overview of YW consonants.

**Table 1: Yonggom Wambon consonants.[3]**

| | Bilabial | | Alveolar | | Palatal | Velar | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | –v | +v | –v | +v | – | –v | +v |
| Plosive | p | mb | t | nd | – | k | ŋg |
| Nasal | – | m | – | n | – | – | (ŋ) |

2 Drabbe uses the term 'tweeklank' (English: 'two-sound') for diphthongs, in opposition to 'dubbele klanken' (English: 'double sounds'), where the two vowels form two syllables. This is clear from Drabbe's description of the vowels of Mandobo (Drabbe 1959:8a). That an underdot indicates shorter duration may be concluded from Drabbe's convention to write *ua* and *ue* as *wa* and *we*, respectively (Drabbe 1959:8a).

3 Unless otherwise stated, all tables are based on the author's research.

| | Bilabial | | Alveolar | | Palatal | Velar | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | –v | +v | –v | +v | – | –v | +v |
| Fricative | – | – | s | – | – | – | – |
| Trill | – | – | r | – | – | – | – |
| Approximant | – | w | – | – | j | – | – |

Notes: +v = voiced; –v = voiceless. The meaning of the brackets around (ŋ) is explained in the text.

While for most of the consonants their realisation follows from the International Phonetic Alphabet symbol used, the following deserve extra discussion.

/p/, /t/, /k/ All stops are unreleased in word-final position. Preceded and followed by a vowel, either within the same word or 'in close connection with a following word', /p/, /t/ and /k/ are often realised as [w], [r] and [g], respectively. More on the realisation of /p/ and /t/ as [w] and [r] can be found in Section 1.3.

Following the realisation of intervocalical /k/ as [g], Drabbe—and I follow him in this—generally writes these as *g*, and not *k*. It is remarkable that Drabbe's description nevertheless contains a number of words with intervocalic *k*. These are *rakonmo* or *rakotma* 'turn over', *makup* 'ten' and *roke* 'stand_II.PL'.[4] It is noteworthy that all these words can be analysed as morphologically complex (*rakonmo* is composed of *ra(p)* 'take' and a further unknown *konmo* (*ko* + *mo*), *makup* = *mak* 'shoulder' + *kup* 'with'—see Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns—while *roke* seems to be formed with the auxiliary *ke* (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.8)). In addition, in some of these complex forms, *k* is underlyingly preceded by a voiceless consonant; the voiceless consonant indicates that the following *k* is not (considered) intervocalic, so it is not voiced, even though this first consonant is elided in surface pronunciation.

/w/ Drabbe is not explicit about the realisation of /w/. This may indicate that its realisation is close to that of Dutch /w/, which is generally realised as labio-dental [ʋ] (Booij 1999:8).

4 The 1956 wordlist has several other examples of intervocalic *k*, like *jakom* 'daughter-in-law', *maekerap* 'move in the womb', and several verbs that end in *-ke*.

/s/ The phoneme /s/ is realised as [s], but also regularly realised as [h]. Drabbe writes that 'in some words this is the preferred realisation, in other words it is never used at all'. Drabbe gives only two words to illustrate his point. In both words, /s/ is used in word-initial position: *sarip* 'wife' is often realised as [harip], while *sarap* 'hut' is never realised as [harap].[5]

Several consonants have a rather limited distribution. This is shown in Table 2. Consonants that are attested in word-final position only are printed in blue; those that are attested only in root-initial and root-medial position are printed in red. The phoneme /s/ is attested in initial position of the lexical roots only, and is printed in green.

**Table 2: Distribution of consonants over the word.**

| | Root-initial (#_V) | Root-medial[6] | Root-final (V_#) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Plosives** | t mb ŋg nd k | t ŋg mb nd [p][9] k(g) | t, p[7,8] k |
| **Nasals** | m, n | | |
| **Fricative** | s | | |
| **Trill** | r | r | |
| **Approximant** | w j | w | j |

Note: The square brackets at [p] indicate that it is a marginal phoneme; (g) indicates that root-medial intervocalic /k/ is realised as [g] and spelled as g.

The following lists of words serve to illustrate that the contrasts given in Table 2 are phonemic.

5 The following cases of intervocalic *h* were attested, cases attested in the 1956 wordlist only are printed in blue: *kahat* 'bamboo reed', *ahap(piri)* 'door', *ahak* 'thin', *saharep* 'during the day', *wahae* 'right', *oj ŋgahenmo* 'be angry', *ahek* 'namesake', *kahot(pan)~kasot(pan)* 'stingy', *ahum* 'liver', *Koheponon* <name of person>, *kohep~kosep* 'ashes', *kosip~kohip* 'smell'. Intervocalic *s* is found in *sagasak* 'belt of dog teeth', *asiganae* 'sneeze', *mamasowen* 'whisper', *mbisan* 'open space', *mbiset* 'comb', *kombisop* 'forehead', *awosagae* 'snout', *awosen* 'loose', *osop* 'anus', *ambusiripmo* (iterative of *ambumo*) 'mishit', *kusun* 'dust'.

6 *ŋg* and *mb* are attested only intervocalically, the other consonants *t*, *p* and *k* also as part of consonant clusters, cf. Section 1.2.1. There is also one example of non-intervocalic *nd: imndin* 'midnight'.

7 The YW corpus has only the following cases of intervocalic *p*: *sapuk rap* 'tug', *Kapan* <name of person>, *Tomkapa* <name of place>, *Koheponon* <name of person>, *woŋgopon* 'long time' and *segepotop* 'kind of palm' where *segep.otop* is probably a compound. This means that *p* is almost in complementary distribution with *w*: *p* is attested predominantly in word-final position, while *w* is attested in word-initial and medial (intervocalic) position. According to Healey (1970:999), this was also the case in PAD (proto-Awyu–Dumut). He argues that the near complementation of *p and *w indicates that the PAD phonemes had developed not long before from the splitting of what had been allophones of a single phoneme.

8 The phoneme /p/ is also in near complementary distribution with /mb/. It would not be in line with reconstructed historical developments, however, to consider [p] as allophone of /mb/ or vice versa; YW /p/ in final position reflects PAD *p, while YW /mb/ reflects PAD *mb (Wester 2014: 26).

## Bilabials

- Word-initial: /w/ vs /mb/ vs /m/. *Mbit* 'feast' vs *mit* 'bone' vs *wit* 'arm'; *mbaem* 'buttocks' vs *maem* 'gecko'; *mbari* 'adult' vs *mari* 'come down'; *mbut* 'brother-in-law (etc.)' vs *wut* 'troop'.
- Word-medial (intervocalic):[9] /w/ vs /mb/ vs /m/. *Kambae* 'flame' vs *kamae* 'big' vs *kawae* 'sperm'; *kambet* 'inner part' vs *kamet* 'youngest'; *wambit* 'tail' vs *wamit* 'earth spirit'; *kambit* 'theft' vs *kawit* 'hornbill'.
- Word-final: /p/ vs /m/. *Ŋgup* '2SG' vs *ŋgum* 'placenta'; *ŋgop* 'arrow' vs *ŋgom* 'blood'; *taep* 'also' vs *taem* 'shoot'.

Word-initially, /mb/ is realised as [p] when following a voiceless consonant (but see also 1.3.4). Thus, *matik mba* [get.up sit] 'sit out of lying position' is realised as [matikpa], and *kahot mban* 'stingy' is realised as [kahotpan]. This is in line with the constraint that clusters of stops have the same specification for voice, see Section 1.3.[10] Word-finally, /p/ is realised as [w] when followed by a vowel, so that *kagup irumon* 'two men' is realised as [kaguwirumon].

## Alveolars

- Word-initial: /t/ vs /nd/ vs /n/ vs /r/. *Te* 'AFFMT' vs *nde* 'say' vs *ne* 'here' vs *re* 'stand'; *to* 'Q' vs *ndo* 'burn'; *taramo* 'lead' vs *ndaramo* 'insert'; *tit* 'banana' vs *ndit* 'root'; *ndoj* 'not' vs *noj* 'mother'; *ndare* 'hear_II' vs *rare* 'go to the forest with a woman'; *ndat* 'hear' vs *rat* 'light, clear'; *ndawot* 'place to moor' vs *rawot* 'breadfruit'.
- Word-initial: /t/ vs /s/. *Sat* 'sun' vs *tat* 'sheath'*; sek* 'bowstring' vs *tek* 'waistcloth'; *so* 'dig' vs *to* 'Q'; *sop* 'MOVE' vs *top* 'opening'.
- Word-medial (intervocalic): /t/ vs /nd/ vs /n/ vs /r/. *Oto* 'go in or out_II' vs *oro* 'put' vs *ondo* 'go across_II'; *kandit* 'dowry' vs *karit* 'pandanus'; *kondip* 'immediately' vs *korip* 'down there'; *kondok* 'foot', vs *korok* 'quiet'; *mende* 'come_II' vs *mene* 'THIS'.
- Word-final: /n/ vs /t/: *kan* 'sharpened bamboo' vs *kat* 'outside'; *ken* 'bitter' vs *ket* 'flower'; *tigin* 'cause' vs *kirigit* 'kind of sago'; *jun* 'string bag' vs *jut* 'kind of tree'.

9 In most cases, word-medial consonants are intervocalic. YW does have intervocalic consonant clusters, however, see Section 1.2.1.

10 Drabbe remarks, however, that /k/ followed by /mb/ is sometimes also rendered as [ŋmb], as in *mbok* + *mberimo* (which is an iterative form of *mbok* + *rap* 'pick up'), realised as [mboŋmberimo]. In this case then, the devoicing of /mb/ does not apply because the spreading of nasality—discussed in Section 1.3—takes place first, so that /mb/ is no longer preceded by a voiceless stop and the conditions for devoicing no longer hold.

The phoneme /s/ is attested in word-initial position only, the only exception attested being a reduplicated form *sagasak* 'kind of belt'. Along with /t/ and /r/, it is one of the phonemes reflecting proto-Awyu–Dumut (PAD) *t (Wester 2014:27).

## Velars

- Word-initial: /k/ vs /ŋg/: *ŋgan* 'earring' vs *kan* 'sharpened bamboo', *ŋgarimo* 'deny' vs *karimo* count; *ŋget* 'kind of palm' vs *ket* 'flower'.
- Word-medial (intervocalic): /k/ (realised as *g* and spelled as <g>) vs /ŋg/. Given the absence of minimal pairs, here follows a list of near-minimal pairs. *Jaga* 'give_II' vs *jaŋgarik* 'insect'; *magop* 'grandchild' vs *naŋgo* '1PL.POSS'; *agumo* 'put into' vs *aŋgun* 'snake'; *kegemo* 'be.ITER' vs *neŋget* 'roof cover'; *kigip* 'other' vs *Ndiŋgitiop* <name of person>; *wogoj* 'moon' vs *woŋgopon* 'long time'.

The phoneme /ŋ/ is attested rarely; the published corpus contains only three examples of its use, in addition to the single example given by Drabbe in his discussion of the consonant: he mentions that /ŋ/ is used only at the end of words, and 'apparently also in the middle of words, which should then be seen as compounds', such as in *taŋnde* 'cling to', composed of *taŋ* and the auxiliary *nde*. Other examples are final *ŋ* in the adjective *ŋgoŋ* 'blunt', and the two proper names *Raweŋ* and *Saweŋ* in Text 11.01.[11]

## Approximants

- Word-initial: /w/ vs /j/. *Wagot* 'egg' vs *jaga* 'give_II' (near-minimal pair); *wok* 'pineapple' vs *jom* 'nibung palm' (also near-minimal); *wut* 'troop' vs *jut* 'kind of tree'.

Word-medial (intervocalic) and word-final: no contrasts. In word-medial position, *j* is not attested. Word-finally, *w* is not attested. Final /j/ is discussed in Section 1.2.1.

## Nasals

- Word-initial: /m/ vs /n/. *Mati* 'get up' vs *nati* 'father'; *me* 'come' vs *ne* 'here'; *wamin* 'yesterday' vs *wanin* 'ash'.
- Word-medial (intervocalic): /m/ vs /n/. *Amop* 'PROH' vs *anop* 'tongue'; *kumuk* 'wrist' vs *kunuk* 'mouse'.

11 The 1956 wordlist, however, gives quite a number of examples. Word-finally we find *mbondeŋ* 'sweet potato'; *upneŋ* 'breath'; *ndembeŋ* 'dark'; *ŋgoŋ* 'blunt', and *sugujang* 'paddle'.

- Word-final: /m/ vs /n/. *Mbom* 'wound' vs *mbon* 'STAY'; *ŋgom* 'blood' vs *ŋgon* 'happy'; *ŋgum* 'placenta' vs *ŋgun* 'time'; *kim* 'rub' vs *kin* 'upstream'.

# 1.2 Root and syllable structure

## 1.2.1 Root structure

Figure 7 gives the possible forms of YW roots.

$(C)V(CV(C))_{1\text{-}4}$

**Figure 7: The form of YW roots.**

The attested YW roots have minimally one and maximally five syllables (see Section 1.2.2). Most probably, however, those with more than three syllables are morphologically complex. Only the first syllable may be vowel-initial (i.e. lack an onset). This means that sequences of vowels are not allowed, which is also the case in the other Awyu–Dumut languages (Wester 2014:24).[12]

Although Drabbe writes that YW has three different diphthongs, *aẹ, oị* and *uị*, I argue that *aẹ* (written in this publication as *ae*), is best analysed as a single vowel, while *oi* and *ui* (written in this publication as *oj* and *uj*, respectively) are best analysed as sequences of a vowel (V) and a consonant (C): /oj/ and /uj/, respectively. As outlined in Figure 7, YW roots do not allow for a sequence of two vowels followed by a consonant,[13] nor for a word-final CC-sequence. This restriction has direct implications for the analysis of *ae*, given the existence of words like *mbaet* 'land' or *aepke* 'decorate'. If we analysed *ae* as a sequence of two vowels (VV), roots like these would be the only words having a VV-sequence. On the other hand, if *aẹ* were analysed as vowel-consonant (VC), these roots would be the only words with a word-final CC-sequence. It is most economical, therefore, to analyse *ae* as a single vowel. The sound sequences *oi* and *ui*, however, 'probably only occur at the end of words', and should therefore be analysed as a sequence of a vowel

12 Seemingly, the only exceptions are *agaeop* 'what' and *wagaeop* 'good', which, however, have a glide in the onset of the second syllable: [(w)aga.jop].

13 There is only one case of a root that could be analysed as such, written by Drabbe as *ariok* 'raw'. I analyse this root as /arjok/, and spell it as *arjok*.

plus a consonant /j/.[14] Examples of roots in /oj/ and /uj/ are *iroj* 'gravel'; *agoj* 'charcoal'; *ndoj* 'not'; *anduj* 'stem of plant'; *katkuj* 'rubbish'; *uj* 'pig'; *minduj* 'star'.

Below is a list of words illustrating possible root forms. The dots indicate syllable boundaries, more on which can be found in Section 1.2.2. Brackets around the wordforms plus gloss, as in (*tokmo* 'cut') indicate that these forms might be morphologically complex.

| | |
|---|---|
| V | *i* 'hit_II' |
| CV | *kae* 'friend'; *jo* 'call'; *ke* 'be'; *ko* 'go'; *me* 'come'; *mi* 'drink'; *mba* 'sit'; *ri* 'play'; *ro* 'put'; *so* 'dig' |
| VC | *en* 'eat', *in* 'hit'; *ip* 'name'; *ok* 'water'; *up* 'taro'; *uj* 'pig' |
| CVC | *jan* 'lie'; *jet* 'bird'; *ron* 'feather'; *wit* 'arm'; *ndat* 'hear' |
| VCV | *ambae / awae* 'other'; *ani* 'elder sister'; *omae* 'one'; *oto* 'go in or out_II'; *undo* 'burn_II'; *oro* 'put' |
| CV.CV | (*mbimo* 'pull'); *mbari* 'adult'; *kamae* 'big'; *kande* 'fall down'; *kawae* 'sperm'; *ŋgawae* 'hunting'; *ragae* 'fish' |
| (C)V.CVC | *anop* 'tongue'; *iroj* 'gravel'; *kanut* 'arrow'; *minduj* 'star'; *majum* 'kind of sago'; *mbemit* 'breast' |
| (C)VC.CV | (*tokmo* 'cut'); *arjok* 'raw' |
| (C)VC.CVC | *katkuj* 'rubbish'; *jenmbon* 'end'; *ketmon* 'dance'; *imndin* 'midnight' |
| (C)V(C).CV(C).CV(C) | (*arapke* 'protest'); (*ŋgimiŋgip* 'fork'); *otagae* 'again'; *mbarukrap* 'have sex'; (*ndakmirop* 'kind of bird'); (*ŋgawotoronop* 'kind of insect') |

## 1.2.2 Syllable structure

YW syllable structure can be rendered as in Figure 8.

(C)V(C)

**Figure 8: YW syllable structure.**

14 Drabbe remarks that *oi̯* and *ui̯* are probably attested at the end of words only (Drabbe 1959:115b). Other analyses are less economical than the one presented in the text here. Analysis of *oi̯* and *ui̯* as single vowels would require an explanation of why these single vowels are never followed by a root-final consonant, while an analysis as VC does explain this. An analysis of *oi̯* and *ui̯* as sequences of two vowels, on the other hand, would introduce an extra root form that would allow for VV-sequences at the end of words, which would be less parsimonious than the analysis presented here.

Following the traditional division of a syllable into onset and rhyme, the structure can be presented as in Figure 9.

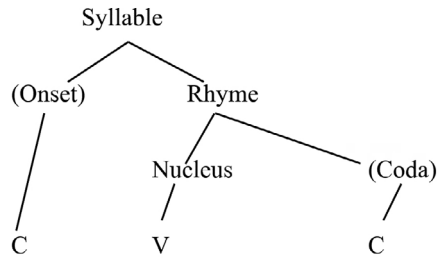



**Figure 9: YW syllable structure.**

Figure 10 exemplifies both the minimum and the maximal syllable length, with the word *anop* 'tongue'.

Figure 11 shows how a sequence of syllables may create a sequence of consonants, one syllable-final, the other syllable-initial.

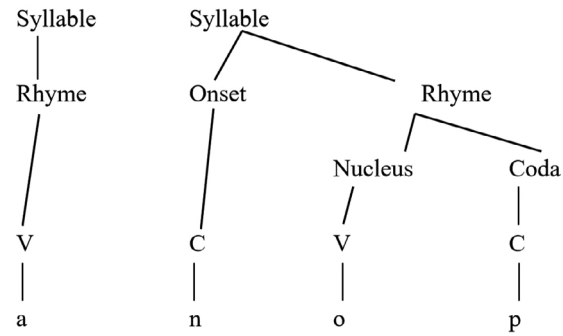



**Figure 10: Syllable structure of *anop* 'tongue'.**

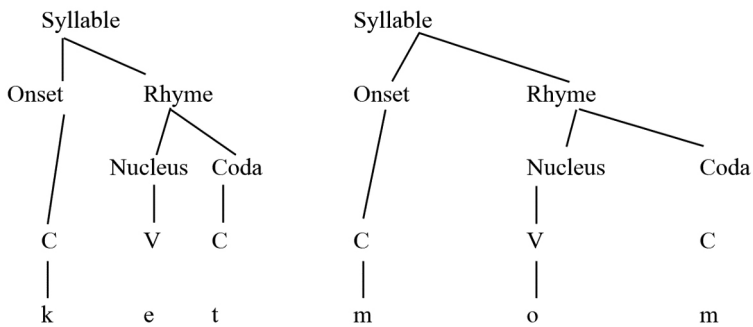



**Figure 11: Syllable structure of *ketmom* 'dance'.**

### 1.2.3 Lexical stress

In all non-compound words, and in all verbs, stress is on the last syllable of the word. Drabbe speaks of a 'weak accent'. Because lexical stress is predictable, it is not indicated in spelling. For stress in compounds, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.

## 1.3 Phonological regularities

The description of phonological regularities is structured around the realisation and distribution of stops. I account for these regularities in terms of constraints (Sections 1.3.1–1.3.3) and spreading of features (1.3.4). I use these constraints and the principle of spreading both to account for the form of lexical roots, and for the form of words as used in a phonological context.

### 1.3.1 Stops in intervocalic position

Stops are voiced in word-internal intervocalic position or when preceded by a voiced consonant but are unvoiced in word-final position. These 'constraints' (no unvoiced stops in intervocalic position, no voiced stops in word-final position) help to account for certain regularities in the form of lexical **roots**: (a) the absence of /mb/ and /ŋg/ in root-final position, and (b) the absence of /p/ in root-internal intervocalic position. It also helps to account for the realisation of /k/, /t/ and /p/ in intervocalic position as [g], [r] and [w], respectively.[15] Depending on the (morpho)phonological context, these realisations are optional or obligatory. Here I consider /t/ and /p/ in more detail; for /k/ see Section 1.4. First, consider /t/. As discussed previously, /t/ and /r/ are phonemic in word-initial and in word-medial intervocalic positions, considering minimal pairs like *te* 'AFFMT' vs *re* 'stand', or *oto* 'go in or out_II' vs *oro* 'put'. In the final position of lexical words, [t] alternates with [r]. When followed by a vowel in the following word, there is a strong preference for the realisation [r], in other positions we find [t]: [jere] from *jet* 'bird' *e* 'ARG', or [ambir undarin] from *ambit* 'skin, peel'

15 Wester (2014:23) describes the realisation of /p/, /t/ and /k/ as [w], [r] and [g] as one of the common morphophonemic changes in Awyu–Dumut.

*undarin* 'they burnt'.[16] The preference for [r] instead of [t] in intervocalic position also explains the alternation *-t ~ -r* in the realis suffix, as set out in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.4, accounting for (for example) *kagaende-r-ep* 'I look for' vs *kagaende-t* 'he looks for', and for *uru-r a uru-t* put-RLS[N1SG] and put-RLS[N1SG] (Text 12.02). The pattern for /p/ is comparable, except that there is no phonemic difference between /p/ and /w/ in word-initial and word-medial intervocalic position. Analogous to /t/, we find alternation in word-final position between two allomorphs, with a strong preference for the use of [w] in intervocalic position, and [p] in other cases.[17] Examples of the former are [tagiw e] as realisation of *tagip* 'marsupial' *e* 'ARG' or [enow ugumarin] from *enop* 'fire' *ugumarin* 'they lit by blowing'. Parallel to the allophonic variation [t]~[r], we find allophonic variation in the first person ending of the verb: *-(e)p ~-(e)w*. Compare singular *tami-p* 'I make a canoe' to plural *tami-w-an* 'we make a canoe' (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.1).

Given that stops in intervocalic position are generally voiced, the apparent cases of voiceless stops require an explanation. Thus, the presence of intervocalic *k* in *makup* 'ten' is explained as a realisation of an underlying *mak kup*, with elision of *k*, see Section 1.3.3. Likewise, the verb *ikaepmo* 'peck open' (used for a chicken pecking open an egg) must be analysed as consisting of an unknown *ik* plus *kaepmo* 'break.ITER', again with elision of *k*.[18]

## 1.3.2 Voicing assimilation in stop clusters

Drabbe gives an overview of how sequences of stops are realised. His data are best explained in terms of one constraint or 'ideal' and two processes applied to meet this constraint. The constraint is that clusters of stops

16 In the great majority of cases, root-final /t/ followed by a vowel is realised as [r]. The corpus contains the following exceptions: *Katit undarin* 'they burnt Katit' (Text 3.01), *Ramut ogirit mbagen* 'he stayed at the Ramut waterfall' (3.02), *Kurugut atigoro* 'he bound it at the upper part' (5.12), and *net ir* 'he hit his older brother' (7.01). We do not have enough data to explain the difference in realisation between these cases and near-minimal pairs. For example, a near-minimal counterpart to (3.01) is *tir ambir undarinan* 'they burnt banana skins', while *wir atigat* 'he bound it to his arm' (4.15) differs near-minimally from (5.12).

17 In the great majority of cases, root-final /p/ followed by a vowel is realised as [w]. The corpus contains only two exceptions, for reasons that are not clear: *ketop ugumaran* 'she put it into a cylinder' (5.13), and *ŋgimiŋgip ururan* 'they put it into a tree fork' (6.12). These cases differ near-minimally from cases like *enow ugumarin* 'they blew the fire' (4.23), or *irow undar* 'he heated a stone' (7.08).

18 Alternatively, one might state that the form is formed out of the sequence of *i* 'hit' plus *kaepmo*, where the realisation of *k* as [k] would show that the two verbs do not form one phonological word, cf. the difference between the comitative pronouns in *kup* and the emphatic pronouns in *gup* in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.

tend to have the same specification for voice. As can be seen in Table 3, this constraint is met by the application of either progressive devoicing or regressive (nasalisation and) voicing. This section describes progressive devoicing, while regressive assimilation is described in Section 1.3.4.

**Table 3: Voicing assimilation in stop clusters.**

| | **Progressive devoicing** | **Regressive (nasalisation and) voicing** |
|---|---|---|
| stop# + #mb | *Katit mbitip* ? [Katit pitip] 'Katit's house' | *mbokmberemo* → [mboŋmberemo] 'pick.up' (iterative) |
| stop# + #nd | n.a. | *ok ndawot* → [og ndawot] 'at the mouth of the river' |
| stop# + #ŋg | n.a. | *mbit ŋga* → [mbin ŋga] 'at the feast' |

Other examples of progressive devoicing include the following. The last two examples are explained by progressive devoicing followed by elision of the final consonant of the first word—see Section 1.3.3.

| | |
|---|---|
| *atop kop mbon* 'in the vagina' | realised as [atop kop pon] |
| *matik mba* 'sit out of lying position' | realised as [matik pa] |
| *ok mburak ŋga* 'lake' | realised as [ok-pura] |
| *Kekaop mbagen* 'Kekaop is present' | realised as [Kekao pagen] |
| *kagup mbari* 'adult man' | realised as [kagu pari] |

It is remarkable that root-initial /ŋg/ and root-initial /nd/ never devoice. They are always realised as [ŋg] and [nd], even when preceded by a voiceless consonant. They may cause the preceding stop to be nasalised and voiced—see 1.3.4—but this is optional. Thus we find several examples of a voiceless stop plus *nd* or *ŋg* without any assimilation: *mogot ŋga* [mogot ŋga] 'at the mouth of the river', *enop ŋgimiŋgip* [enop ŋgimiŋgip] 'tree fork', or *Warimop Komogop ndirinan* [Warimop Komogop ndirinan] 'they called them Warimop and Komogop'.

## 1.3.3 Avoidance of sequence of stops with the same place specification

Sequences of a stop plus another stop or /w/ with the same specifications for place tend to be avoided. To avoid this sequence, the first of the two consonants is elided. Note the following examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| *mbitip wagaeop* 'house good' | realised as [mbiti.wagaeop] |
| *emat te* 'then and' | realised as [ema.te] |
| *mak kup* 'ten' (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6) | realised as [ma.kup] |
| *ok-mburak ŋga* 'water pool CIRC' | realised as [ok purɑ ŋgɑ] |

Two interesting examples of consonant elision were given in Section 1.3.2. First, *Keagop mbagen* 'Keagop is present', realised as [keɑgo.pɑgen]. This realisation can be explained by rule ordering. The 'rule' that /mb/ is realised as [p] when following a voiceless consonant is applied first so that we get [keagoppagen]. Following this, the first consonant is elided, so that we get [keagopagen].[19] Without the application of the devoicing, deletion of the first consonant would lead to *[keagombagen]. The realisation of *kop* 'man' + *mbari* 'adult' as [kopari] in the compound *kopari* 'adult man, husband' is explained by the same line of reasoning.

## 1.3.4 Voiceless stops followed by prenasalised stops

In line with the constraint given in Section 1.3.2, a voiceless stop may be realised as a nasal—which is always voiced in YW—when followed by /ŋg/ or /nd/. This can be explained as spreading of the feature [+nasal] (which in YW implies voicing) or [+ voice] from /ŋg/ or /nd/ to the stop. Drabbe gives the following examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| *agap ŋga* 'who CIRC' | realised as [agam ŋga] |
| *mbit ŋga* 'feast CIRC' | realised as [mbin ŋga] |
| *ok mburak ŋga* 'on the lake' | realised as [okpura ŋga] |
| *ok ndawot* 'mouth of river' | realised as [og ndawoɪ] |
| *nderep ndemo* 'wear a phallocrypt' | realised as [nderem ndemo] |
| *mbok mberemo* | realised as [mboŋmberemo] |

In *ok mbura ŋga* we find both progressive devoicing and regressive voicing (plus degemination of *ŋŋ* to *ŋ*). Examples of word-final /t/ plus /nd/ are not attested.[20]

19 Cf. Wester (2014:23) who states that mb → ø __p in YW, Digul Wambon and Mandobo.

20 The only exception is found in the Dutch–YW wordlist, where the gloss for Dutch '*kaal*' (English: bald) is *ŋgin saŋ nderan* 'head which they call sun'. Here, *saŋ* is probably the realisation of underlying *sat* 'sun', see 007 in the English–YW wordlist.

## 1.4 Phoneme /k/, grapheme <g> and their distribution

As was noted above, root-internal intervocalic stops are voiced. Therefore, root-internal /k/ is realised as [g] and spelled as <g>, as in *taget* 'cowrie shell', *segep* 'kind of palm', or *kurugut* 'upper part'. Root-initially, /k/ is always realised as [k], even when preceded by a vowel, as in the frequent serial verb *ra ko* 'take go',[21] or *me ko* 'come and go' (Text 1.10). Word-finally, there seems to be unconditioned variation, in that /k/ followed by a vowel is realised either as [g] or as [k], compare *rug agumar* 'he said' (5.15) to *tawok urur* 'he sent out a message' (10.15).[22] If we find cases of intervocalic *k* within words, this is a sign that it is likely a complex word, like a compound or a reduplicated root. Examples of verbal compounds are those formed with *ke* 'be', like *kojake* 'be full', *keroke* 'penetrate' or *soke* 'jump', see also Section 2.8. Other compound verbs are *rakotmo~rakonmo*, probably formed out of *ra(p)* 'take' plus a verb that is not attested independently. Following the same line of reasoning, the plural verbs *mboke* and *roke* show, in their phonological form, traces of their morphological complexity (see Chapter 2, Section 2.7). Examples of nominal compounds are *ndun.o.kom* 'vegetable food', *ŋginok. kerop* 'face' (realised as [ŋginokerop]), and *Mbogokonon* <name of person>, while *Kawokawonjop* <name of person> is an example of a reduplicated word. See also Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1, for the form of complex motion verbs, where we find the morphologically more transparent *ri ko* 'go downhill', composed of *ri(ro)* 'go down' and *ko* 'go', and its morphologically less transparent counterpart *matugo me* 'come uphill'; while *matugo* also contains a reflex of **ko* 'go', it behaves phonologically as part of the root, and is therefore realised as [go]. A comparable difference can be found in the difference between *kup* COM, always realised as [kup], and the suffix *-kup* 'self', which forms one phonological word with the preceding pronoun and is always realised as [gup], see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.

21 Apart from this, there is an additional explanation for the realisation of *k* as [k]. Drabbe points out that the verb spelled as *ra* is actually *rap*, and that the final *p* is often 'not heard' (Drabbe 1959:133). Although this final *p* is indeed not heard (assuming that Drabbe's spelling reflects the pronunciation), the preference in the language for clusters to have the same specification for voice, may be taken as another force preventing *ko* from being realised as [go].

22 Examples of final *k* followed by a vowel-initial word are few. In addition to Texts 5.15 and 10.15, we find *wateg e* 'bark ARG' (5.21), *sagasag e* 'belt ARG' (5.24), *neŋget tarog e* roof upside ARG 'on the roof' (12.10), all with the connective *e*.

## 1.5 Phonological words

The criteria for what makes a phonological word vary from language to language. For YW, we have little data to define a phonological word. First, rules for stress assignment seem to apply at the level of the phonological word, see Section 1.2.3. In addition, the notion of the phonological word might help to explain the realisation of /k/, see Section 1.4. We might state that word-initial /k/ is realised as [k] as long as it forms the beginning of a phonological word, but as [g] when integrated into one phonological word with a preceding vowel-final word or morpheme. This may help to explain the difference in realisation of comitative *kup*, always realised as [kup] versus *-kup* 'self', realised as [gup] when preceded by a vowel.

## 1.6 A note on orthography

Although this publication largely follows Drabbe's orthography, it uses *ae, oj* and *uj* for Drabbe's *aẹ, oị* and *uị*. That this publication largely follows Drabbe means that the orthography is not always phonemic, but sometimes represents an allophone. For example, *kambit amop o* [steal PROH CON] 'do not steal' is written as *kambir amow o* (Text 5.15), with final *r* and *w* as allophones of /t/ and /p/, respectively. In the YW–English wordlist, however, all notational variants refer to the phonemic notation as the basis. Thus, whereas the wordlist has, for example, both an entry for *mbir* and *mbit*, the reader is referred to the latter for the meaning and other lexical properties of the root.

# 2
# Verbs

## 2.1 Introduction[1]

As with the other Greater Awyu languages, Yonggom Wambon (YW) verbs form the core of the language. They are morphologically the richest class of words, and express person, number, mood, modality,[2] tense, aspect, interclausal temporality (simultaneity and sequence) and switch reference (De Vries 2020:41). Like the other Greater Awyu languages, YW distinguishes three morphologically distinct types of verbs: one type of dependent verb, and two types of independent verbs, which may head an independent clause (De Vries 2020:44). This publication will refer to these forms as medial (or medial same-subject), semi-inflected and fully inflected forms, respectively.[3] An overview of the three verb types and their specifications for tense, mood and subject person-number is given in Table 4. As can be seen, the language makes a distinction between primary and secondary stems; we will get back to this in Section 2.2.

1 Drabbe 1959: Section 41f, p. 125f.

2 As in my description of Aghu and following Timberlake (2007:26), I use the term mood for modality that is crystallised as morphology, or which, in a somewhat broader sense, is part of the system of grammatical oppositions in the language.

3 In this terminology, I follow De Vries (2020). In earlier sources, these verbs are termed non-finite, semi-finite and fully finite verbs, respectively.

**Table 4: The YW verbal system.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| medial ss<br>– mood<br>– pn<br>– tense | stem_I<br>stem_I/II + *-ro* 'SS'<br>stem_II + *-no* 'SIM' | → simultaneity/sequence<br>→ simultaneity/sequence<br>→ simultaneity |
| | **realis** | **irrealis** |
| semi-inflected<br>+ mood<br>+ pn<br>– tense | stem_I + *-ken* 'RLS' + pn<br>stem_II + *-t~-r* 'RLS' + pn | stem_II + pn |
| fully inflected<br>+ mood<br>+ pn<br>+ tense | stem_II + *-t~-r* 'RLS' + pn + *-an* 'PST' | stem_II + pn + *-in* 'FUT' |

Note: –mood = minus mood; pn = person-number; stem_I and stem_II = primary and secondary stems, respectively.

The following passage illustrates all three verb types: a dependent verb *maturu* 'come up' in (1), independent semi-inflected verbs *kima-r* 'swim-RLS[NISG]' and *mba-gen* 'sit-RLS[NISG]' in (1), and an independent fully inflected verb *ke-r-an* 'be-RLS[NISG]-PST' in (2).

(1) *Aŋgae* *e* *ok* *kima-r* *a*
dog ARG water swim-RLS[NISG] seq

*Kowet* *mogot* *maturu* *mba-gen.*
Kowet mouth come.up sit-RLS[NISG]
'The dog swam and at the mouth of the Kowet river it came up out of the water and stayed there.' (1.15)

(2) *Temon* *ke-r-an* *aŋgae* *Anoŋgejop.*
rat be-RLS[NISG]-PST dog Anonggejop
'The dog Anonggejop became a rat.' (1.16)

First, consider *maturu* 'come up' in (1), as an example of a medial same-subject form. It is uninflected, dependent and medial, in that it lacks any expression of modality and tense, and in that it may (therefore) occur only in a dependent clause, which needs to be followed by an independent verb in the following clause. It is dependent on this following verb for its interpretation in terms of modality (and tense), and in terms of its subject; medial forms in YW always have the same subject as the following

independent verb (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2, for a definition of subject). Thus, *maturu* is interpreted as a non-first singular realis because of the non-first singular semi-inflected realis form *mba-gen*.

Semi-inflected independent verbs are inflected for mood and for person-number of the subject. Fully inflected independent verbs have an additional inflectional suffix for tense. For example, in *ke-r-an* above, the suffix *-r* encodes both realis mood and non-first person (singular), while *-an* expresses past tense.

Following this brief overview of the YW verb system, Section 2.2 presents the forms of primary and secondary stems, roughly corresponding to realis and irrealis mood. Then, Section 2.3 discusses the YW verbal system and the form and function of the three verb types (medial, semi-inflected and fully inflected verbs) in more detail.

## 2.2 Primary and secondary stems[4]

Verb stems in YW are either primary or secondary stems. Some verbs have both primary and secondary forms, while others have only a primary form. Primary stems are associated with realis, in the sense that they are not used for irrealis forms, unless the verb lacks a secondary stem (which, however, is often the case, see below). On the other hand, secondary stems are associated with irrealis—all irrealis forms in the paradigm require the use of secondary stems, but only if present, see Table 4. As can be seen in the same table, however, secondary stems form not only irrealis forms but also semi-inflected realis forms in *-t*, fully inflected past tense forms and mood-neutral medial forms in *-no* or *-ro*. In all these cases, for those verbs that do not have a secondary stem, the primary stem is used.

A number of primary stems are morphologically simple, and most of these are monosyllabic, like *rom* 'weep' and *ndat* 'hear'. Drabbe writes that 'one gets the impression that all of these verbs were once monosyllabic' and points out that, for example, verbs ending in *-ko* originally did not end in *-ko*, but in *-k*, as is clear from the fact that *matigo* 'get up' (composed of *ma* = *me* = *here* and *tigo*) has *matikmo* as its iterative counterpart and the fact that *matik re* (and not *matigo re*) is used for 'go and get up'.

4 Drabbe 1959: Sections 42, 43, pp. 125b–126b.

*Etogo* is one of the rare bisyllabic verbs, if we assume that it is actually *etok* and that *e* is originally part of the stem. Likewise *atigo*, actually *atik* 'bite', see the form used in reciprocal constructions (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4.4).

Coming to the form of secondary stems and their relation to primary stems, Drabbe notes that secondary stems are found mainly for those primary stems that end in a nasal (*m, n*) or in one of the voiceless stops: *p, k* or *t*. If we consider the forms in Table 5, it is clear that primary stem-final *p* corresponds to secondary stem-medial *w*, and that primary final *t* corresponds to secondary medial *r*, which is in line with the general phonological rules in YW and the other Awyu–Dumut languages (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3, note 17). These medial consonants are followed either by *e* (e.g. in *mawe*) or by *o* (e.g. in *iwo*). Primary stems ending in a vowel—except *ko* 'go' and *me* 'come', see below—have corresponding secondary stems in *-go* or *-ge*.[5]

The secondary stems for *me* 'come' and *ko* 'go' are exceptional not only in their form, but also in their distribution. While normal secondary stems follow the distribution given in Table 4 above, both *ko* and *me* have a secondary stem that is used exclusively for irrealis forms: *ka* 'go.IRR' and *mando* 'come.IRR'. In addition, *me* has a corresponding secondary stem *mende* 'come_II', which is used for the medial forms in *-no* and *-ro*, and as a secondary stem in the realis forms that are formed with the realis marker *-t*. The irrealis stems are also used in the formation of prohibitives (see Section 2.5.2), while *mando* also functions as an imperative stem (see Section 2.5.1).

**Table 5: Secondary stems related to primary stems that end in a voiceless stop or a vowel.**

| Primary stem | Secondary stem | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *mbok* | *mboke* | 'sit.PL' |
| *rok* | *roke* | 'stand.PL' |
| *andap* | *andawo* | 'bind' |
| *aerap* | *aerawo* | 'vomit' |
| *ip* | *iwo* | 'twist a rope' |
| *map* | *mawe* | 'give to me' |
| *rap* | *rawe* | 'take' |

5 According to Drabbe, this may indicate that these primary stems originally ended in *k*. In the same line of reasoning, *ri* 'go down', corresponding to secondary *riro*, might originally have been *rit*. Reconstructed forms in Voorhoeve (2001) and Healey (1970), however, give only partial support for this hypothesis. Voorhoeve gives as proto-Dumut forms consonant-final **(a)diak* 'give', **peteaok* 'see', but vowel-final **re* / **ra* 'stand', and **ba* 'sit'. Healey gives consonant-final proto-Awyu–Dumut **edex* 'give' (but no proto-Dumut form), but vowel-final proto-Dumut forms **eto* see, **ri* 'stand', and **ba* 'sit'.

| Primary stem | Secondary stem | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *up* | *uwo* | 'fight' |
| *ndat* | *ndare* | 'hear' |
| *tat* | *tare* | 'scrape' |
| *ut* | *oto* | 'go in or out' |
| *mut* | *moto* | 'come in or out' |
| *tut, turu* | *toro* | 'go up' |
| *matut, maturu* | *matoro* | 'come up' |
| *mba* | *mbage* | 'sit' |
| eto | *etogo* | 'see' |
| *jo* | *jogo~jaga* | 'give' |
| *mati* | *matigo* | 'get up' |
| *re* | *rege* | 'stand' |
| *ri* | *riro* | 'go down' |
| *mari* | *majo* | 'come down' |
| *me* | *mende* (only realis)<br>*mendo~mando* (only irrealis) | 'come' |
| *ko* | *ka* (only irrealis) | 'go' |

Table 6 gives the secondary stems for primary stems that end in a nasal. It can be observed that the primary final *m* corresponds to secondary *m* or *mb* (once), while primary final *n* generally corresponds to *nd* or *ŋg* (once). Second, like the stems in Table 5, all secondary stems (except *i* and *ja*) have an additional final *-o* or *-e* compared to the corresponding primary stems.

**Table 6: Secondary stems, related to primary stems that end in a nasal.**

| Primary stem | Secondary stem | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| kim | *kimo* | 'die' |
| *kim* | *kimo* | 'rub' |
| *rom* | *romo* | 'weep' |
| *taem* | *taembo* | 'shoot' |
| *en* | *ande* | 'eat' |
| *in* | *i* | 'hit, kill' |
| *jan* | *jaŋge, ja* | 'lie' |
| *un* | *undo* | 'roast' |
| *un* | *ondo, undu* | 'go across' |
| *mun* | *mondo, mundo* | 'come across' |

While YW has a number of morphologically simple primary stems, presented in Table 5 and Table 6, most of the primary stems are complex verbs formed with the verbaliser *mo* 'do' (see Section 2.8), or the verbal stems *ke* 'be(come)' or *nde* 'say', such as in *ikmo* 'wake up', *tupke* 'get loose' or *kagaende* 'search'.[6] These primary stems do not have a corresponding secondary stem, but a number of the stems in *mo* may use a shorter stem in *m*, like the *agumo~agum* in realis forms with *-ken*, see Section 2.3.3.3. Although the stems formed with *nde* are mostly transitive, we also find exceptions, such as the intransitive *sarande* 'tear' vs transitive *sara(p)mo*[7] 'tear' or the intransitive *karonde* 'break' vs transitive *karomo* 'break'. Using the basic meaning of *mo* 'do' or *ke* 'be, become', one would expect stems in *mo* to be generally transitive and those in *ke* intransitive. Drabbe gives a minimal pair confirming this tendency, *korokmo* 'untie' vs *koro(k)ke* 'be untied', and while most verbs in *-ke* are indeed intransitive, there are also verbs which do not conform to this tendency. Thus, we find *jaŋgumo*, which is used both intransitively, 'come together', and transitively, 'bring together', or *kerepmo,* 'become' and 'make become'.[8]

# 2.3 Medial, semi-inflected and fully inflected verbs

## 2.3.1 Medial same-subject forms[9]

As was shown in Table 6, and as is repeated in Table 7, medial verbs fall into three types: those consisting of a bare verb stem only, those suffixed with *-ro* and those suffixed with *-no*. In principle, it is the secondary stem that is used, with a few exceptions, which I will describe below. In the texts available to us, medial forms consisting of a bare verb stem clearly outnumber the other medial forms, while those suffixed with *-no* are least frequent.

6 For the use of *mo* and *ke* in verbalisation and auxiliary verbs in YW and other Awyu–Dumut languages; see Section 2.8.

7 Drabbe (1959) has *sarapmo*, see Section 2.4.1, while Drabbe's 1956 wordlist has *saramo*, see Appendix.

8 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist provides a number of additional pairs with *mo* used for transitive and *ke* for intransitive, like the following: *mborot ke* 'be worn out' (intr.) vs *mborotmo* 'demolish' (tr.); *ndoj ke* 'perish, be gone' (intr.) vs *ndojmo* 'finish' (tr.); *tok ke* 'split' (intr.) vs *tokmo* 'split' (tr.); *wagaeke* 'be well' (intr., used experientially) vs *wagaemo* 'treat well' (tr.); possibly also *somo* 'throw away' (tr.) vs *soke* 'jump' (intr.). Cases where the division of tasks seems not so neat are the synonyms *oj korok ke* and *oj korokmo* 'be happy'; *katkokmo* and *katkokke* 'be in pain'; *ŋgoropke* and *ŋgoropmo* 'know'; *totmo* 'stick' (tr., intr.); and *karagapke* 'be lazy, be tired of' and *karagapmo* 'be lazy, neglect', with slightly different senses.

9 Drabbe 1959: Section 64–68, pp. 132a–133b.

**Table 7: YW medial forms.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| medial<br>– mood<br>– pn<br>– tense | secondary stem<br>secondary stem + *-ro*<br>secondary stem + *-no* 'ss' | → simultaneity/sequence<br>→ simultaneity/sequence<br>→ simultaneity and duration |

Note: if a verb has no secondary stem, the primary stem is used; –mood = minus mood; pn = person-number; ss = same subject.

Medial same subject (ss)-forms are found in each Greater Awyu language. They do not receive subject person-number, mood or tense marking: for these grammatical categories, they are dependent on the first independent verb to their right (De Vries 2020:54). Their interpretation in terms of illocutionary force also depends on the first following independent verb. Thus, *rogo(ro)* in (3) is interpreted as imperative singular, *sumo(ro)* in (4) as non-first person past singular, and *oto(ro)* in (5) as first person singular future.

(3) *nu* *rogo(-ro)* *(te)* *nagap*
1SG say(-SS) CON go.IMP[SG]
'say it to me and go' (Drabbe 1959:132b)

(4) *sumo(-ro)* *(te)* *ko-gen*
carry(-SS) CON go-RLS[N1SG]
'he[10] / you took it up and went' (Drabbe 1959:132b)

(5) *oto(-ro)* *(te)* *mbagi-jip*
go.in/out_II(-SS) CON sit_II-1SG.FUT
'I will go in and stay' (Drabbe 1959:132b)

While clauses headed by medial ss-forms are dependent on the following independent verb for person-number of the subject, mood and tense, they are syntactically independent: coordinate, not subordinate. This is clear from the fact that they can be separated from the following clause by the coordinate conjunction *te*, as in (6). This 'coordinate-dependent' type of clause linkage is characteristic of clause-chaining languages (De Vries 2020:55, Foley 1986:177), see also Chapter 5, Section 5.2.

10 I follow Drabbe in generally using the Dutch third-person masculine pronoun 'he' (Dutch: '*hij*') in the case that the (number and) gender of the non-first person is unspecified.

(6) *Iŋgamo* *ri-ro* *te* *watek* *ruma-t.*
break go.down-SS CON mat spread-RLS[N1SG]
'He broke (the rope), went down and spread his mat.' (5.19)

### 2.3.1.1 Medial verbs with suffix *-no*: Form and function[11]

Medial forms in *-no* consist of a verb stem followed by the suffix *-no*.[12] According to Drabbe, speakers use the secondary stem, if it exists, 'with a few exceptions', but he does not specify which verbs are exceptional. In the corpus, all forms in *-no* are based on secondary stems, or, in case there is no secondary stem available, on generalised primary stems. The only exception is formed by *e* 'eat', where speakers appear to use *e-no*, based on the primary stem, and not on *ande* 'eat_II'.

Like all medial verbs in YW, forms in *-no* are same-subject forms, which means that the subject is the same as that of the following verb. Unlike other medial verb forms, those in *-no* (in combination with the following verb) express duration and can only be used in case the action expressed by the verb is simultaneous to that of the following verb. In the words of Drabbe: '*No* means something like *while … -ing* in our "while singing"' (Drabbe 1959:133a).

Drabbe gives the following sentences ((7)–(11)) as an illustration. Note that also here the conjunction *te* may intervene between the medial verb and the following verb, without any notable difference in meaning.

(7) *e-no* *waepmo-gon-in*
eat-SS.SIM walk.around-RLS-N1PL
'they are walking while eating' (Drabbe 1959:133a)

(8) *uj* *e* *sosomo-no* *waepma-r-an*
pig ARG root-SS.SIM walk.around-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'the pig was walking around while rooting in the earth' (Drabbe 1959:133a,b)

(9) *ruk* *i-no* *konoj* *ti-gin-in*
sound hit_II-SS.SIM canoe row-RLS-N1PL
'they were rowing while talking' (Drabbe 1959:133b)

11 Drabbe 1959: Section 67 pp. 133a–b.
12 De Vries argues that the suffix *-no* derives from the conjoining clitic *=o* and a nasal linker (De Vries 2020:55).

(10) *awoŋ* *rawo-no* *ruk* *i-r-iw-an-an*
work take_II-SS.SIM sound hit_II-RLS-1-PL-PST
'we were talking while working' (Drabbe 1959:133b)

(11) *ketmom* *i-no* (*te*) *mando-nan-in*
dance hit_II-SS.SIM CON come.IRR-N1PL-FUT
'they will come here while dancing' (Drabbe 1959:133b, 134a)

In addition to the examples in Drabbe's grammatical description, the text corpus offers 15 examples of medial verbs in *-no*. Of these, 11 are part of a durative construction where the verb in *-no* precedes a conjugated form of *mba* 'sit' (or plural *mboke*, cf. Section 2.7).[13] In these constructions, the meaning of the verb *mba* 'sit' may be bleached. As pointed out by Wester (2014:117), comparable constructions of medial verb + conjugated reflexes of **mba* 'sit/stay' to indicate durativity are found in all Awyu–Dumut languages except Shiagha. A good illustration of the bleaching of the meaning of *mboke* 'sit_II.PL' is found in (12), where the action expressed by the verb in *-no* (i.e. 'building', glossed as [twine.ITER-SS.SIM]) is clearly not done in a sitting position.

(12) *Titimo-no* *mboke-t* *te* *wok* *ndomo-ni*
twine.ITER-SS.SIM sit_II.PL-RLS[N1] CON pineapple pick-INT

*ku-r-an.*
go-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'While they were building huts, he went out to pick some pineapple fruits.' (5.03)

Durative constructions will be further discussed in Section 2.4.2. Other examples from the text corpus of verbs in *-no* are given in (13) and (14), the first followed by conjugated *mba*, the second by another conjugated verb.

13 The verb is followed by a semi-inflected form of *mba* in 4.04, 4.28, 5.01, 5.02, 5.03, twice in 5.06, 7.06, 11.07, 12.09 and 12.10. It is followed by another verb in 1.01, 2.08, 7.05 and 10.01.

(13) *imndin* *ŋga* *matik* *ndare* *te* *ŋguŋguguk* *ke-no*
midnight CIRC get.up_II hear_II CON sound be-SS.SIM

*mba-gen*
sit-RLS[NISG]
'at midnight she got up and heard that there was a sound resounding' (12.09)

(14) *Kamenwon* *i-no* *ra* *ku-r-an.*
bullroarer hit_II-SS.SIM take go-RLS[NISG]-PST
'A certain person went out swinging a bullroarer.' (1.01)

### 2.3.1.2 Medial verbs with suffix *-ro*: Form and function[14]

According to Drabbe, the medial suffix *-ro* attaches to the secondary stem, if it exists, with a few exceptions. The only exception mentioned by Drabbe is *me* 'come', but careful study of the corpus reveals that the primary stem instead of the secondary is also used for *ko* 'go', *mari* 'come down', *turu* 'go up' and *maturu* 'come up'; these verbs do have corresponding secondary stems, but *-ro* nevertheless attaches to the primary stem.[15] The same set of primary stems are also used instead of secondary stems as bare stems, see Section 2.3.1.3.

Unlike the verbs in *-no*, neither verbs in *-ro* nor the bare verb forms discussed in Section 2.3.1 imply durativity. Moreover, they are generally neutral with respect to the temporal relation with the following verb: the action or event expressed by the medial verb may either precede or be simultaneous to the action or event expressed by the following verb. This is shown in (15) and (16), respectively. In (15), the shooting expressed by *taembo-ro* 'shoot_II-ss' clearly precedes the action of holding expressed by *ra* 'take'. Likewise, the motion expressed by *ko* 'go' precedes the action of eating. In (16), on the other hand, the actions of saying (*te-ro* 'say-ss') and speaking (*raga-t* 'speak-RLS[NISG]') are simultaneous. *Nde-ro ragat* is one of the fixed expressions closing off a quote, more on which can be found in Chapter 5, Section 5.7.

14 Drabbe 1959: Section 64, pp. 132a–b; Section 66, pp. 132b–133a.
15 In this document, I have analysed *riro* as the bare secondary form 'go.down_II', and not as primary *ri* 'go down' plus *ro* 'ss'.

(15) *Taembo-ro* *ra* *ko* *ande-t.*
shoot_II-SS take go eat_II-RLS[N1SG]
'He shot it and took it and ate it.' (2.03)

(16) *Jaŋgot* *kaemo* *kukmo-jip* *te-ro* *raga-t.*
torch light direct.at-1SG.FUT say-SS speak-RLS[N1SG]
'"I will light the torch and direct it towards you", he said.' (6.15)

According to Drabbe, there is generally no functional difference between verbs in *-ro* and the bare medial forms, as in (3)–(5) and (17)–(18); neither is there any semantic difference between the use or non-use of the conjunction *te*.

(17) *ko(-ro)* (*te*) *agaeopmo-n-in?*
go(-SS) CON do.what-N1[SG]-FUT
'what is he going to do?' (Drabbe 1959:132b)

(18) *me(-ro)* (*te*) *mbitiw* *ota-r-an*
come(-SS) CON house go.in-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he came and went into the house' (Drabbe 1959:132b)

While there is generally no functional difference between the forms in *-ro* and the bare verb stems, Drabbe devotes two sections to verbs where there is a subtle difference in meaning between the two, or where only the bare forms are acceptable. As examples of the latter group, Drabbe discusses the verbs *wagaemo* '(do) well', *mbetatmo* 'do badly' and *mbonmo* 'do slowly'. When preceding another verb, the bare forms of these verbs can be used to express adverbial notions, as can be seen in (19) through (21). These specific meanings cannot be expressed by the forms in *-ro*.

(19) *wagaemo* *rap-ken*
do.well take-RLS[N1SG]
'he held it firmly' (Drabbe 1959:132b)

(20) *mbetatmo* *raga-r-an*
do.badly speak-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he spoke badly' (Drabbe 1959:132b)

(21) *mbonmo* *nagap*
do.slowly go.IMP[SG]
'walk slowly' (Drabbe 1959:132b)

As examples of the verbs that have a subtle difference between their *-ro* and bare verb forms, Drabbe observes the difference between the bare stem *ra* 'take' plus a conjugated verb on the one hand, and *rawo-ro* 'take_II-ss' plus a conjugated verb on the other, as shown in (22) through (24). Examples (22a), (23a) and (24a) can be analysed as serial verb constructions, in which the conceptual unity between the two verbs is closer than in the (b) examples.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (22a) | *ra* | *me-gen-ep* | (22b) | *rawo-ro* | *me-gen-ep* |
| | take | come-RLS-1SG | | take_II-ss | come-RLS-1SG |
| | 'I brought it here' | | | 'I picked it up and came here' (Drabbe 1959:133a) | |
| (23a) | *rap* | *toro-n-in* | (23b) | *rawo-ro* | *toro-n-in* |
| | take | go.up_II-N1[SG]-FUT | | take_II-ss | go.up_II-N1[SG]-FUT |
| | 'he will take it up' | | | 'he will pick it up and go up' (Drabbe 1959:133a) | |
| (24a) | *rap* | *ku-r-an* | (24b) | *rawo-ro* | *ku-r-an* |
| | take | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST | | take_II-ss | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |
| | 'he brought it away' | | | 'he picked it up and went away' (Drabbe 1959:133a) | |

### 2.3.1.3 Bare medial verbs: Form and function[16]

Of the three types of uninflected verb forms described here, the bare uninflected verb forms are the most frequently attested in the corpus. Speakers use the secondary stem if it exists, except for *me* 'come', *ko* 'go', *mari* 'come down', *turu* 'go up', *maturu* 'come up' and *ra* 'take'.[17] This is the same set as verbs that use primary stems with *-ro*, mentioned in Section 2.3.1.2, plus *ra* 'take'. Thus, primary *ra* (not: **rawo*) is used as a bare verb, but secondary *rawo* in combination with *-ro*.

16 Drabbe 1959: Section 64, pp. 132a–b.

17 Other possible exceptions are *matik* 'get up' (three attestations: 3.02, 12.09 and 12.11) and *etok* 'see' (attested once: 5.13), all attested in a position preceding a consonant. One might analyse these forms as variants of the primary forms *mati* and *eto*, respectively, with final *k* reflecting an older *k*-final form (see Section 2.2, esp. note 27). It is more likely, however, that these forms are truncated forms of the secondary stems *matigo* and *etogo*, respectively. The non-truncated secondary stems are attested elsewhere in the corpus: bare *matigo* 'come.up_II' in 4.12 preceding a vowel, *matigo-ro* 'come.up_II-ss' in 4.21 and 4.23, and *etogo-ro* 'see_II-ss' in 9.06.

Examples (25) and (26) give several cases of the use of uninflected verbs, all of which are printed in bold. In (25), the form *me* is interpreted as future because of the fully inflected future *kinin.* In (26) we see the uninflected form used in a series of clauses closed off with a semi-inflected *re-gen*, with all verbs interpreted as referring to events in the past. In (29), finally, we see an example of an uninflected form followed by and interpreted as an imperative.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (25) | *mbanep* | ***me*** | *ŋgu* | *mbarukrawa-t* | *ke-t* |
| | crocodile | come | 2SG | have.sex-RLS[NISG] | be-RLS[NISG] |
| | *ki-n-in,* | *sapuk* | *nandap* | *te* | *ŋgoropmo-p* |
| | be-NI[SG]-FUT | tobacco | take.IMP | CON | know-ISG |
| | 'if the crocodile comes and has sex with you, pull [on the rope] and I will know' (4.17) | | | | |
| (26) | *enop* | *ron* | *ŋga* | ***awerekmo*** | ***ra*** |
| | tree | leaf | CIRC | wrap | take |
| | *ri-ro* | ***ko*** | *okpitin* | *uru-t* | *re-gen.* |
| | go.down-SS | go | swamp | put-RLS[NISG] | stand-RLS[NISG] |
| | 'His mother wrapped him into leaves, took him down to the swamp and made him stand there.' (12.05) | | | | |
| (27) | *awoŋ* | *rap-kin-in* | *ke-t* | *ki-n-in* | *ŋga* |
| | work | take-RLS-NIPL | be-RLS[NISG] | be-NI[SG]-FUT | CIRC |
| | ***ko*** | *najok* | *ande-n-an* | | |
| | go | give.IMP | eat_II-NI-PL | | |
| | 'when they are at work, go give them (food) to eat (lit. go give they eat)' (Drabbe 1959:134b) | | | | |

## 2.3.2 Other uninflected verb forms

### 2.3.2.1 Nominal forms in *-(n)op*[18]

Both inflected and uninflected verbs forms can be nominalised by suffixation with *-(n)op*. When uninflected verbs are nominalised, the language uses the secondary stem if it exists.[19] These stems are suffixed with *-op*, with the addition of a nasal *n* if the stem ends in a vowel. Stem-final *o* dissimilates with *-nop* to *a*, and preceding vowels in the stem harmonise with the final *a*, so that *rogo* 'say' surfaces as *raga-nop*. An exception to this rule is *oro/uru* 'put', which surfaces as *oro-nop* or *uru-nop*.

The nominalised forms are probably best characterised as verbal nouns. From the limited examples given by Drabbe we may deduce that these verbal nouns are used for approximately the same range of functions as in other Greater Awyu languages (De Vries 2020:26–28). We find examples of their use in the expression of negation (Section 2.6), habitual constructions (Section 2.4.1.3), the impossibility of doing something (28), or the wish that something should not happen (29).

(28) *mbage-now* *e* *jajun*
sit_II-NMLZ ARG impossible
'it is hard or impossible to stay' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

(29) *juw* *e* *kima-now* *e* *ndoj* *ke-n*
3SG.EMPH ARG die_II-NMLZ ARG not be-NI[SG]
'don't let him die'[20] (Drabbe 1959:132a)

Like the other Greater Awyu languages, YW may use the verbal noun also for the expression of intention, as in the paradigm given in Table 8, where the semi-inflected irrealis form of the verb is followed by the affirmative copula *te*. We find an example of this in Text 4.24, also presented as (56),

18 Drabbe 1959: Sections 62–63, pp. 132b–132a; Section 83, p. 138a.

19 Drabbe does not write anything about the stems *ko* 'go' and *me* 'come', which lack a normal secondary stem (see Section 2.2). For *me* 'come', data are lacking; the corpus has no examples of verbal nouns formed on the basis of this verb. For *ko* 'go', we have one example, in which the irrealis stem is used: *ka-now* 'go.IRR-NMLZ' in (415).

20 *Juw e kimanow* is probably best analysed as a possessive construction 'the dying of his', with *juw* as the possessor pronoun. This possessive phrase, in turn, functions as the subject argument of the predicate *ndoj ken* and is marked as such by the use of *e*.

and in Texts 7.04 and 7.05, but without *te*. Apart from this paradigm, YW also has a dedicated intentional paradigm with forms in *-ni* (with the optional addition of *-nop*), see Section 2.3.2.3.

**Table 8: Verbal nouns formed on the basis of semi-inflected irrealis, combined with copular te, used for the expression of intention.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **1SG** | *ka-jiw-op te* | I want to go |
| **N1SG** | *ka-nin-op te* | He wants to go |
| **1PL** | *ka-wa-nin-op te* | We want to go |
| **N1PL** | *ka-na-nin-op te* | They want to go |

That the forms under consideration are nouns is clear from their use in structural positions reserved for nouns, like the complement of a copula, as in (33) and (35), and the intentional constructions of Section 2.3.2.3, or as part of a possessive construction, see (36). Apart from the verbal nouns in negative constructions discussed in Section 2.6 and in addition to (28) and (29), Drabbe gives the following clauses as illustrations.

(30) *etaga-now* *uru-r-an*
see_II-NMLZ put-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he longed to see' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

(31) *kima-nop* *mop* *ke-gen-ew-an*
die_II-NMLZ afraid be-RLS-I-PL
'we are afraid to die' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

(32) *mbambariri* *ke-now* *e* *ruk*
shiver be-NMLZ LNK word
'stammering' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

(33) *ema-nop* *te*
do.thus-NMLZ AFFMT
'so it is' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

(34) *ruk* *raga-now* *irukmo*
word speak_II-NMLZ wait[21]
'to be silent' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

21 Lit. 'wait speaking words'; in the English–YW wordlist, *irukmo* is given as translation of 'be silent', while *irukmo re* is given as translation of 'wait'. In the 1956 wordlist, given in the Appendix, *irukmo* is glossed as 'be silent', 'wait'.

(35) *onoŋnema-nop* *kim* *de*
make-NMLZ big affmt
'it is a great deed' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

(36) *ow* *oro-now* *en* *on*
figure put-NMLZ LNK thing
'a thing to write with' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

The text corpus contains only one example of uninflected verb + *-nop*, presented here as (37). In this context, the verbal noun seems to have a purposive function: 'in order to stay'.[22]

(37) *Ŋgo* *nan-ŋguj* *e* *ŋgo* *nen-ŋguj* *e*
2SG.POSS younger. brother-PL ARG 2SG.POSS older. brother-PL arg

*Matiram* *ŋga* *ŋgotonde* *e-no*
Matiram AG kill.ITER eat-SS

*mir* *e* *top* *me* *agumo* *mbage-nop* *nde-t.*
bone ARG opening come put.into sit_II-NMLZ say-RLS[N1SG]

'"Matiram has killed your younger brothers and older brothers and eaten them and has come to put their bones into this pit", she said.' (7.05)

Drabbe gives the following illustrations of inflected forms in *-nop*. In (38) through (40) the nominalised forms are used as part of a possessive construction, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.5.

(38) *uj* *iŋ-gin-in-now* *e* *mbitip*
pig eat-RLS-N1PL-NMLZ LNK containable
'pig trough' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

22 In fact, the analysis of *mbage-nop* is not entirely clear. If we assume a purposive function, the construction is somewhat comparable to Section 2.3.2.3, where *-ni* 'INT'+ *-op* or *-na* 'PL'+ *-op* have an intentional function. However, in (37), there is a change in the subject referent, such that *agumo* 'to put into' has Matiram as its subject referent, while the subject referent of *mbage-nop* 'sit_II-NMLZ' is the bones, while this is not the case in the intentional constructions described in Section 2.3.2.3. Moreover, the intentional constructions have an affirmative copula *te*, while this is missing here.

(39) *eŋ-gen-ew-ow* *e* *mbitip*
eat-RLS-1[SG]-NMLZ LNK containable
'my plate' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

(40) *keretmo-gen-ow* *e* *kagup*
care.for-RLS[N1SG]-NMLZ LNK man
'someone taking care of ill people' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

In (41) the phrase headed by the verbal noun is a direct object.[23] *Juw* is marked as (subject) argument of the verb *rogonin*. The clause *juw e rogonin* is then nominalised by *-op* and marked with *e* to function as object argument of *ndarero*.

(41) *juw* *e* *rogo-n-in-ow* *e* *ndare-ro* *karen-onin*
3SG ARG say-N1[SG]-FUT-NMLZ ARG hear_II-SS do.like.IMP-PL
'listen to what he will say and do so' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

In (42) through (44), finally, the verbal nouns are used as part of a nominal clause, see also Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2. First consider (42) and (43).

(42) *mende-r-an-nop* *ten*
come_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST-NMLZ AFFMT
'he has come' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

(43) *ja-w-an-in-ow* *e* *ndoj*
lie-1-PL-FUT-NMLZ ARG not
'we do not have a place to lie down' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

Drabbe writes that *menderanop ten* (in (42)) 'does not differ in meaning from *menderan*, except that it may express more the state of having come, of being here'.

Now consider (44), where we find a negative construction formed with a negative verbal noun in *-nok* (see Section 2.3.2.2) and inflected *mo* (see Section 2.6). The negative construction as a whole is nominalised by the use of *-op*, which then is used as nominal predicate in a nominal clause.

23 Drabbe also gives the following example where, for unexplained reasons, the form *jananip* ends in *-ip* and not in *-op*.

*ja-n-an-ip* *kagaendi-gin-in*
lie_II-N1-PL-NMLZ search-RLS-N1PL
'they are looking for a place to lie down' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

(44) *rap-nok*[24] *ma-r-an-op* *ten*
take-VN.NEG do-RLS[N1SG]-PST-NMLZ AFFMT
'he has no power' (Drabbe 1959:132a)

### 2.3.2.2 Negative nominal forms in *-nok*[25]

Negative nominal forms, the use of which will be further discussed in Section 2.6, are formed by suffixation of the stem with-*nok*. Both the primary and the secondary stem can be used. Thus, we find *rap-nok* 'take-VN.NEG' along with *rawo-nok* 'take_II-VN.NEG', *kim-nok* 'die-VN.NEG' and *kimo-nok* 'die_II-VN.NEG', *etok-nok* 'see-VN.NEG' and *etogo-nok* 'see_II-VN.NEG', *ndat-nok* 'hear-VN.NEG' and *ndare-nok* 'hear_II-VN.NEG', *me-nok* 'come-VN.NEG', *mende-nok* 'come_II-VN.NEG' and *mando-nok* 'come.IRR-VN.NEG'.

### 2.3.2.3 Intentional in *-ni* or *-nap*, with optional *-op*[26]

In addition to the verbal nouns described in Section 2.3.2.1, YW has verbal nouns dedicated to the expression of intention. These are formed by suffixation of the stem—secondary, if existing—with *-ni*, which is optionally followed by nominalising *-op,* discussed previously. Drabbe discusses several constructions in which these forms are used: (i) in a nominal clause with affirmative *te* (see also Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2); (ii) with an inflected form of the verbaliser *mo*, or (iii) with an inflected form of another verb. Nominal clauses in *te* are used for second and third person only, and may have either singular or plural subjects. In order to disambiguate between singular and plural, however, the language also has a plural intentional suffix *-nap*, which should, in my view, be analysed as a contracted form of plural *-na* (cf. Section 2.5.2) and nominalising *-op* (cf. Section 2.3.2.1). Compare (45) and (46). These two examples illustrate the use of affirmative *te*, clarify the possible interpretations of the examples as singular or plural, and the impossibility of using this construction to refer to first persons.

(45) *andi-ni(-op)* *te*
eat_II-INT(-NMLZ) AFFMT
'he wants to eat' / 'you [SG/PL] want to eat' / 'they want to eat'
* 'I want to eat', * 'we want to eat' (Drabbe 1959:137b–138a)

24 *Ra* 'take' is used here in the sense of 'have power', as in the clause *juw e nəŋgu rawa-r-an* 3SG ARG 1PL take_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST 'he has power over us') (Drabbe 1959:132a).
25 Drabbe 1959: Section 94, pp. 140a, b.
26 Drabbe 1959: Section 80–82, pp. 137b–138a.

(46) *ande-nap /* *ande-naw-op* *te*
eat_II-INT.PL / eat_II-INT.PL-NMLZ AFFMT
'you [PL] want to eat'/'they want to eat'
* 'we want to eat' (Drabbe 1959:137b–138a)

In order to refer to first persons, speakers need to make use of one of two other constructions, in which the intentional verbal noun is followed by an inflected form of *mo*, or another inflected verb. According to Drabbe, inflected *mo* is used, in fact, 'to make the nominal form inflectable' (cf. Section 2.8). Consider (47) below.

(47) *konoj* *tami-ni* *mo-gon-ep*
canoe make.canoe-INT do-RLS-1SG
'I want to make a canoe' (Drabbe 1959:138a)

Where *mo-gon-ep* refers to first person singular, speakers may use *mo-gon-ew-an* for first person plural, *mo-gen* for third person singular and *mo-gon-in* for third person plural reference. For third person plural reference, speakers may also, instead of *tamini mo-gon-in,* use *tami-nap mo-gon-in* [make.canoe-INT.PL do-RLS[NI]-PL] 'they want to make a canoe'.

It seems that intentional verbal nouns can only be used with volitional subjects. Drabbe writes:

> if the subject is a situation or a thing [Dutch: '*een zaak*'], we find future forms instead of *ni*-forms, followed by a form of the auxiliary verb *mo*, as in *enop kande ka-n-in mo-gen* tree fall go-NI[SG]-FUT do-RLS[NISG] 'the tree is about to fall'.

In the text corpus, all the attested examples of intentional verbal nouns are followed by an inflected verb: in all cases, an inflected form of *ko* 'go', expressing a meaning of going away in order to do something.[27] A clear example is (48), which describes how a snake, before killing a woman, comes down in order to drink water.

(48) *mari* *ok* *mi-ni* *ku-r-an.*
come.down water drink-INT go-RLS[NISG]-PST
'It came down and went away to drink.' (10.09)

27 Five examples in total: 5.03, 5.05, 9.01, 9.03 and 10.09.

Other examples are the following:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (49) | *Ema-t* | *te* | *moto* | *kawondi-ni* | *ku-t* |
| | do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | come.in/ out_II | pound. sago-INT | go-RLS[NISG] |
| | '(One day) he came out and went to pound sago' (9.03) | | | | |
| (50) | *Mari* | *ok* | *kahat* | *kaendi-ni* | *ku-r-an.* |
| | come.down | water | bamboo | break-INT | go-RLS[NISG]-PST |
| | 'Then he came down and went to the river to get and break off bamboo.' (5.05) | | | | |

In his grammatical description, Drabbe gives a number of additional examples of an intentional followed by an inflected verb, optionally followed by *te*.[28]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (51) | *andi-ni(-op)* | *(te)* | *me-gen-ep* |
| | eat_II-INT(-NMLZ) | AFFMT | come-RLS-1SG |
| | 'I come in order to eat' (Drabbe 1959:138a) | | |
| (52) | *ande-ni(-op)* | *(te)* | *me-gen-ew-an* |
| | eat_II-INT(-NMLZ) | AFFMT | come-RLS-1-PL |
| | 'we come in order to eat' (Drabbe 1959:138a) | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (53) | *ande-ni* | *nagap* | / *ka-w-an* |
| | eat_II-INT | go.IMP | / go.IRR-1-PL |
| | 'go and eat / let's go and eat' (Drabbe 1959:138a) | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (54) | *ande-nap* | *(te)* | *mi-gin-in* |
| | eat_II-INT.PL | CON | come-RLS-NIPL |
| | 'you (pl) / they come to eat' (Drabbe 1959:138a) | | |

### 2.3.2.4 'Verbal nouns' in *-n*

A final uninflected verb form is one that is used in durative constructions, formed by a suffix *-n* following the verb stem. It is discussed in Section 2.4.2 on durative aspect.

28 From Drabbe's description it is not clear whether *te* can also be used in (53).

## 2.3.3 Semi-inflected verbs: Mood

### 2.3.3.1 Semi-inflected verbs: Overview of irrealis and realis forms[29]

Semi-inflected verbs express person and number of the subject, and mood. In irrealis semi-inflected forms, the person-number markers directly follow the stem. Realis semi-inflected verbs, on the other hand, have a realis marker *-ken* or *-t~-r* intervening between the stem and the person-number markers. The paradigms of realis and irrealis semi-inflected forms are shown in Table 9 through Table 11. It should be noted that irrealis semi-inflected verbs are formed on the basis of the secondary stem, if it exists. This is also true for the semi-inflected realis forms in *-t~-r*, but those in *-ken* are always formed on the basis of the primary stem.

Following the phonological rules of the language, first person *-p* is in phonologically conditioned allophonic variation with *-w*, and postvocalic *-ken* is realised as [gen]. In the plural, the realis marker *-ken* harmonises with the plural marker *-in*. The realis marker *-t* has the allophonic variants *-t* and *-r*, with the latter used in intervocalic position. More details on the inflection of forms in *-t* are given in Section 2.3.3.4.

**Table 9: YW semi-inflected irrealis forms (1).**

| | **IRREALIS (stem_II, if it exists)** | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Pattern** | ***ke* 'be'** | ***tami* 'make canoe'** |
| **1SG** | stem_II + *-p* | *ke-p* | *tami-p* |
| **N1SG** | stem_II + *-n* | *ke-n* | *tami-n* |
| **1PL** | stem_II+ *-w+-an* | *ke-w-an* | *tami-w-an* |
| **N1PL** | stem_II+ *-n* + *-an* | *ke-n-an* | *tami-n-an* |

**Table 10: YW semi-inflected realis forms in *-ken* ([gen] after vowels).**

| | **REALIS in *-ken* (stem_I)** | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Pattern** | ***mba* 'sit'** | ***ut* 'go in'** |
| **1SG** | stem_I + *-ken* + *-ep* | *mba-gen-ep* | *ut-ken-ep* |
| **N1SG** | stem_I + *-ken* + *-ø* | *mba-gen* | *ut-ken* |
| **1PL** | stem_I + *-ken* + *-ew+ -an* | *mba-gen-ew-an* | *ut-ken-ew-an* |
| **N1PL** | stem_I + *-kin* + *-in* | *mba-gin-in* | *ut-kin-in* |

29 Drabbe 1959: Sections 50, 52, 55, pp. 127b–129b.

**Table 11: YW semi-inflected realis forms in *-t~-r*.**

| | **REALIS in *-t~-r* (stem_II, if it exists)** | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Pattern** | ***tami* 'make canoe'** | ***etogo* 'see_II'** |
| **1SG** | stem_II + *-r* + *-ep* | *tami-r-ep* | *etaga-r-ep* |
| **N1SG** | stem_II + *-t* + *-ø* | *tami-t* | *etaga-t* |
| **1PL** | stem_II + *-r* + *-ew-+ an* | *tami-r-ew-an* | *etaga-r-ew-an* |
| **N1PL** | stem_II + *-r* + *-in* | *tami-r-in* | *etaga-r-in* |

## 2.3.3.2 Semi-inflected irrealis verbs: Form and function[30]

The pattern of inflection of semi-inflected forms was given in Table 9, and illustrated with the auxiliary verb *ke* and the verb *tami* 'make a canoe'. The pattern is repeated in Table 12, illustrated with the verbs *wagaemo* 'do well' and *majo* 'come down_II'.

**Table 12: YW semi-inflected irrealis forms (2).**

| | ***wagaemo* 'do well'** | ***majo* 'come down_II'** |
|---|---|---|
| **1SG** | *wagaemo-p* | *majo-p* |
| **N1SG** | *wagaemo-n* | *majo-n* |
| **1PL** | *wagaemo-w-an* | *majo-w-an* |
| **N1PL** | *wagaemo-n-an* | *majo-n-an* |

According to Drabbe, these forms, when used 'in isolation', have an optative or adhortative reading. He provides a number of examples later on in his grammatical description, as part of his discussion of the conjunction *a*; these are presented here as (55a) through (55d).

(55a) *ande-w* *a* *te* *ka-p*
eat_II-1SG SEQ CON go.IRR-1SG
'let me eat first and then go' (Drabbe 1959:135a)

(55b) *ande-w-an* *a* *te* *ka-w-an*
eat_II-1-PL SEQ CON go.IRR-1-PL
'let's eat first and then go' (Drabbe 1959:135a)

(55c) *ande-n* *a* *te* *ka-n*
eat_II-N1[SG] SEQ CON go.IRR-N1[SG]
'let him eat first and then go' (Drabbe 1959:135a)

30 Drabbe 1959: Section 50, pp. 127b–128a.

(55d) *ande-n-an* *a* *te* *ka-n-an*
eat_II-NI-PL SEQ CON go.IRR-NI-PL
'let them eat first and then go' (Drabbe 1959:135a)

The text corpus, however, provides a number of semi-inflected irrealis forms. In (56) through (58), the verbs form the final verb of a quote.[31]

(56) *Ku-r* *a* *te* *ahappiri* *oto-p* *te*
go-RLS[NISG] SEQ CON gate go.in/out_II-ISG say
*te* *jaju* *ke-t.*
CON impossible be-RLS[NISG]
'He fled and wanted to go through the gate, it was impossible.'
(lit. '"I want to go out through the gate", he said.'; 4.24)

(57) *O-ro* *ok* *riro-n* *nde-t.*
start.to.move-SS river go.down_II-NI[SG] say-RLS[NISG]
'"Let us launch the canoe", he said.' (lit. '"Let it [the canoe] go down to the river", he said.'; 4.31)

(58) *Ran* *etogo-w-an* *nde-ro* *arek* *ke-no* *mboke-t.*
woman see_II-1-PL say-SS investigate be-SS.SIM sit_II.PL-RLS[NI]
'The women wanted to see it and were listening where the sound was coming from.' (lit. 'The women said "let us see" and were investigating.'; 5.02)

In (59), on the other hand, the semi-inflected irrealis forms, printed in bold, are followed by fully inflected future forms, and thus they are interpreted as taking place in the future.

(59) *Ngaŋguw* *e* *kowandut* *menew* *e* *konoj*
2PL ARG NOW THIS ARG canoe
***ri-n-an*** *tomŋgandi-n-in* *o* *nde-t.*
chop-NI-PL fall.down-NI[SG]-FUT CON say-RLS[NISG]
'You will, from now on, have to chop a tree for making canoes so that it falls' (4.26)

31 The other examples where semi-inflected forms are the final verb of a quote are 4.17, 4.29, 4.30, and 7.03.

(60) *Tumo-n-an* *a* *mbumo* *ŋgirapmo* *ra* ***ka-n-an*** *a*
chop-NI-PL SEQ finish drag take go.IRR-NI-PL SEQ

*ok* *riro* *oro-n-an-in;* *ŋgaŋgu* *ŋgoton* *ndomo*
water go.down_II put-NI-PL-FUT 2PL tired row

*waepmo-n-an-in.*
move.around-NI-PL-FUT
'You will then build them, finish them and drag them to the river, you will let them into the water; you will get tired rowing.' (4.27)

(61) *Waepmo-no* ***mboke-n-an*** *rakonmo*
move.around-SS.SIM sit_II.PL-NI-PL turn.over

*ok* *kimbarukmo-n-an-in.*
water swim-NI-PL-FUT
'You will be traveling, capsize and swim in the river.' (4.28)

### 2.3.3.3 Semi-inflected realis verbs in *-ken*: Form[32]

Tables 13–15 give the paradigms of realis forms in *-ken*, which is realised as [gen] following a vowel or nasal. The suffix is used exclusively in combination with a primary stem. In the NIPL forms, the suffix harmonises with following *-in*, leading to *-kin* (realised as [gin] following a vowel or nasal). With stems in *o,* however, the suffix harmonises with the final *o* of the stem, except in NISG. First, consider Table 13, which presents the inflection of stems ending in a non-nasal consonant.

**Table 13: YW semi-inflected realis forms in *-ken*, following a stem_I in a non-nasal consonant.**

| | ***ut* 'go in'** | ***andap* 'bind'** |
|---|---|---|
| **1SG** | *ut-ken-ep* | *andap-ken-ep* |
| **N1SG** | *ut-ken* | *andap-ken* |
| **1PL** | *ut-ken-ew-an* | *andap-ken-ew-an* |
| **N1PL** | *ut-kin-in* | *andap-kin-in* |

32 Drabbe 1959: Section 52, pp. 128a–129a.

For forms in *-k*, the sequence *kk* is realised as *k*, in line with the avoidance of adjacent stops with the same articulation (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3). Thus, the inflection of *rogok* 'say', is as follows: *rogokenep, rogoken, rogokenewan* and *rogokinin*.[33]

Now consider Table 14, which presents the inflection of vowel-final stems. Note the vowel harmonisation in the inflection of *atigo* in all forms except N1SG.

**Table 14: YW semi-inflected realis forms in *-ken* ([-gen]), following a V-final stem.**

| | ***mba* 'sit'** | ***nde* 'say'** | ***ti* 'twine'** | ***atigo* 'bind'** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1SG** | *mba-gen-ep* | *nde-gen-ep* | *ti-gen-ep* | *atigo-gon-ep* |
| **N1SG** | *mba-gen* | *nde-gen* | *ti-gen* | *atigo-gen* |
| **1PL** | *mba-gen-ew-an* | *nde-gen-ew-an* | *ti-gen-ew-an* | *atigo-gon-ew-an* |
| **N1PL** | *mba-gin-in* | *nde-gin-in* | *ti-gin-in* | *atigo-gon-in* |

Forms in a nasal are presented in Table 15. Note that stem-final *n* assimilates to the *k* that follows. Drabbe notes that a number of verbs with primary stem in *mo* may also use a shorter stem in *m*, so that they follow the inflection of *kim* below; this is true for *agumo~agum* 'put into' and *tagamo~tagam* 'speak' (among others).

**Table 15: YW semi-inflected realis forms in *-ken* ([gen]) following a nasal-final stem.**

| | **REALIS in *-ken* (stem_I)** | |
|---|---|---|
| | ***kim* 'rub'** | ***jan* 'lie'** |
| **1SG** | *kim-gen-ep* | *jaŋ-gen-ep* |
| **N1SG** | *kim-gen* | *jaŋ-gen* |
| **1PL** | *kim-gen-ew-an* | *jaŋ-gen-ew-an* |
| **N1PL** | *kim-gin-in* | *jaŋ-gin-in* |

33 Drabbe reasons as follows: 'the verb *rogo* has the peculiarity that the *k* of *-ken* does not become *g,* so that the forms are *rogokenep, rogoken, rogokenewan* and *rogokinin*. We also do not find harmonization of *-ken* with the final *-o* of the stem. These two peculiarities suggest that the primary stem is actually *rok*: the final *k* and the *k* of *-ken* become one, following the general rule' (Drabbe 1959:128b–129a). Whereas Drabbe's arguments for a final *k* are clear, it is less clear why he gives *rok* and not *rogok* as the form of the stem.

### 2.3.3.4 Semi-inflected realis verbs in *-t*: Form[34]

Table 16 gives the paradigm of realis forms in *-t*. The suffix follows the secondary stem, if existing. Following the phonological rules of the language, intervocalic *-t* is realised as *-r*. For *o*-final stems, like *agumo* and *etogo*, the final vowel lowers to *a*. The reason for this is not clear. For *etogo*, this lowering of *o* to *a* goes along with harmonisation of preceding *o*, so that the *-t* forms of this verb are all realised with *etaga* as the base. A stem-final *e* harmonises with N1PL *-i*, see *kagaendi-r-in*.

**Table 16: YW semi-inflected realis forms in *-t*.**

| | ***kagaende*** **'look for'** | ***tami*** **'make canoe'** | ***agumo*** **'put into'** | ***etogo*** **'see_II'** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1SG** | *kagaende-r-ep* | *tami-r-ep* | *aguma-r-ep* | *etaga-r-ep* |
| **N1SG** | *kagaende-t* | *tami-t* | *aguma-t* | *etaga-t* |
| **1PL** | *kagaende-r-ew-an* | *tami-r-ew-an* | *aguma-r-ew-an* | *etaga-r-ew-an* |
| **N1PL** | *kagaendi-r-in* | *tami-r-in* | *aguma-r-in* | *etaga-r-in* |

Four verbs: *ko* 'go', *toro* 'go up_II', *matoro* 'come up_II' and *oro* 'put' have irregular forms in *-t*, in that the first person forms have *i* instead of *e* and in the non-first person forms the stem has *u* instead of *o*. For an illustration of these forms, the reader is referred to the past forms in *-an* which share the same irregularities.[35] These are given in Table 18, Section 2.3.4.1, which also discusses the irregular semi-inflected realis forms of *un~ondo* 'go across' and *mun~mondo* 'come across'.

### 2.3.3.5 Semi-inflected realis verbs compared: Function and distribution

This description follows Wester (2014:94–95) in analysing both the *-ken* forms and the *-t* forms as realis forms.[36] Both *-ken* forms and *-t* forms can be used in past, present or future contexts, and are dependent for their interpretation on the tense of the following verb. This is illustrated in (62)

34 Drabbe 1959: Section 55, pp. 129a–b.

35 In this I follow Drabbe, who only gives a paradigm for the fully inflected forms in *-an*.

36 Drabbe is not very explicit about the function of the two verb types, stating that '*ken*-forms are used for a process in present tense, but also for a process in the past'. Dependent on the context, 'they are also used as narrative forms' (Drabbe 1959:128a, b). For-*t* forms: 'about the use of *t*-forms we can generally say the same as about *ken*-forms'.

through (65) below.[37] First consider the quotes in (62) and (63), which present two instances of *-ken* forms. In (62), *warimo-gen* refers to a present state of 'lightning of the face' (expressing shame). In (63), on the other hand, *mbarukrap-ken* 'have.sex-RLS[NISG]' clearly refers to an event that has taken place in the past. The same is true of (64), where *kima-r-an* explicitly marks the final clause and preceding clause as past.

(62) *Na* *ŋginokkerop* *warawae* *warimo-gen* *nde-t.*
ISG face lightning lighten-RLS[NISG] say-RLS[NISG]
'"My face is lightning", it [the crocodile] said.' (4.07)

(63) *mbanew* *et* *ke* *te* *nu* *mbarukrap-ken*
crocodile NOM be CON ISG have.sex-RLS[NISG]
'"the crocodile has had sex with me", she said' (4.13)

(64) *iŋ-gen-ep* *kima-r-an*
hit-RLS-ISG die_II-RLS[NISG]-PST
'I killed him' (lit. 'I hit and he died'; Drabbe 1959:133)

Now consider (65), which gives a number of *-t* forms, printed in bold, some of which have a past, and some of which have a future reading. The two forms *raga-t* are part of a past narrative, in which the father warns his daughter to pull the rope if the crocodile wants to have sex with her. In the warning, on the other hand, the *-t* forms *ke-t* and *mbarukrawa-t* are used to refer to events that will happen in the future.

37 Drabbe uses the expression *i kim* 'hit die' to illustrate his point. He gives the following paradigm.

REALIS in *-ken* / *-t*

| semi-inflected + semi-inflected: present or past interpretation | semi-inflected + fully inflected past: past interpretation |
|---|---|
| *iŋ-gen-ep* / *i-r-ip* + *kim-gen* | iŋ-gen-ep / i-r-ip kima-r-an |
| *iŋ-gen* / *i-t* + *kim-gin-in* | iŋ-gen / i-t kima-r-in-an |
| *iŋ-gen-ew-an* / *i-r-i-w-an* + *kim-gin-in* | iŋ-gen-ew-an / i-r-i-w-an kima-r-in-an |
| *iŋ-gin-in* / *i-r-in* + *kim-gin-in* | iŋ-gin-in / i-r-in kima-r-in-an |
| 'I/you/(s)he/we/you/they hit him/her/them dead'(present / past interpretation) | 'I/you/(s)he/we/you/they hit him/her/them dead' (past interpretation) |

(65)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Raga-t**:* | *randuj* | *o* | *ŋguw* | *e* | *mitik* |
| speak-RLS[N1SG] | daughter | VOC | 2SG.EMPH | ARG | night |
| ***ke-t*** | *ki-n-in* | *ŋga,* | *mbanep* | *me* | *ŋgu* |
| be-RLS[N1SG] | be-N1[SG]-FUT | CIRC | crocodile | come | 2SG |
| ***mbarukrawa-t*** | ***ke-t*** | *ki-n-in* | *ŋga,* | *sapuk* | |
| have.sex-RLS[N1SG] | be-RLS[N1SG] | be-N1[SG]-FUT | CIRC | tobacco | |
| *nandap te* | *ŋgoropmo-p* | *nde-ro* | ***raga-t.*** | | |
| take.IMP AND | know-1SG | say-SS | say-RLS[N1SG] | | |

'He [the father] said: "you daughter, if it is night, if the crocodile comes and has sex with you, pull [the rope] and I will know".'(4.17)

What, then, is the difference between the *-ken* forms and the *-t* forms? Given that Drabbe does not answer this question, and given the limited size of the text corpus, I cannot do more than suggest a very tentative analysis. On the way to an explanation of the difference, the following observations should be taken into account:

i. *-ken* forms are far less frequent than *-t* forms[38]
ii. apart from the elicited example in (64), in the text corpus none of the *-ken* forms is followed by another verb in the same clause chain
iii. in line with that, *-ken* forms generally do not seem to refer to events as part of the narrative sequence of events
iv. about half of the *-ken* forms are forms of *mba* 'sit', most of them 3SG forms, referring to a state.

38 The corpus has 20 semi-inflected *-ken* forms: in 1.15, 2.02, 2.06, 3.06 (2x), 4.07, 4.13 (2x), 4.25 (2x), 5.06 (2x), 5.13, 5.15, 6.02, 8.01, 10.04, 10.07, 12.05 and 12.09. The only fully inflected *-ken* form (past) is found in 4.28.

On the basis of these observations, we might hypothesise that the primary function of *-ken* is aspectual. It frames the verb not as part of a sequence of events, but as a state (e.g. in the case of *mba-gen* 'sit-RLS[N1SG]'), or as an action that has led to a change in state (inchoative or perfect aspect). More research would be needed, however, to validate this hypothesis and to characterise the function of *-ken* more precisely.[39]

## 2.3.4 Fully inflected verbs: (Mood and) tense

### 2.3.4.1 Fully inflected realis verbs: Past tense[40]

The paradigm of fully inflected realis verbs is given in Table 17. Note that the forms of these verbs follow directly from those of the semi-inflected forms in *-t* presented in Table 15, with the addition of a past tense marker *-an* and with *-p* realised as [w] in intervocalic position, lowering of final *o* to *a* plus possible harmonisation of the preceding vowel, and harmonisation of stem-final *e* with the vowel of the plural suffix *-in*.

**Table 17: Fully inflected realis: Past.**

| | ***kagaende*** **'look for'** | ***tami*** **'make canoe'** | ***etogo*** **'see_II'** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1SG** | *kagaende-r-ew-an* | *tami-r-ew-an* | *etaga-r-ew-an* |
| **N1SG** | *kagaende-r-an* | *tami-r-an* | *etaga-r-an* |
| **1PL** | *kagaende-r-ew-an-an* | *tami-r-ew-an-an* | *etaga-r-ew-an-an* |
| **N1PL** | *kagaendi-r-in-an* | *tami-r-in-an* | *etaga-r-in-an* |

In the corpus, which consists exclusively of narrative texts, the past tense forms are used rather frequently. The first seven sentences of the first text, for example, all end in a past form. The first four of these sentences are presented here as (67) through (68); all past tense forms are printed in bold.

39 Wester reconstructs *ken as a proto-Dumut realis marker, occurring only in progressive contexts, and possibly derived from proto-Awyu–Dumut *ke* 'be'. She argues that in certain Dumut languages it has marginalised the older realis marker, but points out that this is not the case in YW, where only very few *-ken* forms occur (Wester 2014:102–103).

40 Drabbe 1959: Section 56, pp. 129b–130a.

(66) *Kamenwon* *i-no* *ra* ***ku-r-an;***
bullroarer swing_II-SS.SIM take go-RLS[N1SG]-PST

*ra* *ku-r* *a* *te* *segepotop* *ko*
take go-RLS[N1SG] SEQ CON kind.of.palm go

***ndarama-r-an.***
insert-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'A certain person went out hurling a bullroarer; he went and stuck it into a *segepotop* palm.' (1.01)

(67) *Emo-ro* *te* *rira-r* *kem* ***ku-r-an.***
do.thus-SS and go.down_II-RLS[N1SG] downstream go-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'Then he went down and went to the downstream area.' (1.02)

(68) *Oŋndum* *Kawon* *mogot* *ŋga* *jimin* ***ŋgama-r-an.***
island Kao mouth CIRC border chop.off-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'At an island at the mouth of the Kao river, he stopped walking.' (1.03)

As noted in Section 2.3.3.4, certain semi-inflected and fully inflected forms are irregular, with *i* used instead of *e* in the first person, and *u* instead of *o* in the non-first person. The paradigm of these four verbs is given in Table 18.

**Table 18: YW realis past forms in *-t* for *ko*, *toro*, *matoro*[41] and *oro*.**

| | ***ko* 'go'** | ***toro* 'go up_II'** | ***oro* 'put'** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1SG** | *ko-r-iw-an* | *toro-r-iw-an* | *oro-r-iw-an* |
| **N1SG** | *ku-r-an* | *turu-r-an* | *uru-r-an* |
| **1PL** | *ko-r-iw-an-an* | *toro-r-iw-an-an* | *oro-r-iw-an-an* |
| **N1PL** | *ku-r-in-an* | *turu-r-in-an* | *uru-r-in-an* |

Other irregular forms are used for *un~ondo* 'go across' and *mun~mondo* 'come across', where we find both regular *onda-r-an* 'go across' and *monda-r-an* 'come across' and irregular *undu-r-an* and *mundu-r-an*.

41 The paradigm of *matoro* 'come up' follows directly from that of *toro*.

### 2.3.4.2 Fully inflected irrealis verbs: Their form and function as future verbs[42]

The paradigm of fully inflected irrealis forms, used for reference to future events, is presented in Table 19. Note that the forms differ from the semi-inflected verbs presented in Section 2.3.3.2 (Table 12) only in the addition of a tense marker *-in* 'FUT', except in the first person singular, where, for example, semi-inflected *wagaemo-p* 'do.well-1SG' corresponds to fully inflected future *wagaemo-jip* 'do.well-1SG.FUT'. For stems in *e*, the final *e* harmonises with *i* in the following syllable: in 1SG and N1SG, as illustrated by *wagae ke* 'be healthy' in the rightmost column.

**Table 19: YW fully inflected irrealis forms: Future.**

| | ***wagaemo*** **'do well'** | ***majo*** **'come down_II'** | ***wagae ke*** **'be healthy'** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1SG** | *wagaemo-jip* | *majo-jip* | *wagae ki-jip* |
| **N1SG** | *wagaemo-n-in* | *majo-n-in* | *wagae ki-n-in* |
| **1PL** | *wagaemo-w-an-in* | *majo-w-an-in* | *wagae ke-w-an-in* |
| **N1PL** | *wagaemo-n-an-in* | *majo-n-an-in* | *wagae ke-n-an-in*[1] |

Note: Drabbe writes *wagae* ***ka****-n-an-in*. Because he does not further explain this form, I assume this is a typo.

In the text corpus, a handful of future forms are attested. Some of these were given in (59) through (61), where it was shown how semi-inflected (irrealis) forms receive their tense interpretation from the following future forms. Some other cases of future forms in the corpus are the following.[43] For the negation of future events see Section 2.6.

(69) *Ra* *me-ro* *saguma-r-in* *de* *tumo* *andena-w-an-in*
take come-SS bury-RLS-N1PL CON pull.out eat_II-1-PL-FUT

*ndi-r-in* *dok.*
say-RLS-N1PL GROUND

'They took and buried him but they decided to take him out again in order to eat him.' (lit. '"We will eat him", they said'; 2.10)

42 Drabbe 1959: Section 51, p. 128a.

43 In addition to the examples in (59)–(61) and (69)–(71), we find future forms in 4.17, 4.37 and 6.15.

(70) *Nu* *i* *ro-n-an-in* *o* *nde-t.*
1SG hit.IMP put-N1-PL-FUT CON say-RLS[N1SG]
'"Kill me", it [the crocodile] said.' (lit. 'hit and you [PL] will put me away'; 4.33)

(71) *ŋgo* *mbut* *me* *ŋg* *i-n-in*
2SG.POSS brother.in.law come 2SG hit_II-N1[SG]-FUT

*dok* *nde-ro …*
GROUND say-SS
'"for your brother in law will come and kill you", she said … ' (6.03)

## 2.4 Aspect

Tables 20 and 21 below show how different types of aspect are expressed. It can be observed that all habitual constructions involve a nominalised form in *-op*. This nominal form is part either of a verbal predicate formed by the verbaliser *mo* 'do' + inflected *mba* 'sit', or of a nominal predicate marked by *te* 'AFFMT'. Further, the verbs *mba* 'sit', or related *mbon* 'STAY' (see Section 2.4.2), play a role in two of the three habitual constructions and in all the durative constructions. Finally, the iterative, habitual and durative constructions share a number of other similarities: habitual construction 1 makes use of iterative stems, while habitual construction 3 is formally based on durative construction 2.

**Table 20: Iterative and habitual aspect.**

| | Iterative | Habitual | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | iterative stem + *mo* 'do' | 1[44] | iterative stem + *-op* 'NOM'<br>plus *mo* 'do'<br>plus inflected *mba* 'sit' |
| | | 2 | inflected verb + *-op* 'NOM'<br>plus *te* 'AFFMT' |
| | | 3 | uninflected verb in *-no*<br>plus infl. *mba* 'sit' + *-op* 'NOM' plus *te* 'AFFMT' |

44 As will be shown in Section 2.4.1.2, habitual construction 1 may, but does not necessarily, entail habituality.

**Table 21: Durative aspect.**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | inflected verb plus *mbon* 'STAY' |
| 2 | uninflected verb in *-no* plus inflected *mba* 'sit' |
| 3 | uninflected verb in *-n* plus *mo* 'do' plus inflected *mba* 'sit' |

## 2.4.1 Iterative aspect[45]

Iterative aspect is expressed by the use of dedicated iterative stems, usually formed by partial reduplication of the primary stem and the addition of a verbalising suffix *-mo* (see Section 2.8): see, for example, *en* 'eat', *in* 'hit' and *ip* 'twist rope' in Table 22. If the primary stem already ends in a verbaliser *-mo,* however, the iterative stem is not followed by a second verbalising *mo*: see, for example, *namepmo* 'ask for' and *ŋgarepmo* 'drag' in Table 22. In the data given by Drabbe, we find only three iterative stems which do not end in *mo*: *ra~raŋgande* in Table 23, and *kimitke* and *romŋganitke* in Table 23.

Consider (72) and (73). On the one hand, we see iterative *mememo*, related to the primary stem *me* 'come' by both reduplication and suffixation with *-mo*. On the other hand, the iterative *ambugutmo* 'put.into.ITER' (which is irregular, see Table 23) is related to a primary stem in *mo* (*agumo*) and does not receive a second suffix *-mo*.

(72) *Memema-r-in* *de* *mbukma-r-in-an.*
come.ITER-RLS-NIPL CON cut.in.pieces-RLS-NIPL-PST
'People came and cut him in pieces.' (7.11)

(73) *Mir* *e* *ra* *ko* *tow* *ambugutma-r-an.*
bone ARG take go opening put.into.ITER-RLS[NISG]-PST
'He took the bones and threw them into a pit.' (7.02)

Drabbe writes that iterativity may also be expressed by reduplication of 'the nominal part of verbal expression', as in *ŋgirike ri* 'fall down', with iterative *ŋgirike riri* or *ŋgimbirike ri.* Because the corpus contains no further examples of such iteratives with reduplicated nominal parts,[46] we restrict our discussion to the iterativity expressed by means of dedicated iterative verbal stems.[47]

45 Drabbe 1959: Sections 44–48, pp. 126b–127b.

46 The 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, however, has *mbaragae ke~mbambaragae ke* 'fall'.

47 The following is a list of all iterative stems in the corpus. The examples in italics contain iterative stems used a part of a habitual, see also Section 2.4.1.2: 1.07 (three examples, two of which are part of a habitual, see 2.4.1.2), 1.13, 1.14, *2.01*, 2.08, 4.10, 4.28, 4.40 (two examples), 5.03, 5.06, 5.07, *6.02, 6.03*, 6.06, 6.14, 7.02, *7.04*, 7.05, 7.11, 8.01, *9.02, 9.06*, 9.07, 9.09, 10.01, 10,03, 10.15, 11.01, *11.07, 12.06*.

Iterative stems are generally formed by reduplication of the first syllable. For monosyllabic words ending in a consonant, this final consonant is not copied in the reduplicant. Table 22 presents the regular forms provided by Drabbe.

A small number of primary stems ending in a vowel have an iterative counterpart in *k.mo*: *eto* 'see' *~etokmo*,[48] *jo* 'give' *~jojokmo* and *mati* 'get up' *~mamatikmo*. This *k* might be a reflection of an older stem-final *k, see also (27).

**Table 22: Primary stems and regularly related iterative stems.[49]**

| Primary stem | Iterative stem | Primary stem | Iterative stem |
|---|---|---|---|
| *en* 'eat' | *en~enemo* | *namepmo* 'ask for' | *na~namepmo* |
| *in* 'hit' | *in~inimo*[50] | *ŋgerakmo* 'drag' | *ŋge~ŋgerakmo* |
| *ip* 'twist rope' | *iw~ipmo* | *oro* 'put' | *oro~romo*[51] |
| *jo* 'call' | *jo~jomo* | *rap* 'take' | *ra~rapmo* |
| *kaepmo* 'break' [tr.][52] | *ka~gaepmo* | *ri* 'chop down' | *ri~rimo* |
| *karemo* 'do like' | *ka~garemo* | *ro* 'plant' | *ro~romo*[53] |
| *ke* 'be' | *ke~gemo* | *rogo* 'say' | *ro~rogomo* |
| *ko* 'go' | *ko~gomo* | *tagamo* 'speak' | *ta~tagamo* |
| *kojapmo* 'deceive' | *ko~gojapmo* | *tami* 'make canoe' | *ta~tamimo* |
| *map* 'give to me' | *ma-mapmo* | *tat* 'scrape' | *ta~tatmo* |
| *mari* 'come down' | *ma~marimo* | *ti* 'twine' | *ti~timo* |
| *matut* 'come up' | *ma~matutmo* | *tut* 'go up' | *tu~tutmo* |
| *me* 'come' | *me~memo* | *up* 'fight' | *u~upmo* |
| *mi* 'drink' | *mi~mimo* | *ut* 'go in or out' | *u~utmo* |
| *mut* 'come in/out' | *mu~mutmo* | *wagaemo* 'do well' | *wa~wagaemo* |

Quite a number of verbs have irregular iterative stems, see Tables 23 and 24. Although the iterative stems are not predictable based on the form of the primary stem, they are generally clearly related to them, and

48 Or *etotokmo*, according to the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

49 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix has the following additional examples: *mborotmo~mbomborotmo* 'demolish etc.'; *mop ke~momop ke* 'be afraid'; *ŋgoropmo~ŋgoŋgoropmo* 'know'*; so~sosomo* 'dig'; *tamo~tatamo* 'sew'; *tupke~tutupke* 'get loose'.

50 Also two irregular forms, see Table 24.

51 But also *ndugupmo*, see Table 24, and the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

52 Note that the language also has a form *kae* 'break', and that Drabbe glosses *kaepmo* as an iterative stem in 5.07. Drabbe's 1956 wordlist (see the Appendix) gives *kaende* 'break (tr.)', *kaepmo* as its iterative counterpart, and, somewhat confusingly, *kagaepmo* as the iterative of *kaepmo*.

53 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist gives *rombotmo* as an additional iterative form. In Drabbe's 1959 publication, *rombotmo* is attested once and glossed as 'fix'.

share a number of characteristics.[54] Note that five of the primary stems have two corresponding iterative stems. Also noteworthy is the fact that a number of homophonous primary roots have different iterative stems, e.g. *un~undundumo* 'go across' in Table 23 vs *un~sapmo* 'roast' in Table 24, or *jo~jojomo* 'call' in Table 22 vs *jo~jokmo* 'give'.

**Table 23: Primary stems and irregularly related iterative stems.[55]**

| Primary stem | Iterative stem | Primary stem | Iterative stem |
|---|---|---|---|
| *andap* 'bind' | *andarapmo* | *raŋgande* 'shout' | *ra~raŋgande* |
| *agumo* 'put into' | *ambugutmo* | *re* 'stand' | *reregemo* |
| *atigo* 'bite' | *ambatikmo*[56] | *rom* 'cry, weep' | *roromo, romŋganitke*[57] |
| *ikmo* 'wake up' | *imbigikmo* | *sara(p)mo* 'tear' [tr.] | *sawarapmo* |
| *jan* 'lie' | *jajaŋgetmo, jajawukmo*[58] | *so* 'dig' | *soomo*[59] |
| *kim* 'die' | *kimitke* | *soke* 'jump' | *sokegemo* |
| *kim* 'rub' | *kimbarukmo*[a] | *somo* 'throw' | *soŋgitmo* |
| *mba* 'sit' | *mbambagemo* | *sumo* 'carry' | *supmo, sumbupmo* |
| *mbikmo* 'prick' | *mbigimbikmo* | *tagimo* 'pay' | *tagiripmo* |
| *mun* 'come across' | *mumundomo* | *tiomo* 'spit' | *tioŋgitmo* |
| *ndat* 'hear' | *ndandatmo, ndandaremo* | *tupke* 'get loose' | *tutupke* |
| *nde* 'say' | *ndegemo, ndendemo* | *un* 'go across' | *undundum*o |
| *randokmo* 'leave behind' | *randugupmo* | | |

Note: (a) This iterative stem has developed an idiosyncratic meaning 'swim', see Text 1.13, 1.14 and 4.28. See also *kimra ko* 'swim' in the YW–English wordlist number 105.

54 The iterative stems are all longer than the corresponding primary stems. In addition, we find sets of stems that share certain similarities, like a prefix-like element *Vmb-* (in *agumo, atigo* and *ikmo*), or a (pre)final syllable of the form *(k)Vt* (in *ambugutmo, jajaŋget, soŋgitmo, tioŋgitmo*). It is outside the scope of this book, however, to analyse these forms in more detail.

55 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix gives a number of other irregular stems: *ajukmo~ambajukmo* 'not want'; *ambumo~ambusiripmo* 'miss etc.'; *atoromo~atombiripmo* 'thread, step'; *ŋgirimo~kiririmo* 'flee'; *iptumo~iptutupmo* 'sigh, it. grunt'; *itokmo~itombokmo* 'cut an opening'; *katkok ke~kat kombogok ke* 'be in pain'; *kombe ro~kogombetmo* 'have a swelling'; *korokmo~komborokmo* 'untie'; *kukmo~kumbugukmo* 'teach, direct'; *mbukmo~mbugumbukmo* 'cut'; *mukmo~mugumukmo* 'rub, clean'; *ndomke~ndoŋgitke* 'fall into disrepair'; *ŋgarimo~ŋgaŋgaripmo* 'deny'; *ra haramo~ra hawarapmo* 'tear by hand'; *ra ndomo~ra ndoŋgitmo* 'break off'; *rumo~rumburumo* 'spread out'; *samo~sambupmo* 'mishit'; *tat, tare~tatapmo* 'scrape off'; *tokmo~tombokmo* 'split'; *tumo~tutupmo* 'pull off'.

56 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix has *ambitikmo* rather than *ambatikmo*.

57 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix has *romŋgandit ke*.

58 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix also has *jajamo*.

59 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix gives *soomo* as the iterative stem corresponding to *somo* 'throw', and regular *sosomo* as the iterative stem corresponding to *so* 'dig'.

A number of primary verb stems correspond to iterative stems that are formally unrelated, while three verbs have a non-reduplicated iterative stem formed with suffix *-p*. These are given in Table 24.

**Table 24: Primary stems with corresponding formally unrelated iterative stems, or with corresponding iterative stems in *-p*.[60]**

| Primary stem | Iterative stem |
|---|---|
| *i, in* 'hit' | *ŋgotonde*, see also note 61. |
| *ŋgamo* 'give birth' | *ŋgapmo* |
| *oro* 'put' | *ndugupmo*[61] |
| *rambamo* 'ask for' | *rambapmo* |
| *rap* 'take' | *mberemo* |
| *taem* 'shoot' | *turumo* |
| *taeŋgamo* 'chop' | *taeŋgapmo* |
| *un* 'roast' | *sapmo* |

Iterativity conceives of an event as a series of repetitive events. Thus, it may refer to actions that are inherently repetitive, like dancing, as in (74), to multiple subjects carrying out the same action, as in (75), to one or more subjects carrying out the same action repeatedly, or to multiple objects, as in (76) and (77), respectively. First consider (74), with *rarapmo-no* indicating the repetitive movement of dancing.

(74)

| *mbit* | *ketmon* | *rarapmo-no* | *te* | *Kori* | *ŋga* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| feast | dance | take.ITER-SS.SIM | CON | Kori | AG |

| *raga-t* | *te* | *Naerop* | *taemba-r-in* | *kima-r-an* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| speak-RLS[NISG] | CON | Naerop | shoot_II_RLS-NIPL | die_II-RLS[NISG]-PST |

'while he was dancing, Kori told the people to shoot Naerop so that he died' (2.08)

In (75), the iterative verb may indicate repeated biting, but appears to express that there are multiple fish biting the elder sister.

60 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix offers some extra examples: *i, in-ŋgombokmo* 'kill'; *rambamo-rambapmo* 'ask for'.

61 But also regular *ororo mo*, see Table 22.

(75) *Jan* *ani* *ambitikma-r-an.*
3SG.POSS sister bite.ITER-RLS[NI]-PST
'They bit his sister.' (6.14)

In (76), the motion verb *titimo* 'to twine', unlike *ketmon* 'to dance', relates to a movement that, unlike the dancing above, is not inherently iterative, but is nevertheless done repeatedly, by the same subject.

(76) *Rambari* *Koheponon* *ŋga* *kahat* *pop* *titimo-no*
old.woman Koheponon AG bamboo fyke twine.ITER-SS.SIM

*rombotmo* *ra* *ku-r-an.*
fix go sit_II-RLS[NISG]
'The old woman Koheponon went making bamboo fykes, and fixed them, one after the other, (in the river).' (10.01)

In (77) and (78), we see a sequence of two sentences. In the first sentence, the catching of the snakes and the catching of the scorpions is not conceived of as an iterative process, given the use of non-iterative *rawa* 'take_II'. In (78), however, taking these animals up into the tree is described by the (irregular) iterative verb *mberemo* 'take.ITE'. Although this might, in principle, indicate that the subject had to go up the tree several times, there is nothing in Drabbe's description that suggests that this is intended. Unfortunately, we can only guess at what exactly makes that this event iterative.[62]

(77) *Ema-t* *te* *togop* *rawa-t,*
do.thus-RLS[NISG] CON snake take_II-RLS[NISG]

*ambumkak* *rawa-t.*
scorpion take_II-RLS[NISG]
'He caught poisonous snakes and scorpions.' (6.05)

62 The iterative might express the multiplicity of the object, and stress that both the snakes and the scorpions were taken up into the tree. This conceptualisation, however, is not a must, but a possible way of conceiving this collection of animals of different sorts. This is clear from the next sentence in the corpus, 6.07, where it is described how all these animals are put into a container of *nibung* bark. There, the speaker uses non-iterative *aguma* 'put into', even though the object is the same as the object of iterative *mbere ma* 'take' in (78).

(78) *Mberema-r* *a* *turu-ro* *enop* *jojomara*
take.ITER-RLS[N1SG] SEQ go.up-SS tree kind.of.tree

*ko* *andawa-t.*
go bind_II-RLS[N1SG]
'He took all of these and went up in a tree by binding a jojomara tree to it (and climbing along this tree).' (6.06)

### 2.4.1.1 Habitual aspect[63]

The different means of expressing habitual aspect were presented in Table 20 and are presented somewhat differently in Table 25, in order to show the syntactic structure more clearly. Of the three constructions described by Drabbe, only the first, based on the iterative stem, is attested in the text corpus. Note that the iterative infix <*op*> is realised as *jop* when following a vowel, which is different from the 'allomorphy' exhibited by the suffix *-op* 'NMLZ', which is linked to a preceding vowel by *n*, see Section 2.3.2.1.

**Table 25: Habitual aspect.**

| | I | II | III |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | – | it. stem + <*op*> 'ITER' | infl. *mba* 'sit' |
| **2** | – | infl. verb + *-op* 'NOM' | *te* 'AFFMT' |
| **3** | V in *-no* | infl. *mba* + *-op* 'NOM' | *te* 'AFFMT' |

Note: V = verb; it. = iterative; infl. = inflected. I, II and III indicate positions in the syntactic structure of the clause.

The three different constructions will now be dealt with one by one.

### 2.4.1.2 'Habitual constructions' based on iterative stems

Of the three habitual constructions described by Drabbe, this is the only construction of which we find examples in the corpus. In his grammatical introduction, Drabbe gives the following four examples.

(79) *na* *ruk* *ndandare<jop>mo* *mba-gen*
1SG.POSS word hear.ITER<ITER> sit-RLS[N1SG]
'he always listens to my words' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

63 Drabbe 1959: Sections 103–105, pp. 141b–142a.

(80) *meme<jop>mo* *mbage-r-ew-an*
come.ITER<ITER> sit_II-RLS-1[SG]-PST
'I used to come here regularly' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

(81) *ragae* *enene<jop>mo* *mbage-w-an-in*
fish eat.ITER<ITER> sit_II-1-PL-FUT
'we will always eat fish' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

(82) *kogo<jop>mo* *nambon*
go.ITER<ITER> sit.IMP[SG]
'always keep going there!' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

In fact, what is described by Drabbe as a habitual is better characterised as an iterative which may, depending on the context, have a habitual interpretation. This is clear from examples like (83) and (84). In both cases, the construction refers to an iterative sequence of events within a limited time span. They are, therefore, better characterised as iteratives rather than habituals.

(83) *Roma-n* *kup* *meme<jop>mo* *mbage-t.*
weep-VN with come.ITER<ITER> sit_II-RLS[N1SG]
'But he kept on coming, weeping.' (12.06)

(84) *Majum* *tombon* *ŋga* *ragae* *turuma-t* *te*
kind.of.sago leaf.midrib CIRC fish shoot.ITER-RLS[N1] CON

*ra* *kagaepmo* *kin* *kogo<jop>mo* *mbage-r-an.*
take break.IT upstream go.ITER<ITER> sit_II-RLS[N1]-PST
'They shot at the fish with midribs of sago leaves, but the fishes broke them and went upstream.' (1.07)

In other cases, like (85) and (86) below, the constructions clearly have a habitual interpretation. It is remarkable that a number of the examples with habitual interpretation are found in the opening scenes of narratives. Before diving into the sequence of events, these opening scenes first depict what happened iteratively, describing 'what used to be the case'. Thus, (85), telling how Kori always brings an animal to a feast, sets the scene of a story in which one of Kori's animals is killed by his son.

(85) *Kori ŋga mbir e ragae kup ragae arjok kup*
Kori AG feast ARG fish with fish raw with

*kunow arjok kup agumo-ro mbit kogo<jop>mo*
marsupial raw with put.into-SS feast go.ITER<ITER>

*mbage-t te*
sit_II-RLS[N1SG] AFFMT
'Kori always brought raw fish and raw meat whenever he went to a feast.' (2.01)

We also find a habitual in the opening passage of the narrative about Wawit and his children. By depicting how Wawit always eats sago alone, without sharing it with his children, this passage explains the behaviour of the sons and the parents in the narrative to come.

(86) *Wawir en amandum-ŋguj towoj ndun ri-ni*
Wawit LNK son-PL fruit bat sago chop-INT

*ku-r-an.*
go-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'Wawit, whose sons are fruit bats, went to prepare sago.' (9.01)

(87) *Mbimbinketowon-tawat ku-r-an de munotir e*
Mbimbinketowon-tawat go-RLS[N1SG]-PAST CON children ARG

*mbitip poki-r-in de ndun e ju gup ra*
house sit.PL-RLS-N1PL CON sago ARG 3SG self take

*me enene<jop>mo mbage-t.*
come eat.ITER<ITER> sit_II-RLS[N1SG]
'He went to the sago swamp called Mbinkinketowom-tawat, and his children stayed at home, and when he used to come home with sago, he used to eat it alone.' (9.02)

It is interesting to note that in both of the above passages, the habitual also has scope over (part of) the preceding clause chain. In (85), it is by the use of *kogojopmo mbaget te* that the entire clause chain is interpreted as habitual. In (87) *enenejopmo mbaget* seems—according to Drabbe's translation—to have scope over the clause chain from *ndun* onwards, although it is also

possible that the entire chain should be included: always when he went out, his children used to stay at home, and he used to come home and eat the sago alone.

### 2.4.1.3 Other habitual constructions

Like the habitual construction described in Section 2.4.1.2, the habituals described here also make use of nominalised verbs. Unlike the construction in 2.4.1.2, however, here the nominalised verbs are inflected. These nominalised inflected verbs are marked as the nominal predicate by the use of affirmative *te* (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2). The construction is optionally preceded by *sun* 'always' or *emo-ro* 'do.thus-ss', also used for 'do all the time'. This can be visualised as follows:

(*sun* / *emo-ro*) [[ [ Verb-infl ] *-op* ]$_{NP}$ *te* ]$_{\text{nominal predicate}}$

**Figure 12: Habitual construction with predicative *te*.**

Consider, for example, *mbetatmogenop te*, the structure of which can be visualised as:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [[ [ | *mbetatmo-gen* ] | *-op* ]$_{NP}$ | *te* ]$_{\text{nominal predicate}}$ |
| | do.wrong-RLS[N1SG] | -NMLZ | AFFMT |
| | 'it is (always): he does wrong' → 'he is always doing wrong' | | |

**Figure 13: Example of a habitual construction with affirmative *te*.**

Other examples given by Drabbe (1959:141b) include the following:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (88a) | *emo-gon-ew-op* | *te* | (88b) | *emo-gen-op* | *te* |
| | do.thus-RLS-1[SG]-NMLZ | AFFMT | | do.thus-RLS[N1SG]-NMLZ | AFFMT |
| | 'I always do so' | | | 'he always does so' | |
| (88c) | *emo-gon-ew-an-op* | *te* | (88d) | *emo-gon-in-op* | *te* |
| | do.thus-RLS-1-PL-NMLZ | AFFMT | | do.thus-RLS-N1PL-NMLZ | AFFMT |
| | 'we always do so' | | | 'they always do so' | |
| (88e) | *ema-r-an-op* | *te* | (88f) | *emo-n-in-op* | te |
| | do.thus-RLS[N1SG]-PST-NMLZ | AFFMT | | do.thus-N1[SG]-FUT-NMLZ | AFFMT |
| | 'he always did so' | | | 'he will always do so' | |

Not surprisingly, iterative stems can also be used in this structure, as in (89) below.

(89) *jojokmo-gen-op* *ten*
give.ITER-RLS[N1SG]-NMLZ AFFMT
'he always gives' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

As indicated in Table 25, Drabbe distinguishes a third habitual construction, consisting of a verb in *-no* 'SS.SIM' plus an inflected verb of *mba* 'sit' plus *te* 'AFFMT'. Instead of a verb in *-no*, one may also use a bare verb stem. In my view, this construction can probably best be analysed as an instantiation of the normal habitual construction combined with a durative construction (see below), as is shown in Figure 14.

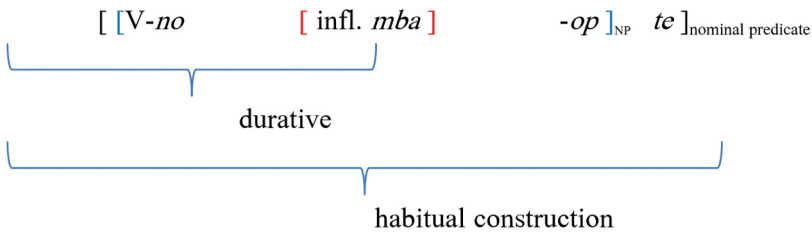



**Figure 14: Habitual construction with inflected *mba* 'sit' and predicative *te* 'AFFMT'.**

Drabbe gives the following two examples of these habituals formed with a durative, one with an uninflected form in *-no* and one with a bare stem.

(90) *mbitip* *ti-no* *mba-gin-in-op* *te*
house twine-SS.SIM SIT-RLS-N1PL-NMLZ AFFMT
'it is (always): they are building the house' → 'they are regularly busy with building the house' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

(91) *mir* *e* *top* *me* *agumo* *mba-gen-op* *te*
bone ARG hole come put.into sit-RLS[N1SG]-NMLZ AFFMT
'he always puts the bones in this hole' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

## 2.4.2 Durative aspect[64]

The term 'durative' (Dutch: '*duratief*') is used by Drabbe without further explanation, and seems to refer to a framing of events as 'ongoing' and as having a certain duration. As indicated in Table 21, repeated here as Table 26, durative aspect can be expressed in different ways.

**Table 26: Durative aspect.**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | inflected verb plus *mbon* 'STAY' |
| 2 | uninflected verb in *-no* plus inflected *mba* 'sit' |
| 3 | uninflected verb in *-n* plus *mo* 'do' plus inflected *mba* 'sit' |

Of the different ways in which durative aspect can be expressed, the second is attested most frequently in the corpus, while the other two are very rare.

First consider (92) to (94), which all contain the durative *mbon* 'STAY'. These sentences can be analysed as predicated by *mbon* 'STAY'.

(92) *mirip* *majo-n-in* *mbon*
rain come.down_II-NI[SG]-FUT STAY
'it will be raining' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

(93) *ow* *oro-gen* *mbon*
figure put-RLS[NISG] STAY
'he is writing' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

(94) *Mbitip* *ti-r-in-an* *mbon*
house twine-RLS-NIPL-PST STAY
'they were building a house' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

In the corpus we do not find examples of verbs followed by *mbon* 'STAY', but only cases where *mbon* 'STAY' is not preceded by a verb and indicates a 'being present'. These cases and other uses of *mbon* 'STAY' are discussed in Section 2.7.

We now turn to the second durative construction, formed by an uninflected form in *-no* followed by an inflected form of *mba* 'sit'. A number of examples are given in (95) to (97), where the durative constructions are in bold. In (95), we see Koromop playing the mouth harp in his house. This playing has a certain duration; a number of women apparently hear him playing

64 Drabbe 1959: Section 100–102, p. 141b.

and want to know where the sound is coming from, and start a durative investigation, as can be read in (96). As it is not very likely that the women were in a sitting position while wondering (they were building huts, see Text 5.03), we may conclude that here the meaning of *mba* is bleached.

(95)

| *Koromow* | *et* | *ke* | *te* | *ŋgombejop* | *tare-r* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Koromop | NOM | be | CON | mouth.harp | play_II_RLS[NISG] | SEQ |

| *mbitiw* | *enden* | *ŋga* | ***ri-no*** | ***mbage-t*** | *te.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| house | alone | CIRC | play-SS.SIM | sit_II-RLS[NISG] | AFFMT |

'Koromop made a mouth harp, and while he was alone in the house, he was playing it.' (5.01)

(96)

| *Ran* | *etogo-w-an* | *nde-ro* | ***arek*** | ***ke-no*** | ***mboke-t!*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| woman | see_II-1-PL | say-SS | investigate | be-SS.SIM | sit_II.PL-RLS[NI] |

'The women were wondering (where the sound came from) and said: "let's go and see!"' (5.02)

Finally consider (97), where we find *tareno* 'scrape_II-SS.SIM' followed by *mbaget* 'sit_II-RLS[NISG]' referring to the process of making an arrow. Note that there is no implication of overlap with the following clause: the scraping goes on (*ku-r*) until it gets night, and then his brother comes and leads him up into the house.

(97)

| *Ja* | *nan* | *e* | *kanut* | *tare-no* | *mbage-t* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.POSS | younger.brother | ARG | arrow | scrape_II-SS.SIM | sit_II-RLS[NISG] |

| *ku-r* | *a* | *mitik* | *ke-t …* |
|---|---|---|---|
| go-RLS[NISG] | ARG | night | be-RLS[NISG] |

| *Matiram* | *ŋga* | *me-ro* | *taramo* | *mbitip* | *turu-r-an.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Matiram | AG | come-SS | lead | house | go.up-RLS[NISG]-PST |

'The younger brother was making an arrow, and was busy with that until it became night and Matiram came and lead him up into the house.' (7.06)

The third and final durative construction is formed by an uninflected verb in *-n*, which I have tentatively glossed as VN, verbal noun, plus *mo* 'do', plus inflected *mba* 'sit'. The verbal nouns seem to be formed on the basis of the secondary stem (Drabbe is not explicit about this), if it exists; for stems in *o* the vowel lowers to *a*, as in *ora-n* from *oro* 'put'. In (98) through (100), constructions of the second type, in *-no*, are compared to constructions of the third type, with uninflected forms in *-n* and auxiliary *mo*. Note that the translation of (98a) and (b) below suggests that the 'durative' construction may, when combined with a stative verb, also be used to express a permanent state or property.

(98a) *ow* *oro-no* mba-gen-ep
figure put-SS.SIM sit-RLS-1SG
'I am writing' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

(98b) *ow* *ora-n* *mo* *mba-gen-ep*
figure put-VN do sit-RLS-1SG
'I am writing' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

(99a) *mirip* *mari-no* *mbage-r-an*
raining come.down-SS.SIM sit_II-RLS[NISG]-PST
'it was raining' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

(99b) *mirip* *mari-n* *mo* *mbage-r-an*
raining come.down-VN do sit_II-RLS[NISG]-PST
'it was raining' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

(100a) *konoj* *tami-no* *mbo-kin-in*
canoe make.canoe-SS.SIM sit.PL-RLS-NIPL
'they are making a canoe' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

(100b) *konoj* *tami-n* *mo* *mbo-kin-in*
canoe make.canoe-VN do sit.PL-RLS-NIPL
'they are making a canoe' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

(101a) *mop* *ke-no* *mba-gen*
afraid be-SS.SIM sit-RLS[NISG]
'he is a coward [Dutch: *bangerd*]' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

(101b) *mop* *ke-n* *mo* *mba-gen*
afraid be-VN do sit-RLS[NISG]
'he is a coward [Dutch: *bangerd*]' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

An example of the third type from the corpus is the following, where it is told how a child was weeping all the time.[65]

| (102) | *Mun* | *omae* | *mbage-t* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | boy | one | sit_II-RLS[NISG] | CON |
| | *roma-n* | *mo* | *mbage-t* | *te;* |
| | weep-VN | do | sit_II-RLS[NISG] | AFFMT |

'A child stayed behind and was weeping all the time;' (12.05)

## 2.4.3 Completive aspect[66]

As in other Greater Awyu languages, completive aspect in YW is expressed by more or less grammaticalised verbs that mean 'finish', 'not do' or 'put down': *mbumo*, *ndojmo* or *oro*, respectively.[67] Whereas Drabbe describes these formatives as regular verbs, there are indications that they are developing into invariable markers of grammatical aspect. First consider (103) and (104), in which *mbumo* is used as a regular verb.[68] It is used as an uninflected same-subject form in (103), and as a semi-inflected form in (104), where it is followed by a verb with a different subject (*me-gen* 'come-RLS[NISG]').

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65 In the corpus, we find only two other example of verbs in *-n*: a second *roma-n* in the sentence 12.05, and another *roma-n* in 12.08, presented here:

| *Ema-t* | *te* | *mitik* | *ke-t* | *te* | *ndari-r-in* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | night | be-RLS[NISG] | CON | hear_II-RLS-NIPL |
| *te* | *roma-n* | *kup* | *me-nok* | *ke-t* | |
| con | weep-VN | with | come-VN.NEG | be-RLS[NISG] | |

'After this, it became night and they listened and there was no weeping (lit. it did not come with weeping)' (12.08)

66 Drabbe 1959: Section 75, pp. 136a–b.

67 According to Drabbe, the completive verbs *mbumo* 'finish', *ndojmo* 'not do' and *oro* 'put down' are always preceded by an inflected verb plus sequential marker *a*. In SS-constructions, the uninflected form of the completive verb is used, while the inflected verb is used in DS-constructions. The uninflected SS completive verb is followed by *te* 'CON', which in turn is followed by semi-inflected realis, as in (103), or by semi-inflected irrealis, as in (i) below. Semi-inflected completive verbs, however, are followed by *te* plus semi-inflected realis, as in (104), or by *ŋga* plus semi-inflected irrealis, as in (ii) below. If I compare Drabbe's description to what we find in the corpus, however, I get the impression that Drabbe's description at this point leans too heavily on elicitation, and suggests too rigid a structure.

(i)

| *and-ew* | *a* | *mbumo(-ro)* | *te* | *ka-jip* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| eat-1SG | SEQ | finish(-SS) | con | go.IRR-1SG.FUT |

'After I have eaten, I will go.' (Drabbe 1959:136a)

(ii)

| *and-ew* | *a* | *mbumo-m* | *ŋga* | *ka-n-in* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| eat-1SG | SEQ | finish-1SG | CIRC | go.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT |

'After I have eaten, he will go.' (Drabbe 1959:136a)

68 Although Drabbe is very clear about the fact that also *ndojmo* 'not do' and *ororo* 'put down' are verbs, he does not give any explicit examples. In the text corpus, for *mbumo* 'finish' we find both the verb and more grammaticalised uses, for *ororo* 'put down' only more grammaticalised uses, and no forms of *ndojmo* 'not do'. In his comment on 1.09, Drabbe even remarks that *oro* 'put' is never attested in an inflected form.

(103) *ande-r-ew* *a* *mbumo(-ro)* *te* *me-gen-ep*
eat-RLS-1SG SEQ finish(-SS) CON come-RLS-1SG
'after I had eaten, I came' (Drabbe 1959:136a)

(104) *ande-r-ew* *a* *mbumo-gon-ep* *te* *me-gen*
eat-RLS-1SG SEQ finish-RLS-1SG CON come-RLS[N1SG]
'after I had eaten, he came' (Drabbe 1959:136a)

In the text corpus, we find cases where *ororo* and *mbumo* seem to have grammaticalised into invariant aspectual markers. Consider, for example, (105) and (106) below. In the preceding sentences it has been told how Koromop went out to break bamboo, and how, in the meantime, women had come to search his house for the mouth harp on which they had heard him playing. In (105) it is stated that Koromop has finished breaking bamboo. In (106), a new passage begins, marked by the use of the explicit proper noun. It is not hard to see that *ororo* in (105) is not a regular ss-verb. First, it is followed by a pause that marks the end of the sentence, whereas a regular ss-form needs to be followed by another verb in the same sentence. Second, the subject of the following sentence, Koromop, is mentioned explicitly, even though it is the same, expressing even more clearly that this new clause is really part of a new sentence, or even a new passage.[69]

(105) *Ok* *kahat* *kaepma-r* *a* *ororo* *te.*
water bamboo break-RLS[N1SG] SEQ COMPL AFFMT
'He [Koromop] finished breaking bamboo.' (5.07)

(106) *Koromop* *mari* *ku-r* *a* *ok* *sa-r.*
Koromop come.down go-RLS[N1SG] SEQ water dig-RLS[N1SG]
'(Some time later) Korom came down and went to scoop for water.' (5.08)

Now consider the following passage. As in the case of *ororo* above, here *mbumo* is not followed by a verb in the same sentence, which shows that it does not function as a regular (same-subject) verb. It rather functions as an aspectual marker, possibly indicating that the children had completed bringing in leaves and burning them before Wawit's return.

69 Compare the annotation in the text edition, which gives additional evidence that 5.08 starts a new scene.

(107)

| *Ema-t* | *te* | *moto* | *kawondi-ni* | *ku-t* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | come.in/out_II | split-INT | go-RLS[NISG] |

| *jaŋguw* | *e* | *moto* | *up* | *ron,* | *ndun* | *seregop,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3PL.EMPH | ARG | come.in/out_II | taro | leaf | sago | palm.leaf |

| *tenot* | *mim* | *ra* | *me-ro* |
|---|---|---|---|
| kind.of.plant | root | take | come-SS |

| *tir* | *ambir* | *unda-r-in-an* | *mbumo.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| banana | ash | burn-RLS-NIPL-PST | stop |

'One day, he [Wawit] came out (of his house) and went to pound sago; in the meantime, his children had also come out and brought taro leaves, sago leaves, and *tenot* roots (to decorate themselves), and burnt banana skins.' (9.03)

(108)

| *Ema-t* | *te* | *mbitiw* | *enden* | *ŋga* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | house | alone | CIRC |

*aepki-r-in-an.*

decorate-RLS-NIPL-PST

'They had done so and while they were alone in the house, they decorated themselves.' (9.04)

(109)

| *Jaŋgo* | *noj* | *jaŋgo* | *nati* | *mindi-r-in-an* | *de* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3PL.POSS | mother | 3PL.POSS | father | come_II-RLS-NIPL-PST | CON |

| *ema-t* | *te* | *jaŋguw* | *e* | *nduŋnde* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | 3PL.EMPH | ARG | altogether |

| *enop* | *kurugut* | *wamburuma-r-in.* |
|---|---|---|
| tree | upper.part | hang-RLS-NIPL |

'While their parents were coming, they went to hang in the upper part of trees.' (9.05)

# 2.5 Imperative and prohibitive

## 2.5.1 Imperative[70]

The following two examples of imperatives have been taken from the corpus: (110) as illustration of a singular imperative, (111) as illustration of a plural.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (110) | *mbanep* | *me* | *ŋgu* | *mbarukrawa-t* | | *ke-t* |
| | crocodile | come | 2SG | have.sex-RLS[N1SG] | | be-RLS[N1SG] |
| | *ki-n-in* | *ŋga,* | *sapuk* | *nandap* | *te* | *ŋgoropmo-p* |
| | be-N1[SG]-FUT | CIRC | tobacco | take.IMP | CON | know-1SG |
| | 'if the crocodile comes and has sex with you, pull [the rope] and I will know'(4.17) | | | | | |
| (111) | *Maturu* | *te* | *nu* | *mene* | *ŋga* | *ok* | *nati-nin* |
| | come.up | CON | 1SG | here | CIRC | water | row.IMP-PL |
| | *nde-t* | *te.* | | | | | |
| | say-RLS[N1SG] | AFFMT | | | | | |
| | 'It came up and said: "row [PL] me here (across) the river!"'(4.03) | | | | | | |

Plural imperatives are formed by suffixation of the imperative stem with *-nin*. As will be explained in more detail below, depending on the form of the imperative stem, the plural suffix is linked to the stem by a linker *i* or *o*; for plurals of stems in *-nok*, the forms in *-nog-o-nin* alternate with forms in *-nonin*.

Verbs generally have two types of imperative stems: an imperative stem formed by suffixation with *-nok* and an *n*-initial imperative stem. We first consider suffixation with *-nok* for verbs in *-mo*. Following this, the perspective is widened to also include other verbs and the *n*-initial imperative stems.

The suffix *-no* is historically derived from the imperative form of the verbaliser *mo*.[71] In that light, it is not surprising that for verbs with either a primary or a secondary stem in *-mo*, the imperative is formed by substitution

70 Drabbe 1959: Sections 58–60, pp. 130a–131a.

71 I follow Drabbe in analysing *-nok* as a suffix. It might also be possible to analyse these imperative stems in *-nok* as bare imperative stems followed by an auxiliary *nok* 'do.IMP'.

of *-mo* with *-nok*. Table 27 gives an overview of primary stems in *-mo* (all of which do not have a corresponding secondary stem) with corresponding imperative stems in *-nok*. Drabbe writes that all of these stems may also form an alternative imperative, by suffixation with *-nok* after the full stem in *-mo*, so that we find, for example, *ketamo-nok* as an alternative for *ketanok*.

**Table 27: Imperative stems for primary stems in *-mo*.**

| stem_I | IMP [SG] |
|---|---|
| *mo* 'do' | *nok/monok* |
| *ewemo* 'do thus' | *ewenok/ewemonok* |
| *ketamo* 'close eyes' | *ketanok/ketamonok* |
| *komo* 'close' | *konok/komonok* |
| *ndimo* 'touch' | *ndinok/ndimonok* |
| *sumo* 'carry' | *sunok/sumonok* |
| *tumo* 'pull out' | *tunok/tumonok* |

For verbs with only a secondary stem in *-mo*, this secondary stem forms the basis for the imperative, as in *ok kim~ok kimo* 'bathe', with imperative *ok ki-nok*.

As well as complex verbs in *-mo,* most complex verbs in *-nde* or *-ke*,[72] and most non-complex verbs, have an imperative stem in *-nok*, where the suffix *-nok* is suffixed to the secondary stem, if it exists. All verbs also seem to have an *n*-initial imperative stem. Table 28 gives the imperative stems for all verbs which have both a primary stem and a secondary stem. For all of these verbs except two (*ko* 'go' and *un* 'go across'), Drabbe gives both an imperative in *-n* and an imperative in *-nok*. Note that the form of the imperative in *-nok* is fully predictable and always based on the secondary stem. Imperatives in *n-*, on the other hand, are not fully predictable.

**Table 28: Verbs with primary and secondary stem: Imperative in *-nok* and *n-*.**

| Primary stem | Secondary stem | IMP [SG] in *-nok* | IMP [SG] in *n-* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *en* 'eat' | *ande* | *ande-nok* | *nan* |
| *eto* 'see' | *etogo* | *etogo-nok* | *netok* |
| *in* 'hit' | *i* | *i-nok* | *nin* |
| *jo* 'give' | *jogo* | *jogo-nok* | *najok* |
| *ko* 'go' | *ka* | n.a. | *nagap* |

72 Although Drabbe mentions explicitly that these verbs have an imperative in *-nok*, he gives only one example, of a verb in *-nde*: *kagaende* 'look for' has *kagaendenok* as imperative singular.

| Primary stem | Secondary stem | IMP [SG] in *-nok* | IMP [SG] in *n-* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *kim* 'die' | *kimo* | *kimo-nok* | *nakim* |
| *mari* 'come down' | *majo* | *majo-nok* | *namajut, namarit* |
| *mati* 'get up' | *matigo* | *matigo-nok* | *namatik* |
| *mba* 'sit' | *mbage* | *mbage-nok* | *nambo* |
| *mun* 'come across' | *mondo* | *mondo-nok* | *namundut* |
| *mut* / *moto* 'come in / out' | *moto* | *moto-nok* | *namut* |
| *ndat* 'hear' | *ndare* | *ndare-nok* | *nandat* |
| *rap* 'take' | *rawo* | *rawo-nok* | *nandap* |
| *ri* 'go down' | *riro* | *riro-nok* | *narip* |
| *rom* 'weep' | *romo* | *romo-nok* | *naron* |
| *taem* 'shoot' | *taembo* | *taembo-nok* | *nataem* |
| *tat* 'scrape' | *tare* | *tare-nok* | *natat* |
| *tut* / *turu*[73] 'go up' | *toro* | *toro-nok* | *naturup* |
| *un* 'roast' | *undo* | *undo-nok* | *nundon* |
| *un* 'go across' | *ondo* | n.a. | *nandup* |
| *up* 'fight' | *uwo* | *uwo-nok* | *nuwon* |
| *ut* / *oto* 'go in / out' | *oto* | *oro-nok* | *natup* |

**Table 29: Verbs with primary stem only and imperative in *-nok* and *n-*.**

| Primary stem | IMP [SG] in *-nok* | IMP [SG] in *n-* |
|---|---|---|
| *nde* 'say' | *nde-nok* | *nanden* |
| *jo* 'shout' | *jo-nok* | *najon* |
| *ri* 'chop', *ri* 'recite' | not given by Drabbe | *narin* |
| *ro* 'plant' | *ro-nok* | *naron* |
| *rogo* 'say' | *rogo-nok* | *naruk* |
| *so* 'dig' | *so-nok* | *nason* |
| *ti* 'twine' | *ti-nok* | *natin* |

Instead of an imperative in *n-* (and in addition to a regular imperative in *-nok*) the following three verbs have irregular imperatives.

73 I have not followed Drabbe here, who (mistakenly?) gives *tut* and *toro* as primary stems, and *toro* also as a secondary stem. Drabbe's confusion of primary and secondary stem may have been caused by the irregular inflection of the fully inflected past realis forms in *t-*, where we find both *turu* and *toro*, see Table 18 in Section 2.3.4.1.

**Table 30: Verbs with regular imperative in *nok* plus an irregular imperative.**

| Primary stem | Secondary stem | IMP [SG] in *-nok* | IMP [SG] in *n-* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *map* 'give to me' | *mawe* | *mawe-nok* | *man* |
| *me* 'come' | *mende, mando* | *mando-nok* | *man* |
| *oro* 'put' | – | *oro-nok* | *orot* |

Plural imperatives are formed by suffixation of the imperative stem with *-inin*, *-onin*, or *-in.*[74] Those *n*-imperative stems that end in a consonant other than *n* are suffixed with *-inin*: for example *nandap* 'take.IMP' → *nandaw-inin*. *N*-imperative stems that end in *n* are suffixed with *-in:* for example, *natin* 'twine.IMP' → *natin-in* or *nason* 'dig.IMP' → *nason-in*. Finally, imperatives in *-nok* are suffixed with *-onin*: for example, *jaŋge-nog-onin* 'lie-IMP-PL'. The latter imperatives, ending in *-nog-onin*, alternate with shorter forms in *-nonin*. Thus, *jaŋge-nog-onin* alternates with *jaŋge-nonin*, *ndare-nog-onin* with *ndare-nonin,* and so on. For the second imperative of *oro* 'put', *orot*, there is no plural form available.

## 2.5.2 Prohibitive[75]

Like imperatives, prohibitive forms in *-tit* are inflected for number only. The secondary stem is used if it exists. Consider Table 31: in the singular, stems in *e* harmonise with *i* of the suffix, as in *ke* 'be' and *tare* 'scrape_II'. Plurality is expressed by the suffix *-na* directly following the stem, with an optional additional *-an* following the prohibitive marker *-tit~-tir*.

**Table 31: Prohibitives in *-tit*.**

| Primary stem | Secondary stem | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| *jo* 'call' | – | *jotit* | *jonatit; jonatiran* |
| *ke* 'be' | – | *kitit* | *kenatit; kenatiran* |
| *ko* 'go' | *ka* | *katit* | *kanatit; kanatiran* |
| *map* 'give to me' | *mawe* | *mawitit* | *mawenatit; mawenatiran* |
| *mari* 'come down' | *majo* | *majotit* | *majonatit; majonatiran* |
| *mati* 'get up' | *matigo* | *matigotit* | *matigonatit; matigonatiran* |
| *me* 'come' | *mende, mando* (FUT)[76] | *mandotit* | *mawenatit; mawenatiran* |

74 Drabbe speaks of one suffix *-nin*, with ligature *o*, or *i*. Following a stem-vowel nasal, the *n* of the vowel contracts with the *n* of the stem (Drabbe 1959:130b).

75 Drabbe 1959: Section 61, pp. 131a–b.

76 As stated above, if there is a future stem, this future stem is used in the prohibitive. The only future stems given in Drabbe's description and attested in the corpus are *mendo~mando* 'come.IRR' and *ka* 'go. IRR'; see also Section 2.2.

| Primary stem | Secondary stem | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| *mo* 'do' | – | *motit* | *monatit; monatiran* |
| *taem* 'shoot' | *taembo* | *taembotit* | *taembonatit; taembonatiran* |
| *tat* 'scrape' | *tare* | *taritit* | *tarenatit; tarenatiran* |
| *te* 'say' | – | *titit* | *tenatit; tenatiran* |
| *ti* 'twine' | – | *titit* | *tinatit; tinatiran* |

Consider (112) through (115); (112) through (114) are provided by Drabbe in his grammatical introduction, while (115) is the only example of a prohibitive attested in the text corpus. Drabbe notes that the prohibitive is generally used for second persons, as in (112), (113) and (115), but that it can also be used for the third person, as in (114).

(112a) *rogo-tit*
say-PROH[SG]
'don't say!' [SG]

(112b) *rogo-na-tit / rogo-na-tir-an*
say-PL-PROH / say-PL-PROH-PL
'don't say!' [PL] (Drabbe 1959:131b)

(113a) *rawo-tit*
take_II-PROH[SG]
'don't take!' [SG]

(113b) *rawo-na-tit / rawo-na-tir-an*
take_II-PL-PROH / take_II-PL-PROH-PL
'don't take!' [PL] (Drabbe 1959:131b)

(114a) *kaguw ewe mando-tit*
man THAT come.IRR-PROH[SG]
'don't let that man come here' (Drabbe 1959:131b)

(114b) *kaguw ewe mando-tit / mando-na-tit*
man THAT come.IRR-PROH[SG] / come.IRR-PL-PROH/
/ *mando-na-tir-an*
/ come.IRR-PL-PROH-PL
'don't let that man/those men come here' (Drabbe 1959:131b)

(115) *Nan ip tamburum rogo-na-tir o nde-t.*
1SG.POSS name randomly say-PL-PROH[SG] CON say-RLS[N1SG]
'"Don't speak my name lightly", so he said.' (4.37)

## 2.6 Negation[77]

Negative verbal clauses are formed by a negative verbal noun in *-nok* followed by either the verb(aliser) *mo* 'do' or the verb *ke* 'be'. There is, according to Drabbe, in this construction, no semantic difference between the use of *mo* 'do' or *ke* 'be'. For reference to past (and probably also present) events, one uses either semi-inflected forms in *-ken* (Section 2.3.3.3), as in (116), or fully inflected past forms (Section 2.3.4.1), as in (117).

(116) *rap-nok* *mo-gon-ep* */ ke-gen-ep*
take-VN.NEG do-RLS-1SG be-RLS-1SG
'I did not take it' (Drabbe 1959:140b)

(117) *etok-nok* *ma-r-ew-an* */ ke-r-ew-an*
see-VN.NEG do-RLS-1[SG]-PST be-RLS-1[SG]-PST
'I did not see it' (Drabbe 1959:140b)

For future reference, the verbs *mo* 'do' or *ke* 'be' are suffixed with a negative future suffix *-ti*. Drabbe gives the following paradigm.

**Table 32: Negative future, with verb in *-ti* inflected, for the verb *me* 'come'.**

| | **With verbaliser *mo* 'do'** | | **With auxiliary *ke* 'be'** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1SG** | *me-nok* | *mo-ti-p* | *me-nok* | *ki-ti-p* |
| | come-VN.NEG | do-FUT.NEG-1SG | come-VN.NEG | be-FUT.NEG-1SG |
| | 'I will not come' etc. | | 'I will not come' etc. | |
| **N1SG** | *me-nok mo-ti-t* | | *me-nok ki-ti-t* | |
| **1PL** | *me-nok mo-ti-w-an* | | *me-nok ki-ti-w-an* | |
| **N1PL** | *me-nok mo-ti-r-an* | | *me-nok ki-ti-r-an* | |

In the text corpus, we find only one example of a negative construction, which is given in (118).

77 Drabbe 1959: Section 94, pp. 140a–b.

(118)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ema-t* | *te* | *mitik* | *ke-t* | | *te* |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | night | be-RLS[N1SG] | | CON |
| *ndari-r-in* | *te* | *roma-n* | *kup* | *me-nok* | *ke-t.* |
| hear_II-RLS-N1PL | CON | weep-VN | with | come-VN.NEG | be-RLS[N1SG] |

'After this, it became night and they listened and there was no weeping.' (lit. 'It did not come with weeping.'; 12.08)

## 2.7 Posture verbs and forms derived from them[78]

For several reasons, the posture verbs deserve a separate discussion. First, they differ morphologically from other verbs in that they have idiosyncratic stems for plural subjects. Further, their semantics are broader than only posture, and may also express existence or are used to express possession in a possessive construction. Finally, they play a role in syntactic constructions used for the expression of durativity and habituality. This section will discuss these different issues one by one. It will close with a brief discussion of the locative-existential predicative marker *mbon* 'STAY'. This marker is derived from *mba* 'sit' and is also used to express existence and durative aspect, as well as possession.

The primary and secondary stems of the three main posture verbs are *mba~mbage* 'sit', *re~rege* 'stand' and *jan~jaŋge* 'lie'. All three stems have a corresponding primary and—except for *jaŋgok*—secondary stem that imply a plural subject: *mbok~mboke* 'sit.PL', *rok~roke* 'stand.PL' and *jaŋgok* 'lie.PL'. When the primary stems combine with the realis marker *-ken*, the final *k* of the stem is elided, so that, for example, *mbok-ken* 'sit.PL-RLS[N1]' is realised (and spelled) as [mboken].[79] Because these stems imply plurality of the subject, in semi-inflected forms the plural subject marker (*-in* or *-an*) is optional, and often left out, as in *mbo-ken* [sit.PL-RLS[N1]] 'they sit', *ro-*

78 Drabbe 1959: Section 37, pp. 124b–125a; Section 53, p. 129a; Sections 101–104, pp. 141a–142a.

79 Although the final *k* of *mbok* 'sit.PL', *rok* 'stand.PL' and *jaŋgok* 'lie.PL' never surfaces, there are two arguments to assume that the forms do actually have this final consonant. First, this is a way to explain the fact that the realis marker *-ken* is realised as [ken] rather than [gen]. Second, this also explains why the secondary stems *mboke* and *roke* are also realised with [k] rather than [g] (as in the non-plural counterparts *mbage* and *rege*).

*ken* [stand[PL]-RLS[NI]] 'they stand' or *jaŋgo-ken* [lie[PL]-RLS[NI]] 'they lie'. Examples from the text corpus where the plural marker is left out are given in (119) and (122), while in (120) it is retained.

(119)

| *Ran* | *etogo-w-an* | *nde-ro* | *arek* | *ke-no* | *mboke-t.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| woman | see_II-1-PL | say-SS | investigate | be-SS.SIM | sit_II.PL-RLS[NI] |

'The women wanted to investigate where the sound was coming from.' (lit. 'The women said "let us see" and were investigating.'; 5.02)

(120)

| *Waepmo-no* | *mboke-n-an* | *rakonmo* |
|---|---|---|
| move.around-SS.SIM | sit_II.PL-NI-PL | turn.over |

| *ok* | *kimbarukmo-n-an-in.* |
|---|---|
| water | swim.ITER-NI-PL-FUT |

'You[pl] will be traveling, capsize and [have to] swim in the river.' (4.28)

For fully inflected verbs, however, the plural subject marker is obligatory.

For *jan* 'lie', YW has an additional plural stem *kajipke*, which, however, is always used in combination with a plural marker, as in semi-inflected *kajipke-gen-ew-an* [lie.PL-RLS-I-PL] 'we lay down'.

Posture verbs may combine directly with a noun phrase expressing the location, without the use of a postposition. This is illustrated by *poken* 'sit_II.PL-RLS[NI]' in (122).

As in all Greater Awyu languages, YW posture verbs are also used to express being present in a certain location. Drabbe writes that the verb *mba* is also used for a 'be present, stay, live in a certain place' (Drabbe 1959:124b). In the corpus we find a number of cases where *mba* should probably be interpreted as such. First consider (121), which forms the beginning of a narrative, and introduces the main participant Omgirop.

(121)

| *Omgirop* | *mbage-t* | | *te* | *ja* | *manduw* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Omgirop | sit_II-RLS[NISG] | | CON | 3SG.POSS | son |

| *e* | *Raweŋ* | *Saraweŋ* | *ŋgotondi-r-in* | *de,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ARG | Raweng | Saraweng | kill.ITER-RLS-NIPL | CON |

'There was a woman Omgirop, whose sons Raweng and Saraweng had been killed, and … ' (11.01)

The sentence in (122) is the last one of a short narrative. Here the use of *mbo~po*[80] 'sit' implies a staying.

(122) *Emo-ro* *te* *jaŋ-gen* *Wagoriti* *po-ken.*
do.thus-SS CON lie-RLS[NISG] Wagoriti sit_II.PL-RLS[NI]
'Thus they stayed in Wagoriti.' (3.06)

Posture verbs play a role in durative and habitual constructions. This is set out in Sections 2.4.1.1 and 2.4.2.

Now we come to the invariant element *mbon* 'STAY', which is most probably derived from **mba* 'sit' (cf. Wester 2014:120). It can serve as the head of a predicate, but unlike *mba* it is not inflected for tense, aspect and person. The subject of *mbon* is always marked with *e* 'ARG'. *Mbon* has a number of functions that overlap with those of inflected *mba*. It is used to express a presence, and it is used in durative constructions. In (123) through (125), *mbon* 'STAY' is used to express a presence.[81]

(123) *enan-ow* *e* *mbon*
mother-ADDR ARG STAY
'mother is present/mother is there' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

(124) *na* *nan-ŋguj* *e* *mbon*
1SG.POSS younger.brother-PL ARG STAY
'my younger brothers are there' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

(125) *nuw* *e* *mbon* */ ne* *mbon*
1sg.emph arg STAY 1SG.ARG STAY
'I am there, I am present' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

Two examples from the text corpus are given in (126) and (127).

80 It is not clear why we find *po* here instead of *mbo*.
81 Non-existence or not being present at a location is expressed by *ndoj* 'not', see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1.

(126) *etaga-t* *te* *ja* *ŋgombejow* *e*
see-RLS[N1SG] CON 3SG.POSS mouth.harp ARG

*atop* *kop* *pon*
vagina in STAY

'he saw that his mouth harp was stuck [lit. sat, was] in her vagina' (5.10)

(127) *ja* *nati* *Kori* *me* *etaga-t* *te*
3SG.POSS father KORI come see-RLS[N1SG] con

*jan* *amun* *e* *mbon*
3SG.POSS marsupial ARG STAY

'his father Kori came to the place (where N had shot the marsupial) and saw his marsupial there' (2.04)

Drabbe writes that predicative *te(n)* 'AFFMT' (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.1 on nonverbal predication) is not attested in combination with *mbon*, but that we do find interrogative *to(n)* (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.2), as in (128).

(128) *ŋge* *mbon* *do*
2sg.arg stay Q

'are you there?' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

And: 'Instead of reason-giving *tok* "GROUND" [see Section 5.3.5], we find … *o* "REASON", as in (129).'

(129) *j'* *e* *mbon* *o*
3SG ARG STAY REASON

'he is not there, so …' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

In a negative clause, *mbon* indicates a 'not yet', as in (130) and (131): 'the situation in which I have not given yet remains', and 'it remains the case that they have not built the house'.

(130) *jogo-nok* mo-gon-ep mbon
give_II-VN.NEG do-RLS-1SG STAY

'I have not given it yet' (Drabbe 1959:141b)

(131) *mbitip* *ti-nok* *mari-n-an* *mbon*
house twine-VN.NEG come.down-N1-PL STAY
'they had not built the house yet'[82] (Drabbe 1959:141b)

*Mbon* has a plural counterpart *mborombon*, as can be seen in (132) (with progressive devoicing of *mb* to *p*, see Chapter 1, Section 1.3.2).

(132) *kagup* *porombom*
man STAY.PL
'the people are present' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

The use of *mbon* in durative constructions was discussed in Section 2.4.2. Finally, *mbon* is also used for the expression of predicative possession. This is discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3.

## 2.8 *Mo* 'do' and *ke* 'be' as verbalisers or auxiliaries[83]

In Greater Awyu languages the verbs *mo* 'do' and *ke* 'be' are attested both as auxiliaries in various grammatical domains, and in verb formation (De Vries 2020:41–43). Table 33 presents an overview of the various domains of use of *mo* 'do' and *ke* 'be' in YW.

**Table 33: The use of *mo* 'do' and *ke* 'be' in verb formation, as auxiliaries and as copulas.**

| | ***mo*** | ***ke*** | **Section** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Verb stem formation | ✓ | ✓ | 2.2; 2.3.2.3 |
| Formation of iterative verb stems | ✓ | – | 2.4.1 |
| Formation of imperative stems | ✓ | – | 2.5.1 |
| Habitual aspect | ✓ | – | 2.4.1.1 |
| Durative aspect | ✓ | – | 2.4.2 |
| Reciprocal events | ✓ | – | Chapter 3, 3.2.4.4 |
| Negation | ✓ | ✓ | 2.6 |
| Simultaneous future events; conditionals | – | ✓ | Chapter 5, 5.5.1 |

82 The analysis of this clause is not entirely clear. Elsewhere, Drabbe points out that negative forms in *-nok* are always followed by one of the auxiliary verbs *mo* or *ke*. This is not the case here.
83 Drabbe 1959: Section 40, p. 125; Section 27, pp. 121–122.

As for *mo*, its main function in YW is to make a nonverbal stem function as a verbal predicate, and has consistently been glossed as 'do'.[84] *Mo* may be more or less closely connected to the nonverbal preceding stem: it may still be an independent verb or it may have integrated with the preceding stem into a complex verb. This is at least what one might conclude on the basis of Drabbe's spelling: he sometimes spells *mo* plus its preceding stem as one word, apparently considering it to be a complex verb stem (e.g. in the case of iterative stems), but at other times he spells *mo* as a separate word.[85] If the present description were based on my own fieldwork, I would have searched for prosodic, syntactic or possibly semantic criteria to distinguish between complex verb stems and independent *mo*-verbs: for example, I may have tested whether *mo* can be prosodically or syntactically separated from the preceding stem. In the absence of these data, however, I generally follow Drabbe's spelling (and implicit analysis), and indicate where I deviate from this. What has been written about the word status of *mo*, also holds for *ke* 'be'.

Illustrations of verbalising *ke* 'be' are presented in (133) and (134), where it functions respectively as a copula or an auxiliary verb to make an adjective or a numeral function as a predicate.

(133) *mbarewen* *ke-gen-ep*
strong be-RLS-1SG
'I am strong'/'I (have) become strong' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(134) *kurugutkup* *ke-gen*
four be-RLS[N1SG]
'there are four of them' (lit. 'it is four'; Drabbe 1959:125a)

In (135), it verbalises a noun.

(135) *wandin* *ke*
belly be
'be satisfied' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

Two other verbs are given in (136) and (137), where the word class of the stems (*kiok* 'in wonder' and *korok* 'quiet') is not entirely clear:

84 According to Drabbe's description, *mo* also seems to be attested as a lexical verb 'do'. Examples, however, are lacking.

85 Strictly speaking, we do not know whether Drabbe's choice to write *mo* separately in certain cases and not in others has any basis in the YW language at all. It cannot be excluded that Drabbe made an intuitive choice, based on his experiences with other languages, like Dutch or English, in which the verbs for 'do' and 'be' also function as auxiliaries (and less so in compounds).

(136) *kiok* *ke*
in.wonder be
'be in wonder, be surprised' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

(137) *korok* *ke*
quiet be
'get quiet, come to rest' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

An example of verbalising *mo* attested in the corpus is given in (138), where *ma* verbalises the question word *kigindip*.[86]

(138) *awoŋ* *rawa-r-ew-an* *e* *arip* *kigindip* ma-r-an
work take_II-RLS-I-PL SR morning how.much do-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'how many days have we been working?' (lit. 'we worked and it was how many days?'; Drabbe 1959:125a)

Other examples of *mo* 'do' verbalising question words are *agaepmo* 'do what', and *oŋgenemo* 'be where' or 'do what' (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.6).

As illustrated in Section 2.2, there is a tendency for verbs in *ke* to be intransitive, and for verbs in *mo* to be transitive. In most of the attested cases, the verbs formed with *mo* and *ke* seem fossilised, in that *mo* or *ke* combine with a formative that is not attested independently in the data available to us. Examples of such verbs in *-mo* are *namepmo* 'ask for', *ŋgerakmo* 'drag', *ketamo* 'close eyes', *komo* 'close', *ndimo* 'touch', *sumo* 'carry', *tumo* 'pull out', *kaepmo* 'break', *karemo* 'do like' and *kojapmo* 'lie'. For the use of *mo* in the verbalisation of adjectives, see Chapter 3, Section 3.3. Examples of verbs in *-ke* are *keroke* 'penetrate', *kojake* 'be full', *kumraeke* 'be clear', *mbimatupke* 'pull out', *mborotke* 'break down (intr.)', *tupke* 'get loose' and *waepke* 'decorate'.

In several Greater Awyu languages, verbs of doing or being may be used to verbalise deictic elements, which may then be used as generic verbs to link clause chains (De Vries 2020:19, 20, 123–125). The most frequently used generic verb in YW is *emo* 'do thus', a verbalised form of *ep* 'that/there'. Examples of its use are found in (333) and (334), Texts 1.02 and 1.10, or as part of a quotative formula in Texts 4.25, 4.26, 4.29 and 5.22. Its use in generic verb linkage is discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.6.2, on

86 Drabbe does not give the meaning of *kigindip* here, but he offers *kigindipmo* in the 1956 wordlist, see the Appendix.

clause chaining. Apart from *emo*, based on the demonstrative *ep* 'there', the language also has the forms *ewemo* and *menemo*, based on the demonstratives *ewe* 'THAT' and *mene* 'THIS'; these are only used in their bare form.[87]

## 2.9 Serial verb constructions[88]

De Vries points out that serial verbs are a common phenomenon in Greater Awyu languages, and in Trans New Guinea languages in general. Serial verbs: '(i) must share core arguments, (ii) cannot be separated from each other by the insertion of a conjunction and (iii) are tightly integrated under one intonation contour' (De Vries 2020:43). In general, Greater Awyu serial verbs can be defined as compact serial verb constructions, which are characterised by verb roots that are always contiguous and specify sub-events of a tight-knit semantic unit (Pawley and Hammarström 2018:116).

Of the three criteria given above, especially the second cannot be checked, and we can conclude only that insertion of a conjunction is not possible if Drabbe explicitly mentions this. For the third, intonational, criteria, we have to rely on Drabbe's orthography—see also Chapter 5, Section 5.1. This means that I cannot do more here than give a number of **possible** serial verb constructions. First, (139) gives a number of medial verbs plus following verb that clearly form a semantic unit.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (139a) | *ra* | *kaende* | (139b) | *ra* | *haramo* |
| | hold | break | | hold | tear |
| | 'break with hands' | | | 'tear by hand' | |
| (139c) | *ra* | *ŋgamo* | (139d) | *atik* | *kaende* |
| | hold | break.rattan | | bite | break |
| | 'break rattan with hands' | | | 'break by biting' (Drabbe 1959:133a) | |

87 According to Drabbe, *emo* and *emoro* may also have the meaning of 'remain', in examples like *emo-ro mbo-ken* [do.thus sit.PL-RLS[NI]] 'they remained sitting', or *rug emo-ro i-r-in-an* [word do.thus-SS hit-RLS-NIPL-PST] 'they kept on speaking' (Drabbe 1959:122a). In my view, however, it is probably very well possible to analyse these 'meanings' as contextual implications, and not as part of the meaning of *emo(ro)*.
88 Drabbe 1959: Section 66, pp. 132b–133a.

In the text corpus, probably the most frequently attested serial verb constructions are those composed of *ra(p)* 'take', 'hold in the hand' plus a verb of movement, like *ra ko* 'take go' and *ra me* 'take come', as illustrated in (73) or (505) (*ra ko*), (163), (253), (262) or (452) (*ra me*), or *ra* plus another verb of movement, as in (140) below.[89]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (140) | *Enop* | *mbeŋgetkom* | *taeŋgamo* | *ra* |
| | tree | kind.of.tree | chop | take |
| | *mari* | *ndokma-r-in-an;* | | |
| | come.down | bar-RLS-NIPL-PST | | |

'There were people chopping *mbengkotkom* trees and bringing them down to bar the water'.

89 For additional examples of *ra* plus following verb, see the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

# 3

# Other word classes

## 3.1 Nouns and noun phrases

Nouns generally do not have productive derivational morphology, except in compounds. Apart from the formation of verbal nouns in *-(n)op*, discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.1, the only productive process of noun formation is compounding, which is the topic of Section 3.1.1. Plural formation is restricted to kinship terms and is discussed in Section 3.1.2. The numerals, which are a subcategory of nouns, are dealt with in Section 3.6.

### 3.1.1 Compounding[1]

According to Drabbe, Yonggom Wambon (YW) has two types of compounds: those in which both nouns keep their own lexical stress, and those in which stress is on one of the two composing parts. The former can be classified as exocentric compounds, the latter as endocentric compounds.

#### 3.1.1.1 Exocentric compounds: Both nouns keep lexical stress

This type of compounding can be divided into two subtypes: those without a linking element, and those containing a linking element *o*. Examples without a linking element are *uj amun* and *kunow amun*, which refer to the entire class of 'edible mammals', and are composed of *uj* 'pig' (sometimes also used more broadly, see wordlist) or *kunop* 'marsupial/rat/mouse' followed by *amun* 'pig/cassowary/marsupial'. Drabbe also gives the following examples,

1 Drabbe 1959: Sections 8–11, pp. 117a–118a.

which, however, might better be considered conventionalised combinations of two noun phrases (NPs), since they are not composed of simple nouns, but of nouns with a possessive prefix: *janoj janati* 'mother and father', composed of *ja-noj* '3SG.POSS-mother' and *ja-nati* '3SG.POSS-father'; *janati jamatip* 'father and daughter', composed of *ja-nati* '3SG.POSS-father' and *ja-matip* '3SG.POSS-daughter'; and *jasarip jakopari* 'husband and wife' composed of *ja-sarip* '3SG.POSS-wife' and *ja-kopari* '3SG.POSS-husband'.[2]

We now come to the compounds formed with the linker *o.* Although Drabbe classifies these compounds with those in which the composing nouns 'keep their own accent' (as discussed previously), the main stress is on neither of the nouns, but on the linking element *o.* As an illustration of this type of compound, Drabbe mentions *itir.o.kurup* 'big wild animal', composed of *itit* 'cassowary' and *kurup* 'forest pig'; *tenor.o.kajok* 'vegetable' from *tenot* 'kind of plant' and *kajok* 'kind of climbing plant'; *ndun.o.kom* 'vegetable food' from *ndun* 'sago' and *kom*, the meaning of which is unknown; *tir.o.jagip* 'food from garden' (Drabbe: 'garden products') from *tit* 'banana' and *jagip* 'garden, products from garden', and *ŋgin.o.kerop* 'face, appearance' from *ŋgin* 'head' and *kerop* 'eye'.[3]

### 3.1.1.2 Endocentric compounds: Main stress on modifying noun

The other type of compounds that Drabbe mentions are endocentric. Again, this type can be divided into two subtypes: left-headed and right-headed, as illustrated in Figure 15. In both subtypes, the main stress is on the modifying noun. In the examples discussed below, stress is indicated by an accent grave.

2 Note that all these examples refer to dyadic pairs. De Vries (2020:159), referring to Stasch (2001, 2009), writes that 'paired kinship terms such as mother's brother – sister's son … and husband–wife are prominent in Greater Awyu discourse and … refer to prominent relations that imply very specific norms, obligations and behavior'.

3 In the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, we find some additional examples of compounds, both with and without a linking element *o*, used to refer to classes of animals. Without a linker: *jer-ogon-amun* for 'birds and mammals', composed of *jer-ogon* 'kind of heron' and *amun* 'pigs, cassowaries, marsupials', and *uj-itit* for 'pigs and cassowaries, big game', from *uj* 'pig' and *itit* 'cassowary'. With linking element *o*: *itir-o-kurop* 'big game' from *itit* 'cassowary' and *kurup* 'wild pig'; *kunug-o-temon* 'mice and rats' from *kunuk* 'kind of mouse' and *temon* 'kind of rat'; *wir-o-wan* for 'arms and legs'.

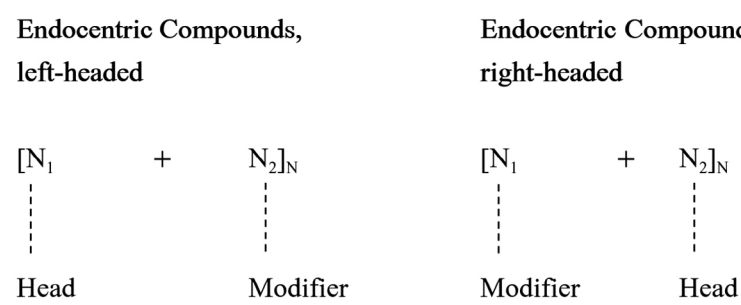



**Figure 15: Two types of compounds.**
Note: In both cases, the main stress is on the modifier noun.

Left-headed compounds may consist of a general name for (for example) a class of animals, followed by a specifying noun. Examples are *jer andòj* 'andoi bird' from *jet* 'bird' and *andoj* 'kind of bird'; *enop sakùj* 'sagui tree' from *enop* 'tree' and *saguj* 'kind of tree'; *ŋgati sowàe* 'sowae lizard' in which *ŋgati* is a general name for snakes, crocodiles and lizards; *ok Kawòn* 'Kao river'; *ok Ndimit* 'Mandobo river'. Other examples of left-headed compounds are those where the second noun refers to a part of the first noun, as in *Kawon mogòt* 'the mouth of the Kao river' from *mogot* 'mouth of river'; *Wanik tìt* 'mouth of the Wanik river' from *tit* 'mouth of river'; *jur andùj* 'stem of jut tree' from *anduj* 'stem'; *kuk ròn* 'leaf of nibung tree' from *kuk* 'nibung' and *ron* 'leaf, feather'; *wok òj* 'pulp of pineapple' from *wok* 'pineapple' and *oj* 'pulp'; *enop kurugùt* 'crown of tree' from *enop* 'tree' and *kurugut* 'upper part'; *kotim ròn* 'feather of wood pigeon', from *kotim* 'wood pigeon' and *ron* 'leaf, feather'. Drabbe writes:

> In these compounds, and with this accent, one says, as it were: I am speaking about the Kao, that is to say: its mouth; about the nibung, that is to say: its leaves; about the wood pigeon, that is to say: its feathers.

He contrasts the compounds with right-headed compounds of the same form, differing from type only in the position of the main accent, which now is on the first noun. In these cases, they mean something like:

> I am speaking about the mouth of the Kao, and not about the mouth of another river, about leaves, that is to say: the leaves of a nibung tree.

What matters is, in other words, which of the two parts is new information or 'in focus'. In the words of Drabbe:

> one would use *enow andùi* for 'tree trunk' (whole vs. part), but *jùr andui* for 'trunk of a jut tree'. One would answer the question 'what (product / part) of the bird' with: *jet watgòt* 'bird egg', but use *itìt wagot* 'egg of cassowary' as a reaction to 'the egg of which bird?

Likewise, *kunop* 'marsupial' plus *kandun* 'meat' is right-headed—and, therefore, realised as *kunòp kandun*—when contrasted with *ùj kandun*; in this case, meat of small animals, like marsupials, is contrasted with meat of bigger wild animals, like *uj* 'pig'. However, the same combination of *kunop* 'marsupial' plus *kandun* is left-headed—and, therefore, realised as *kunop kandùn*—when contrasted with, for example, *kunop kotàe*; here, meat (*kandun*) of marsupials is contrasted with their skin (*kotae*). Other examples are *enòw anduj* vs *tír anduj*, contrasting the stem (*anduj*) of a banana plant (*tir*) with the stem of a tree (*enop*), or *jèt wagot* vs *aŋgùn wagot*, contrasting the egg (*wagot*) of a bird (*jet*) with the egg of a snake (*aŋgùn*).

Drabbe gives an extensive list of right-headed compounds: *majùm tombon* 'sago leaf midribs' from *majum* 'kind of sago' and *tombon* 'midrib of leaf'; *sinàm mon* 'scrapings from bow' from *sinam* 'bow' and *mon* 'small piece(s), scraping'; *ambotòp kahat* 'nose pin from bamboo' from *ambotop* 'nose' and *kahat* 'bamboo'; *mbaŋgàn magap* 'topped trunk of mbanggan tree', which is used to refer to houses built on such topped trunks. (Instead of this pars pro toto, it is also possible to use a double, more explicit, compound in which *mbaŋgàn magap* is composed with *mbitip* 'house': *mbitip mbaŋgàn magap*.) Other examples of right-headed compounds are: *kondòk jugut* 'trail of footsteps' from *kondok* 'foot' and *jugut* 'trail'; *ŋgòm kun* 'trail of blood' from *ŋgom* 'blood' and *kun* 'trail'; *wòg ok* 'water used to spray pineapple' from *wok* 'pineapple' and *ok* 'water';[4] *kirigìt watek* 'bark of sago' from *kirigit* 'kind of sago' and *watek* 'bark'; *kotìm ron* 'pigeon feather' from *kotim* 'woodpigeon' and *ron* 'feather'; *tagìp kotae* 'skin of white marsupial' from *tagip* 'white marsupial' and *kotae* 'skin'; *ùj wambit* 'pig tail' from *uj* 'pig' and *wambit* 'tail'; *ndun mbisan* 'open space where sago is prepared' from *ndun* 'sago' and *mbisan* 'open space'.[5]

4 It was pointed out to me that this interpretation might very well be highly context-driven (see Text 5.09), and that *wog ok* might in other contexts also refer to pineapple juice.

5 To this list may be added the following compound from the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix: *itop-ndoj-e-kagup* [earth-NEX-LNK-man] 'drifter, wanderer'.

## 3.1.2 Kinship terms and address forms[6]

In YW, only kinship nouns have regular dedicated plural forms. In addition, they usually combine with a possessive prefix.[7] While this possessive prefix often has a referent, this is not always the case, as in (141) below. Here, the parents of a group of children are referred to as *ja noj ja nati*. Although *ja* formally is a 3SG possessive pronoun, it does not refer to a specific individual.

(141)

| *Ja* | *noj* | *ja* | *nati* | *e …* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.POSS | mother | 3SG.POSS | father | ARG |

| *kori* | *sumo* | *ko-r-in.* |
|---|---|---|
| stone.axe | carry | go-RLS-N1PL |

'The parents … went carrying a stone axe with them.' (9.08)

In possessive constructions, kinship nouns behave like normal nouns, with a few peculiarities. *Mandup* 'son' and *matip* 'daughter' have special forms that are used as a possessed noun in constructions with *e* (see Section 3.1.5), and *kae* 'friend' is realised as [gɑe] when following a possessive pronoun, as in *na kae* 'my friend', realised as [nɑgɑe].

Regular plurals are formed by suffixation with *-ŋguj*; for example, *nati-ŋguj* 'fathers, uncles', *noj-ŋguj* 'mothers, aunts',[8] *nen-ŋguj* 'elder brothers' from *net* 'older brother' and *nan-ŋguj* 'younger brothers' from *nan* 'younger brother'. Two kinship nouns have an irregular plural: *munotit* 'children' is the plural form of *mun* 'child', and *raramun* 'women' is the plural form of *ran* 'woman'.[9]

A number of kinship nouns have special address forms, realised by suffixation with *-op*, such as *mbae* 'grandfather' ~ *mbae-op* 'grandfather-ADDR', *ani* 'elder.sister' ~ *ani-op* 'elder.sister-ADDR, *net* 'elder brother' ~ *aner-op* 'elder.brother-ADDR', *nati* 'father' ~ *nati-op* 'father-ADDR', and *noj* 'mother' ~ *enan-op* 'mother-

6 Drabbe 1959: Section 7, p. 117a; Section 19, p. 120b.

7 This is common in Greater Awyu languages; kinship nouns have dedicated plural forms and almost always combine with a possessive prefix, see De Vries (2020:23, 24, 160).

8 Drabbe probably refers here to father's brothers and mother's sisters, respectively, cf. De Vries (2020:158f) on Omaha systems, and his observation that the greater Awyu nouns that we have enough data on all exhibit generational extension. Drabbe's translation of the plural with 'uncles' and 'aunts'—combined with the observation that the other Greater Awyu languages have an Omaha system—makes it likely that here at least father's brothers/mother's sisters are included in the plural forms. See also footnote 11, this chapter, discussing the kinship terms in the 1956 wordlist of the Appendix.

9 Also used for 'male ego's sister', see the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

ADDR'. Sons (*mandup* 'son') are addressed with *mun* 'boy'. Daughters (*matip* 'daughter') and younger sisters (*mbiat* 'younger sister') are addressed with *randui* 'girl'. The address forms may also be used for reference: for example, *natiop rogo-ken* 'father has said it'.

In addressing people, a noun may be followed by *o*, which serves to mark the utterance as a vocative, as in *enan-ow o* 'mother VOC', or in *kaguw o, raramun o* 'men and women', the latter of which may be used as the beginning of a speech.[10] The same vocative marker *o* is used in greetings in *egew o* (see Chapter 5, Section 5.4). In the text corpus, it is attested twice, in both cases followed by a 2SG pronoun: *randuj o ŋg/ŋguw* 'you daughter' (see Chapter 4, Sections 4.13 and 4.17).

In his 1959 publication, Drabbe gives no information on the semantic organisation of the YW kinship system. However, the 1956 wordlist given in the Appendix offers some insight in the main aspects of the system, like the importance of the mother's brother – sister's children dyad, the distinction between cross and parallel siblings and generational extension.[11] It also points out how *nati* 'father' and *noj* 'mother' can be used in the sense of 'owner, the one who', but gives no examples to illustrate this use.

10 In this example, however, *o* can also be analysed as a conjunction conjoining the different parts of an enumeration, see Section 3.8.

11 The wordlist in the Appendix provides the following examples of parallel generational extension via parallel siblings. In referring to the generation below we find *mandup* used for ego's sons and for ego's parallel siblings' sons; likewise *matip* is used for ego's daughters and for ego's parallel siblings' daughters. With regard to the generation of ego, we see that the names used for siblings (*ani, mbiat, net, nan* for 'older sister', 'younger sister', 'older brother', 'younger brother', respectively) are also used for ego's parallel parents' children. When talking about the first generation above, the names for father and mother are also used for their parallel siblings. Apart from the four terms for (exclusively parallel?) siblings, which specify sex and the relative age with regard to ego, YW also has two terms reserved for cross-siblings: *kinum* 'brother of female ego' and *ran* 'sister of male ego'. Like in other Awyu–Dumut languages, the YW kinship terminology also reflects the importance of the mother's brother – sister's children dyad, and the Omaha equivalence of mother's brother (MB) to mother's brother's son (MBS). Thus, *mom* refers to MB and MBS, so that the generation of MBS is considered a parental generation, and the generation of MB as grand-parental. Seen from the perspective of this 'parental generation', father's sisters' children are considered 'children', belonging to the generation below, even though they technically belong to the same generation. Some examples of terms reflecting this organisation are *omben* used for parent's mother and MB's wife; *noj* 'mother' extended to MB's daughter, and *regen* used both for 'father's sister's son' and for 'sister's son'.

## 3.1.3 Number[12]

Only kinship nouns have morphological plural forms (see Section 3.1.2). For other nouns, a plural may be expressed by doubling the entire word, such as *kagup-kagup* for 'men'.[13] However,

> Because number of the subject is often expressed on the verb and because number of the object is often expressed by iterative stems, this doubling is often not needed, and therefore infrequent. (Drabbe 1959:117a)

Plurality of the head noun may also be expressed by the plural form of an associated adjective in attributive position—see Section 3.3 and De Vries (2020:83)—but examples are lacking.[14] More on the expression of number in the verb phrase and on iterative stems can be found in Sections 2.7 and 2.4.1, respectively.

## 3.1.4 Structure of the noun phrase

In Greater Awyu languages the unmarked order in a noun phrase (NP) is head noun followed by one or more modifiers, but 'Greater Awyu languages allow modifiers in prenominal positions, as a marked choice' (De Vries 2020:78). For YW, Drabbe gives no explicit description of NP structure, which means that the description here is based solely on what is attested in the corpus. In YW, the postnominal area seems to have two slots, with the first slot optionally filled by an adjective, numeral or a demonstrative, and the second slot optionally filled by one of the postpositional markers *e, et* or *ŋga*. Prenominally, NPs have only one slot, which can only be filled by a possessive pronoun. There are no examples of NPs with more than one adjective, numeral or demonstratives, or of NPs in which adjectives, numerals or demonstratives are combined. The structure of the NP is visualised in Figure 16.

(poss. pronoun) noun (adjective / demonstrative/ numeral) (postpositional marker)

**Figure 16: Structure of the noun phrase.**

12 Drabbe 1959: Section 7, p. 117a.

13 In his 1956 wordlist, Drabbe also gives one example of a plural interrogative pronoun: *agaw~agap* as a plural of *agap* 'who'.

14 The 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, however, gives one example of a compound, or a noun associated with a second noun: *enop rop* 'tree fruit', with a plural *enop ro~rop*. One could say that *rop* behaves here like an attributive adjective.

The following table gives a number of NPs that illustrate this structure.

**Table 34: Noun phrases illustrating the structure of Figure 16.**

| Pre | Noun | Post (1) | Post (2) | Translation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| – | *ragae*<br>'fish' | *mbemberon*<br>'small.PL' | – | small fishes (4.01) |
| – | *top*<br>'opening' | *me*<br>'this' | – | this opening (7.05) |
| – | *Kukjar*<br>'Kukjar' | *ewe*<br>'THAT' | *ŋga*<br>'AG' | that Kukjar (8.01) |
| – | *aŋgun*<br>'snake' | *mberon*<br>'small' | *kup*<br>'with' | with a small snake (10.04) |
| *ja*<br>'3SG.POSS' | *nan*<br>'younger.brother' | *ambae*<br>'other' | – | his other younger brother (7.01) |
| *naŋgo*<br>'1PL.POSS' | *mandup*<br>'son' | – | – | our son (9.08) |

## 3.1.5 Possessive construction[15]

This section discusses 'NP-internal' possessive constructions; predicative possession is discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3. In YW possessive constructions, an NP referring to the possessor and an NP referring to the possessed are linked with an optional possessive linker *e*, or linked with an optional third-person possessive pronoun. In both cases, the possessor NP precedes the NP expressing the possessed. The linker *e* is realised as *en* when preceding a vowel. The third-person possessive pronoun agrees in number with the possessor. This is illustrated in Figure 17.

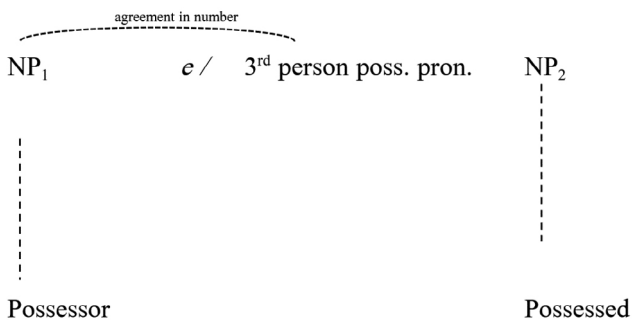



**Figure 17: Possessive construction.**

15 Drabbe 1959: Section 11, p. 118a.

Examples provided by Drabbe include *Katir e mbitip* 'Katit's house', paralleled by a phrase with possessive pronoun *Katir ja mbitip*. With kinship terms, the construction with possessive pronouns is more frequent, but the use of *e* is also grammatical, so that *Katit ja nati* and *Katir e nati* 'Katit's father' are both acceptable. Two kinship nouns, *mandup* 'son' and *matip* 'daughter', have alternative forms: *amandup* and *amatip*, respectively, which are used when the nouns are used as possessed noun in the construction with *e*. Thus, *kagup ja mandup* alternates with *kaguw en amandup* 'the man's son', and *kagup ja matip* alternates with *kaguw en amatip* 'the man's daughter'.

Although the boundary between possessive constructions and compounds is hard to draw,[16] Drabbe mentions a few tendencies that suggest a semantic difference between the two. Especially when the relation between the first noun (N1) and the second (N2) is one of 'real possession', and when the main accent is on N2, YW uses a possessive phrase formed with *e*. Thus, *Katir en aŋgáe* 'Katit's dog' is a prototypical possessive construction, as are the two examples *Katir e mbitip* and *Katir e nati* mentioned above. Less prototypical cases are phrases like *mbìr e ragae* 'fish for the feast' from *mbit* 'feast' and *ragae* 'fish', with a semantic relation between N1 and N2 that is not so clearly possessive, and main accent on N1 rather than N2. The same is true for *mbemìr e jugut* from *mbemit* 'breast' and *jugut* 'trail', referring to the trail of the breast formed by a creeping animal; *ndìn e kagup* 'sago people', used to refer to people preparing sago; *kotim-ròn e jun* 'string bag made from feathers of a woodpigeon', from *kotim-ròn* 'feather of woodpigeon' and *jun* 'string bag'.

16 For several reasons, it is hard to delineate YW possessive constructions from compounds, see also De Vries (2020:81–83). First, although I have followed Drabbe in his description of the constructions in Figure 17 as possessive phrases, there is no clear evidence that this indicates two separate NPs combining into one. One might also argue, therefore, that the 'constructions' given in Figure 17 are just another type of compound in which two (or more) nominal stems are combined into a new, compounded noun. Second, the use of the linker *e* and the use of a linking pronoun are both optional. This raises the question of how to analyse the construction without a linker. According to De Vries (2020:82), however, the *possibility* of inserting a linking pronoun or the general modifier-head connective *e* is a (sufficient) criteria to distinguish possessive constructions and compounds. Third, there are no clear differences in the accentual pattern between compounds and possessive constructions; in both cases, the main accent (called word stress in the case of compounds) may be on either the first or second noun (N1 or N2). Fourth, neither in compounds nor in possessive phrases are there clear semantic restrictions regarding the relation between N1 and N2, apart from the somewhat vague criteria of 'real possession' mentioned in the text.

# 3.2 Pronouns[17]

The following table gives an overview of pronouns discussed in Sections 3.2.1 through 3.2.4. For the form (and function) of demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns, the reader is referred to Sections 3.2.5 and 3.2.6.

**Table 35: Independent, emphatic, comitative and possessive pronouns.**

| | Indep. | Emp. (i) | Emp. (ii) | Emp. (iii) | Comitative | Poss. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1SG** | *nu* | *nup* | *nawot* | *nugup* | *no kup* | *na(n)* |
| **2SG** | *ŋgu* | *ŋgup* | *ŋgowot* | *ŋgugup* | *ŋgo kup* | *ŋgo(n)* |
| **3SG** | *ju* | *jup* | *jawot* | *jugup* | *jo kup* | *ja(n)* |
| **1PL** | *naŋgu* | *naŋgup* | *naŋgowot* | *naŋgugup* | *naŋgo kup* | *naŋgo(n)* |
| **2PL** | *ŋgaŋgu* | *ŋgaŋgup* | *ŋgaŋgowot* | *ŋgaŋgugup* | *ŋgaŋgo kup* | *ŋgaŋgo(n)* |
| **3PL** | *jaŋgu* | *jaŋgup* | *jaŋgowot* | *jaŋgugup* | *jaŋgo kup* | *jaŋgo(n)* |

Note: indep. = independent, emp. = emphatic, com. = comitative, poss. = possessive.

## 3.2.1 Independent, emphatic and comitative pronouns: Form

The independent pronouns are given in Table 36. Before vowels, the final *u* is not realised; in this book and partly following Drabbe, this has been rendered by the use of an apostrophe.[18] When followed by *kup* 'COM', the final *u* of the pronouns dissimilates to *o*, so that we get *no kup, ŋgo kup* etc.

**Table 36: Independent pronouns.**

| | SG | PL |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *nu* | *naŋgu* |
| 2 | *ŋgu* | *ŋgaŋgu* |
| 3 | *ju* | *jaŋgu* |

The language has three types of emphatic pronouns, given in Tables 37 through 39. Emphatic pronouns of the first type have the form of an independent pronoun followed by *p*. In line with the general phonological

17 Drabbe 1959: Sections 15–20, pp. 119–120b.

18 My spelling differs from Drabbe, however, in the independent pronouns plus *e*. While Drabbe distinguishes a set of subject pronouns *ne, ŋge, je, naŋge, ŋgaŋge, jaŋge*, I consider these independent pronouns plus following *e* 'ARG', see also Table 41 and the explanation given there.

rules of the language, the final *p* is realised as *w* when followed by a vowel (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3). Emphatic pronouns of the second type consist of a possessive pronoun suffixed with *-wot*.[19] According to Drabbe's description, they alternate with forms in *-woret*, without difference in meaning, and serve to emphasise the function of the pronoun as a subject.[20]

**Table 37: Emphatic pronouns (i).**

| | SG | PL |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *nup* | *naŋgup* |
| 2 | *ŋgup* | *ŋgaŋgup* |
| 3 | *jup* | *jaŋgup* |

**Table 38: Emphatic pronouns (ii).**

| | SG | PL |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *nawot~naworet* | *naŋgowot~naŋgoworet* |
| 2 | *ŋgowot~ŋgoworet* | *ŋgaŋgowot~ŋgaŋgoworet* |
| 3 | *jawot~jaworet* | *jaŋgowot~jaŋgoworet* |

A third type of emphatic pronouns is formed by the independent pronouns suffixed with the intensifier suffix *-gup* 'self' (which might be derived from *kagup* 'man'), as in *nugup* 'me myself'.

**Table 39: Emphatic pronouns (iii).**

| | SG | PL |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *nugup* 'me myself' | *naŋgugup* |
| 2 | *ŋgugup* 'you yourself' | *ŋgaŋgugup* |
| 3 | *jugup* etc. | *jaŋgugup* |

These should not be confused with the pronouns plus comitative marker given in Table 40, where we find pronouns with final *o* followed by *kup* 'COM' (cf. Section 3.7). Note that *kup*, unlike *-gup* above, does not form a (phonological) word with the preceding pronominal element and that it is, therefore, realised as [kup] rather than [gup].

19 As pointed out by Wester (2014:74, 75), all Dumut languages have such emphatic pronouns, formed by adding a form of *-ot* to the possessive pronoun. This *ot* is probably a reflex of **ot* 'stomach', which in many Papuan languages signifies the very heart of someone (cf. De Vries 2020, Jang 2008:72). The *w* in *wot* is analysed as a ligature.

20 See also Chapter 4, Section 4.1.3 for the function of *et*.

**Table 40: Comitative pronouns.**

| | SG | PL |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *no kup* | *naŋgo kup* |
| 2 | *ŋgo kup* | *ŋgaŋgo kup* |
| 3 | *jo kup* | *jaŋgo kup* |

## 3.2.2 Independent, emphatic and comitative pronouns: Use

As pointed out by De Vries, most speakers of Papuan languages, including the Greater Awyu languages, generally avoid nouns and pronouns in reference tracking, especially in the tracking of active or given subject and object referents. Instead, referents are tracked by subject person-number markers on the verb and by switch reference strategies. (De Vries 2006:813; 2020:134f). This means that pronouns are (predominantly) used to refer to subjects in case they are pragmatically marked. This pragmatic markedness is reflected in morphology: apart from the normal independent pronouns, we often find the morphologically more complex emphatic pronouns.[21] Consider Table 41. Besides the use of pronouns in subject position, this table also presents their use in object position and as copula complements.

**Table 41: Independent and emphatic personal pronouns in different syntactic roles: As subject, as object or as copula complement (CC).**

| Type/function | Subject | Object | With *te*, as CC |
|---|---|---|---|
| **independent *nu* etc.** | ✓ optionally with *ŋga* or *e*[1] | ✓ | – |
| **emphatic (i) *nup* etc.** | ✓ with *e* | ✓ with *e* | ✓ |
| **emphatic (ii) *nawot* etc.** | ✓ also in copula clause | – | ✓[22] |
| **emphatic (iii) *nugup* etc.** | ✓ | only in copula clause | |

In subject position, we find independent pronouns, and emphatic pronouns of both types (i) and (ii). In the examples provided by Drabbe, the emphatic pronouns of type (i), when used as subjects, are followed by the argument marker *e* (see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2). This can be observed in (142) and (143).

21 Cf. Wester (2014:74), who writes that '[in Awyu Dumut languages] in the rare case that a pronoun is used to refer to the agent of the action, the pronoun is marked with pragmatic marker(s) *te* or *ke*'.

22 The emphatic pronouns are attested not only as complement of the copula *te*, but also as complement of *ke*, see (153)–(155) and the discussion in Chapter 4, Section 4.1.3.

(142) *Juw* *e* *mbitip* *pa-gen.*
3SG.EMPH ARG house sit-RLS[N1SG]
'She stayed at home.' (10.07)

(143) *Jaŋgo* *noj* *jaŋgo* *nati* *mindi-r-in* *de*
3PL.POSS mother 3PL.POSS father come_II-RLS-N1PL CON

*ema-t* *te* *jaŋguw* *e* *nduŋnde*
do.thus CON 3PL.EMPH ARG altogether

*enop* *kurugut* *wamburuma-r-in.*
tree upper.part hang-RLS-N1PL
'While their parents were coming home, they altogether went to hang in the upper part of trees.' (9.05)

Independent pronouns in their role as subject may also be followed by *e*, as in (144), but are also attested without a following *e*, as illustrated by *nu* in (145) and by *ju* in (146).

(144) *jaŋg'* *e* *mi-gin-in*
3PL ARG come-RLS-N1PL
'they came' (Drabbe 1959:119a)

(145) *ran* *e* *nu* *sumo-p* *ten!*
woman ARG 1SG marry-1SG AFFMT
'I want to marry the woman!' (4.29)

(146) *Naerop* *ju* *taep* *me* *etaga-t* *te …*
Naerop 3SG also come see-RLS[N1SG] CON
'Naerop also came and saw …' (2.02)

It is important to note the distribution of *e* (as presented in Table 41): *e* can only follow an independent pronoun if it functions as a subject, which is the reason why Drabbe considers *e* in this context (*n'e, ŋg'e* etc.) as 'subject indicating'.[23] This differs from the use of *e* following emphatic pronouns, where the use of *e* is obligatory both after subjects and objects, see (142)–(143) and (159)–(160).

23 More precisely, Drabbe distinguishes a set of subject-indicating pronouns: *ne, ŋge, je, naŋge, ŋgaŋge, jaŋge*.

In their role as subjects, the independent pronouns may also be followed by the agentive marker *ŋga* (see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1), as in (147) and (148). In this case, the pronouns have, according to Drabbe 'a light emphasis'.

(147) *ŋgu* *ŋga* *rawa-r-an*
2SG AG take_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'you have taken it' (Drabbe 1959:119b)

(148) *ŋgu* *ŋga* *na* *ŋgombejop* *mbetatmo-gen* *dok*
2SG AG 1SG.POSS mouth.harp spoil-RLS[N1SG] ground
'you have spoilt my mouth harp!' (5.13)

To put even more emphasis on the subject, speakers may use the emphatic pronouns of type (ii). This use is illustrated in (149), which differs minimally from (147) above.

(149) *ŋgowot/ŋgoworet* *rawa-r-an*
2SG.EMPH take_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'you have taken it' (Drabbe 1959:119b)

Both emphatic pronouns of type (i) and type (ii) are also used as copula complements, as is shown in (150) through (153). As is also set out in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2, these copula clauses may be used to stress the identity of the referent; this is illustrated in (154) and (155).

(150) *nup* *te*
1SG.EMPH affmt
'it's me' (Drabbe 1959:119a)

(151) *ŋgaŋgup* *to*
2pl.emph q
'is it you (PL)?' (Drabbe 1959:119a)

(152) *jup* *to*
3sg.emph ground
'For it is him!' (Drabbe 1959:119a)

(153) *ŋgowot* *ke* *te*
2SG.EMPH be AFFMT
'it's you (SG)' (Drabbe 1959:119b)

(154) *ŋgowot/ŋgoworet* *ke* *te* *rawa-r-an*
2SG.EMPH be CON take_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'you are the one who took' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

(155) *Na* *mandup* *Naerom* *ŋgowot* *ke* *te*
1SG.POSS son Naerom 2SG.EMPH be CON
*sinam* *mon* *uru-gen.*
*bow* piece put-RLS[N1SG]
'My son Naerop, it's you, you have put down scrapings of a bow.' (2.06)

In object position, speakers may use an independent pronoun not followed by *e*, exemplified in (156) through (158), or an emphatic pronoun of type (i) followed by *e*, as in (159) and (160). Because the text corpus offers no examples of the latter, it is impossible to say whether there is a functional difference between the two options.

(156) *nu* *raga-r-an*
1SG speak-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he said it to me' (Drabbe 1959:119a)

(157) *n'* *i-r-an*
1sg hit_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he hit me' (Drabbe 1959:119a)

(158) *mbanep* *me* *ŋgu* *mbarukrawa-t* *ke-t*
crocodile come 2SG have.sex-RLS[NL1SG] be-RLS[N1SG]
*ki-n-in* *ŋga …*
be-N1[SG]-FUT CIRC
'if the crocodile comes and has sex with you …' (4.17)

(159) *juw* *e* *raga-r-ew-an*
3SG.EMPH ARG say-RLS-1[SG]-PST
'I have told him' (Drabbe 1959:119b)

(160) *naŋguw* *e* *raga-r-an*
1PL.EMPH ARG say-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he has told us' (Drabbe 1959:119b)

Coming to the distribution of the emphatic pronouns of type (iii), Drabbe remarks that 'in object position they are followed by predicative *te*'. They are, in other words, used as part of a copula construction, with the emphatic pronoun as a complement. This is shown in (161) and (162).

(161) *nugup* *te* *raga-r-an*
1SG.self AFFMT speak-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he said it to me myself' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

(162) *nugup* *te* *i-r-in-an*
1SG.self AFFMT hit_II-RLS-N1PL-PST
'they hit me myself' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

In his grammatical introduction, Drabbe gives no examples of emphatic pronouns of type (iii) in subject position, but the text corpus has one, presented here as (163).

(163) *ndun* *e* *jugup* *ra* *me*
sago ARG 3SG.self take come

*enene<jop>mo* *mbage-t*
eat.ITER<ITER> sit_II-RLS[N1SG]
'whenever he came home with sago he used to eat it himself (alone)' (9.02)

When followed by the adverb *mo* 'only', the emphatic pronoun is interpreted as 'on my/your/his/her (etc.) own', 'apart'. Drabbe gives the following four examples.

(164) *nugup* *mo* *jaŋ-gen-ep*
1SG.self only lie-RLS-1SG
'I was lying apart (from the others)' (Drabbe 1959:144b)

(165) *naŋgo* *ruk* *jugup* *mo*
3PL.POSS language 3SG.self only

*jaŋgo* *ruk* *jugup* *mo*
1PL.POSS language 3SG.self only
'their language is apart, our language is apart' → 'we speak different languages' (Drabbe 1959:144b)

(166) *Waniktik* *jugup* *mo*
Waniktit 3SG.self only

*Wombon* *jugup* *mo*
Wombon 3SG.self only
'Waniktit and Wombon are two different villages' (Drabbe 1959:144b)

Pronouns with a following comitative marker, finally, are illustrated in (167) through (170).[24]

(167) *jo* *kup* *konoj* *tami-gen*
3SG COM canoe make.canoe-RLS[N1SG]
'he too made the canoe' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

(168) *no* *kuw* *i-r-in-an*
1SG COM hit_II-RLS-N1PL-PST
'they hit me too' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

(169) *no* *kup* *pa-gen*
1SG COM sit-RLS[N1SG]
'he stayed with me' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

(170) *ŋgo* *kup* *mando-jip*
2SG COM come.IRR-1SG.FUT
'I will come to you' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

## 3.2.3 Possessive pronouns: Form

Possessive pronouns are listed in Table 42. Vowel-final forms alternate with *n*-final forms, which are used when the pronoun is followed by a vowel.

**Table 42: Possessive pronouns; the forms in *n* are used in prevocalic position.**

| | SG | PL |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *na(n)* | *naŋgo(n)* |
| 2 | *ŋgo(n)* | *ŋgaŋgo(n)* |
| 3 | *ja(n)* | *jaŋgo(n)* |

24 The function of the postposition *kup* is further discussed in Section 3.7.

## 3.2.4 Possessive pronouns: Distribution

### 3.2.4.1 Possession proper

Personal pronouns are used in the expression of possession proper, as in (171) and (172). Note that they precede the noun expressing the possessed, which makes the order possessor–possessed, analogous the possessive construction of Section 3.1.5.

(171) *jaŋgo* *mbitip*
3PL.POSS house
'their house' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

(172) *jan* *ip*
3SG.POSS name
'his name' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

Possessive pronouns can only be used attributively. Drabbe points out that 'where we [meaning Dutch, but also applicable to English] use a possessive pronoun independently', YW speakers use a possessive pronoun with *on* 'thing', as in (173) through (175).

(173) *nan* *on* *de*
1SG.POSS thing AFFMT
'it is mine' (Drabbe 1959:120b)

(174) *jaŋgon* *on* *sono-nin* *ka-n*
3PL.POSS thing throw.IMP-PL go.IRR-N1[SG]
'throw away what is theirs' (Drabbe 1959:120b)

(175) *ŋgon* *on* *mbara* *ke-r-an* *do*
2SG.POSS thing absent be-RLS[N1SG]-PST Q
'has what is yours got lost?' (Drabbe 1959:120b)

Drabbe remarks that, apart from *on*, a speaker may also use *man*, plural: *manman*, which might be a loan from Muyu.

### 3.2.4.2 Possessive pronouns + *turup*/*tamuk*[25]

Possessive pronouns followed by *turup* or *tamuk* express that the referent of the pronoun alone (and no one else) is intended. In their function as subject, pronoun plus *turup*/*tamuk* are optionally followed by the copula *te*, as in (176), while *te* is obligatory when they function as objects, as in (177). In this respect, these pronouns are analogous to emphatic pronouns of type (iii) described above, and exemplified in (161) and (162).

(176) *ja* *tamuk* *(te)* *me-gen*
3SG.POSS alone AFFMT come-RLS[N1SG]
'he has come on his own' (Drabbe 1959:120b)

(177) *ŋgo* *turup* *t'* *i-r-in-an*
2SG.POSS alone AFFMT hit_II-RLS-N1PL-PST
'have they hit only you?' (Drabbe 1959:120b)

### 3.2.4.3 Reflexivity[26]

Greater Awyu languages generally form reflexive pronouns by suffixation of the personal or possessive pronoun (De Vries 2020:34). YW makes use of a fossilised *menden* directly following the possessive pronoun, which may be (developing into) a suffix. Consider (178) and (179) below. In both cases, we see a possessive pronoun directly followed by *menden*, which I analyse as a fossilised semi-inflected irrealis 'come_II-N1'.[27]

(178) *na* *menden* *iŋ-gen-ep*
1SG.POSS REFL hit-RLS-1SG
'I hit myself' (Drabbe 1959:120b)

(179) *ŋgo* *menden* *iŋ-gen* *do*
2SG.POSS REFL hit-RLS[N1SG] Q
'have you hit yourself?' (Drabbe 1959:120b)

Somewhat puzzling is the following sentence. According to Drabbe's translation, and parallel to the examples above, *ja menden* seems to form the object of the following verb. Could it be that *ja menden* is treated as

25 Drabbe 1959: Section 19, p. 120b.
26 Drabbe 1959: Section 19, p. 120b.
27 While I know of no other languages for which this development has been documented, Heine and Kuteva (2019:100) refer to a somewhat similar development from verbs of 'coming to' into benefactives.

an object to give expression to its being affected? Together with (178) and (179) above, these three sentences form the only examples of the use of *menden* in both the grammatical introduction and the text corpus.

(180)

| *ju* | *gup* | *ja* | *mbitip* | *te* | *ja* | *menden* | *uŋ-gen* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG | self | 3SG.POSS | house | AFFMT | 3SG.POSS | REFL | burn-RLS[N1SG] |

'he burnt his own house' (lit. 'he himself, it is his house he burnt himself', with the second 'himself' as object of the burning; Drabbe 1959:120b)

### 3.2.4.4 Reciprocity[28]

De Vries writes that Greater Awyu languages express reciprocal actions between agent (A) and object (O) by uninflected reciprocal 'pronouns' in object position (De Vries 2020:35). YW makes use of a reciprocal construction, consisting of the repetition of *ŋgotap/kowae* plus following verb stem (usually the primary), followed by an inflected form of *mo* 'do', so that the whole phrase then functions as the object of *mo* (De Vries 2020:35). This is illustrated in (181) through (187).

(181)

| *ŋgotaw* | *i* | *ŋgotaw* | *i* | *mo-gon-in* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| recp | hit_II | RECP | hit_II | do-RLS-N1PL |

'they hit each other' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(182)

| *kowae* | *taem* | *kowae* | *taem* | *ma-r-iw-an-an* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RECP | shoot | RECP | shoot | do-RLS-1-PL-PST |

'we shot arrows at each other' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(183)

| *ŋgotap* | *tagapmo* | *ŋgotap* | *tagapmo* | *mo-natit* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RECP | curse | RECP | curse | do-PROH.PL |

'don't curse each other' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(184)

| *kowae* | *waepke* | *kowae* | *waepke* | *nog-onin* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RECP | decorate | RECP | decorate | do.IMP-PL |

'decorate each other' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

28 Drabbe 1959: Section 91, pp. 139b–140a.

(185) *ŋgotaw etok ŋgotaw etok ma-nop ajukmo-gin-in*
RECP see RECP see do-NMLZ not.want-RLS-NIPL
'they did not want to see each other' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(186) *kowae atik kowae atik mo-n-an-in*
RECP bite RECP bite do-NI-PL-FUT
'they will bite each other' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(187) *ŋgotaw ak te ŋgotaw ak te ma-r-in-an*
RECP praise say RECP praise say do-RLS-NIPL-PST
'they praised each other' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

*Ŋgotap* is also used as an adverb and means 'in exchange', or 'as a reward', as in (188) and (189).

(188) *ŋgotap taemba-r-an*
in.exchange shoot_II-RLS[NISG]-PST
'he shot back' (Drabbe 1959:139b)

(189) *taget ŋgotap jaga-r-an*
cowrie.shell in.exchange give_II-RLS[NISG]-PST
'he gave cowrie shells in return' (Drabbe 1959:139b)

## 3.2.5 Demonstrative pronouns[29]

YW demonstrative pronouns are of two kinds: primary demonstratives refer to locations ('here', 'there', 'over there'), while secondary demonstratives refer either to locations or to entities at the respective locations ('this', 'that', 'that over there'), depending on the context. The form of the demonstratives is given in Table 43; the variants *ew* and *kow* are used before vowels, while *ep* and *kop* are used in other contexts. The secondary pronouns are usually realised as *mene, ewe* and *kore*, but have a final *w* when followed by a vowel.[30]

29 Drabbe 1959: Sections 21–27, pp. 121a–122a.

30 Drabbe is more restrictive, writing that the secondary pronouns may also end in *p* (*-w*), but only if they form a compound with a following noun, in which case they are followed by the possessive linker *e*, as in *menew e kagup* 'man from here', *ew e mun* 'that boy' or *korew e mbitip* 'house over there'. I believe that the morphophonological rule can be formulated more broadly, because the final [w] is attested not only in compounds, but also in other contexts, see Texts 1.12, 2.6, 4.26 and 6.02. Although the pronoun is, in these contexts, followed by the marker *e*, it does not form a compound with a following noun.

Drabbe remarks that the demonstratives *kop* and *mene* are related to the motion verbs *ko* 'go' and *me* 'come', more on which can be found in Section 3.5.

**Table 43: YW demonstrative pronouns: (i) primary and (ii) secondary.[31]**

| | (i) Location | (ii) Location/entity |
|---|---|---|
| **close to speaker** | *me/ne* 'here' | *mene(w)* 'here'/'THIS' |
| **close to addressee** | *ep~ew* 'there' | *ewe(w)* 'there'/'THAT' |
| **at a distance** | *kop~kow* 'over there' | *kowe~kore(w)* 'over there'/'DIST' |

YW also has a set of demonstrative pronouns suffixed with the emphatic nominative marker *-et*. Their forms are given in Table 44.

**Table 44: YW emphatic subject demonstrative pronouns.**

| **deictic meaning** | |
|---|---|
| **close to speaker** | *menew-et* |
| **close to addressee** | *ew-et/ewew-et* |
| **at a distance** | *korew-et* |
| **question** | *oŋgenew-et* |

Finally, the language has a set of verbs derived from demonstratives: *menemo, emo* and *eŋgenemo*. These are discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.8. Complex spatial pronouns are addressed in Section 3.5.

### 3.2.5.1 Distribution of primary demonstrative pronouns[32]

The primary demonstrative pronouns do not seem to be used very frequently; they are not attested in the text corpus, and Drabbe describes them only briefly. Unlike the secondary pronouns, the primary demonstrative pronouns are not followed by postpositions. Examples of their use are given in (190a) through (193), all taken from Drabbe's grammatical introduction. Examples (190a), (b) and (c) illustrate their use as locative argument of *mbon*, (191a), (b) and (c) their use as locative arguments of posture verbs. In (192a), (b) and (c) the demonstrative pronouns are locative arguments of motion verbs. Finally, example (193) exemplifies their use as locative adjuncts.[33]

31 The secondary pronouns are formed out of the primary pronouns plus *e*. According to Drabbe, this is the 'linking element' *e* ('schakelelement'; Drabbe 1959:121a).

32 Drabbe 1959: Section 21, p. 121a.

33 Note that *me/ep/kon* in (193) cannot be analysed as determiners inside the NP, because only secondary pronouns are used attributively, see Section 3.2.5.2.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (190a) | *me/ne* | *mbon* | (190b) | *ep* | *pon* |
| | here | STAY | | there | STAY |
| | '[(s)he/it etc.] is here' | | | '… is there' | |
| (190c) | *kop* | *pon* | | | |
| | over.there | STAY | | | |
| | '… is over there' (Drabbe 1959:121a) | | | | |
| (191a) | *me* | *mba-gen* | (191b) | *kop* | *jaŋ-gen* |
| | here | sit-RLS[NISG] | | over.there | lie-RLS[NISG] |
| | 'he is sitting here' | | | 'he is lying over there' | |
| (191c) | *ep* | *re-gen* | | | |
| | there | stand-RLS[NISG] | | | |
| | 'he is standing there' (Drabbe 1959:121a) | | | | |
| (192a) | *me* | *me-gen* | (192b) | *ep* | *me-gen* |
| | here | come-RLS[NISG] | | there | come-RLS[NISG] |
| | 'he came here' | | | 'he came there' | |
| (192c) | *kop* | *ku-r-an* | | | |
| | over.there | go-RLS[NISG]-PST | | | |
| | 'he went over there' (Drabbe 1959:121a) | | | | |
| (193) | *enop* | *me/ep/kop* | | *ri-r-an* | |
| | tree | here/there/over.there | | chop-RLS[NISG]-PST | |
| | 'here/there/over there he chopped a tree' (Drabbe 1959:121a) | | | | |

### 3.2.5.2 Distribution of secondary demonstrative pronouns[34]

The secondary demonstrative pronouns have a wider distribution: they are also used as subjects and objects, in which case they refer to entities at a certain location, and not solely to the location itself. We now first consider their use as locative arguments: of *mbon* 'STAY', of posture verbs and of motion verbs. Then follows their use as 'possessor' in a possessive construction, and their use as subjects and objects. Finally, some words will be devoted to the development of demonstrative pronouns into topic markers.

34 Drabbe 1959: Sections 22–24, pp. 121a, b.

Of the demonstratives in *e*, only *kore* (not *kowe*) is used as locative argument of *mbon* 'STAY'. This is illustrated in (194). Parallel to (191) and (192), we find the secondary demonstratives used as locative arguments of posture verbs and motion verbs, in (195) and (196), respectively. As a locative adjunct, however, the secondary demonstrative is marked by the circumstantial (locative) postposition *ŋga* (see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1); this can be seen in (197).

(194) *kore* *mbon*
over.there STAY
'[(s)he / it etc.] is over there' (Drabbe 1959:121a)

(195a) *mene* *re-gen-ep*
here stand-RLS-1SG
'I am standing here'

(195b) *ewe* *mbo-ken*
there sit.PL-RLS[N1]
'they are sitting there'

(195c) *kore* *jaŋgo-ken*
over.there lie_II-RLS[N1SG]
'he is lying over there' (Drabbe 1959:121a)

(196a) *mene* *me-gen-ep*
here come-RLS-1SG
'I came here'

(196b) *ewe* *me-gen*
there come-RLS [N1SG]
'he came there'

(196c) *kore* *ko-gen*
over.there go-RLS[N1SG]
'he went over there' (Drabbe 1959:121a)

(197) *enop* *mene/ewe/kore* *ŋga* *ri-r-an*
tree here/there/over.there CIRC chop-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'here/there/over there he chopped a tree' (Drabbe 1959:121a)

With a verb of motion such as *me* 'come', marking the demonstrative with circumstantial *ŋga* indicates movement coming from rather than towards the location. This can be seen in (198) from Drabbe's grammatical description, and in (199) from the text corpus (where the demonstrative is used attributively).

(198) *kore* *ŋga* *me-gen-ep*
over.there CIRC come-RLS-1SG
'I come from over there' (Drabbe 1959:121a)

(199) *Kin* *kore* *ŋga* *amukmo* *rereoworo* *me-ro* *te …*
upstream over.there CIRC all altogether come-SS CON
'From upstream over there everything came and …' (1.10)

In possessive constructions, the demonstrative, taking the structural position of the possessor, refers to the location where the referent of the possessed is located, see (200) and (202) below. The main accent of the possessive construction is on the demonstrative.

(200) *menew* *e* *kagup*
here LNK man
'a man of here' → 'this man' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

(201) *ew'* *e* *mun*
there LNK boy
'a boy of there' → that boy' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

(202) *korew* *e* *mbitip*
over.there LNK house
'house of over there → a/the house over there' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

As stated previously and shown in Table 43, secondary demonstratives are used not only to refer to locations but also to entities at a certain location. This is the case when they are used as subjects or objects. As a subject, they are, according to Drabbe, marked with agentive *ŋga*.[35] *Mene* and *kore* in (203) and (204) are demonstrative pronouns in subject function, while *ewe* in (205) is an example of a demonstrative in object position.

35 It should be noted, however, that the corpus also contains examples of demonstrative pronoun plus circumstantial *ŋga*, as in (199) and in Texts 4.03 and 5.07, presented here as (i) and (ii). This means that one cannot say that the use of *ŋga* always marks the pronoun as agentive.

(i) *nu* *mene* *ŋga* *ok* *natin-in*
1SG here CIRC river ROW.IMP-PL
'Use me here to row (across) the river!' (4.03)

(ii) *mene* *ŋga* *kinum* *najan*
here CIRC asleep lie.IMP
'lie down here to sleep' (7.07)

(203) *mene* *ŋga* *ka-n-in*[36]
THIS AG go.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT
'this one will go' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

(204) *kore* *ŋga* *mando-n-in*
DIST AG come.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT
'that one over there will come' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

(205) *ewe* *rawo-jip*
THAT take_II-1SG.FUT
'that I will take' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

Secondary demonstratives are also used attributively, as in (206).

(206) *kagup* *mene/* *mun* *ewe/* *mbitip* *kore/*
man THIS boy THAT house DIST

*suma-r-an*
carry-RLS[NI]-PST
'they took this man/that boy/that house over there' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

As a side note, it needs to be pointed out that the text corpus contains one example where the use of the secondary demonstrative pronoun *mene* is metaphorically extended to the domain of time rather than location; in the sentence below, *kagup menew* refers to people of (here and) now. See also Chapter 4, Sections 4.26 and 4.30, where *menew* is used in combination with *kowandut* 'now'.

(207) *Kagup* *menew* *e* *Kawon* *o* *ndi-r-in-an.*
man here ARG Kawon CON say-RLS-NIPL-PST
'People of nowadays say Kawop river.' (1.12)

As pointed out by both De Vries and Wester, in several Greater Awyu languages deictic elements developed into topic markers (De Vries 2020: 37–39; Wester 2014:149–150) This is also the case for YW *ewe*, as is

36 From Drabbe's description it does not become clear whether (and if so, how) one can disambiguate between agentive *ŋga* and circumstantial *ŋga*. I would hypothesise that *ŋga* in example (203) could, in the appropriate context, also be considered a circumstantial marker, so that the clause would be interpreted as 'she/he will go from here'.

clear from examples like (444), (445) and (447); (445) is given here as (208). It should be noted that in all attested cases, *ewe* is followed by the circumstantial marker *ŋga*.

(208) *ande-r-ew-an-an* *ewe* *ŋga* *mota-r-an*
eat_II-RLS-I-PL-PST THAT CIRC go.in/out_II-RLS[NISG]-PST
'he came in while we were eating' (Drabbe 1959:134a)

### 3.2.5.3 Distribution of emphatic subject demonstrative pronouns

The only examples of the use of emphatic subject demonstrative pronouns (see Table 44), are those provided by Drabbe in his grammatical description. In (209) and (210), the pronouns are the subject of an inflected verb. It should be noted that *menewet kanin* differs minimally from *mene ŋga kanin* in (203). Also, note that *menewet* is used independently in (209), while *ewewet* is attributive in (210).

(209) *menew-et* *ka-n-in*
THIS-NOM go.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT
'this one will go' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

(210) *randuj* *ewew-et* *rawa-r-an*
girl THAT-NOM take_II-RLS[NISG]-PST
'that girl has taken it' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

Drabbe writes that, as an alternative for (209) and (210), 'one prefers, however, to say:'

(211) *menew-et* *ke* *te* *ka-n-in*
this-nom be CON go.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT
'this one will go' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

(212) *randuj* *ewew-et* *ke* *te* *rawa-r-an*
girl THAT-NOM be CON take_II-RLS[NISG]-PST
'that girl has taken it' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

In these two examples, the pronouns are complements of copula *ke* 'be' and followed by a connective *te*, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.3.

### 3.2.5.4 Forms derived from demonstratives

YW has a number of verbs and a number of adjectives derived from demonstrative roots. The verbs *menemo* and *emo* are dealt with in Chapter 2, Section 2.8. The adjectives are formed by suffixation of the demonstrative with *-op~-ow*, which results in *menewop* 'like this', *ewop* 'like that' and *korewop* 'like that over there'. Drabbe provides only one sentence:

| (213) | *jet* | *menewow* | *e* | *oro* | *moto* | *ko-gen* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | bird | like.this | ARG | put | come.in/out_II | go-RLS[NISG] |
| | 'such a bird has flown away' (Drabbe 1959:121b) | | | | | |

## 3.2.6 Interrogative pronouns and other interrogative forms[37]

YW has three basic interrogative roots, which function as pronouns: *agap* 'who' referring to persons, *agaeop* 'what' referring to objects and *oŋgene* 'where' referring to a location, or an entity at a certain location. All three roots have a number of forms derived from them. These are the verbs *agawe* 'be who', *agaeowe* 'be what', *agaepmo* 'do what', and *oŋgenemo* 'be where' (see Chapter 2, Section 2.8, for the verbalising function of *mo*), and the adjective *oŋgenewop* 'what kind of'. As the entire text corpus contains only two examples of interrogative forms, we have to rely almost entirely on Drabbe's elicited examples.

Interrogative pronouns can be used independently, as in the (a) examples of (214) through (218), or attributively, as in the (b) examples.

| (214a) | *agap* | *te* | (214b) | *kaguw* | *agap* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | who | AFFMT | | man | who | AFFMT |
| | 'who is it?' | | | 'which man is it' (Drabbe 1959:121b) | | |
| (215a) | *agaeop* | *te* | (215b) | *mbitiw* | *agaeop* | *te* |
| | what | AFFMT | | house | what | AFFMT |
| | 'what is it?' | | | 'which house is it' (Drabbe 1959:121b) | | |
| (216a) | *oŋgene* | *mbon* | (216b) | *ran* | *oŋgene* | *suma-r-an* |
| | where | STAY | | woman | where | carry-RLS[NISG]-PST |
| | 'where is he?' | | | 'you married a woman from where?' (Drabbe 1959:121a) | | |

37 Drabbe 1959: Section 30, p. 123a; Sections 22–27, pp. 121b–122a.

(217) *oŋgenew* *e* *ran* *de* *suma-r-an*
from.where CON woman CON carry-RLS[NISG]-PST
'from where is the woman you have married?' (lit. 'you have married a woman of where?' Drabbe 1959:121a)

(218) *oŋgenew* *e* *kagup* *mbitip* *ti-n-an-in*
from.where LNK man house twine-NI-PL-FUT
'people from where will build a house?' (Drabbe 1959:121a)

The attributive counterpart of (218) is given in (219).

(219) *kaguw* *oŋgene* *ŋga* *mbitip* *ti-n-an-in*
man where AG house twine-NI-PL-FUT
'people from where will build a house?' (Drabbe 1959:121a)

Analogous to the demonstrative pronouns discussed above, independent *oŋgene* may refer either to a location, as in (216a) and (220) through (222), or to an entity at the respective location, as in (223).

(220) *eŋgene* *mba-gen/* *ko-gen*
where sit-RLS[NISG] go-RLS[NISG]
'where doe he sit?'/'where does he go?' (Drabbe 1959:121a)

(221) *oŋgene* *ŋga* *kujo*
where CIRC IQ
'where is [the sound] coming from?' (5.06)

(222) *oŋgene* *ŋga* *me-gen/* *kima-r-an*
where CIRC come-RLS[NISG] die_II-RLS[NISG]-PST
'where does he come from?'/'where did he die?' (Drabbe 1959:121a)

(223) *oŋgene* *ŋga* *enop* *ririmo-n-an-in*
where CIRC tree chop.ITER-NI-PL-FUT
'people from where will chop trees?' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

Adjectival *oŋgenewop* is illustrated in (224), and verbal *oŋgenemo* in (225).

(224) *mbuae* *oŋgenewop* *te* *tagimo-n-in*
piece what.sort.of AFFMT pay-NI[SG]-FUT
'what sort of cloth are you going to buy?' (Drabbe 1959:121b)

(225) *oŋgenemo* *nde-w-an*
do.what say-1-PL
'what shall/must we say?' (Drabbe 1959:122a)

Coming to *agaeop* 'what', it should be noted that this interrogative never appears 'directly' as object or subject in a verbal clause, but solely as a copula complement combined with *te* 'AFFMT', and often directly followed by a following clause (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.4.3). In the examples given by Drabbe, the referent of *agaeop* may correspond to the implicit object or subject of the following clause, as in (226) and (227), respectively.

(226) *agaeop* *te* *kagaende-gen*
what AFFMT search-RLS[N1SG]
'what are you looking for?' (lit. 'what is it you are looking for?' Drabbe 1959:123a)

(227) *agaeop* *te* *tupke* *mari-gen*
what AFFMT get.loose come.down-RLS[N1SG]
'what has fallen down?' (lit. 'what is it it has fallen?'; Drabbe 1959:123a)

The copula clause may also serve, however, as an adverbial expression designating a reason, as in (228).

(228) *agaeop* *te* *mende-nok* *ma-r-an*
what AFFMT come_II-VN.NEG do-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'why didn't he come' (lit. 'what is it he did not come?'; Drabbe 1959:123a)

Also *agap* 'who' is used in such constructions, where it may correspond to the subject or object of the following clause, as in (229) and (230), respectively:

(229) *agap* *te* *me-gen*
who AFFMT come-RLS[N1SG]
'who has come?' (lit. 'who is it he has come?'; Drabbe 1959:123a)

(230) *agap* *t'* *iŋ-gin-in*
who AFFMT hit-RLS-N1PL
'whom have they hit?' (lit. 'who is it they hit?'; Drabbe 1959:123a)

In the following clause, the referent of *agap* may correspond either with the subject, or with the indirect object of the following clause.

(231) *agap* *te* *rogo-gen*
who AFFMT say-RLS[N1SG]
'who said it?'/'to whom did he say it?' (lit. 'who is it he said'; Drabbe 1959:123a)

Unlike *agaeop* 'what', *agap* 'who' is also used as 'direct' subject of verbal clauses. As such, it is marked either with agentive *ŋga*, as in (232) and (233), or with nominative *-et*, as in (234).

Note that the syntactic difference between (232) and (231) coincides, apart from a pragmatic difference, with a difference in possible semantic roles of the referent of *agap*: while (231) is ambiguous, (232) is not, because *agam* unambiguously refers to the agent. The syntactic difference between (233)/(234) and (229), on the other hand, corresponds solely to a pragmatic difference; the two clauses unambiguously refer to the same state of affairs.

(232) *agam* *ŋga* *rogo-gen*
who AG say-RLS[N1SG]
'who said it?' (Drabbe 1959:123a)

(233) *agam* *ŋga* *me-gen*
who AG come-RLS[N1SG]
'who has come?' (Drabbe 1959:123a)

(234) *agaw-et* *me-gen*
who-NOM come-RLS[N1SG]
'who has come?' (Drabbe 1959:123a)

A third way to present the same state of affairs as in (229) and (234) is presented in (235). Here, *agaw-et* is the complement of the verb *ke* and followed by the affirmative marker *te* (which is developing into a syntactic connective, see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.3).

(235) *agaw-et* *ke* *te* *me-gen*
who-NOM be CON come-RLS[N1SG]
'who has come?' (lit. 'who is it he has come?'; Drabbe 1959:123a)

In (236) below, we find the same construction as in (235), the only difference being that here the referent of *agap* corresponds to the object, and not to the subject, of the following clause. The sentence should be compared to (230) above, which has a somewhat different morphosyntactic structure, but refers to the same state of affairs.

(236) *agaw-et* *ke* *t'* *i-r-in-an*
who-NOM be CON hit_II-RLS-N1PL-PST
'whom have they hit?' (lit. 'who is it they have hit?'; Drabbe 1959:123a)

As stated at the beginning of this section, the text corpus contains only two examples of interrogatives. In addition to the interrogative *oŋgene* in (221), it contains the verbal *agaepmo* 'do what':

(237) *Randuj* *o* *ŋg'* *agaepmo-gen* *de* *nde-t;*
daughter VOC 2SG do.what-RLS[N1SG] CON say-RLS[N1SG]
'"Daughter, what have you done?", he asked' (4.13)

## 3.3 Adjectives[38]

Most adjectives are morphologically not complex and can function as adjectives without any derivational morphology. At the same time, however, all of these stems can be combined with one or more of the derivational adjectival suffixes *-op, -matan* or *-mban*. Two adjectival stems: *kamae* 'big' and *ŋgurup* 'long, high', are not attested independently, but only in combination with one of the three adjectival suffixes, *kamaeop, kamaematan* or *kamaemban*. One adjectival stem, *jani* 'straight' is used only in combination with *-matan* or *-mban*.

All primary adjectival stems can combine with the adjectival suffix *-mban*. They differ, however, in their possibilities to combine with *-op* and *-matan*. Some adjectives, like *kagun* 'heavy' may combine with both of these suffixes. Other adjectives, like *wagap* 'timid', may be suffixed only with *-op*. Again other suffixes, according to Drabbe even 'quite a lot', may combine with *matan* only, like *ŋgoŋ* 'blunt'.

Adjectives can be used both in attributive and in predicative position. In attributive position, adjectives follow the noun that they modify, as in *mun awoj*, 'a weak boy'. An example of the predicative use is given in (238).

(238) *mba~mbari* *ki-r-in-an*
RED~adult be-RLS-N1PL-PST
'they had become adults' (Drabbe 1959:118b)

38 Drabbe 1959: Sections 12–13, pp. 118a–119a; Section 40, p. 125a.

An example of attributive use is given in (239).

(239) *monmon* *e* *ragae* *mbe~mberon* *ke-r-an*
small.pieces ARG fish PL~small be-RLS[NI]-PST
'the small pieces became small fishes' (4.01)

Other than nouns, adjectives inflect for number, as in (238) and (239). Plural forms of adjectives may be formed by reduplication of (part of) the stem or by infixation with *<mbV>*.[39] From the examples that Drabbe gives, it appears that reduplication and infixation can be combined. Drabbe provides only one example of infixation without reduplication: *arjok* 'new' → *a<mba>rjok*. The other examples are shown in Table 45: nine examples of reduplication only,[40] and five examples of reduplication combined with infixation. Drabbe also gives an irregular form *sogondot* from *sondot* 'hard'.

**Table 45: Plural forms of adjectival stems; the titles of the columns indicate the mechanism of plural formation.**

| Reduplication | Reduplication + *<mbV>* |
|---|---|
| *mbari* 'adult' → *mba~mbari* | *tet* 'tired' → *te~te<mbe>t*[41] |
| *kamae* 'big' → *ka~gamae* | *ken* 'bitter' → *ke~<mbe>gen* |
| *mberon* 'small' → *mbe~mberon* | *kuj* 'black' → *ku~<mbu>guj* |
| *awoj* 'weak' → *aw~awoj* | *tenop* 'red' → *te~<mbe>tenop* |
| *wagae* 'good' → *wa~wagae* | *ndoj* 'empty' → *ndo<mbo>roj* |
| *satkok* 'dry' → *sa~satkok* | |
| *igit* 'thick' → *igir~igit* | |
| *ŋgetmatan* 'sharp' → *ŋget~ma~matan* | |
| *rawari* 'round' → *ra~wa~wari* | |

Adjectives can be modified by the adverb *monop* 'very', *monow* before vowels, *monom* before nasals. Examples are *monop kamaeop* 'very big', *monop peron* 'very small', *monow ahak* 'very thin', *monom ŋgoj* 'very bent' and *monom*

39 Drabbe (1959:118b) speaks of an element *mb*. I have analysed the element as an infix *<mbV>* inserted following the first consonant–vowel sequence of the root. In the first example, *tet* → *tetembet*, infixation takes places before reduplication: *tet* → **te<mbe>t* → *te~te<mbe>t*. In the other four examples, infixation follows reduplication; the form *ndomboroj* may be explained by reduplication followed by dissimilation followed by infixation: *ndoj* → **ndondoj* → ** ndoroj* → *ndo<mbo>roj*. I thank one of my anonymous reviewers for this suggestion.

40 An additional example is found in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix: *ŋgoj* with plural *ŋgoŋgoj* 'winding'.

41 The 1956 wordlist in the Appendix has *te~<mbe>tet* rather than *tetembet*.

*ŋgoŋmatan* 'very blunt'. The language seems not to have dedicated forms, neither morphologically nor syntactically, for the expression of comparative or superlative notions. In the words of Drabbe:

> dependent on the context, *juw e kamaeop te* 3SG ARG big CON may mean: 'he is big', 'he is bigger', or 'he is the biggest'.

On the basis of the limited data that we have, therefore, the expression of superlative and comparative notions seems not to be part of grammar, but seems to be a matter of contextual implication.

Drabbe remarks that a number of adjectives are not attested separately, but only in combination with the realis past form of the verbaliser *mo*. An example of such an adjective is *kamut* 'round', as in (138).

(240) *kamutma-r-an*
be.round-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'it is round' (Drabbe 1959:125a)[42]

These verbalised adjectives are also used attributively, as in (241).[43]

(241) *irop* *kamutmaran* *ewe* *nu* *man*
stone round THAT 1SG give.IMP
'give me that round stone there' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

## 3.4 Adverbs

Like the other Greater Awyu languages (except Aghu), YW has only a small, closed set of adverbs (De Vries 2020:76–77), which we might in a broad sense define as modifiers of constituents other than nouns (Schachter and Shopen 2007:20). The language has at least one adverb that seems to be used solely for the modification of adjectives: *monop* 'very' see also

42 Drabbe seems to suggest that these past forms refer to a present state of affairs. For *ke* 'be', he argues that it actually means 'become' so that *ke-r-an* means 'he became' → 'he has become' → 'he is'. For *ma* the same development might account for a present interpretation.

43 As a side remark, Drabbe states that 'even preterite forms of normal verbs can be used attributively in this way', and he gives the following example:
(a) *ndun* *nda-r-an* *e* *nu* *man*
sago burn-RLS[N1SG]-PST ARG 1SG give.IMP
'give me that roasted sago' (Drabbe 1959:125a)
Together with the verbalised adjectives, this is the only example of this attributive use of an inflected verb attested in Drabbe's grammatical description and the text corpus.

Section 3.3. In addition, the following words might be considered adverbs: *janem* 'secretly' (Texts 4.10, 4.21), *kondip* 'immediately' (Text 6.16), *kare* (Chapter 4, Section 4.6.1), *natep* 'possibly' (Chapter 5, Section 5.7), *kowandut* 'now' (Texts 4.26, 4.30), *mo* 'only' (Section 3.2.2), *ndok* 'close' (Text 5.11), *ŋgotap* 'in exchange' (see Section 3.2.4.4 on reciprocals), *otagae* 'again' (Text 12.07), *sindik* 'close' (405 in English–YW wordlist), *sun* 'always' (Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.3), *taep* 'also' and *tamburum* 'randomly' (Text 4.37).

Instead of adverbs and in line with the general tendency of the language to restrict the number of modifiers per clause, adverbial notions are preferably expressed by 'mini clauses' (cf. De Vries 2020:19). In (242) through (244), we see some examples of mini clauses that modify a verb. These mini clauses are headed by the verbalised adjectives *wagaemo* 'do good', *mbetatmo* 'do bad' and *mbonmo* 'do slow', respectively. According to Drabbe, when verbs like these have an 'adverbial' function, they are used in their bare form, and do not combine with the SS-marker *-ro* (see also Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.2).

(242) *wagaemo* *rap-ken*
do.good take-RLS[N1SG]
'he held it firmly' (lit. 'he did good and he held it'; Drabbe 1959:132b)

(243) *mbetatmo* *raga-r-an*
do.bad speak-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he spoke badly' (lit. 'he did bad and he spoke'; Drabbe 1959:132b)

(244) *mbonmo* *nagap*
do.slow walk.IMP
'walk slowly' (lit. 'do slow and walk'; Drabbe 1959:132b)

# 3.5 Complex spatial pronouns and motion verbs[44]

## 3.5.1 Form

Like the other Awyu–Dumut languages, YW has an elaborate set of complex motion verbs, with a systematic distinction between verbs of going and verbs of coming. Consider Tables 46 and 47, which give the forms of verbs

44 Drabbe 1959: Sections 28–29, pp. 122a–123a.

of going and verbs of coming, respectively, as well as the complex pronouns derived from them. The designation 'n.d.' (no data) means that Drabbe does not give the form.

**Table 46: Complex verbs of going and deictic locative pronouns derived from them.**

| | Verbs of going | | | Deictic locative pronoun |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Primary stem** | **Secondary stem** | **Medial stem** | |
| go | *ko* | *ka* | *ko* | *kop* 'over there' |
| go up | *tut, turu* | *toro* | *turu* | *koture, koturup* 'up there' |
| go down | *ri* | *riro* | *ri* | *korire, korip* 'down there' |
| go across | *un* | *ondo** | *undo uŋgo* | *kuŋgore, kuŋgop* 'across there' |
| go in / out | *ut* | *oto*[45] | *oto* | *kotore; kotop* 'in/out there' |
| go uphill | *turuko* | n.d. | n.d. | n.d. |
| go downhill | *riko* | n.d. | n.d. | n.d. |

Note: * *ondo* alternates with *undu*, see the text following Table 18, Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4.1.

**Table 47: Complex verbs of coming and deictic locative pronouns derived from them.**

| | Verbs of coming | | | Deictic locative pronoun |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Primary stem** | **Secondary stem** | **Medial stem** | |
| come | *me* | *mende, mando* (IRR) | *me* | *me/ne* 'here' |
| come up | *matut/ maturu* | *matoro* | *maturu* | *mature, maturup* 'up here' |
| come down | *mari* | *majo* | *mari* | *marire, marip* 'down here' |
| come across | *mun* | *mondo, mundo* | *mondo, muŋgo* | *muŋgore, muŋgop* 'across here' |
| come in/out | *mut* | *moto* | *moto* | *motore, motop* 'in/out here' |
| come uphill | *matugo me* | n.d. | n.d. | n.d. |
| come downhill | *marigo me* | n.d. | n.d. | n.d. |

45 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix has *kut, koto* 'go in, go out'.

Apart from the fact that the medial stems sometimes follow the primary rather than the secondary stem—see also Chapter 2, Sections 2.3.1.2 and 2.3.1.3—or have an idiosyncratic form (*uŋgo, muŋgo*), the following should be noted. First, the verbs of coming are generally morphologically more complex than the verbs of going. Compared to the verbs of going, the verbs of coming have an additional element *m* or *ma,* which is most probably a reflex of proto-Awyu–Dumut **me* 'this' (Wester 2014:146). Second, there is a formal difference between the verbs in the last two lines of Table 47, which represent uphill and downhill movements, and the other verbs. Most importantly, the verbs representing hill-oriented movements can all be analysed as (derived from) compound verbs with reflexes of **ko* 'go' as the final verb.[46] Finally, the deictic locative pronouns are all more complex than their verbal counterparts. All seem to be based on the medial stem (with the possible exception of *koture* and *mature*). The locative pronouns corresponding to verbs of going have a prefix *ko-* or *k-* (from proto-Awyu–Dumut **ko* 'go'), and a suffix *-p*, analogous to the final *-p* in *kop* 'over there'. Alternatively, they are suffixed with *-re*. Likewise, pronouns that correspond to verbs of coming have a suffix *-re* or *-p*. However, unlike the other locative pronouns, they do not have an extra prefix compared to their verbal counterparts.

46 In this respect, verbs of going are morphologically more transparent than the corresponding verbs of coming: in *turuko* 'go uphill' and *riko* 'go downhill' the realisation of *ko* as [ko] can be taken as a sign indicating two phonological words, and reflects the composite nature of the verb (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5). In *matugo me* 'come uphill' and *marigo me* 'come downhill', however, the reflex of **ko* has formed one phonological word with the preceding roots.

## 3.5.2 Distribution

### 3.5.2.1 Distribution of locative deictic pronouns

Contrary to the motion verbs, locative deictic pronouns seem to be used rather infrequently. While the corpus has dozens of occurrences of complex motion verbs, it contains maximally three cases of locative deictic pronouns, depending on the analysis.[47] The description here, then, is largely based on Drabbe's grammatical introduction. The distribution of the locative deictic pronouns is given in Table 48.

**Table 48: Distribution of locative deictic pronouns.[48]**

| Context\form | Forms in *-p* | Forms in *-re* |
|---|---|---|
| Oblique argument of posture verb or motion verb | ✓ | ✓ |
| Adjunct of non-posture verb, with postposition *ŋga* | × | ✓ |
| Subject (attributive) | ✓ | ✓ |
| Object (attributive) | × | ✓ |
| Complement of copula clause | ✓ | ✓ |

It should be noted that the forms in *-p* have a more limited distribution than those in *-re*. Only the latter may appear as adjunct of a non-posture verb, as in (245) and (246),[49] or as object, as in (247).

47 The only example of a complex demonstrative pronoun is found in Text 5.21, and presented here below as (a). Note that *koriw* is used in attributive position, and that the NP *ok koriw* is marked with a postposition *e*. This is remarkable, because locative adjuncts are usually marked with *ŋga*, and not with *e* (see Chapter 4, Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2).

(a) *kirigit* *wateg* *e* *ok* *koriw* *e* *uru-t*
kind.of.sago mat arg water down.there arg put-RLS[N1SG]
*te* *korom* *ke-r-an*
con kind.of.fish be-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he put his mat from kirigit sago down there (in the river) and it became a korom fish' (5.21)

In addition to this example with a complex locative pronoun, there are two sentences containing the formative *kop*, which Drabbe glosses as if it were a postposition: 'in'. It is not unthinkable that this *kop* could also be analysed as an attributive *kop* 'over there', but these two instances are insufficient to give reliable support to this hypothesis. The examples are given here as (b) and (c).

(b) *rawo-ro* *te* *jan* *atop* *kop* *ndarama-t*
take_II-SS con 3SG.POS vagina in/? DIST insert-RLS[N1SG]
'he took it [the mouth harp] and inserted it into her vagina' (5.06)

(c) *ŋgombejow* *e* *atop* *kop* *pon*
mouth.harp arg vagina in/? DIST STAY
'the mouth harp was in her vagina' (5.10)

48 According to Drabbe, 'the forms in *re* and in *p* may also function as adverbs, indicating "up there"' (but he gives no examples). In this respect, the complex demonstrative pronouns parallel the non-complex demonstratives, which may also refer to a location, in which one might loosely speak of an 'adverbial' use.

49 Note that circumstantial *ŋga* indicates the place from where a movement of coming is taking place, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.5.2.

(245) *kuŋgore* *ŋga* *jagip* *ririmo-gon-in*
across.there CIRC garden chop.ITER-RLS-NIPL
'across there they are clearing a garden' (Drabbe 1959:122b)

(246) *kuŋgore* *ŋga* *meŋ-gen-ep*
across.there CIRC come-RLS-ISG
'I come from across there' (Drabbe 1959:122b)

(247) *enop* *kuŋgore* *ri-w-an-in*
tree across.there chop-1-PL-FUT
'we will chop the trees across there' (Drabbe 1959:122b)

In all other positions presented in Table 48, both the forms in *-p* and in *-re* may be used. First, and parallel to the demonstrative pronouns described in Chapter 3, Sections 3.2.5.1 and 3.5.2.2, they are used as oblique arguments of posture verbs. This can be seen in (248).

(248a) *koture* *mba-gen*
up.there sit-RLS[NISG]
'he is sitting up there'

(248b) *kotup* *pa-gen*
up.there sit-RLS[NISG]
'he is sitting up there' (Drabbe 1959:122b)

Second, Drabbe writes that they can be used as subjects. In the only two examples that he gives, the forms are used attributively, so that it remains unclear whether the forms can also be used independently:

(249) *enop* *kuŋgore/kuŋgop* *kok* *ke-r-an*
tree across.there dead be-RLS[NISG]-PST
'the tree across there is dead' (Drabbe 1959:122b)

Finally, the forms are used as complements of copula clauses. In the examples provided by Drabbe, these copula clauses function as part of a 'relative clause construction', see Chapter 5, Section 5.4.

(250) *enop* *kuŋgow/kuŋgore* *ege* *te* *ri-w-an-in*
tree across.there RC AFFMT chop-1-PL-FUT
'we will chop the tree (that is) across there' (Drabbe 1959:122b)

### 3.5.2.2 Distribution and function of motion verbs

As can be seen in Tables 46 and 47, YW has a systematic opposition between verbs of going and verbs of coming; the former express movements away from the deictic centre, while the latter are used for movements towards the deictic centre.[50] The following passages each reflect this systematic opposition. The motion verbs have been printed in bold. First, consider (251) and (252). In this narrative, Naerop has just shot one of his father's marsupials. The story then continues with the place of shooting as the deictic centre. Naerop's father comes (*me*) to the place, and thinks that he sees his marsupial (up in the tree). He then goes up the tree (*turu*), away from the deictic centre, but then discovers that it is not his marsupial, but a heap of scrapings from a bow. Then, he comes down (*mari*).

(251)

| *Ja* | *nati* | *Kori* | ***me*** | *etaga-t* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.POSS | father | Kori | come | see-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *jan* | *amun* | *e* | *mbon* | *dok* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.POSS | marsupial | arg | stay | ground |

| *taemba-t* | *te* | *keroke* | *te* | ***turu*** | *etaga-t* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| shoot_II-RLS[N1SG] | CON | penetrate | CON | go.up | see-RLS [N1SG] | con |

| *Naerom* | *ŋga* | *sinam* | *mon* | *de* | *uru-r-an.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naerom | AG | bow | crumb | AFFMT | put-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

'His father Kori came to the place (where N had shot the marsupial) and saw his marsupial there, he shot it, but the arrow went right through it so he went up and saw that Naerom had put scrapings of his bow (there).' (2.04)

(252)

| *Ndojket* | *te* | ***mari*** | *mbage-t* | *te.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| not. become | CON | come. down | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] | AFFMT |

'It was not a marsupial, so he came down.' (2.05)

50 Drabbe points out, however, that *ko ~ku* does not always indicate a movement away from a deictic centre, but may also indicate a neutral going, see Text 1.10 for example. It is not clear whether this is also true for the other, complex verbs of going in Table 46.

Also, movements related to the treehouse are often described with the position just below the tree as the deictic centre, as in the following passage, where Koromop returns to his house after having picked some pineapples. It is narrated how he comes home (*me*), towards the place below the tree, and then goes up (*turu*), away from the deictic centre. He comes down again (*mari*) and goes away (*ku*) to fetch some bamboo.

(253)

| *Ra* | *me* | *turu* | *wog* | *oj* | *sare-r* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| take | come | go.up | pineapple | inner.substance | scrape-RLS[NISG] |

| *a* | *ariga-r-an.* |
|---|---|
| SEQ | wrap.up-RLS[NISG]-PST |

'He came home and he went up, got out the flesh of the pineapple and wrapped it in leaves.' (5.04)

(254)

| ***Mari*** | *ok* | *kahat* | *kaendi-ni* | ***ku-r-an.*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| come.down | water | bamboo | break-INT | go-RLS[NISG]-PST |

'Then he came down and went to the river to get and break off bamboo.' (5.05)

In the following sentence, the downward movement into the water (*rira-r*) is conceived as away from the deictic centre, while the upward movement (*maturu*) is conceived of as towards the deictic centre.

(255)

| *Jur* | *anduj* | *e* | *tupke* | ***rira-r*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kind.of.tree | stem | ARG | get.loose | go.down_II-RLS[NISG] |

| *a* | *te* | *woŋgopon* | *ke* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEQ | CON | long.time | be | CON |

| *uke* | ***maturu*** | *te* | *konoj* | *ke-t.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| from.water | come.up | CON | canoe | be-RLS[NISG] |

'The trunk of the jut tree fell down (into the river), after a long time passed, it came up from the water and had become a canoe.' (4.02)

As noted above, in addition to the systematic distinction between verbs of coming and going, the morphosyntax of motion verbs reflects another distinction, which is apparent from Table 49: verbs describing uphill and

downhill movements have an additional suffix *-ko~-go*;[51] of those, the verbs of coming have an additional *me* 'come'. It is noteworthy that all of the verbs containing *-ko* seem to imply physical contact with a surface (see also Van den Heuvel forthcoming).

**Table 49: Up–down movements: Verticality proper or along a hill.**

| | Vertical proper (up or down) | Along a hill (uphill or downhill) |
|---|---|---|
| **come up** | *matut/maturu* | *matugo me* |
| **come down** | *mari* | *marigo me* |
| **go up** | *tut, turu* | *turuko* |
| **go down** | *rira* | *riko* |

While, according to Drabbe's description, the verbs in the rightmost column of Table 49 are reserved for uphill and downhill movements, the following should be noted. First, the corpus contains very few examples of their use. Second, uphill and downhill movements are not necessarily described by the verbs in the rightmost column, but speakers may also describe these movements with the use of the verticality proper verbs. This is done, for example, in (256), where a movement to the top of a hill is described by *turu*, rather than by *turuko.*

(256) *Aŋgae e Koreom turu-r-in-an.*
dog ARG Koreom go.up-RLS-N1PL-PST
'The dogs went up the Koreom hill.' (11.11)

Of the verbs reserved for uphill and downhill movements, the text corpus contains only the example presented in (257). Koromop has just come down out of a tree, burned banana leaves and put the ashes of the leaves in a water container. Then he goes downhill (*riko*) to make a mat, before he goes up into his house:

51 This *ko* is probably a reflex of **ko* 'go'. In the verbs of coming, the form is grammaticalised: it is bleached phonologically, being realised as *go* rather than *ko*, and it is bleached semantically, in that it no longer refers to movements away from the deictic centre (see, however, footnote 50, this chapter).

(257)

| *aguma-r* | *a* | *mbumo* | ***riko*** | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| put.into-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | finish | go.downhill | CON |

| *kirigit* | *watek* | *tare-r* | *a* | *mbumo-ro* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kind.of.sago | bark | scrape_II-RLS[N1SG] | | SEQ | finish-SS |

| *rawo-ro* | *aŋgae* | *rawa-t* | *mbitip* | ***turu-ro*** … | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| take_II-SS | dog | take_II-RLS[N1SG] | house | go.up-SS | |

'when he had finished, he went down and made a mat and took his dog, went up into his house …' (5.13)

According to Drabbe, the words used for uphill and downhill movements may also be used for upstream and downstream movements. However, he does not provide any examples. Instead, the corpus contains a number of cases where *ko* 'go' and *me* 'come' are combined with the nouns *kem* 'downstream (area)' and *kin* 'upstream (area)', as in (258).[52]

(258)

| *Emo-ro* | *te* | *rirar* | *a* | *kem* | *ku-r-an.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| do.thus-SS | CON | go.down_II | SEQ | downstream | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

'Then he went down (and went) to the downstream area.' (1.02)

Finally consider (259) through (262) below, which all contain cases of *ut/oto* and *mut/moto*, representing inward and outward movements. In (259) and (260), the verbs are used to describe a movement into an open place where people are chopping sago. First, the deictic centre is with the subject of *ota-r-an*, and described as a movement away from the deictic centre. In (260), the perspective has switched: now the deictic centre is the open place itself, and the bringing in is conceived of as a movement towards this deictic centre.

52 In this respect, Drabbe's 1956 wordlist—see the Appendix—provides some noteworthy additional information. According to the data in the wordlist, movements along the river may also be described using *taman* 'course of the river'. Drabbe gives *ok taman ko, ka* or *ok taman me, mende, mando* for 'follow the course of the river', either away from the deictic centre or towards the deictic centre; this expression is neutral with respect to upstream or downstream. The language also seems to have a way of expressing a movement upstream or downstream, which in turn is neutral with respect to the movement towards or away from the speaker: *ok taman ru, riro* for a going downstream along the river, and *ok taman tut* or *turu, toro* for a going upstream along the river.

(259)

| *Ndun* | *ri-r-in-an* | *ndun* | *mbisan* | ***ota-r-an.*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sago | chop-RLS-NIPL-PST | sago | open.space | go.in_II-RLS [NISG]-PST |

'There were people chopping sago and she went into this open sago place.' (11.06)

(260)

| … *kunop* | *kandun* | *e* | *ra* | ***moto*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| marsupial | meat | ARG | take | come.in/out_II |

| *ndun* | *e* | *kagup* | *jogo-ro* | *ŋgotap* | *ndun* | *jaga-r-in* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sago | ARG | man | give_II-ss | in.exchange | sago | give_II-RLS-NIPL |

'… they used to bring in meat for the sago workers, and the sago people used to give them sago in exchange' (11.07)

Finally, examples (261) and (262) finally, show how these verbs may also describe movements into and out of the house. The conceptualisation of these movements as an inward–outward movement is found alongside the up–down conceptualisation described above, but is attested less frequently. The sentences preceding (261) describe how the crocodile has gone into the house, how the door has been shut (from outside), and how the people in the house have blown the fire. Now the snake wants to go out (*oto*) and flee from this deictic centre, but it is impossible:

(261)

| *Ku-r* | *a* | *te* | *ahappiri* | *oto-p* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | CON | gate | go.in/out_II-ISG | say |

| *te* | *jaju* | *ke-t.* |
|---|---|---|
| CON | impossible | be-RLS[NISG] |

'He fled and wanted to go out through the gate, it was impossible.' (4.24)

In (262), the deictic centre is below or at least close to the house, just as is often the case when the movement is described in an upward–downward scheme—compare with the remarks at (253) and (254). First Wawit comes out (*moto*) of the house and goes (*kut*), then his children also come out (*moto*). Although it is not described that the children go away, it must be concluded that they have done so, because the next verb *mero* describes how they come back to (below) the house, bringing many things to decorate themselves:

(262) *Ema-t* *te* ***moto*** *kawondi-ni* ***ku-t***
do.thus-RLS[NISG] CON come.in/out_II split-INT go-RLS[NISG]

*jaŋguw* *e* ***moto*** *up* *ron* *ndun* *segerop*
3PL.EMPH ARG come.in/out_II taro leaf sago palm.leaf

*tenot* *mim* *ra* ***me-ro*** …
kind.of.palm root take come-SS

'(One day) he [Wawit] came out and went to pound sago and they [his children] also came out and brought taro leaves, sago leaves, palm leaves and tenot roots …' (9.03)

## 3.5.3 Grammaticalisation of *ko* 'go'[53]

It is a common phenomenon for frequent verbs of movement to grammaticalise (see Heine and Kuteva 2019:203f). In YW, we see that the sequence *ku-r a* has grammaticalised into a sort of aspectual marker. Formally, it distinguishes itself from the normal use of *ko* in that it takes 3SG inflection and no longer agrees with a preceding subject. Semantically, it differs in that it does not refer to a physical going, but to a proceeding of time: 'it went on, it proceeded'. According to Drabbe, the forms express the Dutch '*totdat*', meaning 'so that', or the English 'until'. Drabbe gives the following examples.

(263) *ŋgop* *tare-r-in* *ku-r* *a*
arrow scrape-RLS-NIPL go-RLS[NISG] seq

*wagaeke-r-an*
be.good-RLS[NISG]-PST
'they scraped the arrow until it was smooth' (Drabbe 1959:135b)

(264) *uguma-r-ep* *ku-r* *a* *kambaeke-gen*
blow-RLS-ISG go-RLS[NISG] SEQ flame.up-RLS[NISG]
'I blew the fire until it flamed up' (Drabbe 1959:135b)

53 Drabbe 1959: Section 73, p. 135b.

Interestingly, Drabbe writes that if the first clause has a 3SG subject, the first clause may be followed by the third singular form *ke-t*. In my view, this form serves to avoid a non-grammaticalised reading of *ku-r* as 'he/she/it went'. Compare the following two sentences, the first of which is probably ambiguous.

(265)

| *uguma-t* | *ku-r* | *a* | *kambaeke-gen* |
|---|---|---|---|
| blow-RLS[NISG] | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | flame.up-RLS[NISG] |

'He blew the fire until it flamed up' (Drabbe 1959:135b)/'He blew and went and the fire flamed up' (my interpretation)

(266)

| *ugumo* | *ke-t* | *ku-r* | *a* | *kambaeke-gen* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| blow | be-RLS[NISG] | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | flame.up-RLS[NISG] |

'He blew the fire until it flamed up' (Drabbe 1959:135b)/*'He blew and went and the fire flamed up' (my interpretation)

The form is not fully grammaticalised, in that it is still sensitive to mood: with irrealis verbs, we find *ka-n* 'go.IRR-NI[SG]' instead of *ku-r*, as in (267) and (268).

(267)

| *mbage-p* | *ka-n* | *a* | *werepmo-jip* |
|---|---|---|---|
| sit_II-1SG | go.IRR-NI[SG] | SEQ | be.well-1SG.FUT |

'I will stay until I get well' (Drabbe 1959:135b)

(268)

| *mbage-p* | *ka-n* | *a* | *warandi-n-in* |
|---|---|---|---|
| sit_II-1SG | go.IRR-NI[SG] | SEQ | get.light-NI[SG]-FUT |

'I will stay until it gets light' (Drabbe 1959:135b)

This form is also used after imperatives, as can be seen in (269) and (270).

(269)

| *nambom* | *ka-n* | *a* | *werepmo-n-in* |
|---|---|---|---|
| sit.IMP | go.IRR-NI[SG] | SEQ | be.well-NI[SG]-FUT |

'stay until you are well' (Drabbe 1959:136a)

(270)

| *nambom* | *ka-n* | *a* | *warandi-n-in* |
|---|---|---|---|
| sit.IMP | go.IRR-NI[SG] | SEQ | get.light-NI[SG]-FUT |

'stay until it gets light' (Drabbe 1959:136a)

In the text corpus, we find an example in Text 7.06, which is also presented in (97) and (432).

# 3.6 Numeral nouns[54]

In counting and denoting numeral quantities, YW speakers combine different numeral systems. The first is an 'extended body part tally system', added on to an elementary counting system for 1–3. Second, in specific contexts and for counting higher numbers up to 100, one uses a base-5 and a base-10 system. An alternative word for 12, finally, reflects a base-6 system. The three systems are dealt with one by one.

The extended body part tally system is visualised in Figure 18, which presents the forms for the numbers 4 through 27 (we will come back to the numerals 1–3, which are not body part–based). The English translation has been added only in case clarification was considered necessary. Drabbe notes that for the numbers 14 through 24, the main accent is on the body part noun.

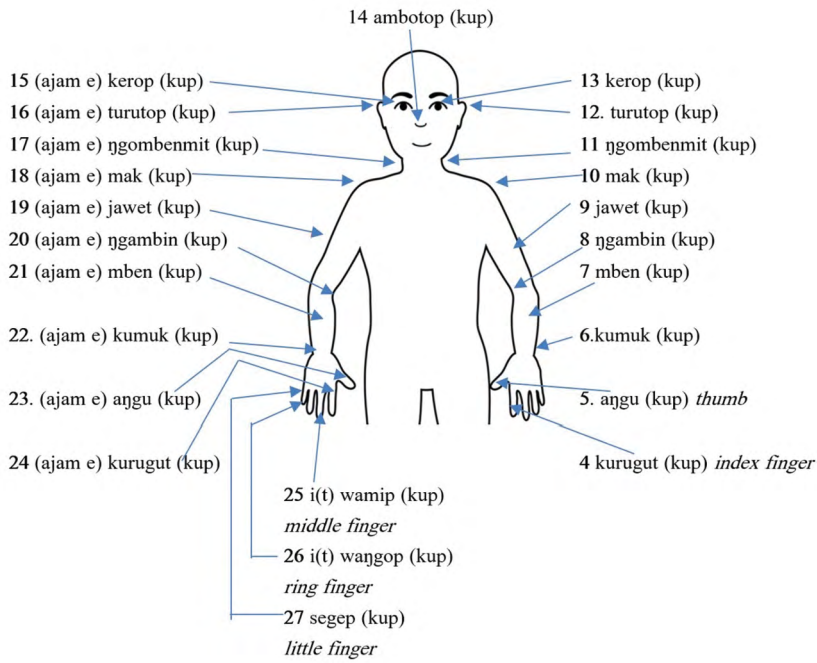



**Figure 18: The YW body part tally system.**

54 Drabbe 1959: Sections 31–32, pp. 123a–124a.

The words used for counting in a body part tally system are (numeral) nouns.[55] They do not operate on base and derived numbers and form a closed system. Their use as numeral nouns is distinguished from their use referring to body parts proper in different ways.

First, counting is always accompanied by conventional gestures. De Vries writes:

> the middle finger and index finger are stretched out and held tightly together and speakers touch the body part involved … counting in extended body part tally systems commences with the little finger of the left hand until the thumb is reached, then goes up the arm to a highest point on the head and then goes down again via the other arm until the little finger of the right hand is reached, the highest number in these closed numerals systems. (De Vries 2020:71)

In YW, as in other languages of the Wambon continuum, this highest point is the nose. Most speakers start counting at the left hand, but the system also works well if one counts from right to left (De Vries 1994:542). The system is called a tally system because in the process of counting visible objects are matched with the body parts used as tallies (cf. De Vries 1994:562).

Second, when used as numeral nouns, the nouns are optionally accompanied by the comitative postposition *kup*.[56] After the highest point has been reached, the numbers 15–24 are expressed by optionally adding *ajam e* 'other side ARG' as a first and modifying noun stem. In this way, the numerals for 4–24 form a symmetrical system. The numbers 25–27, however, fall outside this system: they are not accompanied by *ajam* 'other side ARG', but by *it* 'arm, hand', which is a variant of *wit* 'arm, hand'.

The numbers 25–27 fall outside the system because the nouns for (plus touching of) these body parts are used for these three numbers only, and not symmetrically related to the numbers 1–3. As was mentioned above, the words used for 1–3 are not body part–based, and are, therefore, not

55 Although the corpus is very limited, it is highly likely that the words referring to body parts are nouns. I follow De Vries (2020) in that there is no reason to assume a second lexical category of numerals, but that the numeral 'meaning' of body part nouns follows from specific structural positions in which they are used.

56 Drabbe is not specific about the structural position in which *kup* is added, and simply states that one often adds the postposition *kup* (Drabbe 1959:123). De Vries, on the other hand, states that 'when the body part nouns are used as numeral modifiers in noun phrases, the suffix *-kup* must be added' (De Vries 2020:73–74). Given the clear counter examples in Yonggom Wambon, it must be assumed that the obligatory use of *kup* is restricted to Digul Wambon.

presented in Figure 18. They have the form *omae* 'one', *irumo(n)* 'two' and *itipmo(n)* 'three'. The body part tally system is, as it were, a kind of add-on to this elementary counting system.

The second system, a base-5 and base-10 system, is based on the number of shells or dog teeth used to make up a *tik* 'rattan, string'. According to Drabbe, while counting, speakers mention the words for 1–5 (*aŋgu*), after which they start over again. As soon as they have reached 10 and mention *aŋgu* 'five' again, they say *tig omae* or *tikmae* 'string one' to indicate that one string of shells or dog teeth has been reached. Then one counts twice until reaching five again. Reaching 20, the person counting first says *aŋgu*, and then *tig irumon*, to indicate that two strings have been counted. From 30 onwards, however, instead of *tik~tig* one uses *kagap~kagaw*, a word whose origin is unknown, indicating the number of 'tens'. The system is presented in Tables 50a and 50b below.

**Table 50a: Base-5 and base-10 system, used in counting: from 1 to 20.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1** *omae* | **6** *omae* | **11** *omae* | **16** *omae* |
| **2** *irumo(n)* | **7** *irumo(n)* | **12** *irumo(n)* | **17** *irumo(n)* |
| **3** *itipmo(n)* | **8** *itipmo(n)* | **13** *itipmo(n)* | **18** *itipmo(n)* |
| **4** *kurugut(kup)*[57] | **9** *kurugut(kup)* | **14** *kurugut(kup)* | **19** *kurugut(kup)* |
| **5** *aŋgu* | **10** *aŋgu, tig omae* | **15** *aŋgu* | **20** *aŋgu, tig irumo(n)* |

**Table 50b: Base-5 and base-10 system, used in counting: from 20 to 100.**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **20** *aŋgu, tig irumo(n)* | **30** *aŋgu,*[58] *kagaw itipmon* | **40** *aŋgu, kagaw kurugut* | **50** *aŋgu, kagaw aŋgu* | **60** *aŋgu, kagaw kumuk etc.* | **100** *aŋgu, kagaw mak* |
| **21** *omae etc.* | **31** *omae etc.* | **41** *omae etc.* | **51** *omae etc.* | **61** *omae etc.* | – |

57 From Drabbe's description it is not entirely clear whether *kup* is used in this system of counting, as used in the body part tally system.

58 From Drabbe's description it is not entirely clear whether *aŋgu* is also mentioned before *kagaw itipmon* (30), *kagaw kurugut* (40), etc.

In addition to the body part tally system and the base-5/base-10 system, the alternative for 12, *kumuk kumuk* 'six six', is the only word reflecting a base-6 system. De Vries suggests that this may be due to influence from the Wambon people's direct Eastern neighbour Muyu.[59]

While the body part tally system can only be used in the context of counting described above, the numerals for 1–3 and the compound with *tig* and *kagaw* can be used as 'actual numerals' (Drabbe 1959:123a,b). It seems that both the actual numerals and the numeral nouns can be used independently or in an attributive position. Examples of the latter are given in (271) and (272). In (272), *omae* refers to one of the parent's children, who had stayed behind while their parents were away.

(271)

| *taget* | *kagaw* | *aŋgu* | *rap-ken-ep* |
|---|---|---|---|
| cowrie.shell | ten | thumb | take-RLS-1SG |

'I got fifty cowrie shells' (Drabbe 1959:123b)

(272)

| *Mun* | *omae* | *ku-r* | *a* | *ja* | *noj* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| boy | one | go-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | 3SG.POSS | mother |

| *ja* | *nati* | *etogo-ro* | *meme<jop>mo* | *mbage-t.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.POSS | father | see_II-SS | come.ITER<ITER> | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] |

'One boy went every time to look whether he saw his parents and then came back.' (9.06)

In (273) we find *irumon* in attributive position with *ran*, a second *irumon* in attributive position with *kaguw*, and finally independent *kurugut* 'four' plus postposition *kup* modifying the two preceding NPs.

(273)

| *Ran* | *irumon* | *kaguw* | *irumon* | *kurugut* | *kup* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| woman | two | man | two | four | com |

| *kimbarukma-r* | *a* | *Suruk* | *ko-r-in-an.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| swim.ITER-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | Muyu | go-RLS-N1PL-PST |

'Two men and two women swam as a group of four towards the Muyu area.' (1.14)

59 De Vries (2020:75) mistakenly refers to Drabbe (1959:123) as a source for this suggestion. It is not unlikely that this base-6 system was used in trading with the Muyu, as is described by Boelaars for the trade between the Mandobo and the Muyu (Boelaars 1970:70, 71). The Muyu used to be paid for their goods in cowrie shells, put on a string (made from woven *genemu* rope, De Vries, personal communication), with six shells per string. Thus, the YW language possesses or reflects different counting systems (body part tally, base-10, base-6), which seem to be connected to different cultural settings.

Another example of an independently used numeral is the following, where *irumon* can be analysed as an independent subject noun.

| (274) | *Mitik* | *ke-t* | *te* | *moto* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | night | be-RLS[NISG] | CON | come.in/out_II | CON |
| | *irumon* | *ko-r-in-an.* | | | |
| | two | go-RLS-NIPL-PST | | | |

'It became night and the two came out and went.' (6.10)

## 3.7 Postpositions and relational nouns[60]

YW has a small closed set of postpositions which may appear in postnominal position, see Section 3.1.4. These postpositions may (primarily) have a syntactic function, like *e* 'ARG' and *et* 'NOM', discussed in Chapter 4, Sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3, respectively, or a semantic function, like agentive or circumstantial *ŋga*, discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1. Here I want to discuss two other postpositions with a semantic function: the comitative marker *kup* 'COM', and the postposition *sop*, which I tentatively gloss as 'MOVE'. Before I do so, however, it needs to be pointed out that YW, like Aghu, generally avoids the use of generic locative postpositions for the expression of locative relations.[61] Instead, YW prefers possessive constructions with the first noun being the possessor, and the second noun being the possessed, dimensional noun. Examples of such relational nouns are *kop* (~*kom* preceding a nasal) 'inner part, inside', *riŋgin* 'proximity', *tarok* 'upside' and *kurugut* 'upper part'. That they are nouns is clear, for example, from the fact that they may be followed by a postposition, as in (275), or that they combine with a possessive pronoun, as in (276).

| (275) | *mbitip* | *kom* | *ŋga* | *tagama-r-an* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | house | inside | CIRC | speak-RLS[NISG]-PST |

'(s)he was talking inside the house' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

60 Drabbe 1959: Section 109, pp. 143a; Section 109g, p. 144b; Section 109i, p. 145; Section 37, pp. 124b–125a.

61 See also De Vries (2020:104–105) for a discussion of the development of relational nouns into case clitics.

(276) *na* *riŋgin* *re-gen*
1SG.POSS proximity stand-RLS[N1SG]
'he stood in my proximity' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

Now consider (277) through (279), which provide some further cases of the use of relational nouns.[62]

(277) *sae* *tarok* *jaŋ-gen*
bed upside lie-RLS[N1SG]
'he lay on a bed' (Drabbe 1959:143b)

(278) *Neŋget* *tarok* *e* *ruk* *rogo-no* *mbage-t.*
roof upside ARG two say-SS.SIM sit_II-RLS[N1SG]
'On the roof there was also a sound being made.' (12.10)

(279) *enop* *kurugut* *turu* *jaŋ-get*
roof upper.part go.up lie-RLS[N1SG]
'it went up to lie down up in a tree' (10.11)

Now consider *kup* 'COM'. Syntactically, the form is still noun-like in that it may combine with a possessive pronoun to form comitative pronouns: *no kup* '1SG.COM', *jo kup* '3SG.COM' or *naŋgo kup* '1PL.COM', see Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2. Leaving aside its use in the formation of comitative pronouns, *kup* behaves like a postposition in that it is always preceded by a noun. In many contexts the meaning of *kup* is close to that of English 'with', 'in the company of' or 'including', such as in (280) ('sitting with').

(280) *ŋgo* *noj* *kup* *pa-gen-ep*
2SG.POSS father COM sit-RLS-1SG
'I was sitting with your father' (Drabbe 1959:144b)

(281) *j'* *e* *mbae* *kup* *ka-n-in*
3SG ARG grandfather COM go.IRR-N1[SG]-FUT
'he will go to (be with) his grandfather' (Drabbe 1959:144b)

In (282), we find an example of *maemo* 'be one' plus *kup* 'with'. Note how the verb *mi-gin-in* here has plural subject inflection.

62 Other examples are *kambet* 'inner part' in 12.03, *riwiritp* 'proximity', and possibly *kat* 'outside', discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.1.1, and number 407 in the English–YW wordlist. In the 1959 wordlist in the Appendix, we find an additional word that one might classify as a relational noun: *sombon* 'area close to the door'.

(282) *Tarigop* *kup* *maemo* *mi-gin-in*
Tarigop COM be.one come-RLS-NIPL
'He came together with Tarigop' (Drabbe 1959:144b)

In (283), *kup* is used in an enumeration, where it is probably used to stress all that is included.

(283) *Kori* *ŋga* *mbir* *e* *ragae* *kup* *ragae* *arjok* *kup*
Kori AG feast ARG fish COM fish raw COM

*kunow* *arjok* *kup* *agumo-ro* *mbit* *kogo<jop>mo*
marsupial raw COM put.into-SS feast go.ITER<ITER>
*mbage-t* *te*.
sit_II-RLS[NISG] AFFMT
'Kori always brought both raw fish and raw meat whenever he went to a feast.' (2.01)

Interestingly, the form *kup* may mark not only a non-subject companion, which is being accompanied or included, as in the examples above, but also a grammatical subject, which thereby is marked as an accompanier. This is the case in (284) and (285).

(284) *Ema-t* *te* *kirup* *kup* *mende-t*
do.thus-RLS[NISG] CON catfish COM come_II-RLS[NISG]
'Then also a catfish came' (1.08)

(285) *Etaga-t* *te*
see_II-RLS[NISG] CON

*jenmbon* *e* *aŋgun* *mberon* *kup* *mba-gen, …*
end ARG snake small COM sit-RLS[NISG]
'She saw that at the end (of the fyke) there was also a small snake, …' (10.04)

As such, it is also used in the enumeration of subjects, as in (286) below. As noted by Wester, the functioning of one and the same element (reflexes of proto-Awyu–Dumut **kup*) as both comitative and coordinator is common in the Awyu–Dumut languages, and is also rather common cross-linguistically (Wester 2014:58–60). In Awyu–Dumut languages,

the comitative and coordinative functions are clearly distinguished: only when the comitative marker is repeated does it have a coordinative function (De Vries 2020:91).

(286) *Ran* *kup* *kagup* *kup* *kimbarukmo*
woman COM man COM swim

*Wambon* *mendirinan.*
Wambon come_II-RLS-N1PL-PST
'Both men and women came swimming towards the Wambon area'. (1.13)

In his discussion of nonverbal predicates, Drabbe remarks that *kup* can be used to express a presence, in which case it is usually followed by predicative *te (n)*: 'However, the construction is often intended as "be there **too**".' This is illustrated in (287). *Kup* may also be used as subject of *to* 'Q' or *tok* 'GROUND', as in (289) (the translation is mine).[63]

(287) *na* *nati* *kup* *te*
1SG.POSS father COM AFFMT
'my father is (also) there' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(288) *munotit* *kup*
children COM
'there are (also) children' (Drabbe 1959:144b)

(289) *kup* *to/* *kup* *tok*
COM Q COM GROUND
'is he there?'/'he is there, so …' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

We now come to the postposition *sop* 'MOVE'. Like *kup*,[64] and unlike the postpositions *e* 'ARG', *et* 'NOM', *ŋga* 'CIRC' and *ŋga* 'AG', it appears only after nouns, marking its semantic function with respect to the predicate. Drabbe writes that if the noun ends in a consonant, the postposition is preceded by *e*, which means the combination noun + *e* + *sop* takes the form of a possessive construction, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.5. In this way, *sop* differs both from the relational nouns and the postposition *kup*. Note how *sop* in (292) follows the relational noun *tarok*.

63 Other examples of the use of *kup* in the text corpus can be found in 1.06, 1.09, 4.01, 4.04, 4.12, 4.37, 5.22, 11.02, 11.07, 11.08, 12.06, 12.08, and in (167)–(170).
64 Disregarding (289).

As the postposition *sop* is not attested in the text corpus, we have to rely entirely on the examples and explanations provided by Drabbe in his grammatical description. About its function, Drabbe writes that the postposition can stand for 'our prepositions "along", "through", "over" and "during"'. Although it is hard to find a fitting gloss that covers all of these senses, it is clear that in most of the examples—see (290) through (295)—the postposition can be seen as marking a movement: a movement along a surface or margin, or a movement right through a margin. For this reason, I have tentatively glossed the postposition as 'MOVE'.

(290) *og* *e* *sop* *ko*
river LNK MOVE go
'go along the river' (Drabbe 1959:145a)

(291) *jagiw* *e* *sop* *me-gen*
garden LNK MOVE come-RLS[N1SG]
'he came out of the garden' (Drabbe 1959:145a)

(292) *jer* *e* *na* *ŋgin* *tarok* *e* *sow*
bird ARG 1SG.POSS head upside LNK MOVE

*ururuke* *ko-gen*
fly.ITER go-RLS[N1SG]
'the bird flew over my head' (Drabbe 1959:145a)

(293) *jandir* *awae* *e* *sop*
path other LNK MOVE
'along/over a different path' (Drabbe 1959:145a)

(294) *ju* *mereŋ* *e* *sop* *pikma-r-an*
3SG side LNK MOVE stab-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he stabbed him in his side' (Drabbe 1959:145a)

(295) *kaguk* *pom* *e* *sop* *maj-gen*[65]
pus wound LNK MOVE come.down-RLS[N1SG]
'there was pus coming out of the wound' (Drabbe 1959:145a)

65 This is the only attestation of the form *maj-gen* 'come.down_RLS[N1SG]', and the analysis is not entirely clear. The form seems related to primary *mari* and secondary *majo* 'come down', but cannot be regularly derived from either of these stems.

One could argue that in (296) and (297) the movement is also conceived of as 'along' a surface or margin.

(296) *ŋgin* *e* *sow* *oro*
head LNK MOVE put
'put with the head down' ('put along the head'?)' (Drabbe 1959:145a)

(297) *nu* *kojow* *e* *sow* *iŋ-gin*
1SG cheek LNK MOVE hit-RLS[N1SG]
'he hit me on (along?) my cheek' (Drabbe 1959:145a)

In case the postposition combines with a noun indicating the time, one could think of the event, expressed in the predicate, as taking place over the indicated time span; there is, in other words, a movement over time. The examples, all out of context, are insufficient, however, to test this hypothesis; Drabbe gives *mitig e sop* 'in the night' and *agu sop* 'in the afternoon' as the only two examples.

## 3.8 Conjunctions conjoining noun phrases[66]

This section describes a number of conjunctions that are used to conjoin NPs: *e*, *o*, *erek* and *te*. Of these, *te* is also used in the interclausal domain. Interclausal conjunctions are described in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.

Of the conjunctions described in this publication, *te* is the most frequently attested, but in the far majority of cases as an interclausal conjunction, and only once as an interphrasal conjunction in enumeration, see Figure 21 in Chapter 4, Section 4.4, and example (376) in the same section. Its function as interclausal conjunction is described in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.3, and Chapter 5, Section 5.3.4.

Coming to *o*, Drabbe describes one 'schakelelement' (connective) *o* and gives five different functions: (i) as connector in compounds; (ii) as connector in enumerations; (iii) indicating a reason (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.5); (iv) as a vocative element (see Section 3.1.2); and (v) as 'connection' between the end of direct speech and the verb *nde* (see Chapter 5, Section 5.7). For now,

66 Drabbe 1959: Section 109, pp. 143a–145b.

I leave the question aside regarding to what extent the different functions (iii)–(v) are related, and focus on the use of *o* in (i) and (ii). Function (i), linking the elements in exocentric nominal compounds, is described in Section 3.1.1, which gives examples like *tir.o.jagip* 'food from garden' (Drabbe: 'garden products') from *tit* 'banana' and *jagip* 'garden, products from garden'. In these examples, the main accent of the construction is on the linker *o*. Related to this is its use in enumeration, function (ii) above. In this case, the conjunction is repeated after each member of the enumeration, as in (306), which is the only example that Drabbe provides. Note that this holds both for the use of *te* in enumeration described previously and for the use of *o* in enumeration described here. Drabbe writes that *o* is used in the sense of 'or' (Dutch *of*). From the example below it is clear that this 'or' is not a strong disjunctive *o*, in that the different members do not exclude each other. Nevertheless, this non-exclusive disjunctive function might make it functionally different from both *te* above and *erek* below.

(298)

| *uj* | *o* | *itir* | *o* | *ragae* | *o* | *ra* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| pig | CON | cassowary | CON | fish | CON | take |

| *mando-n-an-in* | *e* | *tagimo-jip* |
|---|---|---|
| come.IRR-N1-PL-FUT | CON | pay-1SG.FUT |

'if they bring pigs, cassowaries, or fish, I will buy from it' (Drabbe 1959:145a)

Also, the text corpus contains an enumeration with nouns followed by *o*, which is presented in (299).

(299)

| *Mun* | *mberon* | *o* | *ran* | *mbari* | *kagup* | *pari* | *o* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| child | small | CON | woman | adult | man | adult | CON |

| *mimir* | *atik* | *kaendi-jiw* | *o* | *nde-t.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| back | bite | break_II-1SG.FUT | CON | say-RLS[N1SG] |

'I will break with my teeth the backs of small children, adult women and men.' (4.37)

*Erek* is another conjunction that is used to conjoin nouns. It is attested only in Drabbe's grammatical introduction and only in this function. Like *te* and *o*, it is used in enumeration, it usually follows every member of the enumeration, as in (300) and (302), but it may also follow the final member only, as in (301) and (303). This mainly happens if the members of the enumeration belong closely together.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (300) | *raramun* | *erek* | *kaguw* | *erek* | *munotir* | *erek* |
| | women | ENUM | man | ENUM | children | ENUM |
| | *oro* | *ko-gon-in* | | | | |
| | put[67] | GO-RLS-N1PL | | | | |

'women, men and children have left' (Drabbe 1959:143b)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (301) | *ja* | *harip* | *ja* | *kopari* | *erek* |
| | 3SG.POSS | wife | 3SG.POSS | husband | ENUM |

'wife and husband' (Drabbe 1959:143b)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (302) | *Ambatop* | *(erek)* | *ja* | *manduw* | *erek* | *mi-gin-in* |
| | Ambatop | ENUM | 3SG.POSS | son | ENUM | come-RLS-N1PL |

'Ambatop and his sons have come' (Drabbe 1959:144a)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (303) | *Uj* | *itir* | *erek* | *ande-r-ew-an-an* |
| | pig | cassowary | ENUM | eat_II-RLS-1-PL-PST |

'we have eaten pigs and cassowaries' (Drabbe 1959:144a)

67 *Oro* might be a marker of completive aspect here, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3.

# 4

# Clause structure

A clause can be defined as the linguistic expression of a proposition (cf. Payne 1997:91). Yonggom Wambon (YW) clause structure follows the general pattern of the Greater Awyu languages (De Vries 2020:93, 94). There are three types of clauses, all of them predicate-final: intransitive clauses, transitive clauses and copula clauses. In intransitive clauses, the subject (S) precedes the verb (V), and in transitive clauses, the transitive subject (A) precedes the transitive object (O), which precedes V. Verbs inflect for person and number of S and A, and the switch reference system described in Chapter 5, Section 5.2, deals with S and A alike, so that the verbal subject in YW can be defined as that element of reality that is referred to by the person-number marking of the semi-inflected or fully inflected verb (Wester 2014:173). First consider (304) and (305), which illustrate an S–V structure and an A–O–V structure, respectively. The verb inflects for the person and number of the subject (S, A).

(304) *kagup* *ka-n-an-in*
man go.IRR-N I-PL-FUT
'the men will go' (Drabbe 1959:125b)

(305) *kagup* *enop* *ri-r-in-an*
man tree chop-RLS-N I PL-PST
'the men chopped wood' (Drabbe 1959:125b)

Now consider (306), which illustrates how the switch reference system treats S and A alike. The marker *-no* serves to indicate that the (implicit) subject of the first, transitive, clause is the same as the (implicit) subject of the second, intransitive clause.

(306) *Kamenwon* *i-no* *ra* *ku-r-an;*
bullroarer hit_II-SS.SIM go go-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'A certain person went out hurling a bullroarer;' (1.01)

While clauses with two overt arguments (as in (304) and (305)) are grammatical, speakers prefer to express maximally one overt argument per clause, in line with the tendency of many other Papuan languages to have clauses with at most one (core or overt) argument (De Vries 2010:340; 2020:78).[1] Both core and peripheral arguments may take syntactic or pragmatic markers, but only core arguments may occur without any marking at all. Some of these markers also appear clause-finally, where they have a somewhat different function. Most of these markers will be discussed in Section 4.1 on verbal clauses. Pragmatic relations are also expressed by the use of affirmative *te*, more on which can be read in Section 4.4.

Clauses are often preceded by a constituent that is syntactically and intonationally separated and which serves as an extra-clausal theme: it forms the domain within which the clause is to be interpreted.[2] Whereas this is probably a universal strategy, it is very widespread in Papuan languages. De Vries points out:

> The high frequency and conventionalization of this pattern of language use also causes speakers in many cases to reduce the intonational separation of the extra-clausal theme and eventually also the syntactic separation. [This, in turn,] creates a cline of clearly extra-clausal themes, intonationally and syntactically not part of the next clause, to intermediate cases where the intonational separation is reduced but syntactic integration in the next clauses seems not yet complete. (De Vries 2020:132–133)

1 In spite of the tendency of YW to limit the number of syntactic constituents per clause, Drabbe attempts to describe some regularities for more complex clauses, illustrating these regularities with a number of examples. Most probably, these examples are elicited, and rather artificial. To do justice to Drabbe, however, I include his description here.

> An indirect object can be placed before or after the direct object, e.g. *kagup taget na nan jogonin / kagup na nan taget jogonin* 'the man gave shell money to my younger brother'. A temporal expression usually directly follows the subject, e.g. *kagup wamin* [yesterday] *taget na nan jogonin* 'yesterday they gave etc.' Local expressions, like other expressions, usually come directly before the verb, e.g. *kagup wamin ŋga taget na nan kuruj* [forest] *ŋga jogonin* 'the man gave in the forest etc.' *Wamin ŋga nu eno-wom ŋga irinan* 'they hit me yesterday with a stick'. Placing a temporal, local or other expression at the beginning of a clause emphasizes it. (Drabbe 1959:125b).

2 A discussion of this strategy and of its importance for the understanding of Greater Awyu structures is given in De Vries (2006:814; 2020:132f.). He uses the term 'thematization' for this strategy, in which he follows Heeschen (1998).

As we will see below, the cline from extra-clausal themes to clause-internal topics provides a fruitful framework for the understanding of the role of several syntactic, semantic and pragmatic markers in the YW language.

## 4.1 Verbal clauses[3]

In a verbal clause, core arguments may be used without any marking, as in (304) through (306). However, they may also cooccur with a postposition. As in other Greater Awyu languages, these postpositions seem to be mutually exclusive and have a semantic, syntactic or pragmatic function (De Vries 2020:102). Some of these markers correspond to markers of the same form functioning in other syntactic contexts: interclausal, or within a possessive phrase. The distribution of the markers *ŋga*, *et* and *e* is presented in Figure 19. The red oval represents the distribution of *ŋga* 'AG' and *ŋga* 'CIRC'. The blue oval represents the distribution of *e* 'ARG' and *e* 'SR', while the green oval represents the distribution of the postposition *et* 'NOM'.

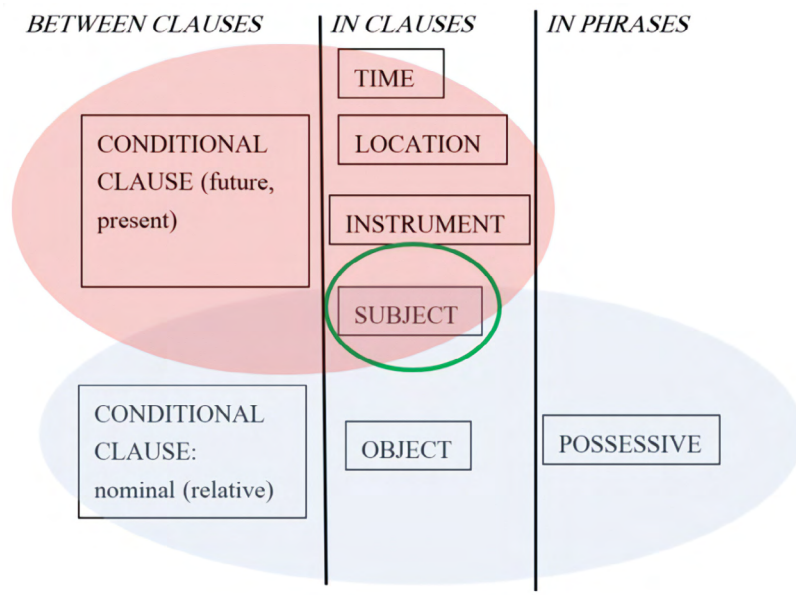



**Figure 19: *ŋga* 'AG' and *ŋga* 'CIRC' (red) , *e* 'ARG' and *e* 'SR' (blue) and *et* 'NOM' (green).**

3 Drabbe 1959: Section 41, p. 125b.

In this chapter, which focuses on clauses, we confine ourselves to the middle category, which consists mainly of postpositional markers marking clausal core and peripheral arguments.[4] It can be seen in the figure above that subjects may combine with *ŋga*, *e* or *et*, that *ŋga* is also used in combination with location or instrument arguments, and that *e* may also combine with objects. The three different markers will now be discussed one by one.

## 4.1.1 *ŋga* as an agentive and circumstantial marker[5]

Like all markers described here, *ŋga* follows the noun whose function it marks. In my view, the language has two different nominal markers *ŋga*, which are historically related.[6] When occurring with core arguments, *ŋga* is a marker of agentivity; we will come back to this below.[7] In combination with inanimate peripheral arguments, and following clauses, *ŋga* is a circumstantial marker, which may mark the instrument of an action (307), time, or location ((308) and (309)–(310), respectively).[8] For the use of *ŋga* in clause-final position see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1.

(307) *sinam* *ŋga* *nataem-inin* *o* *nde-t*
bow CIRC shoot.IMP-PL CON say-RLS[N1SG]
'"shoot me with a bow", he said' (4.35)

4 The use of *ŋga* between clauses (that is, clause-final) is discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1, and Section 5.5.1 on simple conditional clauses. The use of clause-final *e* is dealt with in Section 5.3.2 and in Section 5.5.2 on counterfactual conditional clauses. The use of *e* in possessive constructions is discussed in Section 3.1.5.

5 Drabbe 1959: Section 109d, p. 144a.

6 It is outside the scope of this book to discuss in detail whether the agentive *ŋga* and circumstantial *ŋga* are related. Wester (2014:160), referring to Foley (1986:107) and Dixon (1994:57), suggests that this is the case. Foley argues that ergative case marking on nominals, common in the highlands languages, has resulted from the spread of a peripheral case marker to the actor, with the aim to disambiguate between A and O in formally nominative–accusative languages. De Vries (2020:94) states that 'cause, reason and instrument markers that occur with peripheral arguments in Greater Awyu languages serve as optional ergative or agentive markers, when occurring with the core A argument'.

7 YW *ŋga* is clearly related to Digul Wambon *=ka*, and fulfills approximately the same range of functions, see De Vries (2020:103).

8 The following two lists give an overview of attestations of agentive *ŋga* and of circumstantial *ŋga* (except from *ŋga* functioning at clause level, for which see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1) in the text corpus. Agentive *ŋga* can be found in 1.10, 2.01, 2.04, 2.08, 4.30, 5.06, 5.13, 7.05 (two cases), 7.06, 7.09, 8.01, 10.01, 10.08 and 11.07. Circumstantial *ŋga* is attested in 1.03 (locative), 1.07 (instrumental), 1.09 (instrumental), 1.10 (locative), 4.03 (locative), 4.35 (instrumental), 5.01 (locative), 5.06 (locative), 5.14 (locative), 6.17 (instrumental), 7.07 (locative), 9.04 (locative), 10.03 (time), 11.10 (locative), 12.05 (locative) and 12.09 (time). In one case, 5.17, the function of *ŋga* is not entirely clear.

(308) *Kinum* *ja-r* *a* *imndin* *ŋga* *matik* *ndare*
sleep lie_II-RLS[N1SG] SEQ midnight CIRC get.up_II hear_II

*te* *ŋguŋguguk* *ke-no* *mba-gen.*
CON sound be-SS.SIM sit-RLS[N1SG]
'She was sleeping and at midnight she got up and heard a sound.' (12.09)

(309) *Oŋndum* *Kawon* *mogot* *ŋga* *jimin* *ŋgama-r-an.*
island Kao mouth CIRC border chop.off-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'At the mouth of the river, at the island Kao, he stopped walking.' (1.03)

(310) *nu* *jandit* *wamim* *ŋga* *mburutmo-gon-in*
1SG path middle CIRC meet-RLS-N1PL
'they met me in the middle of the way ? on the way'
(Drabbe 1959:144a)

*Nga* is also used to mark the transferred object of an action, as in (311) and (312).[9]

(311) *agaeom* *ŋga* *jogo-w-an?*
what CIRC give_II-1-PL
'what shall we give?' (Drabbe 1959:144a)

(312) *tagen* *ŋga* *jaga-r-ew-an*
cowrie.shell CIRC give_II-RLS-1[SG]-PST
'I gave shell money' (Drabbe 1959:144a)

It should be noted that in combination with verbs of coming, *ŋga* marks the source of the movement (rather than the target), as in (313).

(313) *jagim* *ŋga* *me-gen*
garden CIRC come-RLS[N1SG]
'he comes from the garden' (Drabbe 1959:144a)

As a marker of agentivity, *ŋga* probably functions to disambiguate between possible agents, or to stress which participant is responsible for the event(s) described in the present (and possibly following) clause(s). First, consider

9 Drabbe suggests that this might be a reflection of the fact that the transferred object is conceived of as an instrument by which the act of giving is realised.

(314). The sentence is part of a passage in which the speaker's sister has put her brother's mouth harp into her vagina. He has pulled it out of her vagina, tried to play it, but it doesn't function any more. He then says to her:

| (314) | *aniop* | *ŋgu* | *ŋga* | *na* | *ŋgombejop* | *mbetatmo-gen* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sister | 2SG | AG | 1SG.POSS | mouth.harp | spoil-RLS[N1SG] |

'you, sister, have spoilt my mouth harp!' (5.13)

In both (314) and in (315), *ŋga* following an animate noun seems to indicate who is the cause of the action(s to come). In (315), the big rat is introduced into the story 'out of nowhere' and causes a change in the course of actions by hitting the sister to the ground. In the same clause the inanimate *kigum* 'club' is also marked with *ŋga*, to mark its role as an instrument.

| (315) | *Sagot* | *ŋga* | *me-ro* | *kigum* | *ŋga* | *jan* | *ani* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | big.rat | AG | come-SS | club | CIRC | 3SG.POSS | sister |

| | *i-r-an* | *itop* | *rira-r-an.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | hit_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST | ground | go.down_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

'A big rat came and hit the sister into the ground with a club.' (6.17)

In the following clause, *ŋga* is used to disambiguate between possible agents. In (316) the use of *ŋga* makes clear that the brother is killing Matirap, and not the other way round.

| (316) | *Matiraw* | *e* | *maja-t* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Matirap | ARG | come.down_II-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| | *mun* | *ŋga* | *taemba-t* | *kima-r-an.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | boy | AG | shoot_II-RLS[N1SG] | die_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

'Matirap came down and his brother [lit. the boy] shot and killed him.' (7.09)

The corpus also contains a number of cases where the subject of speaking is marked with *ŋga*. Here, too, the use of *ŋga* may serve to mark the role of the animate noun as responsible for the course of the actions to come. In the example below, it is because of Kori's speaking that Naerop is killed.

(317) *mbit* *ketmon* *rarapmo-no* *te* *Kori* *ŋga* *raga-t*
feast dance perform.ITER-SS.SIM CON Kori AG say-RLS[N1SG]

*te,* *Naerop* *taemba-r-in* *kima-r-an*
CON Naerop shoot_II-RLS-N1PL die_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'while he was dancing Kori told the people to shoot Naerop so that he died' (2.08)

## 4.1.2 *e* as a marker of clausal arguments[10]

Despite the relative high frequency of the postposition *e*, it is not easy to understand its function.[11] At the phrase level, it is used to connect a noun with a following noun in a possessive construction, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.5. At the clause level, it generally connects a noun or pronoun to the following verb, and marks it as an argument. While *e* is realised as *en* when preceding a vowel within a possessive construction, at the clause level it is always realised as *e.*

The discussion here is restricted to the use of *e* at the level of the clause. In almost 90 per cent of the more than 70 cases of *e* used at clause level attested in the corpus, *e* marks a core argument of the clause: the subject (approximately 45 cases) or the object (over 20 cases).[12] Also with emphatic pronouns, *e* may mark both subjects and objects (not however with independent pronouns, where it may only mark subjects), see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.

The fact that noun phrases can also be used as verbal arguments without any further marking, means designating *e* as a syntactic marker is an insufficient explanation of its use. One would like to know the motivation for its use or non-use, which could, in principle, be of a syntactic (e.g. disambiguation),

10 Drabbe 1959: Section 109b, p. 143a; Sections 15–16, pp. 119a–b.

11 Given that the formative *e* occurs frequently as a postposition, Drabbe's explanation of its function in this position is remarkably limited. He describes a formative *e* occurring in possessive constructions (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.5), interclausal *e* (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2), and, finally, a postpositional *e* following pronouns (see Section 3.2.2). Interestingly, the postposition *e* following full nouns is not discussed, despite the fact that this postposition *e* occurs more frequent in the text corpus than all the other uses.

12 It marks a noun in subject function in 1.05, 1.12, 1.15, 2.04, 2.08 (2x), 2.09 (3x), 3.03, 3.04, 4.01 (3x), 4.02, 4.05, 4.12 (2x), 4.16, 4.17, 4.20, 4.23, 4.26, 5.09, 5.10 (2x), 5.15 (subject of a prohibitive), 5.16, 5.22, 6.02, 6.11, 6.16 (2x), 7.08, 7.09, 9.02, 9.03, 9.05, 9.08, 10.07, 10.12, 11.09 (2x), 11.11, 12.03 (3x). In the following cases it marks a noun in object function: 3.03, 3.04, 4.22, 4.29, 4.34, 4.40, 5.14, 5.21, 5.24 (3x), 6.13, 7.02, 7.05 (3x), 7.08, 9.02, 10.05, 11.01, 11.07, 12.07, 12.11. The other cases of *e* marking a clausal argument are 4.26 (time), 5.21 (place), 10.04 (place) and 12.10 (place).

semantic or pragmatic nature. Wester, for example, suggests that *e* is a topic marker, but this seems problematic.[13] While the precise function of *e* remains open for further research,[14] I will attempt to describe the settings in which *e* is used. The following two settings cover the great majority of attestations.

1. A noun marked with *e* can often be paired with another noun in a neighbouring clause with the same syntactic function:
   [NP (*e*) $V_1$]$_{Clause}$ [NP *e* $V_2$]$_{Clause}$
   The verb of the first clause ($V_1$) may be different from that of the second ($V_2$), or the same. The latter structure is often used to express enumerations. This is because, in this way, the stacking of more than one phrase per verb is avoided (see beginning of this chapter).
2. In other cases, the marker *e* seems to put the referent of the noun on stage, bringing it to the attention of the listener. As such, the listener is prepared for the role the referent may and often does play within the next few clauses.

We first consider setting 1. In (318), Naerop's going, expressed by the verb *ku-t*, is compared to that of his father Kori.

(318)

| *Naerow* | *e* | *jandir* | *awae* | *ku-t* | *te,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naerop | ARG | path | other | go-RLS[NISG] | CON |
| *Kori* | *e* | *jandir* | *awae* | *ko,* | |
| Kori | ARG | path | other | go | |

'Naerop and Kori both went there via a different path,' (2.08)

In (319) and (320) the people at the time of the narrative are compared to the people of now. Here, only the noun in the second clause is marked with *e*.

13 The main objection to the analysis of *e* as topic marker is that one clause may have more than one argument marked with *e*, as in 4.26, 3.03, and 5.21, presented in this publication as (59), (321) and (a) here:

(a)

| *kirigit* | *wateg* | *e* | *ok* | *koriw* | *e* | *uru-t* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kind.of.sago | mat | ARG | water | down.there | ARG | put-RLS[NISG] |
| *te* | *korom* | | *ke-r-an* | | | |
| con | kind.of.fish | | be-RLS[NISG]-PST | | | |

'he put his mat from *kirigit* sago down there (in the river) and it became a *korom* fish' (5.21)

14 Note that De Vries analyses Digul Wambon and YW *e* as a syntactic connective, while Wester (2014:151) analyses it as a topic marker. Drabbe contrasts the syntactic connective *e* to the topic marker *eve* (Digul Wambon). It should be noted, however, that De Vries is more explicit about Digul Wambon *e* than about YW *e* (De Vries 2020:107).

(319) *Ogip* *Kawokawonjow* *o* *nde-r-an.*
Ogip Kowakawonjop CON call-RLS[NI]-PST
'They called it the Ogip or Kowakawonjop river.' (1.11)

(320) *Kagup* *menew* *e* *Kawon* *ndi-r-in-an.*
man here ARG Kao say-RLS-NIPL-PST
'The people of nowadays say Kawon.' (1.12)

In (321) through (323), a marsupial chopping off its foreleg is compared to a lizard chopping off its tail (it is not entirely clear whether the marsupials in (321) and (322) are the same). Note that here both the subject and the object are marked with *e*. It seems that in cases like this, comparable to (318) above, the use of *e* in the first clause prepares the listener for the paired clause to come.

(321) *Tagiw* *e* *wir* *e* *ŋgama-r-an.*
kind.of.marsupial ARG foreleg ARG chop.off-RLS[NISG]-PST
'A *tagip* marsupial chopped off its foreleg.' (3.03)

(322) *Katiw* *en* *amandup* *tagiw* *e* *wir* *e*
Kati LNK son kind.of.marsupial ARG foreleg ARG

*ŋgama-r-an.*
chop.off-RLS[NISG]-PST
'Another *tagip* marsupial, son of Kati, chopped off its foreleg.' (3.04)

(323) *Ambae* *e* *ŋgati* *sowae* *wambit*
other ARG creeping.animal kind.of.lizard tail

*ŋgama-r-an,* *wit* *ŋgama-r-an.*
walk-RLS[NISG]-PST foreleg walk-RLS[NISG]-PST
'Another one, a *sowae* lizard, chopped off its tail and its foreleg.' (3.05)

In (324) and (326), the subsequent clauses are part of the same sentence. Here *e* functions as a means to signal enumeration. The sentence in (324) describes what happens to different parts of a tree that has been chopped down. These parts of the tree are all expressed by nouns which all have the same structural relation to the same, repeated, verbs *ke* 'be' or *rira* 'go down'. The following sentence starts with what happened to the remaining part of the tree: the stem, which again is marked by *e*; it falls down and eventually, after some time has passed, turns into a canoe.

(324) *… kotae* *e* *wawot* *ke-t,* *korom*
bark ARG kind.of. fish be-RLS [N1SG] kind.of.fish

*ke-r-an;* *kom* *e* *ok* *rira-t*
be-RLS[N1SG]-PST wood.chip ARG water go.down_II-RLS[N1SG]

*te* *ragae* *kigip* *kigip* *ke-r-an;*
CON fish other other be-RLS[N1SG]-PST

*monmon* *e* *ragae* *mbemberon* *ke-r-an.*
small.pieces ARG fish small be-RLS[N1SG]-PST

'… the bark became *wawot* and *korom* fish, the wood chips became other kinds of fish, and the small pieces became very small fish.' (4.01)

(325) *Jur* *anduj* *e* *tupke* *rira-r* *a*
kind.of.tree stem ARG get.loose go.down_II-RLS[N1SG] SEQ

*te* *woŋgopon* *ke* *te* *uke* *maturu* *te*
CON long.time be CON from.water come.up con

*konoj* *ke-t.*
canoe be-RLS[N1SG]

'The stem of the *jut* tree fell down (into the river), after a long time passed, it came up from the water and had become a canoe.' (4.02)

In (326), which is another example of enumeration, the nouns are all objects of the same, repeated verb *ndomo* 'put off' (see the note in Text 5.24 for a further explanation of the structure of this sentence).

(326) *Kotim* *ron* *e* *jun* *e* *ndomo* *enow* *anduj*
woodpigeon feather LNK string.bag ARG put.off tree stem

*tagip* *kotae* *e* *ndomo* *enow* *anduj* *uru-t*
white. marsupial skin ARG put.off tree stem put-RLS [NLSG]

*sagasak* *e* *ndomo* *enow* *anduj* *ororo* *te*
kind.of.belt ARG put.off tree stem COMPL CON

*maturu* *ku-r-an.*
come.up go-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'He put off his string bag adorned with feathers of a woodpigeon, and lay it on a tree stem, he put off his skin of a white marsupial, and lay it on a tree stem, and he put off his belly belt and lay that on a tree stem, and after this he came up and went away.' (5.24)

We will now discuss a number of clauses fitting setting 2. First, consider (327) and (328).[15] In both cases, the noun marked with *e* is part of a clause that describes what is seen: the referent is, literally, presented as under visual attention, by which it is also brought to the attention of the listener.

(327) *etaga-t* *te* *ja* *matiw* *e* *mbemir* *e*
see_II-RLS[N1SG] CON 3SG.POSS daughter LNK breast ARG

*oksagat* *kun* *kup* *ke-t*
mud trail COM be-RLS[N1SG]
'he saw that his daughter's breast had a mud trail' (4.12)

(328) *etaga-t* *te* *ja* *ŋgombejow* *e* *atop* *kop*
see_II-RLS[N1SG] CON 3SG.POSS mouth.harp ARG vagina in

*pon*
stay
'he saw that the mouth harp was sticking into her vagina' (5.10)

Also if the referent is not literally 'seen', *e* is often used to bring the referent to the attention of the listener, in many cases to prepare the listener for the role this referent is going to play in the subsequent passage. The passage presented in (329) through (332) is a good illustration. The clause in (329) directly follows a sentence explaining how the woman has found a small snake when emptying the fykes. She has put it into a string bag and gone home. The story then continues:

(329) *Turu-ro* *aŋgun* *mberon* *e* *matuj* *aguma-t.*
go.up-SS snake small ARG sago.bag put.into-RLS[N1SG]
'She went up and the small snake she took and she put it in a sago bag.' (10.05)

15 Another example where the referent is literally presented as 'seen' can be found in (127).

This sentence brings the snake to the attention of the listener, and in the following sentences, both the woman and the snake play an important role. Following (329), (330) narrates how the woman's grandchildren go out. Then (331) reactivates the woman-topic and tells how she, contrary to her grandchildren, stays at home. In (332), we see the use of agentive *ŋga* discussed above, signalling the importance of the snake's action: it is because of the snake's action that the woman dies.

(330) *Ja* *magom-ŋguj* *ndun* *dok* *ko-r-in.*
3SG.POSS grandchild-PL sago GROUND go-RLS-NIPL
'Her grandchildren went out to prepare sago.' (10.06)

(331) *Juw* *e* *mbitip* *pa-gen.*
3SG ARG house sit-RLS[NISG]
'She stayed at home.' (10.07)

(332) *Kinum* *ja-r* *a* *aŋgun* *ŋga* *matuj* *mbima-t*
asleep lie_II-RLS[NISG] SEQ snake AG sago.bag pull-RLS[NISG]

*mborotke-t* *mari-ro,*
break.down-RLS[NISG] come.down-SS

*rambari* *i-t* *kima-t.*
old.woman hit_II-RLS[NISG] die_II-RLS[NISG]
'While she was sleeping, the snake pulled the sago bag open and broke it, it came down and killed the old woman.' (10.08)

A similar example of bringing a referent to the attention of the listener is given in (333) and (334). In the preceding passage, we are told that people have chopped trees and plants and brought them to the river. Here, we are told that they barred the river, after which the topic shifts to the river: it got full. The river remains a discourse topic in the following clause.

(333) *Ndokma-r-in* *de* *og* *e* *kojake-r-an.*
bar-RLS-NIPL CON river ARG get.full-RLS[NISG]-PST
'They barred it and the river got full.' (1.05)

(334) *Ema-t* *te* *ragae* *kup* *ke-r-an.*
do.thus-RLS[NISG] CON fish with be-RLS[NISG]-PST
'By this it became full with fish.' (1.06)

## 4.1.3 *et* as an emphatic nominative marker

The corpus contains only two examples of a noun followed by *et*, presented here as (335) and (336). In both cases, the nouns are complement of *ke* 'be', and followed by *te* plus a clause whose subject is a coreferent with the complement of *ke*.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (335) | *mbanew* | *et* | *ke* | *te* | *nu* | *mbarupra-gen* |
| | crocodile | NOM | be | CON | 1SG | have.sex-RLS[N1SG] |
| | 'it's the crocodile; it had sex with me!' (4.13) | | | | | |
| (336) | *Koromow* | *et* | *ke* | *te* | *ŋgombejop* | *tare-r* |
| | Koromop | NOM | be | CON | mouth.harp | scrape_II-RLS[N1SG] |
| | 'Koromop made a mouth harp' (5.01) | | | | | |

This postnominal *et* is probably the same as the suffix *-et* used following emphatic pronouns of type 2, see Chapter 3, Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, and in emphatic subject demonstrative pronouns, see Section 3.2.5.3.

## 4.1.4 A note on singular and plural inflection

As was set out in Chapter 2, Sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4, plurality of the verbal subject is expressed by a plural suffix on the verb. The absence of this plural suffix generally implies a singular subject, which is indicated in the glossing by the use of square brackets, as in *nde-r-an* 'say-N1[SG]-PST'. In a number of cases, however, the absence of plural marking does not imply a singular subject. This section tentatively characterises these contexts as cases where plural subjects are not explicitly marked on the verb.[16]

In some of these cases, the use of the singular might have to do with the nature of the subject; it seems that unspecific subjects may combine with singular inflection. Consider (337) below. Here, it is told how a certain river was called, without reference to the identity of those who called it as such.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (337) | *Ogip* | *Kawokawonjow* | *o* | *nde-r-an.* |
| | Ogip | Kawokawonjop | CON | say-RLS[N1]-PST |
| | 'They called it the Ogip or Kawokawonjop river.' (1.11) | | | |

16 In addition to the cases given in the main text, we find two cases in 1.07.

Another ground for not specifying plural inflection may be that the context makes the plurality of the subject sufficiently clear. This is stated explicitly by Drabbe in the case of the plural subject stems of posture verbs (see Chapter 2, Section 2.7), but might also explain cases like (338) and (339). In (339), the plural identity of the subject is expressed by the use of reduplicated *mon~mon* 'pieces' and the reduplicated adjective *mbemberon*.

(338) *mon~mon* *e* *ragae* *mbe~mberon* *ke-r-an*
small.pieces ARG fish PL~small be-RLS[NI]-PST
'the small pieces became small fishes' (4.01)

In (339), the plural identity of the subject is sufficiently expressed by the use of an iterative verb, and the context makes clear that it must be the animals mentioned earlier that form the subject.

(339) *Jan* *ani* *ambitikma-r-an.*
3SG.POSS sister bite.ITER-RLS[NI]-PAST
'They [the animals] bit his sister.' (6.14)

One might also explain the non-use of plural marking as reflecting the conceptualisation of many (small) entities together as a mass. This may serve as an alternative explanation for cases like (338) and (339) above, or for the use of a singular in Text 6.13, for which the reader is referred to that note in the text edition.

## 4.2 Experiential clauses[17]

De Vries (2020:133–134) gives a characterisation of experiential clauses in Greater Awyu languages, whereby he takes YW as an example:

> Another construction that probably owes its existence to thematizing preferences of Greater Awyu speakers is the experiential construction, with the human experiencer as a clause-initial topic follow by a transitive or intransitive clause with a body-part S or A and a verb that agrees with those third person singular A or S body-part nouns.

Thus, in the following examples, the verb agrees in person-number with the inanimate A (*enop* 'fever' in (341)) or S (*ŋgom* 'blood' in (340)), not with the topic, the human experiencer (*nu* 'me'). De Vries argues that

17 Drabbe 1959: Section 108, pp. 142b–143a.

most probably the experiencer is originally an extra-clausal theme that got intonationally and syntactically integrated into the intransitive experiential clause as the filler of the clause-initial topic slot. This type of experiential construction occurs in many Trans-New Guinea languages (Pawley and Hammarström 2018:113–114).

(340) *nu* *ŋgom* *mut-ken*
1SG blood come.down-RLS[NISG]
'I am bleeding' (lit. 'regarding me blood comes down'; Drabbe 1959:143a)

(341) *nu* *enow* *i-r-an*
1SG fever hit_II-RLS[NISG]-PST
'I had fever' (lit. 'fever hit me'; Drabbe 1959:143a)

Other examples of experiential clauses are the following: (342) through (345) are intransitive clauses, while (346) represents a transitive clause. Other examples of experiential constructions can be found in the wordlist in the Appendix.[18]

(342) *nu* *jajun* *ke-gen*
1SG ill be-RLS[NISG]
'I am/was ill' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

(343) *naŋgu* *katoni* *ke-gen*
1PL ignorant be-RLS[NISG]
'we did not know' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

(344) *naŋgu* *koten* *mut-ken*
1PL sweat come.in/out-RLS[NISG]
'we were sweating' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

18 In addition to the examples given above, the wordlist classifies also the following constructions as experiential (Drabbe: 'eventief'): *katet kok ke* 'be thirsty' (lit. 'the saliva is dead', see YW–English wordlist of Part II); *katkok ke* 'be in pain' from *katkok* 'spicy, hot'; *kerop purumo* 'be crazy'; *kinum kok ke* 'be sleepy' from *kinum* 'sleep' and *kok* 'full'; *kiok ke* 'be amazed'; *kombe ro* 'have a swelling'; *korok ke, koroke* 'get quiet', 'come to rest'; *mamin ke* 'be hot, have fever'; *mbambariri ke* 'shiver'; *mbom oro* 'be wounded' from *mbom* 'wound' and *oro* 'put'; *men kok ke* 'be hungry'; *ŋgin otem ke* 'have a headache'; *ŋgit ke* 'be cold'; *oj rewerep ke* 'have a bellyache'; *oj wagop ke* 'have diarrhea'; *ok jerep ke* 'be thirsty'; *orowot ke* 'have pain'; *satkok ke* 'be warm'; *upneŋ ke* 'breathe'; *wambit ke* 'sleep of body parts'; *wandin ke* 'be satisfied, get satisfied'.

(345) *jaŋgu* *kerow* *ok* *maja-r-an*
3PL eye water come.down_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'they were crying' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

(346) *nu* *mbo~mbon* *oro-gen*
1SG RED~wound put-RLS[N1SG]
'I had wounds' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

Finally, (347a) and (347b) show a minimal pair: an experiential clause of the type discussed here, in which the experiencer is the topic (expressed by *nu*) but not the subject, compared to a clause in which the experiencer is both the (implicit) topic and the subject.

(347a) *nu* *wagae* *ke-gen*
1SG good be-RLS[N1SG]
'I am healthy' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

(347b) *wagae* *ke-gen-ep*
good be-RLS-1SG
'I am healthy' (Drabbe 1959:143a)

## 4.3 Nonverbal predication

This section deals with nonverbal predication.[19] Following Stassen's (1997) terminology, we can distinguish different types of nonverbal clauses (Stassen: 'predication constructions') in YW: zero copula constructions and nonverbal copula constructions.

### 4.3.1 Zero copula clauses[20]

In zero copula clauses, the subject and the predicate are simply juxtaposed to each other; parallel to verbal clauses, the predicate follows the subject (which in verbal clauses, however, is often not expressed). This is expressed in Figure 20 below.

19 This description has been inspired by Overall et al. (2018).
20 Drabbe 1959: Section 33, p. 124a.

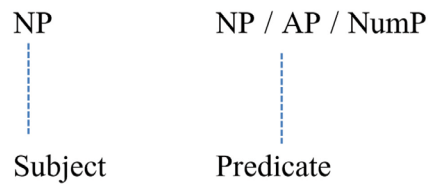



**Figure 20: Form of zero copula clauses.**

Although Drabbe is not explicit about this, we may assume that in zero copula clauses the subject is obligatorily expressed. Examples (348) through (350) are examples of a nominal, numeral and adjectival clause, respectively.

(348) *ewe* *na* *mandup*
THAT 1SG.POSS son
'that one is my son' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(349) *na* *tager* *irumon*
1SG.POSS kind.of.shell two
'my shells are two in number' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(350) *na* *nati* *ŋgorowop*
1SG.POSS father clever
'my father is clever' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

Here, in an example from the corpus, the subjects of the clause are marked with *e* (see Section 4.1.2).

(351) *Jan* *aŋgae* *iw* *e* *Warimop*
3SG.POSS dog name ARG Warimop

*ambae* *e* *Komogop.*
other ARG Komogop
'Her dogs one's name was Warimop, the other one's Komogop.' (11.09)

Clauses like the ones under discussion here are rare. It is more common for nonverbal predicates to use an affirmative copula *te*, an interrogative copula *to* or a negative copula *tomba*.

## 4.3.2 Copula clauses[21]

Copula clauses have the same form as the zero copula clause above, except that they are followed by one of the copulas *te(n)* 'AFFMT', *to* 'Q', or *tomba* 'NEG.COP' (see Section 4.4 for the analysis of *te*). Following Drabbe (1959), De Vries (2020) and Wester (2014), I refer to *te*, *to* or *tomba* in this structural context as a copula. Following a nasal (*m* or *n*), the initial *t* of these three copulas is realised (and spelled) as [d]: *de, do* and *domba*. The structure of copula clauses is visualised in Figure 21.

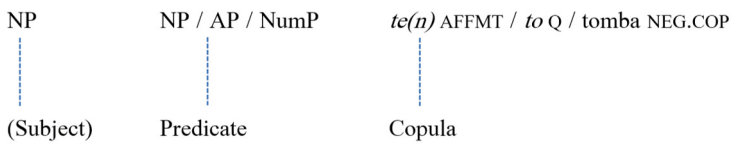



**Figure 21: Form of copula clauses.**

In contrast to the zero copula clauses discussed previously, in copula clauses the subject is usually not expressed.[22] It should be noted that the structure of both zero copula clauses and copula clauses is parallel to the S–V or A–O–V structure described for verbal clauses at the beginning of this chapter: both clauses are predicate-final, and consist of an (optional) subject in first position followed by the predicate. We will now deal with the three copulas one by one.

### 4.3.2.1 Affirmative copula *te(n)*

Drabbe writes:

> [while] nouns and numerals [and adjectives] can be predicated without a predicative element [see Section 4.3.1] … one usually uses *te(n)*, after *m* or *n*: *de(n)*. (Drabbe 1959:124a)

The final *n* of *ten* is realised when it is followed by a vowel; in other contexts it is usually elided, although it may lead to nasalisation of the preceding vowel. Because the text corpus offers no examples of *te* as an affirmative copula, I restrict myself here to the examples given by Drabbe in his grammatical introduction.

21 Drabbe 1959: Sections 33–36, pp. 124a–b.

22 It is precisely this absence of the subject, in my view, that motivates the use of a copula; without the copula, the noun, adjective or numeral would not be marked as a clause and, therefore, not be interpretable as a predicate.

(352) *na* *mandup* *te*
1SG.POSS son AFFMT
'it is my son' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(353) *mberon* *de*
small AFFMT
'it is small' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(354) *nuw* *e* *katoni* *te*
1sg ARG ignorant AFFMT
'I am ignorant' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(355) *irumon* *de*
two AFFMT
'there are two of them' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(356) *ragae* *te*
fish AFFMT
'it is fish' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(357) *konoj* *te*
canoe AFFMT
'it's a canoe' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

### 4.3.2.2 Interrogative copula *to(n)*

The realisation of final *n* in the interrogative copula *ton* is analogous to the final *n* of *te* described above. The use of the interrogative copula *ton* is illustrated in (358)–(362).

(358) *ewe* *ŋgo* *mandup* *to*
THAT 1SG.POSS son Q
'is that one your son?' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

(359) *juw* *e* *katoni* *do*
3SG ARG ignorant Q
'is (s)he ignorant?' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

(360) *irumon* *do*
two Q
'are there two of them?' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

(361) *ragae* *to*
fish Q
'is it fish?' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

(362) *konoj* *to*
canoe Q
'is it a canoe?' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

Analogous to the development of *te* into an affirmative (focus) marker (see Section 4.4), *to* has developed into an interrogative marker also in contexts where the copular function has been lost. Consider (363) and (364): here we find a nominal affirmative clause *konoj te* followed by the interrogative marker *to*, marking the preceding clause as interrogative.

(363) *konoj* *ten* *do*
canoe AFFMT Q
'is it a canoe?' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

Example (364) shows how the interrogative marker can also be used in verbal clauses. More on interrogative verbal clauses can be found in Section 4.6.

(364) *kinum* *jaŋ-gen* *do*
asleep lie-RLS[N1SG] Q
'is he asleep?' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

In the text corpus, no examples of the use of *to(n)* were attested.

#### 4.3.2.3 Negative copula *tomba(n)*

Again, the realisation of final *n* in the negative copula *tomba(n)~domba(n)* is analogous to the final *n* of *te* described above. Because the text corpus offers no examples of the use of *tomba(n)*, we have to restrict ourselves again to the examples offered by Drabbe in his grammatical description. These have been listed here.

(365) *na* *nati* *tomba*
1SG.POSS father NEG.COP
'it is not my father' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(366) *juw* *e* *tomba*
3SG ARG NEG.COP
'it is not him' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(367) *sowen* *domba*
mosquito NEG.COP
'it is not a mosquito' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(368) *ragae* *tomba*
fish NEG.COP
'it is not fish' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(369) *kutok* *tomba*
much NEG.COP
'it is not much/there are not many of them' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

(370) *nuw* *e* *mberon* *domba*
1SG ARG small NEG.COP
'I am not small' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

Unlike the affirmative copula *te(n)* and the interrogative copula *to(n)*, the negative copula has not developed into a marker (of negation) in other contexts. For the negation of verbal clauses, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.1.

## 4.3.3 Predicative possession[23]

Predicative possession may be expressed by the use of *mbon* 'STAY', *kup* 'COM' or *ndoj* 'NEX'. Drabbe gives the following illustrations.

(371a) *na* *tager* *e* *mbon*
1SG.POSS cowrie.shell ARG STAY
'I have money' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(371b) *na* *taget* *kup* *ten*
1SG.POSS cowrie.shell COM AFFMT
'I have money' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(371c) *na* *tager* *e* *ndoj*
1SG.POSS cowrie.shell ARG NEX
'I have no money' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(372a) *ŋgo* *tager* *e* *mbon* *do*
2SG.POSS cowrie.shell ARG STAY Q
'do you have money?' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

23 Drabbe 1959: Section 39, p. 125a.

(372b) *ŋgo* *taget* *kup* *to*
2SG.POSS cowrie.shell COM Q
'do you have money?' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(372c) *ŋgo* *tager* *e* *ndoj* *to*
2SG.POSS cowrie.shell ARG nex q
'don't you have money?' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(373a) *ja* *tager* *e* *mbon* *dok*
3sg.poss cowrie.shell ARG STAY GROUND
'he has money, so …' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(373b) *ja* *taget* *kup* *tok*
3SG.POSS cowrie.shell COM GROUND
'I have money' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(373c) *jaŋgo* *tager* *e* *ndoj* *tok*
3PL.POSS cowrie.shell ARG NEX STAY
'they don't have money, so … '

## 4.4 *Te* as an affirmative copula and coordinator

In the literature, there is some controversy about the function of *te*. According to Drabbe, the formative *te* is basically a copula, although he sometimes refers to it as a conjunction. Wester, on the other hand, analyses *te* as a focus particle in all contexts where it occurs with nouns, and as a (subordinate) connective between verbal clauses (Wester 2014:165f). De Vries, finally, argues that a copular *te* has developed two additional functions: as a focus marker and as a coordinative conjunction. In the analysis that I present here, YW *te* has basically two functions, as an affirmative copula and as a coordinative conjunction.

As an affirmative copula, *te* unites, in my view, two functions.

1. Along with its syntactic function as a copula, *te* has an affirmative function, in paradigmatic opposition to interrogative *to* and *tomba* (see Section 4.3.2). It affirms the new information in the clause, and

as such implies (affirmative) focus. It is this affirmative function that forms the basis for its use in other structural contexts; we will come back to this below.

2. It marks a permanent relation between the subject and the predicate.

Figure 22 presents four structural settings in which *te* is attested. These structural settings will be used in a tentative explanation of the relation between the two functions mentioned above.

| **Structural setting** | **(a) [NP *te* ]$_{\text{Clause}}$** | **(b) [NP *te* ...]$_{\text{Clause chain}}$** |
|---|---|---|
| **Syntactic function** | copula | copula |
| **Semantic function** | identification / categorization permanent relation | identification / categorization |
| **Pragmatic function** | affirmation | affirmation |

**Figure 22: Functions of affirmative copula te in clause-final and interclausal position.**

In (374), we see an illustration of structural setting (a) from Figure 22: *te* is used as a copula in a nominal clause.

(374) *na* *mandup* ***te***$_{1}$
1SG.POSS son AFFMT
'it is my son' (Drabbe 1959:124a)

Structural setting (b) is exemplified in (375). Drabbe glosses *de* here as a 'predicator' or a copula, so that the sentence should be understood as 'it were scrapings (pieces) of a bow (that) he had put there'. It is clear that the construction as a whole (*sinam mon* + *de* + *ururan*) functions to affirm the identity of the *sinam mon*. This is also clear from the context: Kori expects to find a marsupial, but what looked like a marsupial appears to be a heap of scrapings left from making a bow.

(375) *Naerom* *ŋga* *sinam* *mon* *de*$_{2}$ *uru-r-an*
Naerom AG bow piece AFFMT put-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'[he [Kori] saw that] Naerom had put scrapings of his bow (there)' (2.04)

We also find this construction with *te~de* following a pronoun, see Section 4.4.1. Structural setting (c) is illustrated in (376); it is, however, the only sentence in Drabbe's description that illustrates this use. Given the strong tendency of YW speakers to avoid more than one phrase (of any type) per clause, this structure is highly marked. According to De Vries, this markedness explains why Dumut languages recruited *te* as a noun coordinator.[24]

(376)

| *kagup* | *te* | *raramun* | *de* | *munotit* | *t'* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| man | AFFMT/CON | women | AFFMT/CON | children | AFFMT/CON |

| *iŋ-gin-in* | *mbon* |
|---|---|
| eat-RLS-N1PL | STAY |

'men, women and children are eating' (Drabbe 1959:145b)

According to De Vries, the function of *te* as coordinator of nouns spreads to the chaining of clauses, which is the fourth setting presented above. Consider (377). Here, the conjunctions *te*, all printed in bold, link different clauses in a clause chain.[25] Three of them follow a semi-inflected realis form in *-t*, and one of them follows the bare verb stem *keroke* 'penetrate'.

(377)

| *Ja* | *nati* | *Kori* | *me* | *etaga-t* | ***te*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3sg.poss | father | Kori | come | see-RLS [N1SG] | CON |

| *jan* | *amun* | *e* | *mbon* | *dok,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG.POSS | marsupial | ARG | be | GROUND |

| *taemba-t* | ***te*** | *keroke* | ***te*** | *turu* | *etaga-t* | ***te*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| shoot_II-RLS[N1SG] | CON | penetrate | CON | go.up | see-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

24 See De Vries (2020:90), who argues that the coordinating function of *te* grew out of its use in noun enumeration. He writes:

> Greater Awyu speakers often prefer to repeat entire clauses rather than use coordinate noun phrases, so coordinate noun phrases are marked … This focality explains why Dumut languages recruited *=nde* as a coordinator'. Later, he writes 'once the noun coordinating function of *=nde* was well-established and frequently used, its use spread to the chaining of clauses. (De Vries 2020:101)

In YW, we have only one example of *te* used in noun enumeration, but multiple examples of *te* in coordinating clauses. See Section 4.4.3 for an alternative hypothesis on the development of *te* into a clause coordinator.

25 Although it is clear that *te* is used interclausally, its function is, in fact, not so clear. It is unclear why certain clauses are linked by *te* and others are linked asyndetically.

| *Naerom* | *ŋga* | *sinam* | *mon* | *de* | *uru-r-an* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naerom | AG | bow | piece | AFFMT | put-RLS[NISG]-PST |

'His father Kori came to the place and saw his marsupial there, so he shot it, but he penetrated it so he went up and saw that Naerom had put scrapings of his bow (there).' (2.04)

*Te* may be used following different verb forms, like uninflected verbs and (semi-)inflected verbs as in (378), or imperatives. In (378) we see an example of *te* following an uninflected form in *-ro*, and in (379) it follows an imperative.

(378)

| *Nde-ro* | *te* | *kima-r-an*. |
|---|---|---|
| say-SS | CON | die_II-RLS[NISG]-PST |

'He said so and he died.' (4.38)

(379)

| *sapuk* | *nandap* | *te* | *ŋgoropmo-p* |
|---|---|---|---|
| tobacco | take.IMP | CON | know-ISG |

'pull the rope and I will know' (4.17)

So far, two basic functions of *te* have been presented: first, *te* is used as a copula, often in contexts where the identity of the complement is marked and needs affirmation. Second, *te* is used as an interclausal conjunction. There is one context that remains to be explained: the use of *te* in clause-final position. In the figure below, this setting is compared to setting (a) of Figure 22.

We find seven cases in the text corpus: three cases of *mbage-t te* 'sit_II-RLS[NISG] AFF' (2.01, 2.05, 5.01), two cases of *ororo te* 'COMPL AFFMT' (1.09 and 5.07) and two cases where *te* follows a verb of saying: *nde-t te* 'say-RLS[NISG] AFFMT' (4.03) and *raga-t te* 'speak-RLS[NISG] AFFMT '(7.05). These cases do not fit in the analyses of *te* presented so far. On the one hand, they cannot be analysed as copulas, because they follow a clause. On the other hand, they cannot be analysed as conjunctions, because they are clause-final rather than interclausal. These contexts, then, may point toward the fact that *te* has acquired an additional function. Because of the lack of data, however, the nature of this additional function awaits further investigation. We will now discuss a number of specific structural settings of the use of *te* in more detail.

### 4.4.1 *Te* with certain pronominal objects[26]

The use of *te* following a pronoun fits setting (b) in Figure 22. Consider (380) and (381). As an object, the combinations *nu gup* 'I myself', *ŋgu gup* 'you yourself' etc. (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1), are followed by *te*. This is to affirm their (unexpected) function as an object, rather than a subject.

(380) *nu* *gup* *te* *raga-r-an*
1SG self AFFMT say-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'it is to me myself (that) he spoke' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

(381) *nu* *gup* *te* *i-r-in-an*
1SG self AFFMT hit_II-RLS-N1PL-PST
'it is me myself (that) they hit' (Drabbe 1959:120a)

We find a comparable use where *te* follows *na turup* [1SG.POSS alone] 'me alone', *ŋgo turup* [2SG.POSS alone] 'you alone' etc., or *na tamuk* [1SG.POSS alone] 'me alone', *ŋgo tamuk* [2SG.POSS alone] 'you alone' etc. (Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4.2). When the pronoun + *turup/tamuk* is the subject, the affirmative copula *te* is optional; when the pronoun + *turup/tamuk* is an object, however, the affirmative copula *te* is obligatory.

(382) *ja* *tamuk* *(te)* *me-gen*
3SG.POSS alone AFFMT come-RLS[N1SG]
'he has come alone' (lit. 'it is him alone he has come'; Drabbe 1959:120b)

(383) *ŋgo* *turup* *te* *i-r-in-an* *do*
2SG.POSS alone AFFMT hit_II-RLS-N1PL-PST Q
'have they hit only you?' (lit. 'it is you alone they hit?'; Drabbe 1959:120b)

26 Drabbe 1959: Sections 15, 18–19; pp. 119–120.

## 4.4.2 *Te* as 'auxiliary' when following a nominalised verb[27]

Closely related to *te* as an affirmative copula is the use of *te* as an auxiliary. It is used as such in habitual constructions and in intentional clauses. In my view, the use of *te* as an auxiliary is so close to its use as a copula, fitting settings (a) and (b) in Figure 22, that it is basically the same, extended function, which explains why it is also glossed as 'AFFMT' here.

Habitual constructions formed with *te* were discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.3. The structure of such constructions was exemplified with Figures 12 and 13, repeated here as Figures 22 and 23. Note that it is entirely possible to think of these habitual functions as uniting both of the functions of the copula *te* mentioned above: it clearly implies a permanent relationship between the subject and the nominal predicate, and it affirms the predicate—the event expressed by the nominalised verb is taking place time and time again.

(*sun* / *emo-ro*) [[ [ Verb-infl ] -*op* ]$_{NP}$ *te* ]$_{nominal\ predicate}$

**Figure 23: General structure of habitual construction with predicative *te*.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [[ [ | *mbetatmo-gen* ] | -*op* ]$_{NP}$ | *te* ]$_{nominal\ predicate}$ |
| | do.wrong-RLS[N1SG] | -NMLZ | AFFMT |

'it is (always): he does wrong' → 'he is always doing wrong'

**Figure 24: Example of a habitual construction with predicative *te*.**

Intentional clauses, discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.3, have a similar structure, in that they consist of a nominalised verb followed by an auxiliary *te*. Although these examples of the use of *te* are formally similar to the copula *te*, they share with it only the first of its two functions. While it is hard to think of an intentional clause as implying a permanent relation between a subject and a complement, it is not so hard to see that *te* does express an affirmative focus. Thus, (384) could be paraphrased as: 'it is his focus to eat', while one could paraphrase (385) as 'having the focus to make a canoe I did so'. In order to understand why one uses *te* in these conditions one should consider the fact that the intention or purpose of the subject coincides with the focus of the clause, or its main point. This main point of the clause is

27 Drabbe 1959: Sections 85–86, pp. 138b–139a.

marked by *te*. In order to highlight the close formal relation and the partial functional overlap with the affirmative copula *te*, I have chosen to gloss these uses of *te* as 'AFFMT' (instead of 'AUX', which would also be defendable).

Consider (45), repeated here as (384).

(384) *andi-ni(-op)* *te*
eat_II-INT-(NOM) AFFMT
'he wants to eat'/'you (SG/PL) want to eat'/'they want to eat'
* 'I/we want to eat'

Drabbe also describes a number of intentional constructions formed with *nde(-ro) te* 'say(-SS) AFFMT', illustrated in (385)–(387). At first sight, these constructions differ from the copula constructions discussed so far, in that they are not preceded by a noun or noun phrase (NP). One could also argue, however, that compared to the semi-inflected and fully inflected verbs, the bare stems and the uninflected forms are more noun-like than the other verbs, and, apparently, share sufficient properties with nouns to participate in these nominal clause constructions. In the intentional constructions under discussion here, I analyse *te* as a copula rather than a conjunction, and I do so for two reasons. First, the use of *te* in these intentional constructions is obligatory. Second, the *te* of the intentional construction is also found in final position of the clause, which makes an analysis as a conjunction harder to defend.

(385) *konoj* *tami* *te(-ro)* *te* *ema-r-aw-an*
canoe make.canoe say-SS AFFMT do.thus-RLS-1SG-PST
'I had the plan to make a canoe' (Drabbe 1959:138b)

(386) *taget* *rawo-p* *te(-ro)* *te* *awoŋ* *rawo-jip*
cowrie.shell take_II-1SG say-SS AFFMT work take_II-1SG.FUT
'I will work in order to make money' (formal structure: '"I will make money" I said it is I will work'; Drabbe 1959:138b)

(387) *me-ro* *and-ep* *te-ro* *te(n)*
come-SS eat_II-1SG say-SS AFFMT
'he came in order to eat' (Drabbe 1959:139a)

## 4.4.3 *Te* as interclausal conjunction in focus constructions

As was noted above, De Vries sees the use of *te* in noun enumeration as the basis for its use as conjunction in clause coordination. He does not explain, however, what exactly made this coordinator spread from the domain of NPs to the domain of clauses. This section presents a number of cases in which *te* is used following a focus construction. Constructions like these may have formed an alternative or additional grammatical and functional context that furthered the spreading of *te* to the interclausal domain.

First, consider (388), which forms the first sentence of a narrative about Koromop. Koromop is introduced with its proper name, directly followed by *et*, which, in the words of Drabbe, 'emphasizes its role as a subject' (Drabbe 1959:121b; see also Section 4.1.3). Because both Koromop and the *ŋgombejop tarer* are new information, the sentence has been cut up in two clauses. In the first clause, Koromow is both subject (topic) of *ke*, expressed by the use of *et*, and new information, marked as such by structuring the whole clause as a (focused) 'complement' of the affirmative copula *te*.

(388)

| *Koromow* | *et* | *ke* | *te* | *ŋgombejop* | *tare-r* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Koromop | NOM | be | AFFMT/CON | mouth.harp | play-RLS[N1SG] |

'Koromop made a mouth harp' (5.01)

Now consider (389) and (390). It is clear that we have to do with focus constructions. In (389), the speaker stresses that the addressee, marked by the use of the emphatic pronoun *ŋgowot*, has cheated him by putting down scrapings of bow in the place of a marsupial. In (390), the daughter says that the crocodile, marked by the use of marked subjective *et*, has had sex with her. *Ŋgowot* and *mbanew et* are both followed both by *ke* 'be' and *te*.

(389)

| *Menew* | *e* | *kagup* | *ndoj* | *tok* | *na* | *mandup* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| here | ARG | man | not | GROUND | 1SG.POSS | son |

| *Naerom* | *ŋgowot* | *ke* | *te* | *sinam* | *mon* | *uru-gen*. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naerom | 2SG.EMPH | be | AFFMT/CON | bow | piece | put-RLS [N1SG] |

'There are no people here, so my son Naerop, it's you; you have put down scrapings of a bow.' (2.06)

(390) *mbanew et ke te nu mbarupra-gen*
crocodile NOM be AFFMT/CON 1SG have.sex-RLS[N1SG]
'it's the crocodile; it had sex with me!' (4.13)

In these cases, *te* cannot, formally, be analysed as a copula, because it is not preceded by an NP, but by a (nominal) clause, with *ke* 'be' as a copula verb; structurally, it is, therefore, an interclausal conjunction rather than a copula. Functionally, however, it is still very close to the use of *te* in setting (b) in Figure 22, where the copula *te* serves to affirm the identity of a core argument: the object in (381), and the subject in (382). It is not unthinkable that *te* in these interclausal contexts started off as a second, affirmative, copula, affirming the marked identity of a core argument, after which it was reinterpreted as a neutral coordinator. This reinterpretation then became a push factor furthering the spread of *te* to other, pragmatically neutral interclausal contexts (see also Section 5.3.4).

# 4.5 Negation and the expression of non-presence

## 4.5.1 Factual negation[28]

YW has three forms or constructions expressing factual negation: one for the negation of verbal clauses, one for the negation of adjectival and nominal clauses, and one for the expression of non-existence. Negative verbal clauses, dealt with in Chapter 2, Section 2.6, have the form of a negative verbal noun in *-nok*, followed by the inflected auxiliary *mo* 'do' or the inflected auxiliary verb *ke* 'be' (see Chapter 2, Section 2.8). Nominal and adjectival clauses, discussed in Section 4.3.2, have a negative copula *tomba*. Non-existence, or not being present at a location, finally, is expressed by the use of the particle *ndoj* 'NEX', which can be seen as the negative counterpart of *mbon* 'STAY' (see Chapter 2, Section 2.7). Like *mbon*, the subject of *ndoj* is always marked with *e* 'ARG'. The examples given in (391)–(395) parallel those given for *mbon* in Chapter 2, Section 2.7.

28 Drabbe 1959: Section 38, p. 125a.

(391) *na* *matiw* *e* *ndoj*
1SG.POSS daughter ARG NEX
'my daughter is not there' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(392) *jaŋguw* *e* *ndoj*
3PL.EMPH ARG NEX
'they are not there' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(393) *ndun* *e* *ndoj*
sago ARG NEX
'there is no sago' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(394) *j'* *e* *ndoj* *to*
3SG ARG NEX Q
'is he not there?' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

(395) *j'* *e* *ndoj* *tok/o*
3SG ARG NEX GROUND/REASON
'he is not there, so …' (Drabbe 1959:125a)

For the use of *ndoj* in the text corpus, consider (389) and (396). In (389), the father has just climbed into the tree to get the marsupial that he thinks has been shot. He has discovered that it was not his marsupial, but scrapings of a bow, and says that it could only have been his son who has deceived him, because 'there are no other people here'. The sentence in (389) follows a sentence describing how the old woman has been swallowed by a snake. When her grandchildren come to visit her, they see that she is not there:

(396) *ja* *magom-ŋguj* *mindi-r-in* *a*
3SG.POSS grandchild-PL come_II-RLS-N1PL SEQ

*etaga-r-in* *de* *rambari* *e* *ndoj*
see-RLS-N1PL CON old.woman ARG NEX
'when her grandchildren came, they saw that the old woman was not there' (10.12)

The formative *ndoj* may be followed by the auxiliary verb *ke* 'be', as in the following examples. In (397), the father, having climbed up the tree, discovers that his marsupial is not there.

(397) *Ndoj* *ke-t* *te* *mari* *mbage-t* *te.*
NEX be-RLS[N1SG] CON come.down sit_II-RLS[N1SG] AFFMT
'It was not there, so he came down and stayed.' (2.05)

Example (398) below forms the closing formula of a narrative.

(398) *Ndoj* *ke-r-an.*
NEX be-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'There is no more.' (5.25)

## 4.5.2 Prohibitives[29]

Prohibitives are formed by suffixation of a verb stem with *-tit* for singular subjects and suffixation of a plural imperative stem with *ti-r-an* for plural subjects, see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.2. In addition to these dedicated prohibitive verb forms, YW may use the imperative form of *ajukmo* 'not want': *ajuknok* for singular, *ajuknogonin* for plural (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1). These may be combined with a nominalised verb in *-nop*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.1. Consider (399).

(399) *raga-now* *ajuknok* // *raga-now* *ajuknogo-nin*
say-NMLZ not.want.IMP say-NMLZ not.want.IMP-PL
'don't say it!' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

*Ajuknok* and *ajuknogonin* may also be used without a complement, and are used as a general warning not to do something: 'don't do that!' *Ajuk* may also be used as a prohibitive particle on its own. It is synonymous with another particle, *amop*, and comparable in function to local Malay *jangan*.[30] This can be observed in (400).

(400) *ewow* *ajuk* // *ewow* *amop*
like.that not.want like.that PROH
'not like that, not in that way!' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

29 Drabbe 1959: Section 61, pp. 131a–b.
30 'The imperative forms of *ajukmo* express our "stop!" or "don't!", comparable to Malay *jangan*.' (Drabbe 1959:141a).

## 4.5.3 Negative optatives[31]

Drabbe writes that 'an actual negative optative does not exist'. There is, in other words, no conventionalised form for the expression of negative optatives. Nevertheless, Drabbe mentions three 'constructions' which may receive a negative optative interpretation. First, speakers may use the verb *kojapmo* as in (401) through (403).

(401) *kojapmo* *jajun* *jaŋgi-jip*

lie ill fall_II-1SG.FUT

'may I not get ill' (lit. 'may I lie and get ill' ? 'may I lie if (I say that) I get ill'[32]; Drabbe 1959:140b)

(402) *kojapmo* *ka-n-in*

lie go.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT

'may he not go away' (lit. 'may he lie and go away' ? 'may he lie if he (says that he) goes away'; Drabbe 1959:140b)

(403) *kojapmo* *n'* *i-n-in*

lie 1SG hit_II-NI[SG]-FUT

'may he not hit me' (lit. 'may he lie and hit me' ? 'may he lie if he (says that he) hits me'; Drabbe 1959:140b)

Speakers may also use *emon dok* 'do thus', as in (404) through (406), which differ minimally from (401) through (403).

(404) *emo-n* *dok* *jajun* *jaŋgi-jip*

do.thus-VN GROUND ill fall_II-1SG.FUT

'may I not get ill' (lit. '(if) it were the case I will get ill'; Drabbe 1959:140b)

(405) *emo-n* *dok* *ka-n-in*

do.thus-VN GROUND go.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT

'may he not go away' (lit. '(if) it were the case he will go'; Drabbe 1959:140b)

31 Drabbe 1959: Section 95, pp. 140–141.

32 The suggested semantic structures in (401)–(406) are mine, not Drabbe's.

(406) *emo-n* *dok* *n'* *i-n-in*
do.thus-VN GROUND 1SG hit_II-NI[SG]-FUT
'may he not hit me' (lit. '(if) it were the case he will hit me'; Drabbe 1959:140b)

Finally, speakers may make use of a negative prohibitive marker *ojip*, often used 'after the nominal part of a verbal expression', according to Drabbe. Drabbe gives the four examples in (407)–(410).

(407) *jajun* *ojip* *jaŋgi-jip*
ill NOP fall_II-1SG.FUT
'may I not get ill' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

(408) *nuw* *e* *mbom* *ojiw* *oro-n-in*
1SG ARG wound NOP put-NI[SG]-FUT
'may I not get wounds' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

(409) *nuw* *e* *ŋgin* *otem* *ojiw* *oro-n-in*
1SG ARG head pain NOP put-NI[SG]-FUT
'may I not get a headache' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

(410) *ŋgu* *menkok* *ojiw* *oro-n-in*
2SG hunger NOP put-NI[SG]-FUT
'may you not get hungry' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

Drabbe points out that all three constructions may function as 'purposive' clauses. By this he means that they may combine with a clause that expresses the event that should serve to avoid the situation expressed by the negative optative. This clause may either follow the negative optative clause, as in (411) and (412), or precede it, as in (413) through (416).

(411) *emo-n* *dok /* *kojapmo*[33] *kimo-jip* *nu* *keret-nok*
do.thus-VN GROUND lie die_II-1SG.FUT 1SG treat-IMP
'treat me so that I will not die/lest I die' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

33 Here, as in (412) through (416), *emo-n dok* can be used instead of *kojapmo*.

(412) *emo-n* *dok /* *kojapmo* *oro* *ka-n-in* *dok*
do.thus-VN GROUND lie put[34] go.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT GROUND

*nandap*
take.IMP
'grasp him so that he will not go away/lest he goes away'
(Drabbe 1959:141a)

Example (413) below differs from (411) only in the order of the purposive clause and the 'avoidance clause', and has an identical meaning.

(413) *nu* *keret-nok* *kojapmo* *kimo-jip*
1SG treat-IMP lie die_II-1SG.FUT
'treat me so that I will not die/lest I die' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

Also in (414) through (417) the avoidance clause precedes the negative optative.

(414) *mun* *ewe* *i-tit,* *kojapmo* *kimo-n-in*
boy THAT hit_II-PROH lie die_II-NI[SG]-FUT
'do not hit that boy, lest he dies' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

(415) *Sorong* *ka-now* *ajukma-r-ep* *kojapmo* *kimo-jip*
Sorong go.IRR-NMLZ not.want-RLS-1SG lie die_II-1SG.FUT
'I do not want to go to Sorong, lest I die' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

(416) *ŋgirimo* *ka-jip* *kojapmo* *polisi* *nu*
flight go.IRR-1SG.FUT lie police 1SG

*rawo-n-an-in*
take_II-NI-PL-FUT
'I will flee, lest the police catch me' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

(417) *ndun* *ande-p* *menkok* *ojip* *ki-n-in*
sago eat_II-1SG hunger NOP be-NI[SG]-FUT
'I will eat sago lest I get hungry' (Drabbe 1959:141a)

34 Meaning of *oro* 'put' is not entirely clear here.

# 4.6 Questions[35]

## 4.6.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are formed by means of a question particle *to(n)*—or *do(n)* when following a nasal—at the end of a sentence. As set out in Section 4.3.2.2 above, *to~do* may be analysed as an interrogative copula in nominal, adjectival and numeral clauses. In verbal clauses, however, it functions simply as a marker of sentence type. This is also the case in (363), where it follows an affirmative nominal clause, and turns this affirmation into a question. Interrogative nominal clauses were given in (358) through (362) (in Section 4.3.2 on interrogative copulas). Examples (418) and (419) below exemplify the use of *to* in an adjectival and a numeral clause.

(418) *juw* *e* *katoni* *to*
3SG ARG ignorant Q
'is he ignorant?' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

(419) *irumon* *do*
two Q
'are there two of them?' (lit. 'is it: two?') (Drabbe 1959:124b)

Examples (420) through (425), finally, show *to* following a verbal clause.

(420) *kinum* *jaŋ-gen* *do*
asleep lie-RLS[N1SG] Q
'is he asleep?' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(421) *konoj* *tami-r-in-an* *do*
canoe make.canoe-RLS-N1PL-PST Q
'have they made a canoe?' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(422) *ka-n-an-in* *do*
go.IRR-N1-PL-FUT Q
'will they go?' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

35 Drabbe 1959: Section 17, p. 9.

(423) *ka-p* *to*
go.IRR-1SG Q
'may I go?' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(424) *ka-w-an* *do*
go.IRR-1-PL Q
'may we go?', 'shall we go?' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(425) *ka-n* *do*
go.IRR-NI[SG] Q
'may he go', 'must he go?' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

Drabbe adds that the marker *kare*, which I tentatively gloss as 'TRUE',[36] may be used at the beginning of the interrogative clause to add an element of uncertainty. The combination of *to* and *kare* serves, in other words, a modal function. Drabbe gives the examples in (426) through (428).

(426) *kare* *me-gen* *do*
true come-RLS[NISG] Q
'he may have come' (Drabbe 1959:145b)

(427) *kare* *ragae* *ten* *do*
TRUE come-RLS[NISG] AFFMT Q
'it's probably fish' (Drabbe 1959:145b)

(428) *kare* *rogo-ken-ep* *ten* *do*
TRUE say-RLS-1SG AFFMT Q
'I may have said so' (Drabbe 1959:145b)

## 4.6.2 Information questions

Information questions contain one of the interrogative pronouns *agap* 'who', *agaeop* 'what' or *oŋgene* 'where', and either one of the verbs derived from them, *agawe* 'be who', *agaeowe* 'be what', *agaepmo* 'do what' or *oŋgenemo* 'be where', or the adjective *oŋgenewop* 'what kind of'. Examples of information

36 In an affirmative clause, the form *kare* may be used preceding a future irrealis clause in *-in*, as in *kare mando-n-in* [TRUE come.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT] 'he will come'—which is the only example that Drabbe gives. While Drabbe's designation of *kare* as a future marker is not very helpful (because the clause is also necessarily referring to the future without the marker), it is clear that the form *kare* in itself does not express doubt.

questions are given in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.6. Information questions may be followed by the information question particle *kuji* 'IQ', as in the following three examples.

(429) *agaeop* *te* *kuji*
what AFFMT IQ
'what is it' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(430) *oŋgene* *mba-gen* *kuji*
where SIT-RLS[N1SG] IQ
'where is he?' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

(431) *agam* *ŋga* *rap-ken* *kuji*
who AG take-RLS[N1SG] IQ
'who has taken it?' (Drabbe 1959:140a)

# 5

# Clause combinations

## 5.1 Sentences as combinations of clauses or clause chains

In my use of the terms 'sentences', 'clauses' and 'clause chains', I follow the practice adopted in my description of Aghu (Van den Heuvel 2016), represented in Figure 25. Because we do not have access to the spoken text that formed the basis for the written version, the terminology is necessarily based on Drabbe's orthographical conventions: his use of diacritic signs forms the basis of the definition of the sentence adopted here. Although we may assume that full stops, commas and semicolons generally correspond to the presence of pauses in the spoken text, we have no information about the intonational patterns going along with these pauses, and neither do we know what motivated Drabbe's choice between a full stop, a comma or a semicolon.

A sentence is demarcated by a capital at the beginning and a full stop at the end. It comprises minimally one clause, but sentences often contain more than one clause, which in turn may form clause chains. Within a clause chain, clauses are not separated by pauses, whereas other sequences of clauses (and sequences of clause chains) are.

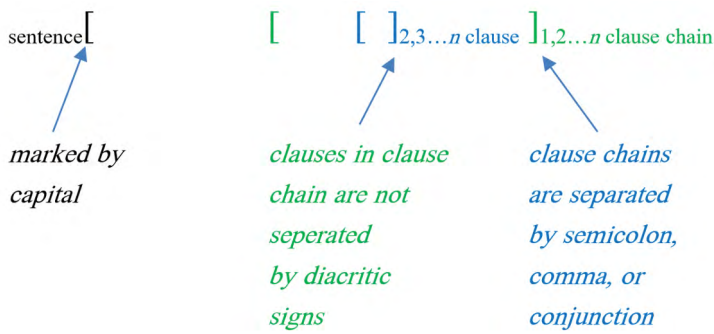



**Figure 25: Sentences with more than one clause or clause chain.**

## 5.2 Clause chaining and switch reference

De Vries (2010) describes how Awyu–Dumut languages have 'emergent' switch reference systems.[1] In all Awyu–Dumut languages, uninflected verb forms are used exclusively in same-subject (ss) conditions. Semi-inflected and fully inflected verbs, on the other hand, are more or less strongly associated with different subject conditions. In this section, I argue that this association in Yonggom Wambon (YW) is weak, if it exists at all. I will, therefore, not refer to the YW reference system as a switch reference system, but refer to it by the more neutral term 'reference tracking system'.

As in the other Awyu–Dumut languages, medial forms are used exclusively in same-subject conditions.[2] This holds for the bare verb forms, for medial verbs in *-ro* and medial verbs in *-no*, as previously described in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1. In the following sentence (which was also cited in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2, on durative aspect), we find all three types, printed in bold. *Taramo* is a bare verb form, *me-ro* is a form in *-ro*, while *tare-no* in (432) has the ss simultaneity marker *-no*.

1 De Vries (2020:112) adds that it is better not to assume directionality towards clause chaining, but also a movement away from it, due to contacts with speakers of languages in the southern plains completely lacking clause chaining.

2 However, when a clause is followed by a clause with a non-topical subject, or a subject of low topicality, the switch reference system is 'switched off'. Following a general pattern in Greater Awyu languages, the first clause ends in a 'false' ss-form (De Vries 2020:114, 50). Two examples in the corpus are Texts 12.09 and 4.24.

(432) *Ja* *nan* *e* *kanut* ***tare-no*** *mbage-t*
3SG.POSS younger.brother ARG arrow scrape_II-SS.SIM sit_II-RLS[N1SG]

*ku-r* *a* *mitik* *ke-t …*
go-RLS[N1SG] SEQ night be-RLS[N1SG]

*Matiram* *ŋga* ***me-ro*** ***taramo*** *mbitip* *turu-r-an.*
Matiram AG come-SS lead house go.up-RLS[N1SG]-PST

'The younger brother was making an arrow, and was busy with that until it became night and Matiram came and lead him up into the house.' (7.06)

Drabbe explains that SS forms are also used when the subject of the second verb includes the subject of the first verb, as in (433).[3]

(433) *juw* *e* *me-ro* *mbitip* *ti-gin-in*
3SG.EMPH ARG come-SS house twine-RLS-N1PL

'he came and built a house together with the others' (Drabbe 1959:132b)

Semi-inflected and fully inflected forms, on the other hand, may occur both in SS and different subject (DS) conditions.[4] Consider (434), which describes how the main participant of the narrative turns a *nibung* bark filled with animals upside down, so that the animals come out. The semi-inflected form *turut* is followed by a semi-inflected *ratokmat* with the same subject; this verb, in turn, is followed by *majat*, with the animals as the implied other subject.

3 Drabbe compares (433) to (a) here, in which the person coming, who is the subject of the first clause, does not join the builders, the subject of the second clause. However, although it is certainly true that (433) only allows for an inclusive subject interpretation (second subject includes the first), I would not expect that (i) **categorically** disallows for such a reading; this will probably depend on the context. I think so because—as I will show—(semi-)inflected verbs are frequently used in SS-conditions.

(a) *juw* *e* *me-gen* *te* *mbitip* *ti-gin-in*
3SG.EMP ARG come-RLS[N1SG] CON house twine-RLS-N1PL
'he came and others built a house' (Drabbe 1959:132b)

4 According to De Vries (2020:112), the association between the (semi-)finiteness of the verb and different subject conditions is strong. This is, however, not confirmed by the data in the text corpus. The corpus has around 100 medial semi-inflected (or semi-finite) forms, of which over 50 per cent are used in SS conditions. Fully inflected medial forms are rare: the text corpus has three examples of medial past forms vs over 50 clause-chain-final past forms, and one medial future form vs nine final future forms.

| (434) | ***Turu-t*** | *te* | *kurun* | *e* | ***ratokma-t*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | go.up-RLS[N1SG] | CON | nibung.bark | ARG | turn.over-RLS[N1SG] |

*maja-t.*
come.down_II-RLS[N1SG]
'He went up and turned the *nibung* bark upside down so that the animals came down.' (6.13)

Another clause chain with semi-inflected forms in both SS and DS conditions is presented in (435): semi-inflected *mindirin* is followed by *turumarin* with the same subject, which in turn is followed by *riraran* with a different subject.

| (435) | *mindi-r-in* | *a* | *turuma-r-in* | *de* | *ogirit* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | come_II-RLS-N1PL | SEQ | shoot.ITER-RLS-N1PL | and | waterfall |

*rira-r-an*
go.down_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'they came and shot the snake and it fell down in the waterfall' (10.15)

In (435), the verb *mindirin* is followed by a sequential marker *a*. This is noteworthy because this holds for over 80 per cent of the semi-inflected verbs whose following verb has the same subject. In other words, for 80 per cent of the semi-inflected verbs with subject continuity, the following event is marked as subsequent. This is in line with Ruth Wester's observation that 'the first condition in which semi-finites [in this publication: semi-inflected forms] with a same subject may follow each other is when they express sequential actions' (Wester 2014:182). In fact, all the examples in the text corpus answer this condition. This means that, if we restrict ourselves to semi-inflected forms in clause chains, in YW subsequent semi-inflected verbs with the same subject are attested exclusively with verbs that express sequential actions.[5]

The occurrence of a series of semi-inflected verbs in the text corpus clearly shows that the association between semi-inflectedness and having a different subject is context-dependent. However, if we follow Drabbe's grammatical

5 According to Wester, there is a second condition in which semi-finite forms (in this publication: semi-inflected forms) with same subject may occur, namely when the second semi-finite verb occurs in an independent clause that further specifies the clause in which the first semi-finite verb occurs (Wester 2014:179f). These cases fall outside the scope of this section, because these clauses are separated by an intonational break. This means that they do not form a clause chain, and are not subject to the principles of switch reference.

description, there seems to be a construction where the association between semi-inflectedness and DS conditions may have hardened into a grammatical rule. I mention this construction here, with the caveat that we have no data to test whether this 'rule' is more than a 'strong frequency association'. The construction is formed by a semi-inflected verb, followed by the sequency marker *a*, followed by medial or semi-inflected *mbumo* 'stop', followed by another semi-inflected or fully inflected form. Drabbe seems to state that in case *mbumo* is inflected, the subject of the subsequent semi-inflected form must be different, whereas this is, of course, not the case if the medial SS-form *mbumo(ro)* is used. This is visualised in Figure 26, and illustrated in (436) and (437).

$V_{semifin.}$ + *a* 'SEQ' + [*mbumo*-infl]$_{semi\text{-}infl.}$ + *te* / *ŋga* + $V_{(semi)fin.}$ → different S

$V_{semifin.}$ + *a* 'SEQ' + [*mbumo(-ro)*]$_{medial}$ + *te* + $V_{(semi)fin}$ → same S

**Figure 26: Clause chains with verb *mbumo* implying DS or SS.**

Examples (436a) and (437) contain some of the examples given by Drabbe to illustrate the contrast.[6]

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (436a) | *Ande-r* | *a* | *mbumo(-ro)* | *te* | *me-gen* |
| | eat_II-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | stop(-SS) | CON | come-RLS[NISG] |
| | 'he ate and then came' (Drabbe 1959:136a) | | | | |
| (436b) | *Ande-r* | *a* | *mbumo-gen* | *te* | *me-gen-ep* |
| | eat_II-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | stop-RLS[NISG] | CON | come-RLS-ISG |
| | 'he ate and then I came' (Drabbe 1959:136a) | | | | |
| (437a) | *Ande-n* | *a* | *mbumo(-ro)* | *te* | *ka-n-in* |
| | eat_II-NI[SG] | SEQ | stop(-SS) | CON | go.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT |
| | 'he will eat and then go' (Drabbe 1959:136b) | | | | |
| (437b) | *Ande-n* | *a* | *mbumo-n* | *ŋga* | *ka-jip* |
| | eat_II-NI[SG] | SEQ | stop-NI[SG] | CIRC | go-ISG.FUT |
| | 'he will eat and then I will come' (Drabbe 1959:136b) | | | | |

6 Unfortunately, Drabbe provides no minimal pairs with semi-inflected *mbumogen* vs *mbumoro* **disambiguating** between a same-subject or a different-subject reading, as would be the case in the following sentence, made up by me.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ande-r* | *a* | *mbumo-gen/mbumo-ro* | *te* | *me-gen* |
| eat_II-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | stop-RLS[NISG]/ stop-SS | and | come-RLS[NISG] |

'(s)he ate and came/(s)he$_i$ ate and (s)he$_j$ came'

According to Drabbe's description, in the different subject constructions, *ŋga* is used with (semi-)inflected irrealis forms, while *te* is used with (semi-) inflected realis forms, which is clear from the difference between *mbumogen te* in (436b) and *mbumon ŋga* in (437b).

Summarising, we may state that medial verbs occur in SS conditions, which may or may not be subsequent. Semi-inflected verbs and fully inflected verbs, on the other hand, may occur both in DS and SS conditions. However, same-subject semi-inflected verbs are used only for subsequent events.

## 5.3 Conjunctions conjoining clauses

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, the postpositions *ŋga* and *e* are related to the clausal conjunctions *ŋga* and *e*. This section discusses the function of these and other clausal conjunctions.

### 5.3.1 *ŋga*: Hybrid between chaining and subordination[7]

Following De Vries (2020), I consider clauses followed by *ŋga* to be hybrids of chaining and subordinate linkage. Prototypical chained clauses are coordinate clauses, presenting 'online' events that are linked to the (events designated by the) following clause by means of the reference tracking system previously described in Section 5.2. Subordinate clauses, on the other hand, present 'offline' events, and the reference tracking system is switched off. The clauses under discussion here form a hybrid in that they present offline events, while the reference tracking system is not switched off. In the words of De Vries, in such clauses the speaker wants to go offline in terms of the event line, but wants to stay online in terms of the participant line. That the reference tracking system is not switched off is clear from examples like (442) and (443), where the subordinate clauses are headed by medial verbs, which are chained with the verb of the following clause.

According to Drabbe, the conjunction *ŋga* is used after clauses to emphasise the simultaneity of the two events. It is functionally closely related to the circumstantial postposition *ŋga*. In the words of Drabbe:

7 Drabbe 1959: Section 70, pp. 134a–b.

> Just like the postposition *ŋga* forms a temporal expression in combination with the noun that it follows, as a postposition following a preclause it makes this preclause into a temporal clause. (Drabbe 1959:144a)

He compares the following two clauses:

(438)

| *mitik* | *ke-n* | *ŋga* | *ka-jip* |
|---|---|---|---|
| night | be-RLS[N1SG] | CIRC | go.IRR-1SG.FUT |

'when it becomes night I will go' (Drabbe 1959:144a)

(439)

| *mitik* | *ŋga* | *ku-r-an* |
|---|---|---|
| night | CIRC | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

'he went at night' (Drabbe 1959:144a)

To illustrate the difference between offline and online events, we might add the following sentence, where the fact that it is getting night is framed as an online event:

(440)

| *mitik* | *ke-t* | *te,* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| night | be-RLS[N1SG] | CON | |
| *ran* | *e* | *kinum* | *ja-r-an* |
| woman | ARG | sleep | lie_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

'it became night and the woman lay down to sleep' (Drabbe 1959:144a)

Conditional clauses, described in more detail in Section 5.5, are a special subtype of circumstantial clauses, and are also marked by the use of *ŋga*. Note the similarity between (438) and (441).

(441)

| *randuj* | *o* | *ŋguw* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|
| daughter | VOC | 2SG | ARG |
| *mitik* | *ke-t* | *ki-n-in* | *ŋga …* |
| night | be-RLS[N1SG] | be-N1[SG]-FUT | CIRC |

'O, daughter, if it becomes night and …' (4.17)

While (441) forms the only case of clausal *ŋga* in the text corpus, Drabbe's grammatical introduction presents a number of other cases. If we follow his description, the first thing to be noted is that clauses with the same subject are treated differently from different-subject clauses. Second, within

the latter category, past events seem to have a different status than future events. When *ŋga* is used in combination with ss clauses, it directly follows the medial ss form, which is marked by *-ro*.[8]

(442) *ndun* *ri-no* *mbage-ro* *ŋga* *eto-gon-ep* *te*
sago chop-SS.SIM sit_II-SS CIRC see-RLS-1SG CON
*mende-r-an*
come-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'while I was preparing sago, I saw him coming' (Drabbe 1959:134a)

(443) *endom* *etogo-ro* *ŋga* *raŋgandi-jip*
enemy see_II-SS CIRC shout_II-1SG.FUT
'when I see the enemy, I will give a cry' (Drabbe 1959:134a)

In combination with DS-clauses, we can observe a difference between clauses describing past events and those describing future events: clauses describing past events are first nominalised by the use of a secondary demonstrative *ewe* 'THAT' (Chapter 3, Section 3.2.5) and then followed by *ŋga*, while clauses describing future events are directly followed by *ŋga*. This can be seen in (444) and (445), which describe past events, and (438) plus (446),[9] which describe future events.[10]

(444) *iŋ-gin-in* *ewe* *ŋga* *ut-ken-ep*
eat-RLS-N1PL THAT CIRC go.in-RLS-1SG
'I went in while they were eating' (Drabbe 1959:134a)

(445) *ande-r-ew-an-an* *ewe* *ŋga* *mota-r-an*
eat_II-RLS-1-PL-PST THAT CIRC go.in/out_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'he came in while we were eating' (Drabbe 1959:134a)

8 In his description of simultaneous clauses, which is where these examples are mentioned, Drabbe does not write anything about ss clauses headed by bare verb forms that not marked by *-ro*.

9 Drabbe compares semi-inflected (446), which he translates with a temporal clause, with the following fully inflected future clause, which he translates as a conditional clause.
*mirim* *ŋgande-n-in* *e* *ka-jip*
rain break-N1[SG]-FUT CON go.IRR-1SG.FUT
'If the rain stops, I will go' (Drabbe 1959:134a)

10 De Vries points out that YW is exceptional compared to the other Greater Awyu languages in that it can mark the same peripheral argument both for its semantic role and its pragmatic role. According to De Vries, *ewe* marks the pragmatic function of the clause as thematic background, while *ŋga* marks its semantic function as circumstantial (De Vries 2020:39).

(446) *mirim* *ŋgande-n* *ŋga* *ka-jip*
rain break-RLS[N1SG] CIRC go.IRR-1SG.FUT
'when the rain stops, I will go' (Drabbe 1959:134a)

Whereas clauses describing future events are generally directly followed by *ŋga*, without the use of *ewe* (analogous to ss non-future (442) and (443)), Drabbe points to one exception, formed by clauses in *-op*, exemplified in (447). More on nominalised forms in *-op* can be found in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.1.

(447) *ande-n-an-in-ow* *ewe* *ŋga* oto-jip
eat_II-N1-PL-FUT-NMLZ THAT CIRC go.in_II-1SG.FUT
'I will go in while they are eating' (Drabbe 1959:134b)

According to Drabbe, *ŋga* is also optionally used following a sequential marker *a* (see Section 5.3.3) if the two clauses express subsequent events in the future and have the same subject. He presents the paradigm illustrated in Figure 27.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *sopuk* | *rawo-w* take_II-1[SG] | *a* SEQ | *(ŋga)* CIRC | *ka-jip* go.IRR-1SG.FUT |
| | *rawo-n* take_II-N1[SG] | | | *ka-n-in* go.IRR-N1[SG]-FUT |
| | *rawo-w-an* take_II-1-PL | | | *ka-w-an-in* go.IRR-1-PL-FUT |
| | *rawo-n-an* take_II-N1-PL | | | *ka-n-an-in* go.IRR-N1-PL-FUT |

'After I have hit (him), I will go',
'After you have hit (him / …), you will go' etc.

**Figure 27: Same-subject sequential future events.**

## 5.3.2 *e*: Subordinate[11]

Clauses followed by *e* are subordinate clauses (cf. De Vries 2020:115). Usually, they are intonationally integrated with the following clause, in which case they function as a peripheral argument of this following, superordinate clause. The corpus also contains examples, however, where the clause in *e* is intonationally separated from the following clause, in which case the clause forms an extra-clausal theme (e.g. in (452)). Drabbe states that the conjunction *e* is used in the following contexts.

11 Drabbe 1959: Section 106, p. 142a; Section 109, p. 143b.

i. It is obligatory in counterfactual conditional clauses.
ii. It is obligatory in a subtype of simple conditional clauses.
iii. In other cases, it is optional.

The first use is discussed in Section 5.5.2, where it is shown that counterfactuals are marked by clause-final *ŋgaŋguj e*. According to Drabbe, one also needs to use a conjunction *e* for conditions holding in the future (expressed by a future verb in the conditional clause) and in the present (expressed by a semi-inflected realis in the conditional clause), unless one uses the conditional construction with *ket kinin ŋga*, explained in Section 5.4. He gives the three examples in (448)–(450).

(448) *mando-n-in* *e* *rogo-jip*
come.IRR-NI[SG]-FUT SR say-1SG.FUT
'if he comes, I will tell' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

(449) *jajun* *jaŋge-jiw* *e* *ko-nok* *mo-ti-p*
ill lie_II-1SG.FUT SR go-VN.NEG do-FUT.NEG-1SG
'if I get ill, I will not go' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

(450) *awoŋ* *rap-kin-in* *e* *ko-nok* *mo-ti-p*
work take-RLS-NIPL SR go-VN.NEG do-FUT.NEG-1SG
'if they are at work (at the moment), I will not go' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

Elsewhere, he contrasts a temporal clause in *ŋga* with a conditional clause in *e* (cf. footnote 9). Drabbe gives only one example of an optional *e*, where it is, according to Drabbe, 'a more or less pure conjunction':

(451) *eto-gen* *(e)* *mi-gin-in*
see-RLS[NISG] SR come-RLS-NIPL
'he saw them come' (lit. 'he saw and they came'; Drabbe 1959:143b)

The text corpus has four instances of clausal *e*, listed here as (452) through (455). It is, of course, impossible to check whether the use of *e* is optional. It might be noteworthy that in all four cases *e* seems to mark a temporal clause.

(452) *Kuk* *ti-r-in* *a* *mbumo,* *mitik* *ke-r-an*
fence twine-RLS-NIPL SEQ finish night be-RLS[NISG]-PST

| *e,* | *tik* | *ra* | *me-ro* | *wir* | *atiga-t* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SR | rattan | take | come-SS | arm | bind-RLS[N1SG] |

'They finished building the fence, and when night came, he [the father] took a rattan rope and tied it to [his] arm.' (4.15)

The following three sentences are all from the same text, where (453) and (454) are subsequent clauses.

(453)

| *Mirip* | *kup* | *maja-r-an* | *e,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| rain | with | come.down_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST | SR |

| *kigip* | *ko* | *ti-r-an.* |
|---|---|---|
| other | go | twine-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

'When it rained she came down and built another one.' (11.02)

(454)

| *Andan* | *ja-r-an* | *e* | *arimu-r-an* |
|---|---|---|---|
| drought | lie_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST | SR | do.for.two.days-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

'There was a drought for two days.' (11.03)

An interesting case is the following, where *e* does not follow an inflected verb, but a nominalised form in *-op*.

(455)

| *Kinum* | *ja-ni-op* | *e* |
|---|---|---|
| sleep | lie_II-INT-NMLZ | SR |

| *ŋgom* | *kup* | *ri-ro* | *jajawukmo* |
|---|---|---|---|
| singing | with | go.down-SS | lie.ITER |

'When she lay down to sleep, she was always singing.' (11.08)

## 5.3.3 *a*: Sequential[12]

Both functionally and distributionally, *a* differs from the conjunctions *ŋga* and *e*. The primary function of *a* is to express that the event designated by the following clause is subsequent to the event expressed by the verb to which *a* is cliticised.[13] In this respect, *a* differs from *ŋga* and *e* discussed

12 Drabbe 1959: Section 72, pp. 134b–135a.

13 De Vries remarks that 'it could very well be that the grammatical meaning of *a* is further "bleached" and *a* is developing into a more generic conjoining conjunction', pointing to 4.40 (De Vries 2020:243). Although he may be right, in the great majority of cases the events separated by *a* are clearly sequential, and most of the putative exceptions can be explained; see, for example, the notes at 1.02 and 10.08.

previously, whose function is primarily pragmatic, presenting the first clause as a setting for the following. The difference in function correlates with a difference in distribution. While *e* and *ŋga* seem to be mutually exclusive, and cannot be used in combination with *te*, *a* may be followed by either *ŋga* or *te*, as in (456) (repeated from Figure 27) and (457). Unlike *ŋga* and *te*, *a* always directly follows the verb.

(456)

| *sopuk* | *rawo-w* | *a* | *ŋga* | *ka-jip* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ?beating | take_II-1SG | SEQ | CIRC | go.IRR-1SG.FUT |

'after I have given him a beating, I will go home'

(457)

| *Ku-r* | *a* | *te* | *oto-p* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| go-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | CON | go.in/out_II-1SG | say |

| *te* | *jaju* | *ke-t.* |
|---|---|---|
| CON | impossible | be-RLS[N1SG] |

'He went and wanted to go through the gate and it was impossible.' (4.24)

Compared to the conjunctions *ŋga* and *e*, the conjunction *a* is used rather frequently, with over 50 attestations in the text corpus. A number of these attestations are presented in (458) through (461).

(458)

| *Matiram* | *e* | *mbitip* | *turu-ro* | *irow* | *unda-r* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Matiram | ARG | house | go.up-SS | stone | burn-RLS [N1SG] | SEQ |

| *mun* | *ewe* | *ahappiri* | *reget* |
|---|---|---|---|
| boy | THAT | door | stand-RLS[N1SG] |

'Matiram went up into the house and heated a stone, and the younger brother came to stand at the door' (7.08)

(459)

| *Aŋgae* | *e* | *ok* | *kima-r* | *a* | *Kowet* | *mogot* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dog | ARG | river | swim-RLS [N1SG] | SEQ | Kowet | mouth |

| *maturu* | *mba-gen* |
|---|---|
| come.up | sit-RLS[N1SG] |

'The dog swam to the mouth of the Kowet river and came up out of the water and stayed there.' (1.15)

(460)

| … *wamkarok* | *kurugut* | *atigo-ro* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| … kind.of.tree | upper.part | bind-ss | | |
| *Wambon* | *ku-r* | *a* | *mende-r-an* | |
| Wambon | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | come_II-RLS[NISG]-PST | |
| *Sagit* | *ku-r* | *a* | *mende-r-an* | |
| Sagit | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | come_II-RLS[NISG]-PST | |
| *Kambom* | *ku-r* | *a* | *mende-r-an* | |
| Kambom | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | come_II-RLS[NISG]-PST | |

'… he bound (the other end) up in a *wamkarok* tree and swung to the area of the Wambons and back, to area of the Sagits and back, to the area of the Kamboms and back …,' (5.12)

Finally, (461) expresses an ongoing dancing by different actors, framed as a dancing followed by dancing followed by dancing:

(461)

| *Ema-t* | *te* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | and | | | |
| *enop* | *ketmom* | *uru-r* | *a* | *uru-t* |
| tree | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |
| *kagup* | *ketmom* | *uru-r* | *a* | *uru-t* |
| tree | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |
| *uj.amun* | *ketmom* | *uru-r* | *a* | *uru-t …* |
| animal | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |

'Trees, people, small and big land animals … were dancing and dancing and dancing …' (12.02)

According to Drabbe, there is a slight difference in meaning between the use or non-use of *te* following *a*. First, he writes that the use of *te* stresses the anteriority of the first event. Second—and in line with Drabbe's first remark—if the first clause has a semi-inflected form, and the second clause has the same subject as the first, *te* is not easily left out. This is in line with Wester's observation that two subsequent semi-inflected forms may have the

same subject if one event is fully completed before the next event (Wester 2014:174; see also Section 5.2). Thus, in an example like (462), with two semi-inflected realis forms, *te* 'is not so easily left out' (Drabbe 1959:134b):

(462) *mbari* *ke-r-ew* *a* *te* *me-gen-ep*
adult be-RLS-1SG SEQ CON come-RLS-1SG
'after I had become an adult, I came here' (Drabbe 1959:134b)

In line with this, when illustrating the use of *a* with sequences of irrealis semi-inflected forms, Drabbe only gives a paradigm of example sentences where *te* is included. One of these sentences is given in (463). According to Drabbe, sentences like these, with irrealis semi-inflected verbs, have an adhortative reading.

(463) *and-ew* *a* *te* *ka-p*
eat_II-1SG SEQ CON go.IRR-1SG
'let me first eat and then go' (Drabbe 1959:135a)

Finally, (464) is an illustration of two subsequent imperative clauses (which share the same subject almost by definition).

(464) *nan* *a* *te* *nagap*
eat.IMP SEQ CON go.IMP
'first eat and then go' (Drabbe 1959:135a)

### 5.3.4 *te~de*: 'Neutral' coordination

The conjunction *te* may have developed out of the affirmative marker *te* in focus constructions as described in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.3, or out of the use of (affirmative) *te* in noun coordination (De Vries 2020:99–101). As a conjunction, the affirmative function has been lost; *te* functions solely as a syntactic conjunction, connecting clauses within a clause chain. Unlike *e* above and *tok* below, it leaves the reference tracking system intact. Thus, it may connect both medial and (semi)-inflected verbs to a following clause. There is, according to Drabbe, no semantic difference between the clauses with and without *te*. Illustrations of the use of *te* were given in (4)–(6), and (17)–(18) previously; to these can be added numerous other examples from the texts, such as 1.02, 7.05, 10.04 and 12.09. For other functions of *te* of see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.

### 5.3.5 *tok ~dok*: GROUND[14]

Clauses in *tok* (*dok* after nasals) are independent clauses: they may stand on their own, and seem not to be part of the reference tracking system of preceding or following clauses. There are no examples, neither in Drabbe's description, nor in the text corpus, of clauses in *tok* headed by same-subject verbs.

Drabbe describes *tok* as a 'predicative element', along with the copulas *te, tomba* and *to* (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2). *Tok*, like *te*, not only affirms the predication, but in my view also presents it as the 'cause, reason or ground' for another event. While this other event is often described in the following clause, this is not necessarily the case.

First consider (465), where we see *dok* used at the end of an independent clause that is marked as a quote. The story describes how each time the main participant had killed an animal and brought it (to his sister), it is said to him that 'your brother-in-law will come and kill you'. The quote is closed off with *dok*, to indicate that this is the ground or reason for another event. This other event is presented in the remainder of the sentence: out of fear for his brother-in-law, the main participant decides to eat on his own.

(465)

| *Kunow* | *i-t* | *te* | *ra* | *moto* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| marsupial | hit_II-RLS [N1SG] | CON | take | come.in/out_II | | |
| *ndun* | *o* | *nde-t* | | | | |
| sago | CON | say-RLS[N1SG] | | | | |
| *ŋgo* | *mbut* | *me* | *ŋg'* | *i-n-in* | | *dok* |
| 2SG.POSS | brother. in.law | come | 2SG | hit_II-N1[SG] -FUT | | GROUND |
| *nde-ro* | *ju* | *guw* | *eneni-op* | | *mo* | *mbage-t.* |
| say-SS | 3SG | self | eat.ITER-NMLZ | | do | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] |

Always when he had killed an animal and brought it in and asked for sago, his sister said: 'your brother-in-law will come and hit you', so he used to sit and eat alone.

(6.03)

14 Drabbe 1959: Section 36, p. 124b.

Two other examples of independent clauses in *tok* are the following, given by Drabbe out of context. The contextless nature of these clauses makes it hard to understand their function; the relation between the clause and the imaginary context can only be guessed at. The Dutch translation suggests that clauses like these are uttered to justify or explain other events.

(466) *na* *nati* *tok*
1SG.POSS father GROUND
'he is my father, so …' (Dutch: '*hij is immers mijn vader*'; Drabbe 1959:124b)

(467) *ndoj* *tok*
NEX GROUND
'this is not the case so …' (Dutch: '*nee immers*'; Drabbe 1959:124b)

In the following examples, the clauses in *tok* function as cause or ground for the clauses that follow.

(468) *mun* *mberon* *dok* *ko-nok* *motit*
boy small GROUND go-VN.NEG PROH[SG]
'it's a small boy, so he won't go' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

(469) *juw* *e* *onoŋnemo-gen* *dok* *wagae* *ke-gen-ep*
3SG.EMPH ARG make-RLS[N1SG] GROUND good be-RLS-1SG
'he made me get well' (Drabbe 1959:137a)

(470) *ndare-nok* *ma-r-ep* *tok* *mende-nok* *ke-r-ew-an*
hear_II-VN.NEG do-RLS-1SG GROUND come_II-VN.NEG be-RLS-1[SG]-PST
'I had not heard it, so I did not come' (Drabbe 1959:137a)

(471) *ragae* *e* *mbom* *ke-r-an* *dok*
fish ARG bad be-RLS[N1SG]-PST ground

*tereŋget* *mo-gen-ep*
shy do-RLS-1SG
'the fish is bad, so I don't want to eat it' (Drabbe 1959:137a)

(472)

| *naŋguw* | *e* | *ŋgorop* | *tok* |
|---|---|---|---|
| IPL.EMPH | ARG | knowing | GROUND |
| *matomop* | *tokmo-w-an-in* | | |
| story | cut-I-PL-FUT | | |

'we know [the story], therefore we will tell the story' (Drabbe 1959:124b)

In most of the cases attested in the corpus, the clause in *tok* is followed by another clause within the same sentence. In (473), we see how Naerop sees one of his father's marsupials. According to the narrator, seeing this marsupial is reason for Naerop to shoot it.

(473)

| *Naerop* | *ju* | *taep* | *me* | *etaga-t* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naerop | 3SG | also | come | see-RLS[NISG] | CON |
| *amun* | *mba-gen* | | *dok* | *taemba-t.* | |
| marsupial | sit-RLS[NISG] | | GROUND | shoot_II-RLS[NISG] | |

'Naerop one day also came and, when he saw one of his father's marsupials, he shot it.' (2.02)

Another illustration is given in (474). Here, the fact that the woman is thrown up by the crocodile is reason for the observers to bury her.

(474)

| *Rambari* | *mo* | *ragama-t* |
|---|---|---|
| old.woman | only | throw.up-RLS[NISG] |
| *maja-t* | *tok* | *saguma-r-in-an.* |
| come.down_II-RLS[NISG] | GROUND | bury-RLS-NIPL-PST |

'It threw up the old woman and she came down and they buried her.' (10.16)

The corpus contains two examples where *tok* is used as a postposition, presented here as (475) and (476). In (475), the fact that the speakers have a canoe forms the reason for their opening the gate, so that they can let it into the water. And in (476), it is because of sago that the grandchildren go out.

(475) *… kowandut* *mene* *naŋgo* *konoj* *tok*
now THIS 1PL.POSS canoe ground

*kuk* *ratokmo-w-an*
fence open-1-PL

'… now that we have a canoe [lit. because of our canoe], let us open the gate.' (4.30)

(476) *Ja* *magomŋguj* *ndun* *dok* *korin.*
3SG grandchildren sago GROUND go-RLS-N1PL

'Her grandchildren went out for sago.' (10.06)

Drabbe remarks that *tok* may be followed by *o*, 'which also expresses a reason', so that we find *na nati tog o* 'he is my father, so …' as an alternative for *na nati tok* in (466), or *mun mberon dog o konok motit* 'it's a small boy, so he won't go' as an alternative for *mun mberon dok konok motit* (471). This *o* is also attested following predicative *te*, as in *na nati ten o* 'he is my father, so …' (Drabbe 1959:124b). For other functions of *o*, see Chapter 3, Section 3.8.

## 5.4 Relative clause construction[15]

According to Drabbe, relative clauses are marked by the use of *ege (te)*, as in the following example.

(477) *kagup* *nu* *raga-r-ew-an* *ege* *te* *me-gen*
man 1SG say-RLS-1[SG]-PST THEM AFFMT come-RLS[N1SG]

'the man to whom I have said it has come' (Drabbe 1959:139b)

Whereas Drabbe gives a number of examples of 'relative clauses' in *ege te* (see below), the only appearance of a clause in *ege te* in the text corpus cannot be analysed as a relative clause; it is presented here as (478).

(478) *na* *matip* *mbaruprap-ken* *ege* *te* *komo-gen-ep*
1SG daughter have.sex-RLS[N1SG] THEM AFFMT close-RLS-1SG

'It is [because] you had sex with my daughter [that] I closed the gate' (4.25)

15 Drabbe 1959: Section 90, pp. 139a–b.

One non-elicited example plus a number of elicited examples certainly do not provide sufficient ground to draw any solid conclusions on the syntactic structure or the function of constructions in *ege te*. At the same time, a tentative analysis is probably more helpful for future research than no analysis at all. Therefore, this section will provide the following:

i. a short introduction to a tentative alternative analysis
ii. a list of all the examples of 'relative clauses' provided by Drabbe, with:
    a. a translation of Drabbe's examples that closely follows the Dutch translation, and which reflects Drabbe's analysis of these clauses as relative clauses
    b. an alternative analysis of these clauses which reflects their analysis as 'thematic' clauses
iii. a brief reference to a similar structure in the language.

In my view, the clauses under discussion here are probably best understood as a sort of thematic clauses, which were briefly mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 4. *Ege* (or *ege(p)*, see below), when following a clause, and combined with the affirmative copula *te*, presents this clause as a fact. When this 'factive' clause is followed by another clause, it forms the framework within which the following clause is to be interpreted.

In (479), we find the only other example in which the clause in *ege te* contains an inflected verb: *iran*.

(479) *ŋgu* *i-r-an* *ege* *te* *ŋgotap* *nin*
2SG hit_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST THEM AFFMT in.exchange hit.IMP
'the one who has hit you, hit him back' (Drabbe 1959:139b)
alternative: 'someone hit you it is—hit back'

In a number of other examples, the clause in *ege te* contains the predicate *mbon~pon* instead of an inflected verb, as in (480), and (481).[16] Note that (481) has a copula *to* instead of *te*, which forms support for the analysis of *te* as a copula in the other examples (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2, where it is argued how *te, to* and *tomba* are paradigmatically related copula). Also note that *egep* is used instead of *ege* when it is followed by *to*—as is explicitly pointed out by Drabbe. This final *p* is also used in vocative clauses: *ŋguw*

16 Drabbe gives no other complete clauses, but only writes that '*me mbon ege, ep pon ege, kop pon ege* mean who is here, who is there' and that '*nu ne mbon ege* [means] I who am here' (Drabbe 1959:139).

*egew o* 'hey you (SG)!' and *ŋgaŋguw egew o* 'hey you (PL)!', and is probably related to the final *-p* that we find in demonstrative pronouns (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.2.5 and 3.5).

(480) *mun* *ep* *pon* *ege* *te* *jogo-w-an*
boy there be THEM AFFMT give_II-1-PL
'let us give it to the boy who is there' (Drabbe 1959:139b); alternative: 'it is: a boy is there, give it [to him]'

(481) *ŋgu* *ep* *pon* *egep* *to*
2SG there be THEM Q
'is it you who is there?' (Drabbe 1959:139b); alternative: 'you are there, is it?'

Drabbe writes that *ege te* can be used not only following a verb or *mbon* 'STAY', but also directly following deictic elements in *p*, like *ep* in (482), *kuŋgop* in (483) or *kuturow* 'up there' in (484). Also these clauses are translated by Drabbe as relative clauses.

(482) *mun* *ew'* *ege* *te* *jogo-w-an*
boy there REL AFFMT give_II-1-PL
'let us give it to the boy (who is) there' (Drabbe 1959:139b); alternative: 'it is a/the boy there, let us give it [to him]'

(483) *enop* *kuŋgow* *ege* *te* *ri-w-an-in*
tree across.there REL AFFMT chop-I-PL-FUT
'let us chop the tree (that is) over there' (Drabbe 1959:139b); alternative: 'it is a/the tree over there, let us chop [it]'

(484) *kagup* *kuturow* *ege* *te* *jo-jip*
man up.there REL AFFMT call-I SG.FUT
'I will call the man (who is) up there' (Drabbe 1959:139b); alternative 'it is a/the man over there, I will call [him]'

Following this overview of examples given by Drabbe, I would finally like to point to a possibly related structure. It may be relevant to note the parallel between clauses in *ege te* and the two clauses in the corpus that end in *et ke te*, by comparing (478) to (369) and (388).[17]

17 Could the relative marker *ege* be a reflex of *e* 'ARG' or *et* 'NOM' + *ke* > *etke* > *ege*, with final *-p* added in certain context because of the association with demonstratives?

# 5.5 Conditional clauses

## 5.5.1 Simple conditional clauses[18]

As in many Papuan languages, conditional clauses in Greater Awyu languages have their origin in thematisation processes (De Vries 2020:133; Haiman 1978). Drabbe makes a distinction between conditions holding in the future, and conditions holding in the present. The former are marked by clauses in *e* and were discussed in Section 5.3.2. The latter, representing conditions holding in the present, are marked by the use of *ke-t ki-n-in ŋga* 'be-RLS[NISG] be-NI[SG]-FUT' in the conditional or 'thematising' clause. Text 4.17, presented as (65) and repeated here as (485), is the only example of a simple conditional in the text corpus. The other examples are provided by Drabbe in the grammatical introduction.

(485)

| *Raga-t:* | *randuj* | *o* | *ŋguw* | *e* | *mitik* | *ke-t* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| speak[RLS.NISG] | daughter | VOC | 2SG | ARG | night | be-RLS[NISG] |

| *ki-n-in* | *ŋga,* | *mbanep* | *me* | *ŋgu* | *mbarukrawa-t* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| be-NI[SG]-FUT | CIRC | crocodile | come | 2SG | have.sex-RLS[NISG] |

| *ke-t* | *ki-n-in* | *ŋga,* | *sapuk* | *nandap* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| be-RLS[NISG] | be-NI[SG]-FUT | CIRC | tobacco | take.IMP | CON |

| *ŋgoropmo-p* | *nde-ro* | *raga-t.* |
|---|---|---|
| know-1SG | say-SS | say-RLS[NISG] |

'He [the father] said: "daughter, if it is night, if the crocodile comes and has sex with you, pull [the rope] and I will know."' (4.17)

(486)

| *rawa-r-an* | *ke-t* | *ki-n-in* | *ŋga,* | *naruk* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| take_II-RLS[NISG]-PST | be-RLS[NISG] | be-NI[SG]-FUT | CIRC | say.IMP |

'if you have taken it, tell me' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

18 Drabbe 1959: Section 106, pp. 142a, b.

(487) *mbarewen* *ke-t* *ki-n-in* *ŋga,* *sunok*
strong be-RLS [NISG] be-NI [SG]-FUT CIRC carry.IMP
'if you are strong, take it on your shoulder' (Drabbe 1959:142a)

(488) *titma-r-ep* *ke-t* *ki-n-in* *ŋga,* *ep*
touch-RLS-ISG be-RLS [NISG] be-NI [SG]-FUT CIRC that

*pon* *ege*
stay them
'the one that I will touch, that's the one' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

Other thematising clauses of the same structure are given by Drabbe in his discussion of clauses expressing simultaneity in the future, presented here as (489) and (490).

(489) *awoŋ* *rap-kin-in/* *rawa-r-in* *ke-t*
work take-RLS-NIPL take_II-RLS-NIPL be-RLS[NISG]

*ki-n-in* *ŋga,* *ko* *najok* *ande-n-an*
be-NI[SG]-FUT CIRC go give.IMP eat_II-NI-PL
'when they are at work, go and give them to eat' (Drabbe 1959:134b)

(490) *natiop* *me-gen/* *mende-t* *ke-t*
father come-RLS[NISG] come_II-RLS[NISG] be-RLS[NISG]

*ki-n-in* *ŋga,* *rogo-jip*
be-NI[SG]-FUT CIRC say-ISG.FUT
'when father comes, I will tell' (Drabbe 1959:134b)

## 5.5.2 Counterfactual conditional clauses[19]

Counterfactual conditional clauses are marked by the counterfactual marker *ŋgaŋguj* plus a following connective *e*. The conditional clause is headed either by a semi-inflected realis *ken*-form or by a fully inflected past form. As the text corpus has no examples of counterfactuals, we can only present examples from the grammatical introduction.

19 Drabbe 1959: Section 107, pp. 142a, b.

(491) *Juw e rogo-ken ŋgaŋguj e ko-gon-ep*
3SG ARG say-RLS[NISG] CFT SR go-RLS-ISG
'if he had said it, I would have gone' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(492a) *uj taemba-r-ew-an ŋgaŋguj e jo-gon-ep*
pig shoot_II-RLS-I[SG]-PST CFT SR give-RLS-ISG
'if I had shot a pig, I would have given you from it' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(492b) *uj taemba-r-ew-an ŋgaŋguj e jaga-r-ew-an*
pig shoot_II-RLS-I[SG]-PST CFT SR give_II-RLS-I[SG]-PST
'if I had shot a pig, I would have given you from it' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(493a) *mende-r-an ŋgaŋguj e iŋ-gen-ep*
come_II-RLS[NISG]-PST CFT SR hit-RLS-ISG
'if he had come, I would have hit him' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(493b) *mende-r-an ŋgaŋguj e i-r-iw-an*
come_II-RLS[NISG]-PST CFT SR hit_II-RLS-ISG-PST
'if he had come, I would have hit him' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(494a) *ŋgoropma-r-ew-an ŋgaŋguj e ko-nok mo-gon-ep*
know-RLS-I[SG]-PST CFT SR go-VN.NEG do-RLS-ISG
'if I had known, I would not have gone' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(494b) *ŋgoropma-r-ew-an ŋgaŋguj e ko-nok ma-r-ew-an*
know-RLS-I[SG]-PST CFT SR go-VN.NEG do-RLS-I[SG]-PST
'if I had known, I would not have gone' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(495) *ŋgoropma-r-ew-an ŋgaŋguj e jan de ka-jip*
know-RLS-I[SG]-PST CFT SR tomorrow CON go.IRR-ISG.FUT
'if I had known, I would have gone tomorrow' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(496) *jajun jaŋ-gen-ep ŋgaŋguj e mende-nok mo-gon-ep*
ill lie-RLS-ISG CFT SR come-VN.NEG do-RLS-ISG
'if I had been ill, I would not have come' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(497) *raga-nok* *ma-r-an* *ŋgaŋguj* *e*
say-VN.NEG do-RLS[NLSG]-PST CFT SR

*katoni* *mo-gon-ep*
ignorant do-RLS-1SG
'if he had not said it, I would not have known' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(498) *juw* *e* *rogo-nok* *ma-r-an* *ŋgaŋguj* *e*
3SG ARG say-VN.NEG do-RLS[NLSG]-PST CFT SR

*ko-nok* *mo-ti-p*
go-VN.NEG do-FUT.NEG-1SG
'if he had not said it, I would not go' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

*Ngaŋguj e* may also follow a nominal clause as in the following examples.

(499) *na* *konoj* *kum* *ŋgaŋguj* *e*
1SG.POSS canoe with CFT SR

*mbaet* *ko-nok* *mo-ti-p*
land go-VN.NEG do-FUT.NEG-1SG
'if I had had a canoe, I would not go over land' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(500a) *na* *taget* *kum* *ŋgaŋguj* *e* *jo-gon-ep*
1SG.POSS cowrie.shell with CFT SR give-RLS-1SG
'if I had had cowrie shells, I would have given them' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(500b) *na* *taget* *kum* *ŋgaŋguj* *e* *jaga-r-ew-an*
1SG.POSS cowrie.shell with CFT SR give_II-RLS-1[SG]-PST
'if I had had cowrie shells, I would have given them' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

(501) *na* *taget* *kum* *ŋgaŋguj* *e* *jogo-jip*
1SG.POSS cowrie.shell with CFT SR give_II-1SG.FUT
'if I had cowrie shells, I would give them' (Drabbe 1959:142b)

# 5.6 Tail–head linkage and generic verb linkage

De Vries (2020:120f) describes recapitulative linkage as one of the characteristic patterns of Greater Awyu languages. Recapitulative linkage is the cover term used for tail–head linkage and linkage by the use of generic verbs. Both these patterns are also attested in YW.

## 5.6.1 Tail–head linkage

In tail–head linkage, the final clause of a chain (the tail) is repeated as the first clause of the next (the head). While the verb in the head clause is the same as that of the tail clause, the form of the verb (fully inflected, semi-inflected or uninflected) may be different. In the great majority of the attested examples,[20] the repeated clause is a chained clause, syntactically integrated in the new chain, which makes YW clause chaining generally continuative (De Vries 2020:121). In (502) and (503), the tail is repeated word by word, with the verb having exactly the same form. This is one of the rare cases of discontinuative linking; the repeated *mbaet kuran* is part of a subordinate clause that ends in *e* (see Section 5.6.1).

(502) *… juw* *e* *maturu* *mbaet* *ku-r-an*
3SG ARG come.up land go-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'… he came up and walked on the land' (5.22)

(503) *Mbaet* *ku-r-an* *e* *kawit* *ke-r-an*
land go-RLS[N1SG]-PST SR hornbill be-RLS[N1SG]-PST
'when he walked on the land, he became a hornbill' (5.23)

In (505), the verb *taembo* 'shoot' of the former chain is repeated and integrated as an uninflected verb in the following chain.

20 The corpus contains the following examples of tail-head linkage; I have indicated the code of the sentence containing the tail clause: 1.05, 1.09, 2.03, 2.05 (picked up in 2.07), 2.08, 4.02, 4.08, 4.14, 4.21, 4.23, 4.25, 4.27, 4.31, 4.35, 4.36, 4.37, 5.08, 5.22, 9.01, 10.10, 10.13, 11.11. Only in 4.36, the clause is subordinate and not integrated into a new chain.

(504) *Naerop* *ju* *taep* *me* *etaga-t* *te*
Naerop 3SG also come see-RLS[N1SG] CON

*amun* *mba-gen* *dok* *taemba-t.*
marsupial sit-RLS[N1SG] GROUND shoot_II-RLS[N1SG]

'Naerop one day also came and, when he saw one of his father's marsupials, he shot it.' (2.02)

(505) *Taembo-ro* *ra* *ko* *ande-t.*
shoot_II-SS take go eat_II-RLS[N1SG]

'He shot it and took it and ate it' (2.03)

A similar example is presented in (507), where uninflected *turu* 'go up' is a repetition of the verb *turu* in (506) and fully integrated in the following clause chain.

(506) *Aŋgae* *e* *Koreom* *turu-r-in-an.*
dog ARG Koreom go.up-RLS-N1PL-PST

'The dogs went up the Koreom hill.' (11.11)

(507) *Turu* *mbaget* *te* *Warimop* *Komogop* *ndi-r-in-an.*
go.up sit-RLS[N1] CON Warimop Komogop say-RLS-N1PL-PST

'They went up and stayed and they called them Warimop Komogop.' (11.12)

## 5.6.2 Generic verb linkage[21]

In generic verb linkage, the clause chain is linked to the preceding discourse in a more open way compared to tail–head linkage. The clause may be linked to the directly preceding clause, but also to earlier discourse (De Vries 2020:124). In YW, the verb used for generic verb linkage is *emo*, formed out of the deictic *e(p)* 'that' and the verb(aliser) *mo* 'do', see Chapter 2, Section 2.8. The verb may refer back to a verb in the preceding chain (or earlier), and share the subject with this earlier verb, as in Texts 1.01 and 1.02, presented as (66) and (67). In other cases, however, the verb does not specifically refer to an earlier verb. A clear example of this is found in the opening passage of Text 12, presented here as (508) and (509). In cases like these, the verb

21 Drabbe 1959: Section 27, pp. 121b–122a.

(*ema-t*) has grammaticalised into a fixed expression, with the sole function of linking the clause to the preceding clause(s), without any reference to an earlier verb or earlier subject.

(508) *Ndiŋgitiop Enowandajop.*

Ndiŋgitiop Enowandajop

'There were two persons called Ndinggitiop and Enowandajop.' (12.01)

(509) ***Ema-t*** ***te*** *enop* *ketmom* *uru-r* *a* *uru-t;*

do.thus CON tree dance put-RLS[N1SG] SEQ put-RLS[N1SG]

'(The story goes on depicting that) there were trees dancing and dancing;' (12.02).

## 5.7 Quotative constructions[22]

Greater Awyu speakers 'strongly prefer direct speech over indirect speech when they report what others said' (De Vries 2020:125). According to Drabbe, YW lacks indirect speech altogether. Instead of indirect speech, speakers use a direct speech construction, characterised by the use of a form of *nde* 'say' following the quote. The construction can be visualised as in Figure 28. The core of the construction is formed by a clause in direct speech,[23] optionally followed by a connective *o*, and then followed by a form of the verb *nde* 'say'.[24] This core may be preceded or followed by a verb of saying other than *nde* 'say' (usually *rogo* 'speak'), specifying the type of saying. In case the specifying verb of saying follows the quote, it is preceded by the medial form of *nde*: *nde* or *nde-ro*.

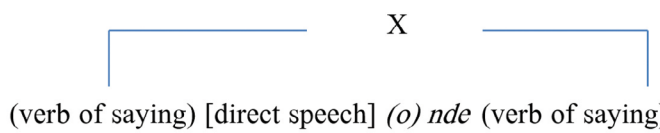



**Figure 28: Quotative construction.**

22 Drabbe 1959: Sections 77–79, pp. 137a–b.

23 Apart from direct speech, the verb *nde* 'say' may only be preceded by one of the medial verbs *menemo*, *emo* or *oŋgenemo* (Drabbe 1959:137a), as in 4.25, 4.26 and 4.29.

24 Drabbe writes that the verb *nde* 'say' is left out only in case of a very long quote. In that case, the following clause begins with *emo nde-ro*/*emo nde-gen*. Drabbe gives no example to illustrate his point. While the inflected form of *nde* 'say' is always realised with an initial *nd*, the medial verb is realised as *te(ro)* if preceded by predicative *te*, e.g. *na nati te te(-ro) rogo-ken* [1SG father AFF say(-SS) speak-RLS[N1SG]] '"it is my father", he said'.

A minimal construction can be seen in (510), where we see a direct speech followed by inflected *nde* (*ndirin*) and no connectives or other verbs of saying.

(510)

| *Ra* | *me-ro* | *saguma-r-in* | *de* | *tumo* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| take | come-SS | bury-RLS-N1PL | and | pull.out |

| *ande-w-an-in* | *ndi-rin* | *dok* |
|---|---|---|
| eat_II-1-PL-FUT | say-RLS-N1PL | GROUND |

'They took and buried him but they decided to take him out again in order to eat him' (lit. 'because they said "let us eat him"'; 2.10)

In (511), the quote and the verb are connected by the connective o.

(511)

| *na* | *manman* | *o* | *nde-ro,* | *ku-r …* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.POSS | thing | CON | say-SS | go-RLS[N1SG] |

'"this is my thing", he said and he went …' (5.12)

In (512), the quote is preceded and followed by a verb of saying, while (513) and (514) are cases with a verb of saying (again *rogo*) only following the quote.

(512)

| *Ŋguruŋgoron* | *ŋga* | *raga-t* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ngguruŋgoron | AG | speak-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *ŋgo* | *nan-ŋguj* | *e* | *ŋgo* | *nen-ŋguj* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG.POSS | younger. brother-PL | ARG | 2SG. POSS | older.brother-PL | ARG |

| *Matiram* | *ŋga* | *ŋgotonde* | *e-no* | *mir* | *e* | *top* | *me* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Matiram | AG | kill.ITER | eat-SS. SIM | bone | ARG | opening | this |

| *agumo* | *mba-gen-op* | *nde-t.* |
|---|---|---|
| put.into | sit-RLS[N1SG]-NMLZ | say-RLS[N1SG] |

'Nggurungoron said to him: "your older brother Matiram has killed your brothers and eaten them and has (come to) put their bones into this pit."' (7.05))

(513) *Jaŋgot kaemo kukmo-jip te-ro raga-t.*
torch light direct.at-1SG.FUT say-SS speak-RLS[N1SG]
'"I will light the torch and direct it towards you", he said.' (6.15)

(514) *Mene ŋga kinum najan nde-ro raga-t.*
here CIRC sleep lie.IMP say-SS speak-RLS[N1SG]
'"Lie down here to sleep", he said.' (7.07)

In (515), the verb specifying verb *rambamogo* 'inquire' precedes the quote.

(515) *rambamo-gon-in me-gen do ndi-r-in-an*
inquire-RLS-N1PL come-RLS[N1SG] Q say-RLS-N1PL-PST
'they asked "has he come?"' → 'they asked whether he had come' (Drabbe 1959:137b)

As in many Papuan languages, the quotative construction or quotative frame is not only used for a literal 'saying', but also for 'inner speech', to describe a person's thoughts or feelings (cf. Reesink 1993). Consider (516) through (519). The first two clauses are given by Drabbe in his grammatical introduction, while the third has been taken from the text corpus.[25]

(516) *natew uj te nde-gen-ep*
maybe pig AFFMT say-RLS-1SG
'I thought that it was a pig' (lit. 'I said: "maybe it is a pig"'; Drabbe 1959:137b)

(517) *natew mende-r-an do nde-gen-ep*
maybe come-RLS[N1SG]-PST Q say-RLS-1SG
'I thought that he had come already' (lit. 'I said: "has he possibly come already?"'; Drabbe 1959:137b)

Example (518) below is part of a narrative in which a number of women have heard the sound of a mouth harp. They wonder where the sound is coming from.

25 Admittedly, (518) and (519) could also be understood as referring to a literal saying, in which the women say to each other 'where is it?', or 'let us see'.

(518) *mba-gen* *kujo* *nde-ro* *kagaende-r* *a*
sit-RLS[N1SG] Q say-SS search-RLS[N1SG] SEQ

*rawo-ro* *te* *jan* *atop* *kop* *ndarama-t*
take_II-SS CON 3SG.POSS vagina in insert-RLS[N1SG]
'they wondered where it was and one searched and found the harp and put it into her vagina' (5.06)

Other examples of inner speech are given in (519) through (522a), where the direct speech expresses an intention, or a 'being about to'.

(519) *Ran* *etogo-w-an* *nde-ro* *arek* *ke-no* *mboke-t …*
woman see_II-1-PL say-SS investigate be-SS.SIM sit_II.PL-RLS[N1]
'The women wanted to see it and were investigating [where the sound was coming from].' (lit. 'the women said "let us see" and …'; 5.02)

(520a) *konoj* *tami-p* *te-gen-ep*
canoe make.canoe-1SG say-RLS-1SG
'I want to make a canoe/I am about to make a canoe' (Drabbe 1959:138b)

(520b) *konoj* *tami-p* *te-gen*
canoe make.canoe-1SG say-RLS[N1SG]
'he wants to make a canoe/He is about to make a canoe' (Drabbe 1959:138b)

(520c) *konoj* *tami-w-an* *ndi-gin-in*
canoe make.canoe-1-PL say-RLS-N1PL
'they want to make a canoe/They are about to make a canoe' (Drabbe 1959:138b)

In (521) we find medial *nde(ro)* instead of an inflected form *nde*, followed by the affirmative copula *te*. Such an affirmative clause may be followed by an inflected form of *emo* 'do thus'.

(521) *konoj* *tami-p* *te(-ro)* *te* *(ema-r-ew-an)*
canoe make.canoe-1SG say-SS AFFMT/CON do.thus-RLS-1[SG]-PST
'I wanted to make a canoe' (lit. 'I say "I want to make a canoe" and I did so'[26]; (Drabbe 1959:138b)

26 Because Drabbe does not offer a complete translation of the sentences, it is not entirely clear how *emarewan* should be interpreted. It probably should be interpreted as 'and I did so'.

Drabbe points out that the verb *tero* may, apart from the verb *emoro* (as in (521) above), also be followed by a verb that expresses 'what one does in order to reach the goal' (expressed by the quote). This is the case in (522a).

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (522a) | *taget* | *rawo-p* | *te(-ro)* | *te* | *awoŋ* | *rawo-jip* |
| | cowrie.shell | take_II-1SG | say-SS | AFFMT/CON | work | take_II-1SG.FUT |

'I will work in order to make money' (lit. 'it is I say "I want to hold shell money" and I will work'; Drabbe 1959:138b)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (522b) | *taget* | *rawo-p* | *te(-ro)* | *te* | *awoŋ* | *rawo-nin* |
| | cowrie.shell | take_II-1SG | say-SS | CON | work | take_II-1SG.FUT |

'he will work in order to make money' (lit. 'it is he says "I want to hold shell money" and he will work'; Drabbe 1959:138b)

The constructions discussed so far can be analysed as reflecting inner or outer direct speech, which expresses the words or thoughts of a (personal) subject. The quotative frame is also used, however, for more impersonalised expressions, in which the role of the subject has bleached so that the verb *tero* 'say' does not reflect a subject's saying, and in which the 'quote' does not reflect a subject's speech or thoughts. A good illustration of the difference between the quotative constructions discussed so far and the impersonal construction is given with (523a) and (523b), respectively.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (523a) | *ande-p* | *te-ro* | *te* | *me-gen* |
| | eat_II-1SG | say-SS | CON | come-RLS[N1SG] |

'he came in order to eat' (lit. '"let me eat", he said (and) he came'; Drabbe 1959:138b)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (523b) | *ande-n* | *te-ro* | *te* | *me-gen* |
| | eat_II-3SG | say-SS | CON | come-RLS[N1SG] |

'he came in order to eat' (lit. 'he will eat, is the aim, and he came'; Drabbe 1959:138b)

While in (523b) the verb expressing 'what one does in order to reach the goal' follows the quote, it may also precede. This is the case in the following impersonal construction,[27] which differs minimally from (523b).

27 Given that Drabbe does not give a translation of this example, we cannot be entirely certain that it should have an impersonal reading.

(524) *me-ro* *ande-n* *nde-ro* *te(n)*
come-SS eat_II-NI[SG] say-SS AFFMT
'he came in order to eat' (lit. 'he came and ate it was the aim'; Drabbe 1959:139a)

Example (525) below has the same structure as (524), but because of the verb *agaepmo* 'do what', it is interpreted as a question: 'what are you doing?' (lit. 'you are coming to do what?').

(525) *me-ro* *agaepmo-n* *nde-ro* *te(n)*
come-SS do.what-NI[SG] say-SS AFFMT
'what are you coming for [Dutch: '*wat kom je doen*']?' (lit. 'you are coming it is the aim to do what?'; Drabbe 1959:139a)

Other examples of grammaticalised impersonal constructions are those in which the quote is filled by an intentional form in *-ni(op)* or, for plural subjects: *-nap(op)*. These constructions are only used for non-first persons, and exemplified with (526) and (527). In these constructions, *nde-ro te(n)* should be analysed as an affirmative copula clause that could be glossed as 'it is the aim'. This main clause takes the clause in *-ni(op)* or *ap(op)* as a complement, so that the clause chain including *me-ro* reads as 'he/she/you came it is the aim to eat.'

(526) *me-ro* *andi-ni(-op)* *nde-ro* *te(n)*
come-SS eat_II-INT-NMLZ say-SS AFFMT
'you/she/he came in order to eat' (Drabbe 1959:139a)

(527) *me-ro* *andi-nap/andi-naw-op* *nde-ro* *te(n)*
come-SS eat_II-INT.PL/eat_II-INT.PL-NMLZ say-SS AFFMT
'you(PL)/they came in order to eat' (Drabbe 1959:139a)

In the examples discussed so far, the verb expressing 'what one does in order to reach the goal' has the same subject as the subject of the verb in the quote. If this subject differs, speakers use a different construction, in which the quote is preceded by an inflected verb plus *tok*. This is illustrated in (528) through (530).

(528) *mando-p* *tok* *ndun* *mawe-n* *nde-ro* *te(n)*
come.IRR-1[SG] GROUND sago give.to.me-NI[SG] say-SS AFFMT
'I come in order that he will give me sago' (Drabbe 1959:139b)

(529) *mando-n* *dok* *ndun* *jogo-p* *nde-ro* *te(n)*
come.IRR-N1[SG] GROUND sago give_II-1SG say-SS AFFMT
'he comes in order that I will give him sago' (Drabbe 1959:139b)

(530) *mando-w-an* *tok* *ndun* *najogo-nin* *nde-ro* *te(n)*
come.IRR-1-PL GROUND sago give.IMP-PL say-SS AFFMT
'we come in order that you (pl) will give us sago' (Drabbe 1959:139b)

# Part II: Wordlists

# 6

# Introduction to the wordlists

This section presents an English translation of and annotations to the Dutch–Yoggom Wambon (YW) wordlist presented by Drabbe (1959:162f), followed by a YW–English wordlist which integrates data from the grammatical introduction and the text corpus. The first section presents a thematic wordlist following the numbering used by Drabbe. The following section forms an index to this list and presents the English entries in alphabetical order. The last section gives the YW–English wordlist.

Separate from the YW–English wordlist, the Appendix provides a more elaborate wordlist, which is largely based on an unpublished wordlist by Drabbe from 1956. Although it may be somewhat confusing to include two different YW–English wordlists in this publication, I believe there were and are good arguments to do so.

First, the lists are based on different sources: the first exclusively on published material, the second on an unpublished wordlist. This gives the data a different status, not only in terms of reliability but also in terms of 'integrity'; we may expect the data in Drabbe's 1959 wordlists to form a coherent whole (e.g. in terms of spelling, consistent glossing), while they do not necessarily match the data presented in the 1956 wordlist. Second, the wordlists serve different purposes. The YW–English wordlist presented in this part primarily serves as an aid to understanding the rest of this publication, and makes elaborate references to the attestation of words in different parts of this publication. It is intended to be used by readers of the grammatical introduction or the text edition, who want (further) explanation of a word that they come across or who want to relate the respective word to other words (in this publication) that are formally related or belong to the same

semantic field. The present list serves, in other words, as a guide through all parts of this language description, the accompanying texts and the other wordlists. The wordlist in the Appendix, on the other hand, serves those users who want to have a complete overview of all lexical data from both the 1956 wordlist and Drabbe (1959). Therefore, the Appendix not only gives the 1956 wordlist but also includes references to the YW–English wordlist presented here.

Finally, it is important to note that the YW–English wordlist in this part only gives primary stems, because the secondary, imperative and iterative stems are all given in the grammatical description. The 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, however, gives primary, secondary and iterative stems. Table 51 gives an overview of where the different stems can be found.

**Table 51: Different types of stems and places where they are listed.**

| Type of stem | Part I/II | Appendix |
|---|---|---|
| **Primary** | as entry in YW–English wordlist | as entry |
| **Secondary** | Chapter 2, Section 2.2 | following primary stem |
| **Iterative** | Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1 | as entry |
| **Imperative** | Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1 | not given |

# 7

# Thematic wordlist: English–Yonggom Wambon[1]

The wordlist presented below is a translation of Drabbe's 408-item wordlist. The first column presents the numbers as presented in Drabbe (1959:162f), the second gives the English equivalents of the Dutch lexemes presented in the rightmost column, which have been taken from Drabbe. In all non-compound words, stress is on the last syllable. Following Drabbe, the part of speech of the Yonggom Wambon (YW) words has not been indicated. Compounds with composing parts separated by hyphens in Drabbe are rendered as separate words, while those compounds that he writes as one word have also been written as one word here. The footnotes are all mine.

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **001** | *body* | *kotae* | lichaam |
| **002** | *head* | *ŋgin* | kop; hoofd |
| **003** | *face* | *ŋgin o kerok, ŋginok kerop*[2] | aangezicht |
| **004** | *forehead* | *kombisop* | voorhoofd |
| **005** | *skull* | *ŋgin mit* | schedel |
| **006** | *hair on head* | *ŋgi ron* | hoofdhaar |

1 Drabbe: pp. 162–181.

2 Drabbe gives *ŋgin-ò-kerok* in his Dutch–YW wordlist, and *ŋginok-kerop* in Text 4.07. The final *k* in the former of these might be a typo, cf. also Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, which has *ngin-o-kerop*.

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **007** | *bald* | *ŋgin saŋ nderan*[3] | kaal |
| **008** | *ear* | *turutop* | oor |
| **009** | *earwax* | *turutow oj*[4] | oorsmeer |
| **010** | *eye* | *kerop* | oog |
| **011** | *whiskers* | *kerop ron* | wimpers |
| **012** | *eyebrows* | *kerop toŋgot* | wenkbrauwen |
| **013** | *tears* | *kerow ok* | tranen |
| **014** | *nose* | *ambotop* | neus |
| **015** | *nostril* | *ŋgiritop* | neusgat |
| **016** | *mucus* | *warigae* | snot |
| **017** | *cheek* | *kojop* | wang |
| **018** | *outer part of mouth* | *mbonop* | uit. mond |
| **019** | *inner mouth* | *maŋgot* | inw. mond |
| **020** | *lip* | *mbaraŋgat* | lip |
| **021** | *chin* | *maŋgor ip* | kin |
| **022** | *beard* | *matit* | baard |
| **023** | *tongue* | *anop* | tong |
| **024** | *palate* | *kanaŋgit* | verhemelte |
| **025** | *tooth* | *inim* | tand |
| **026** | *molar* | *tenep* | kies |
| **027** | *brains* | *ŋgin kawae* | hersens |
| **028** | *throat (inner part)* | *ogarurop* | keel |
| **029** | *throat (outer part)* | *ŋgomben* | hals |
| **030** | *Adam's apple* | *ogarurop mit* | adamsappel |
| **031** | *neck* | *awut mit* | nek |
| **032** | *breast* | *mbemit* | borst |
| **033** | *udder; breast* | *om* | borst, uier |
| **034** | *nipple* | *om muk* | tepel |
| **035** | *milk (n.)* | *om kun* | melk |
| **036** | *suck breast* | *om mi* | zuigen a.d. borst |
| **037** | *breastfeed* | *om jo* | zogen |
| **038** | *rib* | *rin* | rib |

3 This form can probably be analysed as *ŋgit sat nde-ra-n* 'head which they call sun', with *sat* 'sun' realised as [saŋ].

4 Lit. 'the inner part of the ear'.

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **039** | *lung* | *uk* | long |
| **040** | *heart* | *ndimndop* | hart |
| **041** | *belly* | *wandin* | buik |
| **042** | *bowels* | *oj* | darmen |
| **043** | *liver* | *ahum* | lever |
| **044** | *gall* | *men* | gal |
| **045** | *side* | *mereŋ* | zijde |
| **046** | *navel* | *oj ŋgum* | navel |
| **047** | *umbilical cord* | *oj ŋgum* | navelstreng |
| **048** | *back of human* | *mimit* | rug |
| **049** | *backbone* | *mimit ketop* | ruggegraat |
| **050** | *shoulder* | *witmak* | schouder |
| **051** | *buttocks* | *mbaem* | achterste, billen |
| **052** | *anus* | *osop* | aars |
| **053** | *defecate* | *oj aŋgo* | poepen |
| **054** | *faeces* | *oj* | poep |
| **055** | *fart (v.)* | *oj mbuk ke* | veesten |
| **056** | *stink* | *kosip* | stinken |
| **057** | *penis* | *teŋget* | penis |
| **058** | *testis* | *norop* | testikel |
| **059** | *vagina* | *atop* | vagina |
| **060** | *have intercourse* | *mbarok rap* | coire |
| **061** | *urinate* | *jetok ti* | pissen |
| **062** | *urine* | *jetok* | pis |
| **063** | *foot, leg* | *kondok, wan* | voet, been |
| **064** | *sole* | *wan tat* | voetzool |
| **065** | *ankle* | *wan wogoj* | enkel |
| **066** | *heel* | *wan ŋgambuj* | hiel |
| **067** | *thigh* | *kitup* | dij |
| **068** | *knee* | *kondok kerop* | knie |
| **069** | *calf* | *wan mbon* | kuit |
| **070** | *shin* | *wan mbin* | scheen |
| **071** | *hand, arm* | *wit* | hand, arm |
| **072** | *upper arm* | *wit tun* | bovenarm |
| **073** | *armpit* | *taŋgo top* | oksel |
| **074** | *elbow* | *win ŋgambin* | elleboog |

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **075** | *finger* | *wit ketop* | vinger |
| **076** | *toe* | *wan ketop* | teen |
| **077** | *nail* | *muk* | nagel |
| **078** | *thumb, big toe* | *aŋgu* | duim; gr. teen |
| **079** | *pinky, small toe* | *segek* | pink; kl. teen |
| **080** | *stem, bone* | *mit* | been, bot |
| **081** | *blood* | *ŋgom* | bloed |
| **082** | *flesh* | *jom* | vlees |
| **083** | *tendon* | *met* | pees |
| **084** | *skin* | *kotae* | huid |
| **085** | *body hair* | *ron* | haar op lich. |
| **086** | *sweat* | *koten* | zweet |
| **087** | *saliva* | *katet* | speeksel |
| **088** | *phlegm* | *ajak* | fluim |
| **089** | *breathe* | *upneŋ ke* | ademen |
| **090** | *eat* | *en* | eten |
| **091** | *be hungry* | *menkok ke* | honger hebben |
| **092** | *drink* | *mi* | drinken |
| **093** | *be thirsty* | *ok jerep ke* | dorst hebben |
| **094** | *be satisfied* | *wandin ke* | verzadigd zijn |
| **095** | *bite* | *atigo* | bijten |
| **096** | *swallow* | *mi agumo* | inslikken |
| **097** | *sleep* | *kinum jan* | slapen |
| **098** | *dream* | *uj eto* | dromen |
| **099** | *be sleepy* | *kinum kok ke* | slaap hebben |
| **100** | *get up* | *matigo* | opstaan |
| **101** | *stand* | *re* | staan |
| **102** | *walk* | *ko* | lopen |
| **103** | *lie (down)* | *jan* | liggen |
| **104** | *sit* | *mba* | zitten |
| **105** | *swim* | *kimra ko* | zwemmen |
| **106** | *bathe* | *ok kim* | baden |
| **107** | *voice* | *ruk* | stem |
| **108** | *laugh* | *aritow in* | lachen |
| **109** | *cry* | *rom* | huilen, schreien |
| **110** | *spit* | *katet tiomo* | spuwen |
| **111** | *vomit* | *aerap* | braken |

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **112** | *sneeze* | *asiganae ti* | niezen |
| **113** | *cough* | *ajak ti* | hoesten |
| **114** | *burp* | *mbaroŋgoj in* | boeren |
| **115** | *yawn* | *andunow in* | gapen |
| **116** | *be pregnant* | *kumuj ke* | zwanger zijn |
| **117** | *afterbirth* | *ŋgum* | nageboorte |
| **118** | *twin* | *mun kojop* | tweeling |
| **119** | *live* | *arjok mba* | leven |
| **120** | *die* | *kim* | sterven |
| **121** | *dead person* | *kagup kimiran*[5] | dode |
| **122** | *kill* | *iro uru*[6] | doden |
| **123** | *wound* | *mbom* | wond |
| **124** | *scar* | *aterem*[7] | litteken |
| **125** | *be ill* | *jaju jan* | ziek zijn |
| **126** | *be in pain* | *kat kokmo* | pijn hebben |
| **127** | *boil* | *jun* | steenpuist |
| **128** | *bellyache* | *oj rewerep ke* | buikpijn |
| **129** | *scabies* | *irombot* | schurft |
| **130** | *cripple (adj.)* | *wan mbetat* | kreupel |
| **131** | *dumb, mute* | *ruk ndojowop* | stom |
| **132** | *deaf* | *turutow irumaran* | doof |
| **133** | *blind* | *kerop mitpan* | blind |
| **134** | *shut eyes* | *kerop mitke* | ogen sluiten |
| **135** | *be cross-eyed* | *kerop ŋgoj ke* | scheel zijn |
| **136** | *medicine* | *iŋgamaŋgat* | geneesmiddel |
| **137** | *human* | *kagup* | mens |
| **138** | *name* | *ip* | naam |
| **139** | *man* | *kagup* | man |
| **140** | *woman* | *ran* | vrouw |
| **141** | *male* | *kombatim* | mannelijk |
| **142** | *female* | *raŋguj*[8] | vrouwelijk |

5 Lit. 'a person (who) has died'.
6 *i-ro uru* hit-ss put 'hit and put (down?)'.
7 The 1956 wordlist in the Appendix has *ateren* rather than *aterem*.
8 In fact, this is the plural form of *ran* 'woman', see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.2.

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **143** | *young man*[9] | *mamae* | jongeling |
| **144** | *young woman* | *maŋgat* | jongevrouw |
| **145** | *old man* | *kop pari* | oude man |
| **146** | *old woman* | *ran mbari* | oude vrouw |
| **147** | *father* | *nati* | vader |
| **148** | *mother* | *noj* | moeder |
| **149** | *child, offspring* | *mun* | kind, afst. |
| **150** | *son* | *mandup* | zoon |
| **151** | *daughter* | *matip* | dochter |
| **152** | *child, young person* | *mun* | kind, jonge mens |
| **153** | *grandfather* | *mbae* | grootvader |
| **154** | *grandmother* | *nomben* | grootmoeder |
| **155** | *elder brother* | *net* | oudere broer |
| **156** | *elder sister* | *nani* | oudere zuster |
| **157** | *younger brother* | *net* | jongere broer |
| **158** | *younger sister* | *mbiat* | jongere zuster |
| **159** | *grandchild* | *magop* | kleinkind |
| **160** | *husband* | *kop pari* | echtgenoot |
| **161** | *wife* | *sarip* | echtgenote |
| **162** | *widower* | *kagup sarip* | weduwnaar |
| **163** | *widow* | *ran sarip* | weduwe |
| **164** | *friend* | *kae* | vriend |
| **165** | *ghost, shade* | *kaguj* | geest, schim |
| **166** | *soul* | *ndimndop* | geest, levensg. |
| **167** | *tell, narrate* | *matom tokmo* | verhalen |
| **168** | *marry* | *sumo* | huwen |
| **169** | *give birth* | *ŋgamo* | baren |
| **170** | *drum* | *kendet* | trom |
| **171** | *play* | *worow in* | spelen |
| **172** | *house* | *mbitip* | huis |
| **173** | *door* | *ahap piri* | deur |

9 The Dutch word '*jongeling*' suggests that only male persons are intended. See also the translation of *mamae* in Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, where he translates it with Dutch '*jongeman*', English 'young man'.

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **174** | *ladder* | *ŋguerop*[10] | trap |
| **175** | *wall* | *ndajaŋ* | wand |
| **176** | *gaba-gaba*[11] | *mbaŋgi* | gaba-gaba |
| **177** | *mat* | *jom* | ligmat |
| **178** | *fire* | *enop tenop* | vuur |
| **179** | *make a fire* | *enop tenow ugum* | vuur aanleggen |
| **180** | *extinguish a fire* | *enop tenow itiguimo*[12] | vuur doven |
| **181** | *extinguish (intr.)* | *kim* | uitgaan van vuur |
| **182** | *smoke* | *enow uruk* | rook |
| **183** | *ashes* | *kosep* | as |
| **184** | *firewood* | *enop kok* | brandhout |
| **185** | *coconut* | *mbian ndok* | klapperdop |
| **186** | *knife, shell* | *wagi* | mes, schelp |
| **187** | *cutting knife* | *karanam* | hakmes |
| **188** | *torch* | *jaŋgot* | fakkel |
| **189** | *bake, roast* | *undo* | bakken, poffen |
| **190** | *be cooked through* | *ndo* | gaar zijn |
| **191** | *uncooked* | *arjok* | ongaar |
| **192** | *fish* | *ragae* | vis |
| **193** | *sago* | *ndun* | sago |
| **194** | *tobacco* | *sapuk* | tabak |
| **195** | *twine* | *ti* | vlechten |
| **196** | *twist a rope* | *ip* | touwdraaien |
| **197** | *rope* | *tik* | touw |
| **198** | *fell* | *taeŋgamo* | hakken |
| **199** | *spear* | *arat* | lans |
| **200** | *bow* | *sinam* | boog |
| **201** | *arrow* | *ŋgop* | pijl |
| **202** | *shoot* | *taem* | *schieten* |
| **203** | *make war* | *up* | *oorlog voeren* |
| **204** | *enemy* | *endom* | vijand |

10 Drabbe spells this *ŋgwerop*. This spelling, however, suggests a consonantal status for [w], and a syllabification *ŋgwe.rop*, with an initial CC-cluster, which is not in line with the syllable structure of the language described in Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2.

11 Palm frond.

12 Cf. *ituguimo* in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **205** | *agriculture* | *jagip* | landbouw |
| **206** | *fence* | *kuk* | omheining |
| **207** | *plant (v.)* | *ro* | planten |
| **208** | *ripe* | *amuj* | rijp |
| **209** | *unripe* | *mbatop* | onrijp |
| **210** | *sugarcane* | *kin* | suikerriet |
| **211** | *sweet potato* | *mbondeŋ* | zoete bataat |
| **212** | *taro* | *wirop* | tales, keladi |
| **213** | *coconut* | *mbian* | kokos |
| **214** | *breadfruit* | *rawot* | broodboom |
| **215** | *nippa palm* | – | nipah |
| **216** | *banana* | *tit* | banaan |
| **217** | *rattan* | *tik* | rotan |
| **218** | *bamboo* | *egop* | bamboe |
| **219** | *wood, tree* | *enop* | boom, hout |
| **220** | *chop down, fell* | *ri* | omhakken |
| **221** | *axe* | – | bijl |
| **222** | *stone axe* | *kori* | stenen bijl |
| **223** | *branch* | *kitup* | tak |
| **224** | *root* | *ndit* | wortel |
| **225** | *leaf* | *ron* | blad |
| **226** | *bark* | *kotae* | schors |
| **227** | *thorn* | *arin* | doorn |
| **228** | *flower* | *ket* | bloem |
| **229** | *fruit* | *rop* | vrucht |
| **230** | *alang-alang*[13] | *mbup* | alang-alang |
| **231** | *tail of tetrapod* | *wambit* | staart v. viervoetig dier |
| **232** | *tail of bird* | *oj tet* | staart v. vogel |
| **233** | *wing* | *mburuj* | vleugel |
| **234** | *feathers* | *ron* | veren |
| **235** | *fly (v.)* | *ururuk ko* | vliegen |
| **236** | *nest* | *ap* | nest |
| **237** | *egg* | *wagot* | ei |
| **238** | *pig* | *uj* | varken |
| **239** | *dog* | *aŋgae* | hond |

13 Kunai grass.

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **240** | *marsupial* | *kunop* | buideldier |
| **241** | *kangaroo* | – | kangoeroe |
| **242** | *cassowary* | *itit* | casuaris |
| **243** | *crowned pigeon* | *kotim* | kroonduif |
| **244** | *bird of paradise* | *andoj* | paradijsvogel |
| **245** | *bird* | *jet* | vogel |
| **246** | *bat* | *tomin* | vleermuis |
| **247** | *fruit bat* | *towoj* | vliegende hond |
| **248** | *mouse* | *sogonap* | muis |
| **249** | *rat* | *temon* | rat |
| **250** | *net* | *ok kit* | net |
| **251** | *louse* | *ŋgut* | luis |
| **252** | *spider* | *suwan* | spin |
| **253** | *fly* | *imonop* | vlieg |
| **254** | *mosquito* | *suwen* | muskiet |
| **255** | *butterfly* | *awomburuj* | vlinder |
| **256** | *firefly* | *minduj* | vuurvlieg |
| **257** | *grasshopper* | *tet kondok* | sprinkhaan |
| **258** | *cockroach* | *kakarak* | kakkerlak |
| **259** | *termite (white ant)* | *tomae* | witte mier |
| **260** | *snake* | *aŋgun* | slang |
| **261** | *centipede* | *mamuririop* | duizendpoot |
| **262** | *leech* | *teren* | bloedzuiger |
| **263** | *frog* | *kak* | kikvors |
| **264** | *crocodile* | *mbanep* | krokodil |
| **265** | *turtle* | *ambum* | schildpad |
| **266** | *sky* | *kumut* | hemel |
| **267** | *sun* | *sat* | zon |
| **268** | *moon* | *wogoj* | maan |
| **269** | *star* | *minduj* | ster |
| **270** | *earth* | *itop* | aarde |
| **271** | *rain* | *mirip* | regen |
| **272** | *rainbow* | *erenajop* | regenboog |
| **273** | *thunder (v.)* | *kumut* | donderen |
| **274** | *lightning* | *warawae* | bliksemen |
| **275** | *earthquake* | *indum* | aardbeving |
| **276** | *wind* | *kiwuj* | wind |

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **277** | *water* | *ok* | water |
| **278** | *island* | *oŋndum* | eiland |
| **279** | *mountain* | *amgon* | berg |
| **280** | *go up* | *turu* | stijgen |
| **281** | *go down* | *ri* | dalen |
| **282** | *forest* | *jagok* | bos |
| **283** | *footprint, track* | *jugut* | voetspoor |
| **284** | *river* | *ok* | rivier |
| **285** | *stone* | *irop* | steen |
| **286** | *ground* | *itop* | grond |
| **287** | *sand* | *ok jaman* | zand |
| **288** | *canoe* | *konoj* | prauw |
| **289** | *paddle* | *sugujaŋ* | pagaai |
| **290** | *big* | *kamae* | groot |
| **291** | *small* | *mberon* | klein |
| **292** | *long* | *ŋgurup* | lang |
| **293** | *short* | *kutuk* | kort |
| **294** | *thick, of flat objects* | *igit* | dik, v. platte voorwerpen |
| **295** | *thin, of flat objects* | *ahak* | dun, v. platte voorwerpen |
| **296** | *thin, of person* | *waguwop* | mager |
| **297** | *fat (adj.)* | *kutugut* | vet |
| **298** | *fat (n.)* | *kuguj* | vet |
| **299** | *be shy* | *tereŋget* | verlegen zijn |
| **300** | *deep* | *ŋguru* | diep |
| **301** | *shallow* | *tut* | ondiep |
| **302** | *high* | *ndawan* | hoog |
| **303** | *low* | *kutuk* | laag |
| **304** | *straight* | *jani* | recht |
| **305** | *be bent* | *ŋgoj* | krom zijn |
| **306** | *flat, even* | *mandon* | vlak, effen |
| **307** | *slippery* | *ndaragae* | glibberig |
| **308** | *heavy* | *kagun* | zwaar |
| **309** | *light (opp. of heavy)* | *rat* | licht |
| **310** | *sharp* | *ŋget* | scherp |
| **311** | *blunt* | *ŋgoŋ* | stomp, bot |
| **312** | *hard* | *sondot* | hard |

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **313** | *soft* | *awoj* | zacht |
| **314** | *warm* | *mamin* | warm |
| **315** | *cold* | *saruj* | koud |
| **316** | *shiver* | *mbambariri ke* | beven |
| **317** | *wide* | *arugup* | breed |
| **318** | *strong* | *mbarewen* | sterk |
| **319** | *weak* | *awoj* | zwak |
| **320** | *dry* | *kerewet* | droog |
| **321** | *wet* | *ŋgaenak* | nat |
| **322** | *good* | *wagae* | goed |
| **323** | *angry* | *kujom* | boos, boosaardig |
| **324** | *worthless* | *mbetat* | nietswaardig |
| **325** | *wrong* | *ŋgamban* | fout |
| **326** | *true* | *kareop* | juist, waar |
| **327** | *be empty* | *ndoj* | leeg zijn |
| **328** | *be full* | *koja ke* | vol zijn |
| **329** | *old (age)* | *mbari* | oud v. leeftijd |
| **330** | *old (duration)* | *woŋgopon* | oud v. duur |
| **331** | *young* | *mamae* | jong |
| **332** | *new* | *arjok* | nieuw |
| **333** | *tired* | *tet* | moe |
| **334** | *fast, quick* | *sukmae* | snel |
| **335** | *slow* | *mbonmo* | langzaam |
| **336** | *sour* | *rowot* | zuur |
| **337** | *white* | *kuk* | wit |
| **338** | *black* | *kuj* | zwart |
| **339** | *red* | *tenop* | rood |
| **340** | *search* | *kagaende* | zoeken |
| **341** | *find* | *rap* | vinden[14] |
| **342** | *give* | *jo* | geven |
| **343** | *take* | *rap* | nemen |
| **344** | *go and get* | *ko rap* | gaan halen |
| **345** | *take along* | *rap ko* | meenemen |
| **346** | *bring along* | *rap me* | meebrengen |

14 Actually, *rap* refers to picking up or taking.

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **347** | *do, make* | *onoŋnemo* | doen, maken |
| **348** | *wash* | *agum' mbiamo* | wassen |
| **349** | *know* | *ŋgoropmo* | weten, kennen |
| **350** | *think* | *opkon ke* | denken |
| **351** | *forget* | *katoni ke* | vergeten |
| **352** | *be silent* | *irukmo* | zwijgen |
| **353** | *speak* | *rug in* | spreken |
| **354** | *sing* | *ŋgom ri* | zingen |
| **355** | *say* | *rogo* | zeggen |
| **356** | *call* | *jo* | roepen |
| **357** | *curse, swear* | *tagapmo* | schelden |
| **358** | *work* | *awoŋ rap* | werken |
| **359** | *carry* | *sumo* | dragen |
| **360** | *be awake* | *kondan mba* | wakker zijn |
| **361** | *guard* | *womo* | bewaken |
| **362** | *wait* | *irukmo re* | wachten |
| **363** | *hear* | *ndat* | horen |
| **364** | *see* | *eto* | kijken, zien |
| **365** | *smell* | *ipmo* | ruiken |
| **366** | *suck* | *mi* | zuigen |
| **367** | *love* | *wagae nde* | liefhebben |
| **368** | *be unwilling* | *ajukmo* | onwillig zijn |
| **369** | *jump* | *soke* | springen |
| **370** | *break wood (tr.)* | *ra kaende* | breken van hout, overg |
| **371** | *break wood (intr.)* | *kande* | breken van hout, onoverg.[15] |
| **372** | *break rope (tr.)* | *ra ŋgamo* | breken v. touw, overg. |
| **373** | *break rope (intr.)* | *ŋgande* | breken v.touw, onoverg. |
| **374** | *break stone (tr.)* | *ra karomo* | breken v. steen, overg. |
| **375** | *break stone (intr.)* | *karonde* | breken v. steen, onoverg. |
| **376** | *bind* | *andap* | binden |
| **377** | *hide (tr.)* | *turukmo* | verbergen |

15 Note that this wordlist is probably based on direct elicitation. This means that Drabbe's language helper had to find a translation for 'break (intr.) of wood' and came up with the word *kande*. This word *kande* seems to have the basic sense of 'fall down (of tree)'—see the YW–English wordlist below and the wordlist in the Appendix—and may very well have been given here because of the strong association between the breaking of a tree and its falling down.

| No. | English | Yonggom Wambon | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|
| **378** | *a request, b. inquire* | *namepmo, rambamo* | vragen om, naar |
| **379** | *lie (deceive)* | *kojapmo* | liegen |
| **380** | *steal* | *kambir rap* | stelen |
| **381** | *throw away* | *somo* | weggooien |
| **382** | *burn (tr.)* | *undo* | verbranden |
| **383** | *dig* | *so* | graven |
| **384** | *go away* | *ko* | weggaan |
| **385** | *command* | *rogo* | bevelen |
| **386** | *come* | *me* | komen |
| **387** | *collect* | *jaŋgumo* | verzamelen |
| **388** | *hit* | *in* | slaan |
| **389** | *revenge* | *ŋgotap karemo* | wreken |
| **390** | *much* | *kutok* | veel |
| **391** | *nothing* | *ndoj* | niets |
| **392** | *all, everything* | *amukmo* | alle, alles |
| **393** | *be sufficient* | *kare* | genoeg zijn |
| **394** | *some* | *kenae* | enkele, enige |
| **395** | *daylight* | *waran* | daglicht |
| **396** | *be light* | *rat* | licht, helder |
| **397** | *night* | *mitik* | nacht |
| **398** | *dark* | *ndembeŋ* | donker |
| **399** | *now* | *kowandut* | nu |
| **400** | *yesterday* | *wamin* | gisteren |
| **401** | *tomorrow, next day* | *jan ŋga*[16] | morgen |
| **402** | *morning* | *ariw amin* | ochtend |
| **403** | *above* | *koture* | boven |
| **404** | *below* | *korire* | onder |
| **405** | *close* | *sindik* | nabij |
| **406** | *far* | *kamam* | veraf |
| **407** | *outside* | *kat* | buiten |
| **408** | *inside* | *kop* | binnen |

16 Lit. *jan ŋga* [lie CIRC] ‘after sleep’.

# 8

# Alphabetical index to the English–Yonggom Wambon wordlist

The list below forms an index to the thematic wordlist presented in the previous chapter. The numbers given in the second and fourth columns of the table correspond to the numbers in the first column of the thematic list.

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **above** | 403 |
| **Adam's apple** | 030 |
| **afterbirth** | 117 |
| **agriculture** | 205 |
| **alang-alang** | 230 |
| **all, everything** | 392 |
| **angry** | 323 |
| **ankle** | 065 |
| **anus** | 052 |
| **arm** | 071 |
| **arm, upper _** | 072 |
| **armpit** | 073 |
| **arrow** | 201 |
| **ashes** | 183 |
| **ask for** | 378 |
| **awake, be _** | 360 |
| **axe** | 221 |
| **axe, stone _** | 222 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **back of human** | 048 |
| **backbone** | 049 |
| **bake, roast** | 189 |
| **bald** | 007 |
| **bamboo** | 218 |
| **banana** | 216 |
| **bark** | 226 |
| **bat** | 246 |
| **bathe** | 106 |
| **be awake** | 360 |
| **be bent** | 305 |
| **be cooked through** | 190 |
| **be cross-eyed** | 135 |
| **be empty** | 327 |
| **be full** | 328 |
| **be hungry** | 091 |
| **be ill** | 125 |
| **be light** | 396 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **be in pain** | 126 |
| **be pregnant** | 116 |
| **be satisfied** | 094 |
| **be shy** | 299 |
| **be silent** | 352 |
| **be sleepy** | 099 |
| **be sufficient** | 393 |
| **be thirsty** | 093 |
| **be unwilling** | 368 |
| **beard** | 022 |
| **belly** | 041 |
| **bellyache** | 128 |
| **below** | 404 |
| **bent, be _** | 305 |
| **big** | 290 |
| **big toe** | 078 |
| **bind** | 376 |
| **bird** | 245 |
| **bird of paradise** | 244 |
| **bite** | 095 |
| **black** | 338 |
| **blind** | 133 |
| **blood** | 081 |
| **blunt** | 311 |
| **body** | 001 |
| **body hair** | 085 |
| **boil** | 127 |
| **bone** | 080 |
| **bow** | 200 |
| **bowels** | 042 |
| **brains** | 027 |
| **branch** | 223 |
| **breadfruit** | 214 |
| **break rope (intr.)** | 373 |
| **break rope (tr.)** | 372 |
| **break stone, (intr.)** | 375 |
| **break stone, (tr.)** | 374 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **break wood (intr.)** | 371 |
| **break wood (tr.)** | 370 |
| **breast** | 032, 033 |
| **breastfeed** | 037 |
| **breathe** | 089 |
| **bring along** | 346 |
| **brother, elder _** | 155 |
| **brother, younger _** | 157 |
| **burn** | 382 |
| **burp** | 114 |
| **butterfly** | 255 |
| **buttocks** | 051 |
| **calf** | 069 |
| **call** | 356 |
| **canoe** | 288 |
| **carry** | 359 |
| **cassowary** | 242 |
| **centipede** | 261 |
| **cheek** | 017 |
| **child, offspring** | 149 |
| **child, young person** | 152 |
| **chin** | 021 |
| **chop down, fell** | 220 |
| **close** | 405 |
| **cockroach** | 258 |
| **coconut** | 185, 213 |
| **cold** | 315 |
| **collect** | 387 |
| **come** | 386 |
| **command** | 385 |
| **cooked through, be _** | 190 |
| **cough** | 113 |
| **cripple** | 130 |
| **crocodile** | 264 |
| **cross-eyed, be _** | 135 |
| **crowned pigeon** | 243 |
| **cry** | 109 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **curse, swear** | 357 |
| **cutting knife** | 187 |
| **dark** | 398 |
| **daughter** | 151 |
| **daylight** | 395 |
| **dead person** | 121 |
| **deaf** | 132 |
| **deep** | 300 |
| **defecate** | 053 |
| **die** | 120 |
| **dig** | 383 |
| **do, make** | 347 |
| **dog** | 239 |
| **door** | 173 |
| **dream** | 098 |
| **drink** | 092 |
| **drum** | 170 |
| **dry** | 320 |
| **dumb, mute** | 131 |
| **ear** | 008 |
| **earth** | 270 |
| **earthquake** | 275 |
| **earwax** | 009 |
| **eat** | 090 |
| **egg** | 237 |
| **elbow** | 074 |
| **elder brother** | 155 |
| **elder sister** | 156 |
| **empty, be _** | 327 |
| **enemy** | 204 |
| **even, flat** | 306 |
| **everything, all** | 392 |
| **extinguish (intr.)** | 181 |
| **extinguish a fire** | 180 |
| **eye** | 010 |
| **eyebrows** | 012 |
| **face** | 003 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **faeces** | 054 |
| **far** | 406 |
| **fart** | 055 |
| **fast** | 334 |
| **fat (adj.)** | 297 |
| **fat (n.)** | 298 |
| **father** | 147 |
| **feathers** | 234 |
| **fell** | 198 |
| **fell, chop down** | 220 |
| **female** | 142 |
| **fence** | 206 |
| **find** | 341 |
| **finger** | 075 |
| **fire** | 178 |
| **fire, extinguish a _** | 180 |
| **fire, make a _** | 179 |
| **firefly** | 256 |
| **firewood** | 184 |
| **fish** | 192 |
| **flat, even** | 306 |
| **flesh** | 082 |
| **flower** | 228 |
| **fly (n)** | 253 |
| **fly (v)** | 235 |
| **foot** | 063 |
| **footprint, track** | 283 |
| **forehead** | 004 |
| **forest** | 282 |
| **forget** | 351 |
| **friend** | 164 |
| **frog** | 263 |
| **fruit** | 229 |
| **fruit bat** | 247 |
| **full, be _** | 328 |
| **gaba-gaba** | 176 |
| **gall** | 044 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **get, go and _** | 344 |
| **get up** | 100 |
| **ghost, shade** | 165 |
| **give** | 342 |
| **give birth** | 169 |
| **go and get** | 344 |
| **go away** | 384 |
| **go down** | 281 |
| **go up** | 280 |
| **good** | 322 |
| **grandchild** | 159 |
| **grandfather** | 153 |
| **grandmother** | 154 |
| **grasshopper** | 257 |
| **ground** | 286 |
| **guard** | 361 |
| **hair on head** | 006 |
| **hair, body _** | 085 |
| **hand** | 071 |
| **hard** | 312 |
| **have intercourse** | 060 |
| **head** | 002 |
| **hear** | 363 |
| **heart** | 040 |
| **heavy** | 308 |
| **heel** | 066 |
| **hide (transitive)** | 377 |
| **high** | 302 |
| **hit** | 388 |
| **house** | 172 |
| **human** | 137 |
| **hungry, be _** | 091 |
| **husband** | 160 |
| **ill, be _** | 125 |
| **inside** | 408 |
| **island** | 278 |
| **jump** | 369 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **kangaroo** | 241 |
| **kill** | 122 |
| **knee** | 068 |
| **knife, cutting _** | 187 |
| **knife, shell** | 186 |
| **know** | 349 |
| **ladder** | 174 |
| **laugh** | 108 |
| **leaf** | 225 |
| **leech** | 262 |
| **leg** | 063 |
| **lie (deceive)** | 379 |
| **lie (down)** | 103 |
| **light (opp. of heavy)** | 309 |
| **light, be _** | 396 |
| **light, make a fire** | 179 |
| **lightning** | 274 |
| **lip** | 020 |
| **live** | 119 |
| **liver** | 043 |
| **long** | 292 |
| **louse** | 251 |
| **love** | 367 |
| **low** | 303 |
| **lung** | 039 |
| **make war** | 203 |
| **make, do** | 347 |
| **male** | 141 |
| **man** | 139 |
| **man, old _** | 145 |
| **man, young _** | 143 |
| **marry** | 168 |
| **marsupial** | 240 |
| **mat** | 177 |
| **medicine** | 136 |
| **milk** | 035 |
| **molar** | 026 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **moon** | 268 |
| **morning** | 402 |
| **mosquito** | 254 |
| **mother** | 148 |
| **mountain** | 279 |
| **mouse** | 248 |
| **mouth, inner part of _** | 019 |
| **mouth, outer part of _** | 018 |
| **much** | 390 |
| **mucus** | 016 |
| **mute, dumb** | 131 |
| **nail** | 077 |
| **name** | 138 |
| **navel** | 046 |
| **neck** | 031 |
| **nest** | 236 |
| **net** | 250 |
| **new** | 332 |
| **night** | 397 |
| ***nippa* palm** | 215 |
| **nipple** | 034 |
| **nose** | 014 |
| **nostril** | 015 |
| **nothing** | 391 |
| **now** | 399 |
| **offspring, child** | 149 |
| **old (age)** | 329 |
| **old (duration)** | 330 |
| **old man** | 145 |
| **old woman** | 146 |
| **outside** | 407 |
| **paddle** | 289 |
| **pain, be in _** | 126 |
| **palate** | 024 |
| **palm, *nippa* _** | 215 |
| **penis** | 057 |
| **person, young _** | 152 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **phlegm** | 088 |
| **pig** | 238 |
| **pigeon, crowned _** | 243 |
| **pink** | 079 |
| **plant** | 207 |
| **play** | 171 |
| **potato, sweet _** | 211 |
| **pregnant, be _** | 116 |
| **rain** | 271 |
| **rainbow** | 272 |
| **rat** | 249 |
| **rattan** | 217 |
| **raw, uncooked** | 191 |
| **red** | 339 |
| **revenge** | 389 |
| **rib** | 038 |
| **ripe** | 208 |
| **river** | 284 |
| **roast, bake** | 189 |
| **root** | 224 |
| **rope** | 197 |
| **sago** | 193 |
| **saliva** | 087 |
| **sand** | 287 |
| **satisfied, be_** | 094 |
| **say** | 355 |
| **scabies** | 129 |
| **scar** | 124 |
| **search** | 340 |
| **see** | 364 |
| **shade, ghost** | 165 |
| **shallow** | 301 |
| **sharp** | 310 |
| **shell, knife** | 186 |
| **shin** | 070 |
| **shiver** | 316 |
| **shoot** | 202 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **short** | 293 |
| **shoulder** | 050 |
| **shut eyes** | 134 |
| **shy, be _** | 299 |
| **side (of body)** | 045 |
| **silent, be_** | 352 |
| **sing** | 354 |
| **sister, elder _** | 156 |
| **sister, younger _** | 158 |
| **sit** | 104 |
| **skin** | 084 |
| **skull** | 005 |
| **sky** | 266 |
| **sleep** | 097 |
| **sleepy, be _** | 099 |
| **slippery** | 307 |
| **slow** | 335 |
| **small** | 291 |
| **smell** | 365 |
| **smoke (n.)** | 182 |
| **snake** | 260 |
| **sneeze** | 112 |
| **soft** | 313 |
| **sole** | 064 |
| **some** | 394 |
| **son** | 150 |
| **soul** | 166 |
| **sour** | 336 |
| **speak** | 353 |
| **spear** | 199 |
| **spider** | 252 |
| **spit** | 110 |
| **stand** | 101 |
| **star** | 269 |
| **steal** | 380 |
| **stem** | 080 |
| **stink** | 056 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **stone** | 285 |
| **stone axe** | 222 |
| **straight** | 304 |
| **strong** | 318 |
| **suck** | 366 |
| **suck breast** | 036 |
| **sufficient, be _** | 393 |
| **sugarcane** | 210 |
| **sun** | 267 |
| **swallow** | 096 |
| **swear, curse** | 357 |
| **sweat** | 086 |
| **sweet potato** | 211 |
| **swim** | 105 |
| **tail of bird** | 232 |
| **tail of tetrapod** | 231 |
| **take** | 343 |
| **take along** | 345 |
| **taro** | 212 |
| **tears** | 013 |
| **tell, narrate** | 167 |
| **tendon** | 083 |
| **termite (white ant)** | 259 |
| **testis** | 058 |
| **thick (of flat objects)** | 294 |
| **thigh** | 067 |
| **thin (of flat objects)** | 295 |
| **thin (of person)** | 296 |
| **think** | 350 |
| **thirsty, be _** | 093 |
| **thorn** | 227 |
| **throat (inner part)** | 028 |
| **throat (outer part)** | 029 |
| **throw away** | 381 |
| **thumb** | 078 |
| **thunder (v.)** | 273 |
| **tired** | 333 |

| English | No. |
|---|---|
| **tobacco** | 194 |
| **toe** | 076 |
| **toe, big _** | 078 |
| **toe, small _** | 079 |
| **tomorrow** | 401 |
| **tongue** | 023 |
| **tooth** | 025 |
| **torch** | 188 |
| **track, footprint** | 283 |
| **tree, wood** | 219 |
| **true** | 326 |
| **turtle** | 265 |
| **twin** | 118 |
| **twine** | 195 |
| **twist a rope** | 196 |
| **udder** | 033 |
| **umbilical cord** | 047 |
| **uncooked, raw** | 191 |
| **unripe** | 209 |
| **unwilling, be _** | 368 |
| **urinate** | 061 |
| **urine** | 062 |
| **vagina** | 059 |
| **voice** | 107 |
| **vomit** | 111 |
| **wait** | 362 |
| **walk** | 102 |
| **wall** | 175 |
| **warm** | 314 |
| **wash** | 348 |
| **water** | 277 |
| **weak** | 319 |
| **wet** | 321 |
| **whiskers** | 011 |
| **white** | 337 |
| **white ant (termite)** | 259 |
| **wide** | 317 |
| **widow** | 163 |
| **widower** | 162 |
| **wife** | 161 |
| **wind** | 276 |
| **wing** | 233 |
| **woman** | 140 |
| **woman, old _** | 146 |
| **woman, young _** | 144 |
| **wood, tree** | 219 |
| **work** | 358 |
| **worthless** | 324 |
| **wound** | 123 |
| **wrong** | 325 |
| **yawn** | 115 |
| **yesterday** | 400 |
| **young** | 331 |
| **young man** | 143 |
| **young person** | 152 |
| **young woman** | 144 |
| **younger brother** | 157 |
| **younger sister** | 158 |

# 9

# Yonggom Wambon–English wordlist

The list below contains approximately 700 lexical entries for Yonggom Wambon (YW), which have been obtained by unravelling all the lexical data—including function words—hidden in Drabbe's publication. It is a compilation of data from three different sources: the text corpus, examples given by Drabbe in his grammatical introduction (all of which are cited in this publication) and the thematic wordlist provided by Drabbe and presented in previous chapters. Of those three sources, the text corpus provides the most reliable data, as it presents the words used in a more natural context compared to the words in the other sources, which are all based on word-by-word or sentence-by-sentence elicitation. Note that the list below contains words exclusively from Drabbe's (1959) publication; for words exclusively found in Drabbe's 1956 wordlist, the reader is referred to the Appendix.

For each lemma, we find, in different fonts and in the order as given below: the part of speech; then an English gloss;[1] then one or more references to occurrences in the text corpus, passages in Drabbe or sections in this publication; then—if the lemma is attested there—a reference to the number in the English–YW wordlist; then an optional reference to semantically or formally related words; and finally an optional remark. An example is given in Figure 29.

1 Instead of an English gloss, we sometimes found an abbreviation in capitals, used to refer to a grammatical function of the morpheme, e.g. SEQ as a gloss of *a*.

**aep** ***n*** **decoration**
9.04
Attested only once, in the expression *aep ki* 'decoration be(come)'.

**aerap** ***v*** **vomit**
Section 2.2 **111**
Derived from the noun *aet.*

**aet** ***n*** **vomit**
Section 1.1.1

**aetokmo** ***?*** **some, several**
Section 1.1.1
Attested only once, and not attested in the text corpus; Dutch: *enkele*.

**agaeopmo** ***v*** **do what**
4.13; Section 3.2.6

**agatkande** ***v*** **go a long way around**
4.21, 4.22

**agoj** ***n*** **charcoal**
Section 1.2.1
Attested only once, and not attested in the text corpus.

**agu** ***n*** **afternoon**
Section 3.7
Attested only once, in *agu sop* 'in the afternoon'

**agum'mbiamo** ***v*** **wash**
**348**
***agumo***

**Figure 29: Part of the YW–English wordlist.**

As can be seen in Figure 29, references to the text corpus, sections in this publication or sections in Drabbe are printed in the position following the English translation. Numbers in non-bold font refer to sections in the text corpus or in the grammatical introduction. References to the English–YW wordlist, on the other hand, are given in bold font. The absence of numbers in non-bold font means that the morpheme in question was attested in the wordlist only. This is the case, for example, for *agum'mbiamo*, which only has a reference to the wordlist, in bold font. Likewise, the absence of a reference to the wordlist means that the item was not attested in this list, but only in one or more of the other sources. See, for example, *aep*, or *aerap*. Coming back to the references in non-bold, the following method was followed. If an item was attested in the text corpus, I have always added at least one reference to a place of occurrence. In addition, I have added references to

sections in Drabbe or in this publication, only in those cases where the form was not attested in the text corpus, or in cases where these extra references were considered useful for the reader.

For verbs, only the primary stem is given. For the corresponding secondary, iterative and imperative stems, the reader is referred to Sections 2.2, 2.4 and 2.5, respectively; the secondary and iterative stems are also given in the Appendix. The words are presented in alphabetical order, with *ŋ* following *n*.

Although Drabbe discusses the different parts of speech and is aware that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between parts of speech in Dutch and in YW, he has refrained from giving the part of speech for each stem. This means that the indication of the part of speech in this publication is sometimes not more than an 'informed guess', based either on the meaning of the form, on the class membership indicated by Drabbe, or on the use of the form in the text corpus. In those cases where none of these criteria is sufficient, I have placed a question mark, as in the examples presented in Figure 30. The question mark proceeding ***n*** at *enden* indicates that it might be a noun. The question mark after *ege* indicates that the part of speech is unclear.

**ege** ***?*** THEM
Section 5.4
Probably a thematic maker.

**egop** ***n*** **bamboo**
**218**

**emo** ***v*** **do thus**
1.02; 1.06; 3.07; Section 5.6.2; Section 2.8
Used in generic clause linking, see Section 5.6.2.

**en** ***v*** **eat**
6.03; 7.05 **090**

**enden** ***?n*** **alone**
5.01; 9.04

**Figure 30: Part of the YW–English wordlist, with indication of the use of question marks.**

The translations in this wordlist are not always exactly the same as those that we find as glosses in the text corpus. This is because the glossing in the text corpus suffers from technical limitations, like the impossibility of using multi-word descriptions in interlinear glossing, or the wish to keep the glosses as compact as possible.

References to semantically or formally related words have been printed in bold italics; in Figure 29 we find *agumo* as related to *agum'mbiamo*. These references serve to encourage the reader to look for formal relations between different morphemes, or to get a better impression of their semantic ranges. I do not pretend to give a systematic account of semantic fields or other relations within the lexicon, as the data are too limited: the textual corpus consists of some 1,760 words only, and we do not have access to native speakers to do any formal or semantic checks or tests. I cannot do more here than reproduce, with gratitude, the founding work of Drabbe, and leave it to others to build forth on this (cf. Gonda and Anceaux 1970:460).

**a** ***cnj*** SEQ
*a* is a sequential marker, see Section 5.3.3.

**aep** ***n*** **decoration**
9.04
Attested only once, in the expression *aep ki* 'decoration be(come)'.

**aerap** ***v*** **vomit**
Section 2.2 **111**
Derived from the noun *aet.*

**aet** ***n*** **vomit**
Section 1.1.1

**aetokmo** ***?*** **some, several**
Section 1.1.1
Attested only once, and not attested in the text corpus; Dutch: *enkele*.

**agaeopmo** ***v*** **do what**
4.13; Section 3.2.6

**agatkande** ***v*** **go a long way around**
4.21, 4.22

**agoj** ***n*** **charcoal**
Section 1.2.1
Attested only once, and not attested in the text corpus.

**agu** ***n*** **afternoon**
Section 3.7
Attested only once, in *agu sop* 'in the afternoon'

**agum'mbiamo** ***v*** **wash**
**348**
***agumo***[2]

**agumo** ***v*** **put into**
2.01; 5.14

**ahak** ***a*** **thin**
Section 3.3 **295**
Attested once in Drabbe's grammatical introduction, and once in his wordlist; not attested in the text corpus.

**ahap piri** ***n*** **gate, door**
4.22; 7.08 **173**
Composed of *ahap* and *mbiri* 'house'.

**ahum** ***n*** **liver**
**043**

**ajak** ***n*** **phlegm**
**088, 113**
*Ajak ti* is given as a translation for 'to cough', see 113 in the English–YW wordlist.

**ajam** ***n*** **other side**
See Section 3.6 for its use in counting using the body parts.

**ajuk** ***?*** **not want**
Section 4.5.2
***amop***
Used to mark a prohibitive, see Section 4.5.2.

2 In the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, *mbiamo* is translated as 'purify'.

**ajukmo** ***v*** **not want**
4.29; 5.12; 5.21 **368**
Cf. Section 4.5.2 on prohibitives.

**ak** ***?*** **praise**
Section 3.2.4.4
In the combination *ak te*: praise say.

**amandup ? mandup** ***n*** **son**
9.01

**ambae** ***?n*** **other, further**
3.05; 7.01
***awae, kigip***
Possibly also analysable as adjective.

**ambit** ***n*** **skin, peel**
9.03

**ambot** ***n*** **arrow**
7.05
***kanut***
Drabbe glosses *ambot* with 'arrow with a bunch of spearheads'.

**ambotop** ***n*** **nose**
2.09 **014**
Also used in counting for the number 14, see Section 3.6.

**ambum** ***n*** **turtle**
**265**

**ambumkak** ***n*** **scorpion**
6.05

**amgon** ***n*** **mountain**
**279**

**amin ? ariwamin**

**amok** ***?*** **in vain**
Section 1.1.1
Attested only once, and not attested in the text corpus.

**amop** PROH
5.15
See Section 4.5.2 on prohibitives.

**amuj** ***?a*** **ripe**
**208**
***mbatop***

**amuk** ***?*** **all**
Section 1.1.1
Attested only once, and not attested in the text corpus.

**amukmo** ***?v*** **all**
1.10 **392**
Attested only in 1.10.

**amun** ***n*** **marsupial**
2.02, 2.04

**andan** ***?n*** **drought**
11.03

**andap, andawo** ***v*** **bind**
6.06; Section 2.2 **376**
The corpus contains only one example, of the secondary stem.

**ande ? en**

**andoj** ***n*** **bird of paradise**
**244**

**anduj** ***n*** **stem**
4.02; Section 3.1.1.2
Stem of plant or tree.

**andunow in** ***v*** **yawn**
**115**

**ani, nani** ***n*** **elder sister**
6.08; 7.01 **156**
***ani, net, kinum, nan***
The form *nani* is attested only once, in the English–YW wordlist, elsewhere *ani*. Note that the English–YW wordlist also has *nomben* rather than *omben*.

**anop** ***n*** **tongue**
Section 1.1.1 **023**

**aŋgae** ***n*** **dog**
1.15 **239**

**aŋgo ? oj aŋgo**

**aŋgu** ***n*** **thumb; big toe**
Section 3.6 **078**
Also used in counting, see Section 3.6.

**aŋgun** ***n*** **snake**
10.04 **260**

**ap** ***?v*** **follow**
5.06
Attested only once. Drabbe remarks that *ap*, in combination with a verb of movement, is used only for a woman who joins and follows her husband from behind.

**ap** ***n*** **nest**
Section 1.1.1 **236**

**arapke** ***v*** **protest**
4.32

**arat** ***n*** **spear**
1.09 **199**

**arek** ***?*** **investigate**
5.02
In combination with following *ke* 'be', *arek* designates 'to investigate'. It is attested only once.

**arek** ***n*** **kind of parrot**
Section 1.1.1

**arigo**[3] ***v*** **wrap up**
5.04

**arin** ***n*** **thorn**
**227**

**arjok** ***a*** **new; uncooked**
Section 3.3 **191; 332**

**arjok mba** ***v*** **live, be alive**
**119**

**arip** ***n*** **day**
10.03
Mentioned by Drabbe in his explanation of the structure of *ariruma*; also in the compound *ariwamin*.

**arirumo** ***v*** **be two days**
11.03
Attested only once. Drabbe glosses 'do two days' and remarks that the verb is a contraction of *arip* 'day' and *irumo* 'two' (Drabbe 1959:157a).

**aritow in** ***v*** **laugh**
**108**

**ariw amin** ***n*** **early morning**
10.03 **402**
Compound of *arip* 'day' and *amin*.

**arogagumo** ***v*** **swallow**
10.10
***ogarurop***
Composed of and *agumo* 'put into' and *arok* ('throat?').

**arugup** ***?a*** **wide**
**317**

**asiganae ti** ***v*** **sneeeze**
**112**

**aterem** ***n*** **scar**
**124**

**atigo** ***v*** **bind; bite**
4.15; 4.37 **095**

**atik ? atigo** ***v***
4.37
Shorter form of *atigo*.

**atop** ***n*** **vagina**
5.06 **059**

**awae** ***?n*** **other**
2.08; 11.04
***ambae***

**awaritop** ***?*** **on the ground**
6.11

**awerekmo** ***v*** **wrap**
12.05
***arigo, awirikmo***

**awirikmo** ***v*** **embrace**[4]
***awerekmo***

3 From the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, we learn that the stem is *arigo* rather than *ariga* (with regular change of final *a* into *o* before realis marker *-t*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.4).
4 Note that the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix has *awerekmo* glossed with both 'wrap' and 'embrace'.

**awoj** ***a?*** **weak; soft**
Section 3.3 **313; 319**

**awomburuj** ***n*** **butterfly**
**255**

**awoŋ** ***?*** **work**
Drabbe 1939:133b; Section 2.8 **358**
In the expression *awoŋ rap* 'work take'. Given the absence of phonemic *ŋ* in Yonggom Wambon, this must be a loan.

**awut mit** ***n*** **neck**
**031**

**de ? te**

**dok ? tok**

**e** ***pp*** ARG
Section 4.1.2
Marks an NP as an argument of a clause.

**e** LNK
Section 3.1.5
Possessive linker.

**e** ***conj*** SR
Section 3.1.5; Section 3.8
***o, te***
Subordinate conjunction.

**ege** ***?*** THEM
Section 5.4
Probably a thematic maker.

**egop** ***n*** **bamboo**
**218**

**emo** ***v*** **do thus**
1.02; 1.06; 3.06; Section 5.6.2; Section 2.8
Used in generic clause linking, see Section 5.6.2.

**en** ***v*** **eat**
6.03; 7.05 **090**

**enden**[5] ***?n*** **alone**
5.01; 9.04

**endom** ***n*** **enemy**
**204**

**enop** ***n*** **tree, wood**
6.12; 9.05 **219**

**enopkok** ***n*** **firewood**
**184**

**enop tenop** ***n*** **fire**
11.01 **178**
Composed of *enop* 'wood' and *tenop* 'red' (Section 3.3).

**enow uruk** ***n*** **smoke**
**182**

**ep** ***pron*** **there**
Section 3.2.5

**erek** ***con*** ENUM
Section 1.1.1; Section 3.8

**erenajop** ***n*** **rainbow**
**272**

**et** ***?*** NOM
Section 4.1.3
Emphatic nominative marker.

**eto** ***v*** **see**
**364**
***kindumo***
The primary stem is not attested in the text corpus.

**ewemo** ***v*** **do thus**
Section 2.5.1

**ewop** ***?*** **like that**
Section 3.2.5.4

**ewopmo** ***v*** **do so, do like that**
11.05; Section 3.2.5.4
***emo***

**igit** ***?v*** **thick**
**294**
Of flat objects.

5 The word is explained in more detail in Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

**ikaepmo** *v* **peck open**
Section 1.3.1

**ikmo** *v* **wake up**
Section 2.4.1

**imndin** *?n* **midnight**
12.09

**imonop** *n* **fly**
**253**

**in** *v* **hit**
**388**
See also mbaroŋgoj in and andunow in.

**indomo ? turutop**

**indum** *?n* **earthquake**
**275**

**iŋgamaŋgat** *?n* **medicine**
**136**

**iŋgamo** *v* **break (tr)**
5.17
***kaepmo***

**inim** *n* **tooth**
**025**

**ip** *n* **name**
4.37 **138**

**ip** *v* **twist a rope**
Section 2.4.1 **196**

**ipmo** *v* **smell (tr)**
**365**

**iroj** *n* **gravel**
Section 1.2.1

**irombot** *n* **scabies**
**129**

**irop** *n* **stone**
7.08; Section 3.3 **285**

**irukmo** *v* **be silent**
**352**
Irukmo re 'stand silent' is given as translation of 'wait' in 362 of the English–YW wordlist.

**irumon** *?n* **two**
1.14; Section 3.6

**it** *n* **arm; hand**
Section 3.6
***wit***
Used in counting, in the forms for 25 and 26.

**itiguimo** *v* **extinguish**
**180**
In enoptenow itiguimo 'extinguish a fire'

**itipmo** *n* **three**
Section 3.6

**itit** *n* **cassowary**
8.01 **242**

**itkirom** *n* **climbing rope**
5.17

**itop** *n* **ground, earth**
6.17 **270, 286**

**itwamip ~iwamip** *n* **middle finger**
Section 3.6

**itwaŋgop~i waŋgop** *n* **ring finger**
Section 3.6

**jagip** *n* **garden**
Section 3.1.1.1 **205**
In the English–YW wordlist, this is given as translation for 'agriculture'.

**jagok** *n* **forest**
**282**

**jaju jan** *v* **be ill**
**125**

**jan** *v* **lie**
Section 2.2 **103**

**jandit** *n* **path**
Section 4.1.1

**janem** *?adv* **secretly**
4.10, 4.21; Section 3.4

**jani** *a* **straight**
Section 3.3 **304**
Used only in combination with the 'adjectival suffixes' -matan or -mban.

**jaŋgarik** *n* **insect**
Section 1.1.2

**jaŋgok** *v* **lie[PL]**
Section 2.7.
Jaŋgok implies a plural subject.

**jaŋgot** *n* **torch**
**188**

**jaŋgumo** *v* **come together, bring together**
Section 2.2 **387**

**jawet** *n* **upper arm**

**jerep ? ok jerep ke**

**jet** *n* **bird**
12.02 **245**

**jetok** *n* **urine**
**062**
*Jetok ti* is the expression for 'urinate' (English–YW wordlist 061).

**jo** *v* **call, shout**
**356**

**jo** *v* **give**
Section 2.2; 11.07 **342**

**jojomara** *n* **kind of tree**
6.06

**jom** *n* **nibung palm**
12.02

**jom** *n* **mat**
**177**
Dutch: *ligmat*.

**jom** *n* **flesh**
**082**

**ju** *pron* **3SG**
Section 3.2.1

**jugut** *n* **trail**
4.12 **283**
***kun***
Trail made by animal or human being.

**jun** *n* **string bag**
5.24

**jun** *n* **boil**
**127**

**jup** *pron* **3SG.EMPH**
Section 3.2.1; 5.16; 5.22
Emphatic pronoun.

**jut** *n* **kind of tree**
4.01; 4.02

**kae** *n* **friend**
**164**
Realised as [gɑe] when preceded by demonstrative pronoun, see Section 3.1.2.

**kae** **break (tr)**
5.14
Attested only once, probably referring to the pulling off of leaves.
***kaende, kaepmo, kande, ŋgande***

**kaende** *v* **break (tr)**
4.37; 5.05 **370**
***kaepmo, kande, ŋgande***
*Ra kaende* is given in 370 as equivalent of break of wood (tr).

**kaemo** *v* **light**
6.15

**kaepmo** *v* **break (tr)**
5.07
***karomo, iŋgamo, kae, kaende***
According to Drabbe's gloss of 5.07, and according to the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, this is an iterative stem. In his grammatical description, however, which forms the basis for Section 2.4.1, he gives it as a primary stem, corresponding to an iterative *kagaepmo*, translating it as 'break wood etc.'

**kagaende** *v* **search**
5.06 **340**

**kagap** *?n* **ten**
Section 3.6
Exclusively used in counting.

**kaguj *n* ghost, shade**
**165**

**kaguk *n* pus**
Section 3.7

**kagun *a* heavy**
Section 3.3 **308**

**kagup *n* man, human being**
1.10; 2.06 **121; 137; 139; 162**
***kop***

**kahat *n* bamboo**
2.09; 5.05; 10.01

**kahot ? kasot mban**

**kajok *n* kind of climbing plant**
Section 3.1.1.1

**kak *n* frog**
**263**

**kakarak *n* cockroach**
**258**
***tet***

**kasot *a ?* kasot mban**

**kamae *a* big**
Section 3.3 **290**
***kim***
Attested only in combination with one of the adjectival suffixes.

**kamam *a* far**
**406**

**kambae *a*[6] flame**
Section 1.1.2

**kambaeke *v* flame up**
Section 3.5.3

**kambet *n* inner part**
12.03
***oj, kop***
Of trees.

**kambit *v* theft**
5.15 **380**
The English–YW wordlist has *kambir rap* 'steal take', as a translation of 'steal'.

**kamenwon *n* bullroarer**
1.01

**kamet *?a* youngest**
Section 1.1.2
Attested in Section 1.1.2 only, where it is translated by Drabbe as 'youngest' (Dutch: *jongste*).[7]

**kamut maran *a* round**
Composed of *kamut* and *ma-r-an* do-RLS[NISG]-PST, see Section 3.3.

**kan *n* sharpened bamboo**
Section 1.1.2

**kanaŋgit *n* palate**
**024**

**kande *v* break (intr)**
9.09 **371**
***tupke, ŋgande, kaende***
In 371 of the English-YW wordlist, *kande* is used as translation for the intransitive breaking of wood.

**kandit *n* dowry**
Section 1.1.2
Drabbe: sum paid for a woman.

**kandun *n* meat**
11.07

**kanut *n* arrow**
7.06
***ambot***

**karanam *n* machete**
**187**
Dutch: *hakmes*.

**kare *?* sufficient**
**393**

**kare *adv* possibly**
Section 4.6.1

6 See the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix for the classification of *kambae* as an adjective.
7 See the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix for its use in kinship terms.

**karemo** ***v*** **do so, do like**
Section 2.4.1, 2.8
In the English–YW wordlist, *ŋgotap karemo* 'do so in exchange' is given as a translation of 'revenge'.

**kareop** ***a*** **true**
**326**

**karimo** ***v*** **count**
Section 1.1.2

**karit** ***n*** **pandanus**
Section 1.1.2

**karogotmo** ***v*** **flatten**
6.09
The form is attested only once.

**karomo** ***v*** **break (tr)**
**374**
***kaepmo, karonde***
In 374 of the English-YW wordlist, *ra karomo* is given as translation for the transitive breaking of a stone.

**karonde** ***v*** **break (intr)**
12.11 **375**
***karomo***

**kasot mban** ***a*** **stingy**
Section 1.1.2
Dutch: *gierig*. Composed of *kasot* and *mban* 'sit' and realised as [kahotpan], see Section 3.3 on formation of adjectives.

**kat** ***?*** **outside**
Section 1.1.1 **407**

**katet** ***n*** **saliva**
**087; 110**
***tiomo***

**kat kokmo** ***v*** **be in pain**
**126**
***otem***

**katkuj** ***n*** **rubbish, dirt**
Section 1.2.1

**katomo**[8] ***v*** **close**
5.21

**katoni** ***?a*** **ignorant, not knowing**
Section 4.2; Section 4.3.2.1 **351**

**kawae** ***n*** **sperm**
Section 1.1.2

**kawit** ***n*** **hornbill**
5.23

**kawonde**[9] ***v*** **split**
9.03

**ke** ***v*** **be**
1.06; Section 2.8
Consistently glossed as be. According to Drabbe, the form actually means 'become' (see footnote 42 in Section 3.3); I consider this 'meaning' as a contextual inference.

**kem** ***?n*** **downstream**
1.02; Section 3.5
***kin***

**ken** ***a*** **bitter**
Section 3.3

**kenae** ***?*** **some**
**394**

**kendet** ***n*** **drum**
**170**

**keretmo** ***v*** **care**
Section 2.3.2.1; 4.5.3.
Used in the sense of taking care of ill people, or treating them.

**kerewet** ***?a*** **dry**
**320**
***satkok***

8 From the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix we learn that the stem is *katomo* rather than *katoma* (with regular change of final *a* into *o* before realis marker *-t*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.4).
9 From the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, we may conclude that the stem is *kawonde* rather than *kawondi* (with harmonisation of final *e* into *i* before intentional *-ni*).

**kerop *n* eye**
**010**

**kerop ? kondok kerop**

**kerop mitpan blind**
**133**

**kerop toŋgot *n* eyebrows**
**012**

**ket *n* flower**
**228**

**ketmom *n* dance**
12.02; Section 2.3.1.1
Followed by *i* 'hit' or *uru* 'put'.

**ketamo *v* close eyes**[10]
Section 2.5.1

**ketop ? mimit ketop, wit ketop, wan ketop**

**kigip *?n* other**
11.02; Section 1.1.2
***ambae, awae***

**kigup**[11] ***n* club**
Dutch: *knots*.

**kim *v* die**
Section 2.2; 2.08; 4.38; 10.08 **106; 120; 181**
Also used for intransitive extinguish.

**kim *v* rub**
Section 2.2; Section 2.5.1
Cf. *ok kim* 'to bathe' in English–YW wordlist, no. 106.

**kim *a* big**
Section 2.3.2.1
***kamae***

**kim ra ko *v* swim**
**105** Section 2.4.1
Serial verb *kim* 'rub' *ra* take' *ko* 'go'.

**kin *?n* upstream**
1.07; 1.10
***kem***

**kin *n* sugarcane**
**210**

**kindumo**[12] ***v* look**
4.09
***eto***

**kinum *n* brother**
5.10; Section 3.1.2 (footnote)
***net, nan***

**kinum jan *v* sleep**
4.06 **097**
Attested 7 times in the text corpus, where *kinum* is always followed directly by the verb *jan* 'lie', and not attested independently.

**kinum kok ke *v* be sleepy**
**099**
***kok***

**kiok *?a* surprised, in wonder**
Section 2.8

**kirigit *n* kind of sago**
5.13
***ndun***

**kiririmo *v* flee.ITER**
9.07
Iterative stem, see Section 2.4.1; primary form is not given by Drabbe and not attested in the corpus.[13]

**kirop ~ kirup *n* kind of fish**
1.08; 1.09
The Malay name given by Drabbe (1959:146) is ikan baung.

10 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist gives 'open eyes' rather than 'close eyes' as a translation. This suggests that *ketamo* is somehow related to *koto* 'go in or out'.
11 From the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix we learn that the stem is *kigup* rather than *kigum*, with nasal assimilation of *p* to *m*, see Section 1.3.4.
12 From the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix we learn that the stem is *kindumo* rather than *kinduma*.
13 The 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, however, gives the primary form *ŋgirimo (ko, ka)* 'flee'.

**kitup *n* thigh; branch of tree**
**067; 223**

**kiwuj *?n* wind**
**276**

**ko *v* go**
1.01 **102; 384**
In realis forms with *-t*, the verb has irregular inflection, see Section 2.3.4.1. In elicitation also given as translation for 'to walk' (probably elicited with Bahasa Indonesia *jalan*), and for 'to go away'. See also Section 3.5.2.2.

**kojake *v* be full, get full**
1.05 **328**
Composed of *koja* '?full' and *ke*, see Section 2.8.

**kojam *n* kind of palm**
12.02

**kojapmo *v* lie, deceive**
Section 4.5.3 **379**

**kojop *n* cheek**
**017**

**kojop ? mun kojop**

**kok *?* full-grown, dead**
Section 1.1.1; 3.5.2.1
Dutch: *volgroeid*. In the English–YW wordlist, *enop kok* is given as translation of English 'firewood'. See also the expression *kinum kok ke* above.

**kom *n* chips**
4.01
Dutch: *spaanders*.

**kombatim *?* male**[14]
**141**

**kombisop *n* forehead**
**004**

**komo *v* close**
4.22; Section 2.5.1

**kondan mba *v* be awake**
**360**

**kondip *?adv* immediately**
6.16; Section 3.4

**kondok *n* foot**
Section 1.1.2; 3.1.1.2 **063**
Cf. *tet kondok*, for grasshopper.

**kondok kerop *n* knee**
**068**
Composed of *kondok* 'foot' and *kerop* 'eye'.

**konoj *n* canoe**
4.02; 4.26 **288**

**kop *n* inner part**
Section 3.7 **408**
***kambet, oj***

**kop *n* man**
Section 1.3.3
***kagup***
Mentioned in Section 1.3.3. only, as part of the compound *kopari*.

**kopari *n* adult man, husband**
Section 1.3.3 **145; 160**
Composed of *kop* 'man' plus *mbari* 'adult'.

**korae *n* kind of fish**
Section 1.1.1

**kore *pron* over there**[15]
1.10; Section 3.2.5

**korewop *pron* like that over there**
Section 3.2.5.4

**kori *n* stone axe**
**222**

**korip, korire *pron* down there**
5.21; Section 3.5.1 **404**

14 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist gives *mbatim* 'male, of animals', and *kop mbatim* or *kombatim* as 'male, of humans'. For *kop* cf. *kombari* below.
15 Glossed in this publication as DIST, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.5.

In the English–YW wordlist, *korire* is given as a translation of 'below'.

**korok** ***?a*** **quiet**
Section 1.1.2; 2.8

**koro(k)ke** ***v*** **be untied**
Section 2.2

**korokmo**[16] ***v*** **open, untie**
5.21; Section 2.2
***ratokmo***

**korom** ***n*** **kind of fish**
4.01; 5.21

**kosep** ***n*** **ashes**
**183**

**kosip** ***?v*** **stink**
**056**
In the English–YW wordlist followed by the verbaliser *ke*.

**kotae** ***n*** **bark; skin**
4.01; 5.24 **001; 084; 226**
In the English–YW wordlist, *kotae* is given also as a translation of 'body'.

**koten** ***n*** **sweat**
Section 4.2 **086**

**kotim** ***n*** **woodpigeon**
**243**
Given in English–YW wordlist as translation of 'crowned pigeon'.

**koture** ***pron*** **up there, above**
Section 3.5.1 **403**
Given as translation of 'above' in the English–YW wordlist.

**kowandut** ***?adv*** **now**
4.26; 4.30 **399**

**kuguj** ***?n*** **fat**
**298**
Given as translation of 'fat' (n) in the English-YW wordlist.

**kuj** ***a*** **black**
Section 3.3 **338**

**kuji** IQ
5.06

**kujom** ***?a*** **angry**
**323**

**kujom ? ok kujom**

**kuk** ***n*** **fence**
4.14; 4.15 **206**

**kuk** ***n*** **nibung palm**
11.01

**kuk** ***a*** **white**
Section 1.1.1 **337**

**kukmo** ***v*** **direct at**
6.15

**kumraeke** ***v*** **be clear**
5.21

**kumuj ke** ***v*** **be pregnant**
**116**

**kumuk** ***n*** **wrist**
Section 1.1.2; also used in counting, for 'six' and 'twelve', see Section 3.6

**kumut** ***n*** **sky**
**266, 273**
In the English–YW wordlist, *kumut* is given as translation of the verb 'to thunder', see also the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

**kun** ***n*** **trail**
4.12; Section 3.1.1.2
***jugut***

**kun ? om kun**

**kunop** ***n*** **small mammal**
**240**
General name for mice, rats and marsupials. Given in English–YW wordlist as translation of 'marsupial'.

16 From the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, we learn that the stem is *korokmo* rather than *korokma* (with regular change of final *a* into *o* before realis marker *-t*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.4).

**kunuk *n* mouse**
Section 1.1.2

**kunow amun *n* small mammal**
12.02
***ujamun***
Compound of *kunop* and *amun*. The difference between *kunowamun* and *kunop* is not clear. Drabbe glosses the form as marsupials, rats and mice.

**kup *pp*** COM
Section 3.7; 2.01

**kurugut *n* upper part**
Section 3.7; 10.14
*Kurugut* is a relational noun, see Section 3.7.

**kurugut *n* index finger; four**
Section 3.6; 1.14
As a body part noun, *kurugut* refers to the body part proper. In counting, *kurugut* plus *kup* refers to 'four', see Section 3.6.

**kuruj *n* forest**
Section 4 (intro, footnote)

**kurun *n* nibung bark**
6.07

**kurup *n* forest pig**
Section 3.1.1.1

**kutok *?* much**
Section 4.3.2.3 **390**

**kutugut *a* fat**
**297**
Given as translation of 'fat '(adj.) in the English–YW wordlist, also in 1956 wordlist in Appendix.

**kutuk *a* short, low**
**293; 303**

**maem *n* gecko**
Section 1.1.2

**magap *n* topped trunk**
3.01

**magop *n* grandchild**
10.06 **159**

**majum *n* kind of sago**
1.07

**mak *n* shoulder**
Section 3.6
***wit mak***
In counting, *mak kup*, realised as [makup], refers to 'ten', see Section 3.6.

**makup *n* ten**
Section 3.6
Composed of *mak* 'shoulder' and *kup* 'with', see also Section 3.6 on the body part telling system used in counting.

**mamae *n?* young man, young**
**143; 331**
Only attested in the English–YW wordlist (and in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix).

**mamin *?a* warm**
**314**

**mamuririop *n* centipede**
**261**

**man *n* thing**
Section 3.2.4.1
***on***
Possibly a loan from Muyu (Drabbe 1959:120b).

**mandon *?a* flat, even**
**306**

**mandup *n* son**[17]
2.06; 9.08; 11.01 **150**

**manman *n* thing**
5.12

17 May, in the plural, also include daughters, see Text 9.08.

Attested only once. Seems a reduplicated form of *man*, but has singular reference.

**maŋgorip** ***n*** **chin**
**021**

**maŋgat** ***n*** **young woman**
**144**

**maŋgot** ***n*** **inner mouth**
**019**

**map** ***v*** **give.to.me**
Section 2.4.1

**mari** ***v*** **come down**
1.04; 3.01; Section 3.5.1

**mati(k)** ***v*** **get up**
3.02; 4.12; Section 2.2 **100**

**matip** ***n*** **daughter**
4.12 **151**

**matit** ***n*** **beard**
**022**

**matogo** ***v*** **come in**
4.08
The stem *matogo* is not attested elsewhere and not further discussed in Drabbe (1959). Drabbe glosses the form as 'come in'. It is not clear how the form fits into the paradigm of motion verbs discussed in Section 3.5.1, where the official form for 'come in' is *mut~moto*.

**matom(op) tokmo** ***v*** **tell, narrate**
Section 5.3.5 **167**

**matuj** ***n*** **sago bag**
10.05

**maturu ~ matut** ***v*** **come up**
1.15; 4.02; Section 3.5.1

**mba** ***v*** **sit, sit down; stay**
1.15; 2.01; 5.15; Section 2.7 **104**

**mbae** ***n*** **grandfather**
7.04; Section 3.1.2 **153**

**mbaem** ***n*** **buttocks**
Section 1.1.2 **051**

**mbaet** ***n*** **land**
5.22

**mbambariri ke** ***v*** **shiver**
Section 2.3.2.1 **316**

**mbanep** ***n*** **crocodile**
4.05 **264**

**mbaŋgan** ***n*** **kind of tree**
3.01

**mbaŋgi** ***n*** **gaba-gaba**
176
*Gaba-gaba* is the Malay name for sago palm fronds.

**mbara** ***?*** **absent**
Section 3.2.4.1

**mbaraŋgat** ***n*** **lip**
**020**

**mbarewen** ***?a*** **strong**
Section 2.8 **318**

**mbari** ***?a*** **adult, old (of age)**
Section 1.3.3 **329**

**mbaroŋgoi in** ***v*** **burp**
**114**

**mbarok rap** ***v*** **have intercourse**
**060**
***rap***

**mbat** ***n*** **place**
11.04

**mbatop** ***?a*** **unripe**
**209**
***amuj***

**mbemit** ***n*** **breast**
4.12 **032**

**mben** ***n*** **lower arm**
Section 3.6
Also used as numeral noun.

**mbeŋgetkom** ***n*** **kind of tree**
1.04

**mberon *a* small**
4.37; 10.04 **291**

**mbetat *a* spoilt, bad, worthless**
5.12 **130; 324**
See also *wan mbetat* 'bad feet', given in the English–YW wordlist as translation for 'cripple'.

**mbetatmo *v* spoil, do bad**
5.13; Section 2.3.1.2

**mbiamo ? agum'mbiamo**

**mbian *n* coconut**
**213**
*Mbian* is the general name for coconut, and can be combined with other nouns to refer specifically to (for example) the fruit, as in *mbian ndok*.

**mbian ndok *n* coconut fruit**
**185**

**mbiat *n* younger sister**
**158**

**mbikmo *v* prick**
Section 2.4.1

**mbimo *v* pull**
10.08

**mbimatupke *v* pull out**
5.11
Possibly a contraction of *mbima-t* (with lowering of final *o* to *a*, see Section 2.3.3.4) and *tupke*. See, however, the comments at *mbimo tupke* in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, which plead for an analysis of *mbimatupke* as a compound.

**mbin ? wan mbin**

**mbisan *n* open space**
11.06
Attested only once, where it is used for an open space where people are chopping sago.

**mbit *n* feast**
2.01

**mbitawae *n* kind of bird**
7.13

**mbitip *n* house**
3.01 **172**

**mbitip *n* containable**
Section 2.3.2.1

**mboj *n* kind of palm**
12.02

**mbok *v* sit[PL]**
5.02; Section 2.2
The stem *mbok* implies a plural subject, see Section 2.7.

**mbom *n* wound; gone bad**
Section 4.5.3; 5.3.5 **123**

**mbon *?* STAY**
Section 2.7
Used to express a presence, and used in durative constructions.

**mbon ? wan mbon**

**mbondeŋ *n* sweet yam**
**211**

**mbonmo *v* put away**
5.12

**mbonmo *v* do slowly**
Section 2.3.1.2 **335**

**mbonop *n* outer part of mouth**
**018**

**mbop *n* fyke**
10.01

**mborotke *v* break down**
10.08

**mbuae *n* cloth**
Section 3.2.6

**mbuk ke ? oj mbuk ke**

**mbukmo *v* cut in pieces**
4.39; 7.11

**mbumo *v* finish**
4.15; 5.13
***oro***

Developing into a marker of completive aspect, see Section 2.4.3.

**mbup** ***n*** **alang-alang**
**230**
Tall, coarse grass, used for the roofs of houses.

**mburak** ***n*** **pool**
Section 1.3.3
Used in the compound *ok+mburak*, realised as *ok-purak*.

**mburuj** ***n*** **wing**
**233**

**mburutmo** ***v*** **meet**
Section 4.1.1

**mbut** ***n*** **brother in law**
6.03

**me** ***v*** **come**
1.10; 2.10 **386**
See Section 3.5 on motion verbs.

**men** ***n*** **bladder, gall**
7.13 **044**

**menden** REFL
Section 3.2.4.3

**mene(p)** ***pron*** **here, this**
1.12; 2.06; Section 3.2.5

**menewop** ***pron*** **like this**
Section 3.2.5.4

**menkok ke** ***v*** **be hungry**
Section 3.5.1 **091**

**meri** ***v*** **play an instrument**
5.06; 5.12

**mereŋ** ***n*** **side (of body)**
Section 3.7 **045**

**met** ***n*** **tendon**
**083**

**mi** ***v*** **drink**
10.09 **092**
Also given as translation of 'to suck' in 366 of English–YW wordlist, or for 'to suck the breast' in 036.

**mim** ***n*** **root**
9.03

**mimit** ***n*** **back of human**
4.37 **048**
Probably a compound of *mim* 'root' plus *mit* 'bone', with degemination of *m*.

**mimit ketop** ***n*** **backbone**
**049**

**minduj** ***n*** **star, firefly**
Section 1.2.1 **269; 256**

**mirip** ***n*** **rain**
11.02 **271**

**mit** ***n*** **bone**
7.02 **080**
See also *mimit* for 'back', *ogarurop mit* for Adam's apple (030 in English–YW wordlist), *awut mit* for neck (031), and *ŋginmit* for skull (005).

**mitik** ***n*** **night**
10.12 **397**

**mitke** ***v*** **shut**
**134**
Given as translation for (the Dutch equivalent of) 'shut eyes'.

**mitpan ? keropmitpan**

**mo** ***v*** **do**
Section 2.8
Used as 'verbalising' auxiliary and in verb formation, see Section 2.8.

**mo** ***adv*** **only**
10.16; Section 3.2.2
Meaning not entirely clear.

**mogot** ***n*** **mouth of river**
1.03

**mok** ***n*** **piece of fruit**
Section 1.1.1

**mondo** ***v*** **come across**
Secondary stem of *mun*. In realis forms with *-t*, the verb may have irregular

inflection, with *mundu* or *mondo* used as a stem, see Section 2.3.4.1.

**monop** ***adv*** **very**
Section 3.3; 3.4

**mop** ***?a*** **afraid**
2.04, 4.01; Section 2.3.2.1

**moto ? mut**

**muk** ***n*** **hoof, nail**
Section 1.1.1 **077, 034**
***om muk***

**mun** ***n*** **boy, child, offspring**
7.08; 9.06 **149; 152**

**mun kojop** ***n*** **twin**
**118**

**mun** ***v*** **come across**
Section 3.5.1

**munotit** ***n*** **children**
9.08; Section 3.1.2
Irregular plural of *mun* 'child'.

**mut** ***v*** **come in/out**
Section 3.5.1

**na** ***pron*** **1SG.POSS**
2.06; Section 3.2.3

**namepmo** ***v*** **request**
Section 2.4.1 **378**

**nan** ***n*** **younger brother**
7.01
***net, kinum, ani***

**nani ? ani**
***ani, net, kinum, nan***

**naŋgo** ***pron*** **1PL.POSS**
4.30; 9.08; Section 3.2.3

**natep** ***?adv*** **maybe, possibly**
Section 3.4; 5.7

**nati** ***n*** **father**
9.08 **147**
***noj***

**ndakmirop** ***n*** **kind of bird**
7.05

**ndo** ***v*** **burn (intr)**
3.01; Section 3.3
***un, undu***

**ndajaŋ** ***n*** **wall**
**175**

**ndaragae** ***?a*** **slippery**
**307**

**ndarak** ***?*** **into or out of the house**
5.10
Attested only once, followed by the verb *ke* 'be'.[18]

**ndaramo** ***v*** **insert**
1.01; 5.06

**ndat, ndare** ***v*** **hear**
4.18; 12.09; Section 2.2 **363**

**ndawan** ***a*** **high**
**302**

**ndawot** ***n*** **place to moor**
Section 1.1.2

**nde** ***v*** **say, call**
1.11; 2.06

**ndembeŋ** ***?a*** **dark**
**398**

**ndemo** ***v*** **wear clothes covering the private parts**
Section 1.1.1

**nderep** ***n*** **kind of phallocrypt**
Section 1.3.4
Dutch: *schaamdop*.

**ndimndop** ***n*** **heart, soul**
**040; 166**

**ndimo** ***v*** **touch**
Section 1.1.1; 2.5.1

**ndit** ***n*** **root**
Section 1.1.2 **224**

18 See *ndarake mut, moto* in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

**ndiwon** ***n*** **kind of fish**
2.09

**ndo** ***v*** **burn (intr); be cooked through**
3.01; Section 1.1.2 **190**

**ndoj** ***n*** NEX
2.05; 5.25; Section 4.5.1 **391**
Used for the expression of nonexistence or not being present at a location. In the English-YW wordlist given as translation of 'nothing'.

**ndoj** ***a*** **empty**
Section 3.3 **327**

**ndojowop** ***?*** **without**
**131**
In the English–YW wordlist, *ruk ndojowop* 'word without' is given as translation of 'dumb'. Drabbe's 1956 wordlist—see the Appendix—glosses *ndojowop* with 'without'.

**ndok** ***?adv*** **close**
5.11
Attested only once, in the combination *ndok me* 'get close'.

**ndokmo** ***v*** **lean against, bar**
1.04

**ndomo** ***v*** **row, paddle**
4.27
***ti***

**ndomo** ***v*** **pick; put off**
5.24; 5.03

**ndun** ***n*** **sago**
**193**

**nduŋnde** ***?v*** **(?be) together**
9.05

**ne** ***pron*** **here**
Section 3.2.5

**neŋget** ***n*** **roof cover**
12.10

**net** ***n*** **(younger / elder) brother**
7.01 **155; 157**
***nan, kinum***

**noj** ***n*** **mother**
9.08 **148**
***nati***

**nomben ? omben**

**norop** ***n*** **testis**
**058**

**nu** ***pron*** 1SG
4.13; Section 3.2.1

**ŋga** ***pp*** AG
1.10; 2.01; Section 4.1.1

**ŋga** ***pp*** CIRC
1.03; 4.35; Section 4.1.1

**ŋga** ***conj*** CIRC
4.17; Section 5.3.1

**ŋgaenak** ***?a*** **wet**
**321**

**ŋgamban** ***?a*** **wrong**
**325**

**ŋgambim** ***n*** **inside of elbow**
Section 3.6

**ŋgamburu** ***?*** **bump**
7.08
With following verb *ke* 'be' used as a verbal expression 'to bump'.

**ŋgamo** ***v*** **chop off, break; give birth**
**169; 372**
***taeŋgamo***
*Ngamo* 'chop off' probably reflects the cutting through of the umbilical cord. In 372, *ra ŋgamo* is given as translation of the transitive breaking of a rope.

**ŋgan** ***n*** **earring made of cassowary feather**
Section 1.1.1

**ŋgande** ***v*** **break (intr)**
Section 5.3.1 **373**
***kae, kaepmo, kande***

**ŋgaŋgu *pron* 2PL**
Section 3.2.1; 4.26

**ŋgarimo *v* deny**
Section 1.1.2; 2.4.1 (footnote)

**ŋgati *n* creeping animal**
3.05

**ŋgawae *ʔ* hunting**
6.02
Attested once, with following *ko* 'go', in the sense of 'go hunting'.

**ŋgawotoronop *n* kind of insect**
6.16

**ŋgerakmo *v* drag**
Section 2.4.1

**ŋget *a* sharp**
**310**

**ŋget *n* kind of palm**
Section 1.1.1

**ŋgimiŋgip *n* fork of a branch**
6.12

**ŋgin *n* head**
12.07 **002**

**ŋgin kawae *n* brains**
**027**
Composed of *ŋgin* plus *kawae*, which is also used for 'sperm'.

**ŋgin mit *n* skull**
**005**
Composed of *ŋgin* plus *mit* 'bone'.

**ŋgin o kerok *n* face**
**003**
Composed of *ŋgin* 'head' + *o* 'CON' plus *kerok*, which probably is a variant of *kerop* 'face'.

**ŋgin o kerop *n* face**
4.07
Excocentric compound *ŋgin* 'head' plus linker *o* plus *kerop* 'eye', see Section 3.1.1.1.

**ŋgirapmo *v* drag**
4.27

**ŋgirike ri *v* fall**
Section 2.4.1
The second part, *ri*, is a verb.

**ŋgirimo *v* flee**
4.23
Attested once, followed by *ko* 'go'.

**ŋgiritop *n* nostril**
**015**
***top***

**ŋgiron *n* hair on head**
**006**
Cf. *ŋgin* 'head' and *ron* 'hair'.

**ŋgit *ʔa* cold**
Section 1.1.1

**ŋgo *pron* 2SG .POSS**
6.03; Section 3.2.3

**ŋgoj *a* bent**
Section 3.3 **135; 305**
Given as translation of (the Dutch equivalent of) 'cross-eyed': *kerop ŋgoj ke* 'eye be bent'.

**ŋgom *n* singing**
5.22; 11.08 **354**
*Ŋgom ri* 'singing go.down'/'singing chop' is given as translation of 'to sing'.

**ŋgom *n* blood**
Section 1.1.2 **081**

**ŋgombejop *n* mouth harp**
5.01; 5.06

**ŋgomben *n* throat (outer part)**
**029**

**ŋgomben mit *n* neck**
Section 3.6
Composed of *ŋgomben* and *mit* 'bone'.

**ŋgon *ʔa* happy**
Section 1.1.1

**ŋgoŋmatan *a* blunt**
Section 3.3 **311**

**ŋgop** ***n*** **arrow**
Section 3.5.3; 2.09 **201**

**ŋgorop, ŋgorowop, knowing, clever**
5.13; Section 4.3.1, 5.3.5
***ŋgoropmo***

**ŋgoropmo** ***v*** **know, notice**
4.05; 4.17; 5.13 **349**

**ŋgotap** ***?adv*** **in exchange**
11.07 **389**
In the English-YW wordlist, *ŋgotap karemo* 'do so in exchange' is given as a translation of 'revenge'.

**ŋgoton** ***?a*** **tired**
4.27

**ŋgowot** ***pron*** **2SG.EMPH**
2.06; Section 3.2.1; 3.2.3

**ŋgu** ***pron*** **2SG**
4.17; Section 3.2.1

**ŋgum** ***n*** **placenta**
Section 1.1.2 **117**
***oj ŋgum***
Also given in the English–YW wordlist as translation of 'afterbirth'.

**ŋgun** ***?n*** **time**
Section 1.1.2
Dutch: *maal*

**ŋguŋguguk** ***?*** **ŋguŋguguk**
12.09
Represents the sound being made.

**ŋgup** ***pron*** **2SG.EMPH**
4.17; Section 3.2.1

**ŋguru** ***a*** **deep**
**300**

**ŋgurup** ***a*** **long, high**
Section 3.3 **292**
Used only in combination with an adjectival suffix: *ŋgurupmatan, ŋguruwop*, or *ŋguruwan*, see Section 3.3.

**ŋgut** ***n*** **louse**
**251**

**ŋguerop** ***n*** **ladder**
**174**

**o** ***con*** **CON**
1.11; 2.06; 4.26; Section 3.8; 5.7
Used predominantly in quotative constructions, followed by the verb *nde* 'say'. For other uses see 3.8.

**og aŋgunun** ***n*** **water snake**
2.09
Composed of *ok* 'water' and *aŋgunun* 'snake', see also Section 3.1.1 on compounds.

**ogarurop** ***n*** **throat (inner part)**
**028**

**ogirit** ***n*** **waterfall**
3.02
Composed of *ok* 'water' and *irit*, a form that has not been attested elsewhere.

**oj** ***n*** **inner substance, flesh of fruit, bowels, faeces**
3.01; 5.04; 5.12 **009; 042; 054**
***kambet***

**oj aŋgo** ***?v*** **defecate**
**053**

**oj mbuk ke** ***v*** **fart**
**055**

**oj ŋgum** ***n*** **navel, umbilical cord**
**046; 047**

**oj rewerep ke** ***v*** **have a bellyache**
**128**

**oj tet** ***n*** **tail of bird**
**232**
***wambit***

**ok** ***n*** **water, river**
1.05; 5.21 **277; 284**

**ok jaman** ***n*** **sand**
**287**

**ok jerep ke** ***v*** **be thirsty**
**093**

**ok kit**[19] ***?n*** **net**
**250**

**ok kujom** ***n*** **flood**
1.10

**ok pitin** ***n*** **swamp**
12.05
Composed of *ok* 'water' and *mbitin*, see also Section 3.1.1 on compounds.

**ok sagat** ***n*** **mud**
4.12
Composed of *ok* 'water' and *sagat*.

**om** ***n*** **udder, breast**
**033**

**omae** ***num*** **one**
9.06; 12.05
In counting also used for 6, 11 and 16, see Section 3.6.

**omben, nomben** ***n*** **grandmother**
**154**
Attested only once, in the English–YW wordlist. According to Drabbe (1959:120a), the form for grandmother is *omben*, as in *ŋgon omben* 'your grandmother', which is also the form that we find in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix. Note that the English–YW wordlist also has *nani* (elder sister) rather than *ani*.

**ombojtagumop** ***n*** **kind of plant**
1.04

**om kun** ***n*** **milk**
**035**

**om muk** ***n*** **nipple**
**034**

**on** ***n*** **thing**
Section 1.1.1; Section 3.2.4.1

**ondo ? un**

**onoŋnemo** ***v*** **do, make**
**347**

**oŋgene** ***pron*** **where**
5.06
See Section 3.2.6.

**oŋgenemo** ***v*** **be where, do what**
Section 3.2.6

**oŋgenewop** ***a*** **what kind of**
Section 3.2.6

**oŋndum** ***n*** **island**
1.03 **278**
Probably composed of *ok* plus *ndum*.

**op** ***n*** **figure, writing**
Section 2.4.2, in *ow oro* 'write'.[20]

**opkon ke** ***v*** **think**
**350**

**oro** ***v*** **put (down); finish**
2.06; 4.27; 5.15
***mbumo***
Developing into a marker of completive aspect, see Section 2.4.3. In realis forms with *-t*, the verb has irregular inflection, see Section 2.3.4.1. Also used in combination with *tawok* (message, 10.15) and *ketmom* (dance, 12.02).

**osop** ***n*** **anus**
**052**
***tenorop***

**otagae** ***?adv*** **again**
12.07; Section 3.4

**otem** ***?*** **pain**
Section 4.5.3

**oto ? ut**

**ow ? op**

**pikmo** ***v*** **stab**
Section 3.7

19 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix gives: 'twined bark used to close off a river'.
20 For the glossing of *op-ow* as 'figure' see Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

**ra ? rap**

**raga ? rogo**

**ragae *n* fish**
1.06 **192**

**ragamo**[21] ***v* throw up**
10.16

**rakaromo *v* break by hand**
Composed of *ra(p)* and *karomo*.

**rakonmo, rakotmo *v* capsize, put a hollow object upside down over something else**
4.28; 6.13
Composed of *ra(p)* 'take' and *konmo* or *kotmo* (not attested elsewhere).

**rakotmo *?* rakonmo**

**ambamo *v* inquire**
**378b**

**rambari *n* old woman**
10.01; 10.12
Derived from *ran* 'woman' and *mbari* 'adult'.

**ramburumo *v* turn around (tr)**
12.07
In the only example that is attested, the form is used transitively.

**ran *n* woman**
5.06 **140**

**randokmo *v* leave behind**
Section 2.4.1

**randuj *n* girl, daughter**
4.13; 4.17

**raŋgande *v* shout**
Section 2.4.1

**rap *v* take, take hold of, hold**
1.01; 5.16; Section 2.3.1.2 **343; 344; 345; 346**
Final p is often not realised.

**raramun *n* women**
4.34
Plural form of *ran*.

**rare *v* go into the forest with a woman**[22]
1.1.2

**rat *a* light (opposite of heavy); be light, clear**
Section 1.1.2 **309; 396**

**ratokmo *v* open**
4.30
***korokmo***

**rawari *a* round**
Section 3.3

**rawot *n* breadfruit**
Section 1.1.2 **214**

**re *v* stand**
6.11; 11.05 **101**
Only the corresponding plural stem *roke* and the secondary stem *rege* are attested in the corpus.

**rereoworo *?* altogether**
1.10
Attested only once.

**ri ? meri**

**ri *v* go down**
4.01; 5.18; 5.13; 11.08; 12.05 **281**

**ri *v* chop down, fell**
4.26; 9.01; 9.09 **220**
***ŋgamo, taeŋgamo***
Could possibly be analysed as a transitive counterpart of *ri*, in the sense of 'make go down'.

**ri *v* recite**
Section 2.5.1

**rin *n* rib**
**038**

21 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist has *rakamo*.
22 In order to have unlawful sexual intercourse, see 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

**riŋgin** ***n*** **proximity**
Section 3.7
***riwirip***

**riwirip** ***n*** **proximity**
4.22
***riŋgin***
Attested only once. Probably a relational noun, see Section 3.7.

**ro** ***v*** **plant**
Section 2.4.1; 2.5.1 **207**

**rogo** ***v*** **say, speak, command**
2.08; 12.10 **355; 385**
***ruk***

**rok** ***v*** **stand**[PL]
12.03; Section 2.7
The form *roke* implies a plural subject, see Section 2.7.

**rom** ***v*** **weep**
12.05 **109**

**rombotmo** ***v*** **fix**
10.01
Attested only once.

**ron** ***n*** **feather; leaf, body hair**
5.24; 9.03 **011; 085; 225; 234**

**rop** ***n*** **fruit**
**229**

**rowot** ***?a*** **sour**
**336**

**ruk** ***n*** **sound, word, voice**
5.14; 12.10 **107; 353**
In the English–YW wordlist, *rug in* 'word hit' is given as translation for 'speak'; *ruk ndojowop* 'word without' is given as translation of 'dumb'.

**rumo**[24] ***v*** **spread out**
5.19
Attested only once, for spreading out a mat.

**sae** ***n*** **bed**
Section 3.7

**sagasak**[23] ***n*** **kind of belt**
5.24; Section 1.1.2

**sagat** ***n*** **casque of cassowary**
Section 1.1.1
See also *ok sagat* above.

**sagot** ***n*** **kind of rat or marsupial**

**saguj** ***n*** **kind of shorea tree**
In Text 1.09, Drabbbe translates '*damarhout*', which possibly refers to the Malay *pohon tamar*.

**sagumo**[24] ***v*** **bury**
2.10; 10.16

**samo**[24] ***v*** **mishit**
7.05

**sambupmo**[24] ***v*** **shoot around randomly**
12.11
According to the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, this is the iterative counterpart of *somo*.

**sapuk** ***n*** **tobacco**
**194**

**sapuk rap** ***v*** **tug**
4.17[25]

**sarande** ***v*** **tear (intr)**
Section 2.2

23 According to Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, *sagasak* refers to a series of dog teeth carried around the waist.
24 From the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, we learn that the stem is *rumo* rather than *ruma*, *sagumo* rather than *saguma, samo* rather than *sama*, and *sambupmo* rather than *sambupma* (with regular change of final *o* into *a* before realis marker *-t*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.4).
25 See the explanation at *sapuk rap* in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

**sara(p)mo** ***v*** **tear (tr)**
Section 2.4.1; Section 2.2[26]

**sare** ***v*** **scrape**
5.04
***tat***
Attested only once.

**sarip** ***n*** **wife**
**161, 162, 163**
In the English-YW wordlist we find *kagup sarip* and *ran sarip* for widower and widow, respectively.

**saruj** ***ʔa*** **cold**
**315**

**sat** ***n*** **sun**
Section 1.1.2 **267**

**satkok** ***a*** **dry**
Section 3.3
***kerewet***

**segek** ***n*** **pinky finger, little toe**
Section 3.6 **079**

**segep**[27] ***n*** **kind of palm**
12.02

**segepotop** ***n*** **kind of palm**
1.01

**sek** ***n*** **bowstring**
Section 1.1.2

**seregop** ***n*** **palm leaf**[28]
9.03

**setmajop** ***n*** **pile**
5.14

**sinam** ***n*** **bow**
2.04; 4.35 **200**

**sindik** ***ʔn***[29] **close**
Section 3.4 **405**

**so** ***v*** **dig**
Section 2.5.1 **383**

**sogonap** ***n*** **mouse**
**248**

**soke** ***v*** **jump**
Section 1.4; 2.4.1 **369**

**somo** ***v*** **throw, throw away**
Section 2.4.1 **381**

**sondot** ***a*** **hard**
Section 3.3 **312**

**sop** ***pp*** MOVE
Section 1.1.2; Section 3.7

**sopuk rap** ***v*** **beat, flog**
Section 5.3.3

**sowae** ***n*** **kind of lizard**
3.05

**sowen~suwen** ***n*** **mosquito**
Section 4.3.2.3 **254**

**sugujaŋ** ***n*** **paddle**
**289**

**sukmae** ***ʔa*** **fast, quickly**
**334**
Given as translation of fast, quickly (Dutch: *snel*) in the English–YW wordlist.

**sumo** ***v*** **carry**
1.10; 6.11; 4.29 **359 168**
*Sumo* primarily indicates 'taking on the shoulders', but is also used for picking up in another way. It often includes the carrying along that follows the picking up (Drabbe 1959:147a). *Sumo ko* is used for carrying away, *sumo me* is used for carrying towards here (towards the

26 Drabbe (1959) has *sarapmo*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1, while Drabbe's 1956 wordlist has *saramo*, see Appendix.
27 Drabbe's 1956 wordlist has *seget* 'kind of palm' rather than *segep*.
28 The 1956 wordlist in the Appendix gives 'side leaf of sago'.
29 The translation of *sindik* with 'proximity', in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, suggests nominal properties.

deictic center). *Ran sumo* is used for marrying a woman.

**sun** ***adv*** **always, regularly**
Section 2.4.1.3
Optionally used in habitual constructions.

**suwan** ***n*** **spider**
**252**

**suwen ? sowen**

**taem** ***v*** **shoot**
2.02; 7.09 **202**
Only the secondary stem *taemba* and the plural imperative *nataeminin* (4.35) are attested in the corpus.

**taeŋgamo** ***v*** **chop**
1.04 **198**
***ŋgamo, ri***

**taep** ***adv*** **also**
2.02
Attested only once.

**tagamo** ***v*** **speak**
Section 2.4.1
Also in Section 3.7, where the meaning is not clear.

**tagapmo** ***v*** **curse, swear**
Section 3.2.4.4 **357**

**taget** ***n*** **cowrie shell**
Section 1.4

**tagimo** ***v*** **pay**
Section 2.4.1; 3.2.6

**tagip** ***n*** **white marsupial; white parrot**
5.24; 6.16

**tamburum** ***?*** **randomly**
4.37

**tami** ***v*** **make a canoe**
Section 2.4.1

**tamuk** ***?*** **alone**
Section 3.2.4.2

**taŋnde** ***v*** **cling to**
Section 1.1.2

**taŋgo top** ***n*** **armpit**
**073**

**taramo** ***v*** **lead**
7.06

**tarok** ***n*** **upside**
12.10; Section 3.7

**tat** ***n*** **sheath**
Section 1.1.1

**tat ? wan tat**

**tat** ***v*** **scrape**
Section 2.4.1; 2.5.1
***sare***
Primary form not attested in the text corpus.

**tawok** ***n*** **message**
2.07; 7.10; 10.15

**te** ***copula, cnj*** AFFMT, CON
Section 4.4
Affirmative copula and conjunction.

**tek** ***n*** **waistcloth**
Section 1.1.2

**temon** ***n*** **rat**
1.16 **249**

**tenep** ***n*** **molar**
**026**

**tenop** ***a*** **red**
Section 3.3 **339**

**tenorop** ***n*** **anus**
4.34
***osop***

**tenot** ***n*** **kind of plant**
9.03
Drabbe calls this a '*genemuplant*'.

**teŋget** ***n*** **penis**
4.34 **057**

**teren** ***n*** **leech**
**262**

**tereŋget** ***?a*** **shy, hesitant**
Section 5.3.5 **299**

**tet** ***n*** **grasshopper**[30]
Section 1.1.1
***kakarak***

**tet** ***a*** **tired**
Section 3.3 **333**

**tet ? oj tet** ***n***

**tet kondok** ***n*** **grasshopper**
**257**

**ti** ***v*** **twine; row, paddle; scoop**
4.03; 4.04; 4.14; 5.09; 11.01; Section 2.5.1 **195**
***ndomo***
Note that twine and row require similar repetitive movements. For 'paddle', Drabbe uses the Dutch word *pagaaien*, which in a strict sense refers to a repetitive moving through the water of a paddle, more or less vertically, in the opposite direction as the direction into which the boat is moving.[31] See also *asiganae ti* and *ajak ti*. In certain contexts, Drabbe glosses the word as 'build', such as in *mbitip ti* 'build a house'. This is probably a generalised meaning, from twining (part of) a house to building a house; I have included these contexts to the gloss 'twine'.

**tigin** ***n*** **cause**
3.01

**tik** ***n*** **rattan; (rattan) rope, string**
4.15 **197; 217**

**tikmae** ***n*** **ten**
Section 3.6
Contracted form of *tik omae*, see Section 3.6.

**timae** ***n*** **kind of fish**
2.09

**tiomo** ***v*** **spit**
Section 2.4.1 **110**

**tit** ***n*** **banana**
9.03 **216**

**tit** ***n*** **mouth of river**
Section 3.1.1.2

**titmo** ***v*** **touch**
Section 5.5.1

**to(n)** ***copula*** Q
Section 1.1.2; 4.3.2.2.
Interrogative copula.

**togop** ***n*** **poisonous snake**
6.05

**tok~dok** ***cnj, pp*** GROUND
2.06; 7.06; 10.06; Section 5.3.5
The form *dok* is used following nasals. With an noun phrase, *tok* functions as a postposition, with a clause, it functions as a conjunction.

**tokmo** ***v*** **cut**
12.11
See also *matom tokmo* as translation of 'to tell, narrate', in the English–YW wordlist no. 167.

**tomae** ***n*** **white ant**
**259**

**tomba** ***copula*** NEG.COP
Section 4.3.2.3

**tombon** ***n*** **midrib of leaf**
1.07; 12.11

**tomin** ***n*** **bat**
**246**

**tomŋgande** ***v*** **fall down**
4.26
***tupke, kande***

30 The 1956 wordlist in the Appendix gives *tet* 'shrimp'. See also *tet kondok, tetkondok.*
31 See www.encyclo.nl/begrip/pagaaien, accessed 13 October 2021.

**toŋgot ʔ kerop toŋgot**

**top *n* opening, pit**
7.05

**torop**[32] ***n*** **liana**
5.12

**tot *n* banana skin**
5.13; 5.16

**towoj *n* fruit bat**
9.01 **247**

**tumo *v* chop, take out, hollow out**
2.09; 2.10; 4.27; 4.40; Section 2.5.1
Dutch: *bekappen*. In Text 4, the word is used in the sense of chopping on—meaning 'hollowing out'—a canoe-to-be.[33]

**tun *n* kind of tree**
9.07

**tun ʔ wit tun**

**tupke *v* get loose, come off**
4.02
***kande, tomŋgande, tutupke***
In all of the attested cases, *tupke* and the reduplicated form *tutupke* are followed by a verb of moving down. It seems that the verb *tupke* refers to the moment of breaking or getting loose before the actual falling down.

**turukmo *v* hide (tr)**
**377**

**turup *ʔ* alone**
Section 3.2.4.2
***tamuk***

**turutop *n* ear**
**008; 132**
In the English–YW wordlist, *turutow indomaran* is given as translation of 'deaf'.

**tut *ʔa* shallow**
**301**

**tut, turu *v* go up**
2.04; 5.13; Section 2.2 **280**
In realis forms with *-t*, the verb has irregular inflection, see Section 2.3.4.1. In the corpus, only the stem *turu* is attested, not *tut*.

**tutupke *v* get loose**
3.01; 4.01
***tupke***
According to Drabbe's 1956 list—see the Appendix—this is the iterative counterpart of *tupke* 'fall'.

**ugumo**[34] ***v*** **blow**
Section 3.5.3; 4.23 **179**
In the English–YW wordlist, *enoptenow ugum* is given as translation of 'make a fire'.

**uj *n* pig**
1.10; 8.01 **238**
The term *uj* is used not only for pigs, but also as a general name for pigs and cassowaries. Even more broadly, it is used for all animals whose meat is eaten; it is, therefore, not used for cats and dogs (Drabbe 1959:158a,b).

**ujamun *n* small and big animals**
12.02
***kunowamun***

**uk *n* lung**
Section 1.1.1 **039**

32 From the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, we learn that the final consonant is *p* (with *p* realised as *m* before a nasal, see Text 5.12).
33 Compare the translations of *tumo* in Drabbe's 1956 list in the Appendix.
34 From the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix, we learn that the stem is *agumo* rather than *aguma* (with regular change of final *o* into *a* before realis marker *-t*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.4).

**uke matut** ***v*** **come up out of the water**
4.02
***ok***
Attested only once.

**un** ***v*** **go across**
4.04
In realis forms with *-t*, the verb has irregular inflection, and alternates with *undu,* see Section 2.3.4.1.

**un** ***v*** **bake, roast, burn**
3.01; 5.13 **189; 382**
For some reason, the English–YW wordlist gives the secondary rather than the primary stem.

**up** ***n*** **taro**
9.03

**up** ***v*** **fight, make war**
Section 2.2; 2.4.1 **203**

**upneŋ ke** ***v*** **breathe**
**089**

**uru ? oro**

**uruk ? enow uruk**

**uruk ko** ***v*** **fly (v)**
**235**

**ut** ***v*** **go in/out**
11.06; 4.24

**waepke** ***v*** **decorate**
Section 2.8; Section 3.2.4.4

**waepmo** ***v*** **walk around, move around, travel**
4.27; 11.07

**wagae** ***a*** **good**
Section 3.3 **322**
*Wagae nde* 'good say' is given as translation of 'to love' (367 in the English–YW wordlist).

**wagaemo** ***v*** **do well**
Section 2.3.1.2; 2.4.1

**wagap** ***a*** **timid**
Section 3.3

**wagi** ***n*** **knife, shell**
**186**
***taget***
Also given in Drabbe (1959:120a) in *mun e wagi* 'the boy's knife'.

**wagot** ***n*** **egg**
6.08 **237**

**waguwop** ***a*** **thin (of a person)**
**296**

**wambit** ***n*** **tail (of tetrapod)**
3.05 **231**
***tet***

**wamburumo** ***v*** **hang**
9.05; 9.07

**wamin** ***?adv*** **yesterday**
**400**

**wamip** ***?n*** **middle**
Section 4.1.1 Probably a relational noun, see Section 3.7. Attested only once, followed by *ŋga,* and in compound with *it*, for middle finger, see Section 3.6 on numerals and counting.
***itwamip***

**wamit** ***n*** **earth spirit**
Section 1.1.2

**wamkarok** ***n*** **kind of tree**
5.12

**wan** ***n*** **leg**
**063**

**wandin** ***n*** **belly**
**041**

**wandin ke** ***v*** **be satisfied**
Section 2.8 **094**

**wanin** ***n*** **ash**
5.13; 5.16; 5.21

**wan ketop *n* toe**
**076**
***ketop***

**wan mbin *n* shin**
**070**

**wan mbon *n* calf (body part)**
**069**

**wan ŋgambuj *n* heel**
**066**

**wan tat *n* sole**
**064**

**wan wogoj *n* ankle**
**065**

**waran *?n* daylight**
**395**

**warawae *n* lightning**
4.07 **274**
In the English–YW wordlist given as translation of 'to lighten'.

**warigae *n* mucus**
**016**

**warimo *v* lighten**
4.07
Attested only in combination with *warawae*.

**watek *n* bark**
5.13; 5.16

**wawot *n* kind of fish**
4.01

**werepmo**[35] ***v* be well**
Section 3.5.3

**win ŋgambin *n* elbow**
**074**
***wan ŋgambuj***

**wirop *n* taro**
**212**

**wit *n* arm, foreleg, hand**
3.05; 12.11 **071**
***it***

**wit ketop *n* finger**
**075**

**wit mak *n* shoulder**
**050**

**wit tun *n* upper arm**
**072**
Probably realised as [witun], see Section 1.3.3.

**wogoj *n* moon**
6.16 **268**

**wogoj ? wan wogoj**

**wok *n* pineapple**
5.03

**womo *v* guard**
**361**

**woŋgopon *?adv* long time, old**
4.02; 4.40 **330**

**worow in**[36] ***v* play**
**171**
In Drabbe's wordlist, which is (partly) thematically ordered, the entry 'play' follows the word for 'drum'. The playing that is intended here thus probably refers to playing the drum or another musical instrument.

**wut *n* troop**
Section 1.1.2

35 Cf. *weretmo* 'be well' in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.
36 Cf. *woron in* in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

# Part III: Annotated texts

# 10

# Introduction to the texts

## How the texts were collected

The texts that follow were collected by Drabbe. They were recorded in Tanah Merah (see note in Text 5.12), and told by a speaker from the village Waniktit, located along the Wanik river, which flows into the Kao river (see Figure 4 in the Introduction).

The texts were not recorded in audio form, but written down directly by Drabbe. We may safely assume that his method was not very different from what Drabbe describes for Mandobo, in his introduction to the origin myth of the Mandobo (Drabbe 1959:3):[1]

> We wrote down everything [all Mandobo myths] word by word from the mouth of a man of approximately 50 years old, … named Jatüp, … in six sessions of two to three hours each. Also present were our language helpers, two intelligent boys of 20 years old … It was the boys' task to keep our narrator's flow of words under control, so that I could hear the sounds from his mouth correctly, and so that I had time to write them down. Often they had to repeat, controlled by Jatüp, what he had said—which was a task for which they had been trained, and which appeared to be quite necessary. As one will see below, neither vowels nor consonants can easily be distinguished, if the language is pronounced quickly, and on top of this, we find rather random harmonisation and assimilation. After our first work week of approximately 20 hours, we had written down the myth, and made a typewriter copy. Although we had been studying this

1 Given the strong similarity in description, this is probably the same setting as the one described by Drabbe in his 1962 radio speech (Drabbe 1962, cited in Van den Heuvel 2016:431–432).

> language for over six months, we cannot say that we understood all of it. In order not to distract the narrator during the dictation, we had not asked him for explanation of words, constructions or the coherence of the narrative. So we had a second series of sessions, again divided over six days, in which the boys, who speak and understand Moluccan Malay quite well gave us a translation and explanation, which we then noted down. During this process they were checked by the narrator and they asked him time and time again for explanation. At several points we got supplementary information which actually belonged to the story, but which was skipped by the narrator. We have not included this supplementary information in the text, but will give it in the explanation where this is needed.

It is important to note that the setting in which the stories were told was not very natural, and that what Drabbe eventually noted down may be quite different from the day-to-day speech that Yonggom Wambon (YW) speakers spoke among each other. It is also noteworthy that Drabbe felt that some relevant information was missing from the story as it was told to him by the narrator. While it is undoubtedly true that Drabbe did not adapt his texts to include this information, it seems that from to time he has included this information in his 'summaries' in Dutch.

## The presentation of the texts

Drabbe presents his text in the following way. Per text (or, in Text 1: per section), Drabbe first gives a morpheme-by-morpheme representation of the YW text, with each morpheme followed by a notation of its meaning or function in brackets. Following this YW text, Drabbe presents his summary in Dutch. Finally, he may give a number of explanatory notes.

In this book, each text starts with a translation of Drabbe's summary. Following this translation, we find a sentence-by-sentence representation of the text, with morpheme-by-morpheme interlinearisation and translation. Each sentence bears a number; a number like 2.01 indicates that we are examining sentence 1 of Text 2 (for a definition of a sentence, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1). The interlinearised text may be followed by one or more annotations, which are presented in a different font to the rest of the text. These annotations may be based on Drabbe's explanatory notes, or present other relevant information with regard to the present sentence. The annotations may relate either to the content or the structure of the text, and often refer to sections in the grammatical introduction (Part I).

In order to facilitate an effective reading of the text as presented in this book, the reader is advised to open two parallel documents, where possible: one document to read the texts, and a parallel document to read the sections in the grammatical introduction to which the text may refer. When switching between and navigating within the documents, it is useful to note that the references in the text edition are not hyperlinks. In addition, it is helpful to choose a document view in which the screen shows the structure of the text (e.g. in a column left of the text), so that it is easy to navigate both within the grammatical introduction and the texts.

The content of the stories is rather diverse, covering themes like the origin of rivers and other landmarks, the origin of the canoe, or food taboos. The best way to get an impression of the content of the texts is to read through the summaries that introduce the texts (those in bold italics).

# 11

# Text 1: The origin of the Kao river

***Summary of 1.01–1.03. Someone [Drabbe: he] set off, hurling a bullroarer. He went and stuck the bullroarer into a segepotop palm. Then he went down to the downstream area.***

**1.01**

| *Kamenwon* | *ino* | | *kuran*; |
|---|---|---|---|
| kamenwon | i-no | | ku-r-an |
| bullroarer | swing_II-SS.SIM | | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |
| | | | |
| *ra* | *kur* | *a* | *te* |
| ra | ku-r | a | te |
| take | go-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | CON |
| | | | |
| *segepotop* | *ko* | *ndaramaran.* | |
| segepotop | ko | ndaramo-r-an | |
| kind.of.palm | go | insert-RLS[N1SG]-PST | |

A certain person went out hurling a bullroarer; he went and stuck it into a segepotop palm.

Instead of 'a certain person' Drabbe translates with 'he' (Dutch: hij).

The bullroarer is an ancient ritual musical instrument and a device historically used for communicating over great distances.

**1.02**

| *Emoro* | *te* | *rirar* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|
| emo-ro | te | rira-r | a |
| do.thus-SS | CON | go.down_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST | SEQ |

| *kem* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|
| kem | ku-r-an |
| downstream | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

Then he went down (to the river?) and went down to the downstream area.

Drabbe translates as: 'he went down to the downstream area'. However, because the marker *a* expresses sequentiality (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3), it seems better to describe the 'going down' and the 'going to the downstream area' as separate, subsequent events.

*Emoro* is used in generic tail–head linkage, see Chapter 5, Section 5.6.2.

**1.03**

| *Oŋndum* | *Kawon* | *mogot* | *ŋga* |
|---|---|---|---|
| oŋndum | Kawon | mogot | ŋga |
| island | kao | mouth.of.river | CIRC |

| *jimin* | *ŋgamaran.* |
|---|---|
| jimin | ŋgama-r-an. |
| border | chop.off-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

At an island, at the mouth of the Kao river, he stopped walking.

In this context, *ŋga* is a circumstantial postposition, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1.

*Jimin ŋgamo*, literally 'to chop off the border' indicates 'to stop walking' (Drabbe 1959:146a).

***Summary of 1.04–1.16. (Preceding the following passage, people found water that keeps on coming up from the ground.) The people cut mbenggetkom trees and omboiptagumop plants and used these to dam the water. As soon as the water was high, there was also fish. They shot at the fishes with the midribs of sago leaves, but the fishes broke these, and went to the upstream area and remained there. Then came an ikan-baung fish; they sharpened a piece of damar wood into a spear. From the upstream area the flood then brought everything down: pigs, sago palms, dogs, men and women. One called it the Ogip or Kawokawonjop river, people from***

***nowadays say Kawon. Men and women came swimming towards the Wambon area. Two women and two men swam to the Muju area. The dog Anonggejop swam to the mouth of the Kowet river and turned into a rat.***

**1.04**

| *Enop* | *mbeŋgetkom* | *taeŋgamo* | *ra* |
|---|---|---|---|
| enop | mbeŋgetkom | taeŋgamo | ra |
| tree | kind.of.tree | chop | take |

| *mari* | *ndokmarinan;* |
|---|---|
| mari | ndokma-r-in-an |
| come.down | bar-RLS-N1PL-PST |

| *omboitagumop* | *taeŋgamo* | *ra* |
|---|---|---|
| omboitagumop | taeŋgamo | ra |
| kind.of.plant | chop | take |

| *mari* | *ndokmarinan.* |
|---|---|
| mari | ndokma-r-in-an |
| come.down | bar-RLS-N1PL-PST |

There were people chopping *mbenggetkom* trees and *omboiptagumop* plants and bringing them down to bar the water.

*Enop mbeŋgetkom* is an example of an endocentric compound of type I, in which the head, indicating a general name, is followed by a specifying noun (Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.2).

Drabbe (1959:146b) notes that the verb *ndokmo* is used both transitively and intransitively: intransitive 'lean against', transitive 'make lean against' → 'bar'. Compare Chapter 2, Section 2.2 on verbal stems in *mo*.

Drabbe (1959:146) notes that *mari* 'come down' here indicates a coming down to the river. See also Chapter 3, Section 3.5 on motion verbs.

**1.05**

| *ndokmarin* | *de* | *ok* | *e* | *kojakeran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ndokma-r-in | de | ok | e | kojake-r-an |
| bar-RLS-N1PL | CON | water | ARG | get.full-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

They barred it and the river got full.

**1.06**

| *Emat* | *te* | *ragae* | *kup* | *keran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | ragae | kup | ke-r-an. |
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | fish | COM | be-RLS[NISG]-PST |

It became (filled) with fish.

*Ema-t* is used in generic tail–head linkage, see Chapter 5, Section 5.6.2.

*Ragae kup keran* should be analysed as 'also fish were there', implying that they were not there before (Drabbe 1959:146b). For the use of the postposition *kup*, see Chapter 3, Section 3.7.

**1.07**

| *Majum* | *tombon* | *ŋga* | *ragae* | *turumat* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| majum | tombon | ŋga | ragae | turuma-t |
| kind.of.sago | leaf.midrib | CIRC | fish | shoot.ITER-RLS[NI] |

| *te* | *ra* | *kagaepmo* | *kin* | *kogojopmo* | *mbageran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| te | ra | kagaepmo | kin | kogojopmo | mbage-r-an |
| CON | take | break.ITER | upstream | go.ITER | sit_II-RLS[NI]-PST |

They shot at the fish with midribs of sago leaves, but the fishes made them break and went upstream.

Drabbe (1959:146b) notes that *kogojopmo* is an iterative stem of *ko* 'go' and that there is, therefore, no plural marker needed in the following verb *mbageran*. For the iterative aspect, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1. For the use of *mbageran* see Section 2.4.1.2.

*Ra kagaepmo* 'break with the hand' is used for personified fishes (Drabbe 1959:146b).

**1.08**

| *Emat* | *te* | *kirup* | *kup* | *mendet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | kirup | kup | mende-t |
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | catfish | COM | come_II-RLS[NISG] |

Then also came a catfish.

From Drabbe's translation it is clear that there is only one catfish involved. It is not clear to me whether this is the only possible reading.

For the use of the postposition *kup*, see Chapter 3, Section 3.7.

**1.09**

| *Kirup* | *kup* | *mendet* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|
| kirup | kup | mende-t | te |
| catfish | COM | come_II-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *sagoj* | *jaragat* | *ŋga* |
|---|---|---|
| sagoj | jaragat | ŋga |
| kind.of.Shorea.tree | split.piece | CIRC |

| *arat* | *taririn* | *ororo* | *te.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| arat | tari-r-in | ororo | te |
| spear | scrape_II-RLS-N1PL | COMPL | AFFMT |

A catfish came and they sharpened a split piece of damar wood into a spear.

Drabbe writes that *ŋga* cannot be translated here. In my view, *ŋga* is probably a circumstantial marker, indicating the 'instrument' out of which the spear is made, see also Chapter 3, Section 3.7.

*Sagui jaragat*, with accent on the first noun, is an example of a compound of the type 'tree trunk': determined - determiner (Drabbe 1959:146b), or, in this publication, of an endocentric compound of type I, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.2.

*Ororo (te)* is used to mark completive aspect, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3.

**1.10**

| *Kin* | *kore* | *ŋga* | *amukmo* | *rereoworo* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kin | kore | ŋga | amukmo | rereoworo |
| upstream | over.there | CIRC | all | altogether |

| *mero* | *te* | *uj* | *kuw* | *o,* | *ndun* | *kuw* | *o,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| me-ro | te | uj | kup | o | ndun | kup | o |
| come-SS | CON | pig | COM | CON | sago | COM | CON |

| *aŋgae* | *kuw* | *o,* | *kagup* | *kuw* | *o,* | *ran* | *kuw* | *o,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| aŋgae | kup | o | kagup | kup | o | ran | kuw | o |
| dog | COM | CON | man | COM | CON | woman | COM | CON |

| *amukmo* | *emoro* | *ok* | *kujom* | *ŋga* | *sumo* | *me* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| amukmo | emo-ro | ok | kujom | ŋga | sumo | me | ku-r-an. |
| all | do.thus-SS | river | flood | AG | carry | come | go-RLS [N1SG]-PST |

From upstream over there everything came; the river flood came carrying everything: pigs, sago trees, dogs, men and women.

Drabbe notes that the use of *kuran* here shows that *ko* 'go' not only expresses a going away, but also going, walking, being on the way. If it indicated a going away, it could not be used in combination with the verb of coming, *me* (Drabbe 1959: 146).

The subject of the first verb *me* is implicit, but accompanied by *amukmo*: it came all. In the following clause it is made explicit what this 'all' consists of: the flood which takes *uj*, *ndun*, *aŋgui*, *kagup* and *ran*.

According to Drabbe, *emoro* here indicates 'all the time' (Drabbe 1959:147a).

In a strict sense, *sumo* means 'taking on the shoulder', but it is also used for other types of taking up and carrying (Drabbe 1959:147a); see the explanation in the YW-English wordlist (Chapter 9).

**1.11**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ogip* | *Kawokawonjow* | *o* | *nderan.* |
| Ogip | Kawokawonjow | o | nde-r-an. |
| Ogip | Kawokawonjop | CON | say-RLS[N1]-PST |

They called it the Ogip or Kawokawonjop river.

Og-Ip and Kawokawonjop are two sacral names for the Kao river (Drabbe 1959:146b). The first is a compound of *ok* 'river' and *ip* 'name'.

For the lack of a plural suffix in *nde-r-an*, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.4.

**1.12**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kagup* | *menew* | *e* | *Kawon* | *o* | *ndirinan.* |
| kagup | menew | e | Kawon | o | ndi-r-in-an |
| man | here | ARG | Kawon | CON | say-RLS-N1PL-PST |

The people of nowadays say Kao river.

*Kagup menew* may be analysed as 'this man', but also, like here, as 'man of now' (Drabbe 1959:147a); see also Chapter 3, the end of Section 3.1.1.2.

We often find the element *o* following a quote when the verb *nde* 'say' is used (Drabbe 1959:147a). See also Chapter 5, Section 5.7 on quotative constructions.

It is not clear why the speaker uses the past form *ndirinan* (Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4.1); Drabbe uses a Dutch present tense in his translation.

**1.13**

| *Ran* | *kup,* | *kagup* | *kup* | *kimbarukmo* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ran | kup | kagup | kup | kimbarukmo |
| woman | COM | man | COM | swim.ITER |

| *Wambon* | *mendirinan.* |
|---|---|
| Wambon | mendi-r-in-an |
| Wambon | come_II-RLS-NIPL-PST |

Men and women came swimming towards the Wambon area.

*Kup* is used here as equivalent of Dutch 'and' and repeated after each constituent (Drabbe 1959:147a). See also Chapter 3, Section 3.7.

**1.14**

| *Ran* | *irumon,* | *kaguw* | *irumon* | *kurugutkup* | *kimbarukmar* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ran | irumon | kagup | irumon | kurugutkup | kimbarukma-r |
| woman | two | man | two | four | swim.ITER-RLS |

| *a* | *Suruk* | *korinan.* |
|---|---|---|
| a | Suruk | ko-r-in-an |
| SEQ | Muyu.area | go-RLS-NIPL-PST |

Two men and two women swam as a group of four to the Muyu area.

Drabbe notes that *kurugutkup* should here be translated as '(with) the four of them' (Dutch: *met z'n vieren*).

For the location of Suruk, which is the area where the Muyu live, see Figure 4 in the Introduction.

**1.15**

| *Aŋgae* | *e* | *ok* | *kimar* | *a* | *Kowet* | *mogot* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| aŋgae | e | ok | kima-r | a | Kowet | mogot |
| dog | ARG | river | swim-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | Kowet | mouth.of.river |

| *maturu* | *mbagen.* |
|---|---|
| maturu | mba-gen |
| come.up | sit-RLS[NISG] |

The dog swam to the mouth of the Kowet river and came up out of the water and stayed there.

*Maturu* indicates coming up out of the water (Drabbe 1959:147a). See also Chapter 3, Sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2.

*Kowet mogot* is a compound of the type 'tree trunk' (Drabbe 1959:147a); it is an endocentric compound of type 1, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.

**1.16**

| *Temon* | *keran* | *aŋgae* | *Anoŋgejop.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| temon | ke-r-an | aŋgae | Anoŋgejop |
| rat | be-RLS[N1SG]-PST | dog | Anonggejop |

The dog Anonggejop became a rat.

Drabbe writes:

> here we have a reverse order, with the subject at the end of the sentence. The speaker says 'he became a rat' and only then thinks about specifying the identity of the subject. (Drabbe 1959:147)

# 12

# Text 2: Kori

***Kori used to bring raw fish and raw meat whenever he went to a feast. One day, his son Naerop saw one of his father's marsupials in a tree, shot it, and ate it. Kori came to the place and (thought that he) saw his marsupial. When he shot it, however, the arrow penetrated the animal; he climbed into the tree and saw that Naerop had put scrapings of a bow there. 'There are no people here', Kori said, 'so it must be you, my son Naerop, who has done this.' In the meantime, there came a message about a feast at the Koreom (name of top of a hill that is higher than the surrounding hills). Father and son both went there, but along different ways. During the dancing, Kori ordered that his son be killed, which is what happened. When he had died, they pulled the bamboo stick (which he used as a decoration) out of his nose and stuck a tigan-fish into his nose instead. The ropes that he wore over his breast as a decoration changed into a water snake; his arrows became ndiwon-fishes, and his bow a timae-fish. They buried him, but took him out of the ground to eat him. They brought him to Meremopjem.***

**2.01**

| *Kori* | *ŋga* | *mbir* | *e* | *ragae* | *kup,* | *ragae* | *arjok* | *kup,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kori | ŋga | mbit | e | ragae | kup | ragae | arjok | kup |
| Kori | AG | feast | CIRC | fish | COM | fish | new | COM |

| *kunow* | *arjok* | *kup* | *agumoro* |
|---|---|---|---|
| kunop | arjok | kup | agumo-ro |
| marsupial | new | COM | put.into-SS |

| *mbit* | *kogojopmo* | *mbaget* | *te.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mbit | kogo<jop>mo | mbage-t | te |
| feast | go.ITER<ITER> | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] | AFFMT |

Kori always brought raw fish and raw meat whenever he went to a feast.

*Agumo* 'put into' primarily indicates a putting into a bag or inoken (Dutch: draagnet). Here it is used for taking food with you as provisions (Dutch: leeftocht) on the way (Drabbe 1959:148a).

*Kori* is a sort of higher being. Drabbe writes that *Tori = Tomorüp* for the Mandobo (Drabbe 1959:147).

*Kogojopmo mbaget* forms a habitual construction, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.2.

For the function of the marker *e* 'ARG' see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2. Its function here is not entirely clear, but might have to do with the fact that it marks a feast at which the main plot of the narrative is situated; it is a feast that Naerop is coming to in 2.02 and it is this feast at which Kori commands others to kill him, see 2.08.

**2.02**

| *Naerop* | *ju* | *taep* | *me* | *etagat* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naerop | ju | taep | me | etaga-t | te |
| Naerop | 3SG | also | come | see-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *amun* | *mbagen* | *dok,* | *taembat.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| amun | mba-gen | tok | taemba-t |
| marsupial | sit-RLS[N1SG] | GROUND | shoot-RLS[N1SG] |

Naerop one day also came (to one of these feasts) and saw a marsupial and shot it.

*Naerop* is Kori's son (Drabbe 1959:147b).

As in all Greater Awyu languages, Yonggom Wambon posture verbs are also used to express being present (in a certain location), see Chapter 2, Section 2.7.

In my view, the use of *me* 'come' reflects that the feast is the deictic centre. From this perspective, Naerop is coming (rather than going). It is on the way to this feast that Naerop sees a marsupial. In an alternative analysis, the position of the marsupial is taken as the deictic centre, both here and in 2.04.

In his paraphrase of this sentence, Drabbe makes clear that the marsupial shot by *Naerop* belongs to his father. In the narrative itself, this becomes clear in 2.04, where we find *jan amun* 'his marsupial'.

**2.03**

| *Taemboro* | *ra* | *ko* | *andet.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Taembo-ro | ra | ko | ande-t |
| shoot-SS | take | go | eat_II-RLS[N1SG] |

He shot it and took it and ate it.

*Ra ko andet* expresses that *Naerop* takes the food and goes to a place to prepare it and eat it.

**2.04**

| *Ja* | *nati* | *Kori* | *me* | *etagat* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja | nati | Kori | me | etaga-t | te |
| 3SG.POSS | father | Kori | come | see-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *jan* | *amun* | *e* | *mbon* | *dok,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja | amun | e | mbon | tok |
| 3SG.POSS | marsupial | ARG | STAY | GROUND |

| *taembat* | *te* | *keroke* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|
| taemba-t | te | keroke | te |
| shoot-RLS[N1SG] | CON | penetrate | CON |

| *turu* | *etagat* | *te* |
|---|---|---|
| turu | etaga-t | te |
| go.up | see-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *Naerom* | *ŋga* | *sinam* | *mon* | *de* | *ururan.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naerom | ŋga | sinam | mon | te | uru-r-an |
| Naerom | AG | bow | crumb | CON | put-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

His father Kori came to the place (where Naerop had shot the marsupial) and saw his marsupial there, he shot it, but he penetrated it so he went up and saw that Naerop had put scrapings of his bow (there).

Kori mistook the bow scrapings for his marsupial (Drabbe 1959:147a).

**2.05**

| *Ndoj* | *ket* | *te* | *mari* | *mbaget* | *te.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ndoj | ke-t | te | mari | mbage-t | te |
| NEX | be-RLS[N1SG] | CON | come.down | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] | AFFMT |

It was not there so he came down and stayed there.

This sentence has not been translated by Drabbe. *Ndoj (ke)* is used for the expression of non-existence, of not being present at a location (see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1). Drabbe writes *ndoike* here as one word and glosses as 'not become'.

Note that *mbaget te* is picked up in 2.07; at the discourse level it functions to connect 2.05 and 2.07. In 2.07, Drabbe seems to paraphrase *mbaget* as 'in the meantime'.

**2.06**

| *Menew* | *e* | *kagup* | *ndoj* | *tok* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| menep | e | kagup | ndoj | tok | |
| here | CON | man | NEX | GROUND | |
| *na* | *mandup* | *Naerom* | *ŋgowot* | *ke* | *te* |
| na | mandup | Naerom | ŋgowot | ke | te |
| 1SG.POSS | son | Naerom | 2SG.EMPH | be | CON |
| *sinam* | *mon* | *urugen* | *o* | *nderan.* | |
| sinam | mon | uru-gen | o | nde-r-an | |
| bow | crumb | put-RLS[N1SG] | CON | say-RLS[N1SG]-PST | |

'There are no people here, so my son Naerop, you are the one who has put down scrapings of a bow', he said.

According to Drabbe (1959:120b, see also Chapter 3, Section 3.1.2), the form for addressing a son (*mandup*) is *mun*. For unclear reasons, however, here the reference form is used.

**2.07**

| *Mbaget* | *te* |
|---|---|
| mbage-t | te |
| sit_II-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *Koreom* | *e* | *mbit* | *tawok* | *mendet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Koreom | e | mbit | tawok | mende-t |
| Koreom | ARG | feast | message | come_II-RLS[NISG] |

In the meantime came the announcement of a feast at the Koreom.

*Koreom* is the name of the top of a hill, higher than the hills surrounding it (Drabbe 1959:147b).

**2.08**

| *Naerow* | *e* | *jandir* | *awae* | *kut* | *te,* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naerop | e | jandit | awae | ku-t | te | |
| Naerop | ARG | path | other | go-RLS[NISG] | CON | |
| *Kori* | *e* | *jandir* | *awae* | *ko,* | *kagup* | *ragat,* |
| Kori | e | jandit | awae | ko | kagup | raga-t |
| Kori | ARG | path | other | go | man | speak-RLS [NISG] |
| *mbit* | *ketmon* | *rarapmono* | *te* | *Kori* | *ŋga* | *ragat* |
| mbit | ketmon | rarapmo-no | te | Kori | ŋga | raga-t |
| feast | dance | take.ITER-SS.SIM | CON | Kori | ARG | speak-RLS [NISG] |

| *te,* | *Naerop* | *taembarin* | *kimaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| te | Naerop | taemba-r-in | kima-r-an |
| CON | Naerop | shoot-RLS-NIPL | die-RLS[NISG]-PST |

Naerop and Kori both went there via a different path, and while he was dancing Kori told the people to shoot Naerop so that he died.

*Kagup* should probably be analysed as the object of *ragat*; Kori speaks to *agup* 'men' and they kill Naerop. Alternatively, *kagup* is a subject, referring to *Kori*.

This is the only place in the corpus where a bare same-subject form (*ko*)is marked as intonationally separated from the following clause (by the use of a comma).

Note the use of final *n* in *ketmon* 'dance', which is most probably triggered by the following alveolar. In all the other attested cases in the corpus, we find the form *ketmom*, with final *m*, followed by a vowel.

**2.09**

| *Kimat* | *te* | *ambotop* | *kahat* | *tumo* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kima-t | te | ambotop | kahat | tumo |
| die-RLS[N1SG] | CON | nose | bamboo | pull.out |

| *tigin* | *agumat;* |
|---|---|
| tigin | aguma-t |
| kind.of.fish | put.into-RLS[N1SG] |

| *jajandujow* | *e* | *ogaŋgunun* | *ket;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| jajandujop | e | ogaŋgunun | ke-t |
| rope | ARG | watersnake | be-RLS[N1SG] |

| *ŋgow* | *e* | *ndiwon* | *ket;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ŋgop | e | ndiwon | ke-t |
| arrow | ARG | kind.of.fish | be-RLS[N1SG] |

| *sinam* | *e* | *timae* | *ket.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| sinam | e | timae | ke-t |
| bow | ARG | kind.of.fish | be-RLS[N1SG] |

He died and one pulled the bamboo out of his nose and put a tigin-fish into it; the ropes that he used as ornaments on his breast became a water snake; his arrows became ndiwon-fishes and his bow became a timae-fish.

It is not clear who is pulling the bamboo out of the nose, as the subject is not specified. Note that the verb *agumat* is a singular verb. *Jajandujop* is attested only here and refers to ropes over the breast that are used as a decoration.

**2.10**

| *Ra* | *mero* | *sagumarin* | *de* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ra | me-ro | saguma-r-in | te |
| take | come-SS | bury-RLS-N1PL | CON |

| *tumo* | *andewanin* | *ndirin* | *dok.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| tumo | ande-w-an-in | ndi-r-in | tok |
| pull.out | eat_II-1-PL-FUT | say-RLS-N1PL | GROUND |

They came and took and buried him but they decided to take him out again in order to eat him.

Literally, they said 'let us take him out again and eat him'. See Chapter 5, Section 5.7 on quotative constructions.

This is the only example of *tok* in sentence-final position, see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.5.

**2.11**

| *Sumo* | *ra* | *Meremopjen* | *mendirinan.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| sumo | ra | Meremopjen | mendi-r-in-an |
| carry | take | Meremopjen | come_II-RLS-N1PL-PST |

They brought him to Meremopjen.

Meremopjen is the name of a widening of the Wanik river (Drabbe 1959:147b). The Wanik is the river where the village Waniktit is located, which in turn is the village where the variety of Yonggom Wambon described in this publication is spoken (Drabbe 1959:115a).

The use of *mendi* 'come_II' may indicate that the movement towards Meremopjen was towards the location of the story's narrator.

# 13

# Text 3: Katit

***Because of a woman, they burnt the old man Kati's house. He himself also burnt, and his faeces got loose. He got up and came to sit below a waterfall in the Ramut river. A tagip marsupial, son of Katit, cut a foreleg (as a sign of mourning) and a lizard cut off his tail and foreleg. Thus they stayed at Wagogirit.***

**3.01**

| *Ran* | *e* | *tigin* | *de* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ran | e | tigin | te | | |
| woman | ARG | cause | CON | | |
| *Katit* | *pitip* | *mbaŋgan* | *magap* | *undarin* | *de,* |
| Katit | mbitip | mbaŋgan | magap | unda-r-in | te |
| Katit | house | kind.of.tree | topped.trunk | burn-RLS-NIPL | CON |
| *koppari* | *Katit* | *undarin* | *de* | *ndar* | *a,* |
| koppari | Katit | unda-r-in | te | nda-t | a |
| old.man | Katit | burn-RLS-NIPL | CON | burn-RLS [NISG] | SEQ |
| *oj* | *tutupke* | *majaran.* | | | |
| oj | tutupke | maja-r-an | | | |
| inner.substance | get.loose | come.down_II-RLS[NISG]-PST | | | |

Because of a woman, people burned Katit's treehouse (built on the trunk of a mbanggan-tree), they burnt the old man, he burnt and his faeces came off and came down.

Drabbe calls *ran e tigin* a compound, with stress on *ran*, literally translated: 'it is a woman cause'. See De Vries (2020:104) for how proto-Awyu–Dumut *tigin has grammaticalised into a case clitic in other Greater Awyu languages.

*Mbaŋgan magap* is an endocentric compound of type 2, with stress on the first, modifying, noun: a *mbaŋgan*-stem, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.2. *Ragap* refers to a topped trunk, on top of which one builds a house. The series *pitip mbaŋgan magap* is a double compound, indicating a house built on top of a *mbaŋgan* tree. This is the common way of referring to tree houses in this area (Drabbe 1959:148b).

Note that the old man is called *Katit* here. In 3.04, we find *Katiw*, where the final [w] is probably a phonologically conditioned allophone of /p/ — see Chapter 1, Sections 1.1.2 and 1.3.1. For unclear reasons (perhaps a typo?), Drabbe renders *Katit* in this sentence as 'Kati', while *Katiw* in 3.04 is rendered as 'Katit'.

*Tutupke* is, most probably, the iterative stem of *tupke* 'get loose, come off'; the coming off of the faeces is perceived as an iterative event.

**3.02**

| *Matik* | *te* | *mender* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|
| matik | te | mende-t | a |
| get.up | CON | come_II-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ |

| *Ramut* | *ogirit* | *mbagen.* |
|---|---|---|
| Ramut | ogirit | mba-gen |
| Ramut | waterfall | sit-RLS[N1SG] |

He got up and came and sat down below a waterfall in the Ramut river.

Note that *mende* 'come_II' reflects a movement in the direction of the deictic centre. It might indicate that the movement towards *Ramut* is conceived as a movement towards the location of the narrator of this narrative.

**3.03**

| *Tagiw* | *e* | *wir* | *e* | *ŋgamaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tagip | e | wit | e | ŋgama-r-an |
| white.marsupial | ARG | tail | ARG | chop.off-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

A tagip marsupial chopped off its foreleg.

Drabbe (1959:148a) notes that the chopping off of the leg is a sign of mourning.

**3.04**

| *Katiw* | *en* | *amandup* | *tagiw* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Katip | en | amandup | tagip | e |
| Katip | LNK | son | white.marsupial | ARG |

| *wir* | *e* | *ŋgamaran.* |
|---|---|---|
| wit | e | ŋgama-r-an |
| tail | ARG | chop.off-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

A tagip marsupial, son of Katip, chopped off its leg.

**3.05**

| *Ambae* | *e* | *ŋgati* | *sowae* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ambae | e | ŋgati | sowae |
| other | ARG | creeping.animal | kind.of.lizard |

| *wambit* | *ŋgamaran,* | *wit* | *ŋgamaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| wambit | ŋgama-r-an | wit | ŋgama-r-an |
| tail | chop.off-RLS[N1SG]-PST | arm | chop.off-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

Another one, a lizard, chopped off its tail and its foreleg.

*Ambae* = other, to be translated here as 'further' (Drabbe 1959:148b).

**3.06**

| *Emoro* | *te* | *jaŋgen* | *Wagogirit* | *poken.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| emo-ro | te | jaŋ-gen | Wagogirit | mbo-ken |
| finish-SS | CON | lie-RLS[N1SG] | Wagogirit | sit_II.PL-RLS[N1] |

Thus they stayed to live in Wagogirit.

*Emoro* is used in generic verb linkage, see Chapter 5, Section 5.6.2. Drabbe remarks that *emoro te jaŋgen* should be understood here as 'thus, therefore' (Drabbe 1959:148a).

*Mbok* implies a plural subject, see Chapter 2, Section 2.7. Initial /mb/ is realised as [p] because of the preference in clusters of stops to have the same specification for voice, see Chapter 1, Section 1.3.2.

# 14

# Text 4: The origin of canoe making

***Mbogokonon cut a jut tree, and the pieces of bark, the wood chips and the smaller wood pieces that fell into the river became fishes. The pieces of bark became wawot and korom fishes. The wood chips became other fishes, and the smaller pieces became very small fishes. The stem fell into the river, and when it came out of the water after a while, it had become a canoe. Having come up it said (it was also a crocodile): 'row me through the river'. A woman was menstruating, and they rowed and the canoe (crocodile) went across, and they got out of the canoe. The crocodile had noticed that the woman was menstruating and dived (for that reason) below the water level. When the woman was sleeping, the crocodile said: 'my face is lightning (shame, anger)'. He came into the house and saw the woman lying asleep. Secretly he went to her and had sex with her. Each time after he had done so, he disappeared into the river.***

***(At a certain morning) the father got up and saw traces of the crocodile on his daughter's breast. 'Daughter', he said, 'what has happened?' 'The crocodile has had sex with me', she said. Then they placed a fence (along the river) and when it had become night, the father tied a rattan rope to his arm, and the other end of the rope he tied to his daughter's arm. He said: 'Daughter, if the crocodile comes this night and has sex with you, tug the rope.' Then they went to sleep. The crocodile came and had sex with her, and she pulled the rope to warn her father. He got up silently, and went, by a roundabout way, to the fence and closed the opening. The others blew the fire, the crocodile fled, but as soon as it wanted to go through the opening, it could not. The father said: 'because you have had sex with my daughter, I have closed the opening'. The crocodile said: 'from now on you***

***will have to cut trees, to make them into canoes, and drag them to the river, and you will row till you are tired, and capsize and you will have to swim in the water. Don't be so nasty; I just wanted to marry her!' The father said: 'we now have a canoe, so let's open the fence again, so that it can go into the water'. But the crocodile refused. 'Just kill me', it said, 'but the women may not eat from my anus or penis. Shoot me with a bow'. When it had said that, they shot it down. Then it said: 'you may not speak my name lightly, because if you do I will break the back of children, women and men, with my teeth'. After it had said that, they cut it in pieces and ate it. So it is that nowadays people cut trees, make them into canoes, and it takes them a long time.***

**4.01**

| *Mbogokonon* | *jut* | *rit* | *te,* | *kotae* | *kup,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mbogokonon | jut | ri-t | te | kotae | kup |
| Mbogokonon | kind.of.tree | chop-RLS[N1SG] | CON | skin | COM |

| *kom* | *kup,* | *mon-mon* | *kup,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| kom | kup | monmon | kup |
| wood.chips | COM | small.pieces | COM |

| *tutupke* | *ok* | *rirat* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|
| tutupke | ok | rira-t | te |
| get.loose | river | go.down_II RLS[N1] | CON |

| *ragae* | *keran;* |
|---|---|
| ragae | ke-r-an |
| fish | be-RLS[N1]-PST |

| *kotae* | *e* | *wawot* | *ket,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| kotae | e | wawot | ke-t |
| skin | ARG | kind.of.fish | be-RLS[N1SG] |

| *korom* | *keran;* |
|---|---|
| korom | ke-r-an |
| kind.of.fish | be-RLS[N1]-PST |

| *kom* | *e* | *ok* | *rirat* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kom | e | ok | rira-t | te |
| wood.chips | ARG | river | go.down_II-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *monmon* | *e* | *ragae* | *mbemberon* | *keran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| monmon | e | ragae | mbemberon | ke-r-an |
| small.pieces | ARG | fish | small.PL | be-RLS[N1]-PST |

Mbogokonon chopped down a jut tree and bark, wood chips and small pieces came loose and fell into the river, they became fish. The bark became wawot and korom fish, the wood chips became other kinds (of fish) and the small pieces became small fishes.

Note that *keran* has a plural subject verb and singular inflection. This reflects the possibility for the language to leave out plural marking in cases where the context makes the plurality sufficiently clear, as with the plural subject stems of posture verbs (see Chapter 2, Section 2.7), or with iterative stems that imply plural subjects, as in 6.14. See also Chapter 4, Section 4.1.4.

**4.02**

| *Jur* | *andui* | *e* | *tupke* | *rirar* | *a* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| jut | andui | e | tupke | rira-t | a | te |
| kind.of.tree | stem | ARG | get.loose | go.down-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | CON |

| *woŋgopon* | *ke* | *te* | *uke* | *maturu* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| woŋgopon | ke | te | uke | maturu | te |
| long.time | be | CON | out.of.water | come.up | CON |

| *konoj* | *ket.* |
|---|---|
| konoj | ke-t |
| canoe | be-RLS[N1SG] |

The stem of the jut tree fell down (into the river), a long time passed, and it came up from the water and had become a canoe.

This is the only attestation of *uke*; it is glossed by Drabbe as 'out of the water'.

**4.03**

| *Maturu* | *te* | *nu* | *mene* | *ŋga* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| maturu | te | nu | mene | ŋga |
| come.up | CON | 1SG | here | CIRC |

| *ok* | *natinin* | *ndet* | *te.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ok | natin-in | nde-t | te |
| river | row.IMP-PL | say-RLS[N1SG] | AFFMT |

It came up and said 'Use me here to row (across) the river!'

I analyse *ŋga* as a circumstantial marker, marking the function of the canoe as an instrument, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1.

The canoe is, at the same time, a crocodile (Drabbe 1959:150a).

**4.04**

| *Ok* | *tino* | *mboket,* |
|---|---|---|
| ok | ti-no | mboke-t |
| river | row-SS.SIM | sit_II.PL-RLS[N1] |

| *ran* | *ja* | *mimirop* | *kup* | *undut.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ran | ja | mimirop | kup | undu-t |
| woman | 3SG.POSS | menstruation.blood | COM | go.across_II-RLS[N1SG] |

While rowing across the river, a woman with menstrual bleeding went across.

**4.05**

| *Mbanew* | *e* | *ŋgoropmo* | *ok* | *rirat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| mbanep | e | ŋgoropmo | ok | rira-t |
| crocodile | ARG | notice | river | go.down_II-RLS[N1SG] |

The crocodile noticed and submerged.

**4.06**

| *Mitik* | *ket* | *te,* |
|---|---|---|
| mitik | ke-t | te |
| night | be-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *ran* | *e* | *kinum* | *jaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ran | e | kinum | ja-r-an |
| woman | ARG | sleep | lie-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

It became night and the woman slept.

**4.07**

| *Na* | *ŋginokerop* | *warawae* | *warimogen* | *ndet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | ŋginokerop | warawae | warimo-gen | nde-t |
| 1SG.POSS | face | lightning | AUX-RLS[N1SG] | say-RLS[N1SG] |

'My face is lightning', it [the crocodile] said.

The verb *warimo* is attested only here, in combination with *warawae*, to which it is probably related; *warawae* is translated into Dutch as bliksem, which is the word for the meteorological phenomenon of lightning. I follow Drabbe (1959:148b) and De Vries (2020 244) in glossing *warimo* as AUX (auxiliary).

De Vries (2020:244) notes that 'my face is lightning' is 'an experiential clause: the first person experiencer is not the subject and the verb agrees with the inanimate body-part noun that is the subject'. See also Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

The experiential clause is part of a quotative construction (see Chapter 5, Section 5.7). De Vries remarks that,

> this quotative framing is used to represent the emotions of rage and shame that engulf the crocodile who is the victim of the breach of a very strong pollution taboo: a man coming in contact with menstrual blood … An idiomatic translation would be: 'He felt very ashamed and angry.' (De Vries 2020:244, also 215f; Drabbe 1959:149a)

I do not follow Drabbe's spelling: *ŋginok-kerop*. In my view, *ŋginokerop* is an example of an exocentric compound, composed of *ŋgin* 'head' and *kerop* 'eye', with a linking element *o*, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.1. This is also the analysis given in Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix. It is not clear to me why Drabbe here writes and analyses *ŋginok-kerop*. First, the form *ŋginok* is not attested elsewhere. Second, *k+k* is realised as [k] (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.3.3), which means that Drabbe must have heard a single *k*.

**4.08**

| *Emat* | *te* | *matogo* | *menderan.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | matogo | mende-r-an |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | come.uphill | come_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

Thus it came inside.

The stem *matogo* is not attested elsewhere and not discussed further by Drabbe. Drabbe glosses the form as 'come in'. It is probably a variant of *matugo* 'come up', see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1.

*Emat* is used in generic verb linkage, see Chapter 5, Section 5.6.2. In this text, it is used also in 4.12, 4.14, 4.23 and 4.39, and we find *emo* in 4.26.

**4.09**

| *Me* | *kindumat* | *te* |
|---|---|---|
| me | kinduma-t | te |
| come | look-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *ran* | *e* | *kinum* | *jaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ran | e | kinum | ja-r-an |
| woman | ARG | sleep | lie-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

It came inside and saw that the woman was sleeping.

**4.10**

| *Janem* | *ko* | *mbarukrawaran.* |
|---|---|---|
| janem | ko | mbarukrawa-r-an |
| secretly | go | have.sex-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

He snuck in and had sex (with the woman).

**4.11**

| *Ok* | *ririopmo* | *mbaget.* |
|---|---|---|
| ok | riri<op>mo | mbage-t |
| river | go.down.ITER<ITER> | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] |

He did so several nights and each time went down into the river afterwards.

*Riri<op>mo* is an iterative form, which, depending on the context, may also have a habitual interpretation—see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2. Here the form expresses that the crocodile snuck in and had sex more than once.

**4.12**

| *Emat* | *te* | *ja* | *nati* | *matigo* | *etagat* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | ja | nati | matigo | etaga-t |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | 3SG.POSS | father | get.up_II | see-RLS[N1SG] |

| *te* | *ja* | *matiw* | *e* | *mbemir* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| te | ja | matip | e | mbemit | e |
| CON | 3SG.POSS | daughter | LNK | breast | ARG |

| *oksagat* | *kun* | *kup* | *ket;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| oksagat | kun | kup | ke-t |
| mud | trail | COM | be-RLS[N1SG] |

| *mbemir* | *e* | *jugut* | *kup* | *ket.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| mbemit | e | jugut | kup | ke-t |
| breast | ARG | trail | COM | be-RLS[N1SG] |

He did that and when her father got up he saw that his daughter's breast had a mud trail, that her breast had a trail.

Drabbe writes 'matig' instead of *matigo*.

Drabbe notes that *ja* in *ja nati* does not refer to the daughter, but should be taken as 'the father' (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.1.2 on kinship terms).

Drabbe notes that *jugut* refers to a trail made by an animal or human being (1959:150b). While Drabbe specifies this meaning for *jugut*, he does not do so for *kun*.

**4.13**

| *Randuj* | *o* | *ŋg'* | *agaeopmogen* | *de* | *ndet;* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| randuj | o | ŋg' | agaeopmo-gen | te | nde-t |
| daughter | CON | 2SG | do.what-RLS[N1SG] | CON | say-RLS[N1SG] |

| *mbanew* | *et* | *ke* | *te* | *nu* | *mbarukrapken* | *de* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mbanep | et | ke | te | nu | mbarukrap-ken | te |
| crocodile | NOM | be | CON | 1SG | have.sex-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *ndero* | *ragat.* |
|---|---|
| nde-ro | raga-t |
| say-SS | speak-RLS[N1SG] |

'O daughter, what have you done?', he asked. 'It's the crocodile, it had sex with me', she said.

Note that the term used to address the daughter: *randui*, differs from the term used to refer to the daughter: *matip*, in the previous sentence, compare with Chapter 3, Section 3.1.2.

For the function of *te* see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.4.

**4.14**

| *Emat* | *te* | *kuk* | *tirinan.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | kuk | ti-r-in-an |
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | fence | twine-RLS-NIPL-PST |

This happened and they built a fence.

Drabbe remarks that this fence was built along the river (Drabbe 1959:150a).

**4.15**

| *Kuk* | *tirin* | *a* | *mbumo,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| kuk | ti-r-in | a | mbumo |
| fence | twine-RLS-NIPL | SEQ | finish |

| *mitik* | *keran* | *e,* |
|---|---|---|
| mitik | ke-r-an | e |
| night | be-RLS[NISG]-PST | CIRC |

| *tik* | *ra* | *mero* | *wir* | *atigat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| tik | ra | me-ro | wit | atiga-t |
| rattan | take | come-SS | arm | bind-RLS[NISG] |

They finished building the fence, and when night came, he [the father] took a rattan rope and tied it to [his] arm.

The marker *e* is probably used here to highlight the parallelism between the father and the daughter, who both tie one end of the rope to their arm — see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2, for the function of *e*.

**4.16**

| *Ja* | *matiw* | *e* | *wir* | *atigat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja | matip | e | wit | atiga-t |
| 3SG.POSS | daughter | ARG | arm | bind-RLS[NISG] |

His daughter tied [the other end] to her arm.

**4.17**

| *Ragat:* | *randui* | *o* | *ŋguw* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| raga-t | randui | o | ŋgup | e |
| speak-RLS[NISG] | daughter | VOC | 2SG.EMPH | ARG |

| *mitik* | *ket* | *kinin* | *ŋga,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mitik | ke-t | ki-n-in | ŋga |
| night | be-RLS [NISG] | be-NI [SG]-FUT | CIRC |

| *mbanep* | *me* | *ŋgu* | *mbarukrawat* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mbanep | me | ŋgu | mbarukrawa-t |
| crocodile | come | 2SG | have.sex-RLS[NISG] |

| *ket* | *kinin* | *ŋga,* |
|---|---|---|
| ke-t | ki-n-in | ŋga |
| be-RLS[NISG] | be-NI[SG]-FUT | CIRC |

| *sapuk* | *nandap* | *te* | *ŋgoropmop* | *ndero* | *ragat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sapuk | nandap | te | ŋgoropmo-p | nde-ro | raga-t |
| tobacco | take.IMP | CON | know-1SG | say-SS | speak-RLS[NISG] |

He [the father] said: 'daughter, if it is night, if the crocodile comes and he has sex with you, tug [the rope] and I will know'.

To explain the meaning of *ŋgoropmo*, Drabbe gives the following example: *mi ŋgoropmo* [drink know] = 'taste' (Drabbe 1959:150b)

The clause that ends in *ket kinin ŋga* is an example of a simple conditional clause, see Chapter 5, Section 5.5.1.

*Ŋguw* is an emphatic pronoun, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.

*Nandap* is the imperative stem corresponding to primary *ra*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1.

**4.18**

| *Ndarero* | *kinum* | *jaran.* |
|---|---|---|
| ndare-ro | kinum | ja-r-an |
| hear_II-ss | sleep | lie-RLS[NISG]-PST |

She heard (him) and lay down to sleep.

**4.19**

| *Mbanep* | *mender* | *a* | *mbarukrawat.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mbanep | mende-r | a | mbarukrawa-t |
| crocodile | come_II-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | have.sex-RLS[NISG] |

The crocodile came and had sex [with her].

**4.20**

| *Tik* | *sapuk* | *rawat* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|
| tik | sapuk | rawa-t | te |
| rattan | tobacco | take-RLS[NISG] | CON |

| *ja* | *nati* | *e* | *ŋgoropmat.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ja | nati | e | ŋgoropma-t |
| 3SG.POSS | father | ARG | know-RLS[NISG] |

She pulled the rattan rope and her father noticed.

Apparently, the final vowel of *rawe*, which is the secondary stem of *rap* 'take' (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2), harmonises with the preceding vowel *a*. It appears to do so consistently throughout the corpus.

**4.21**

| *Janem* | *matigoro* | *agatkanderan.* |
|---|---|---|
| janem | matigo-ro | agatkande-r-an |
| secretly | get.up-SS | go.long.way.around-RLS[NISG]-PST |

He secretly got up and took a roundabout way.

**4.22**

| *Agatkander* | *a* | *kur* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|
| agatkande-r | a | ku-r | a |
| go.long.way.round-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | go-RLS [NISG] | SEQ |

| *kuk* | *riwirip* | *ko* | *ahappiri* | *e* | *komat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kuk | riwirip | ko | ahappiri | e | koma-t |
| fence | proximity | go | gate | ARG | close-RLS[NISG] |

He went a long way around, then went near the fence and closed the gate.

It is remarkable how the narrator seems to describe the events from a faraway deictic centre, especially in 4.23, where he uses *kore* to refer to the situation in the house.

**4.23**

| *Emat* | *te* | *kore* | *matigoro* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | kore | matigo-ro |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | DIST | get.up_II-SS |

| *enow* | *ugumarin* | *de* |
|---|---|---|
| enop | uguma-r-in | te |
| tree | light.by.blowing-RLS-N1PL | CON |

| *mbanew* | *e* | *ŋgirimo* | *kut.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mbanep | e | ŋgirimo | ku-t |
| crocodile | ARG | flee | go-RLS[N1SG] |

He did that and they over there got up and blew into the fireplace to increase the fire and the crocodile fled.

Apparently, *enop* is used here as a short form for *enoptenop*, which is a compound of *enop* 'tree' and *tenop* 'fire'.

**4.24**

| *Kur* | *a* | *te* | *ahappiri* | *otop* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ku-t | a | te | ahappiri | oto-p | nde |
| go-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | CON | gate | go.in/out-1SG | say |

| *te* | *jaju* | *ket.* |
|---|---|---|
| te | jaju | ke-t |
| CON | impossible | be-RLS[N1SG] |

He fled and wanted to go through the gate, it was impossible.

De Vries (2020:246) notes that 'this is an example of quotative framing of intention. Literally, "He fled saying 'I want to go out via the gate'"'. See also Chapter 5, Section 5.7.

The first *te* 'say' is 'false' ss-form. When a clause is followed by a clause with a non-topical subject, or a subject of low topicality, the reference tracking system described in Chapter 5, Section 5.2 is 'switched off'. Following a general pattern in Greater Awyu languages, the first clause ends in a 'false' ss-form (De Vries 2020:114, 50). Two examples in the corpus are this sentence and 12.09.

**4.25**

| *Nde,* | *ja* | *nati* | *ŋga* | *ragat:* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| nde | ja | nati | ŋga | raga-t |
| say | 3SG.POSS | father | AG | speak-RLS[NISG] |

| *na* | *matip* | *mbarukrapken* | *ege* | *te,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | matip | mbarukrap-ken | ege | te |
| 1SG.POSS | daughter | have.sex-RLS[NISG] | THEM | AFFMT |

| *komogenep* | *ndero* | *emo* | *ndet.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| komo-gen-ep | nde-ro | emo | nde-t |
| close-RLS-1SG | say-SS | do.thus | say-RLS[NISG] |

'Yes', her father said, 'because you had sex with my daughter, I closed [the gate].'

**4.26**

| *Emo* | *ndet* | *te* | *mbanep* | *ragat:* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| emo | nde-t | te | mbanep | raga-t |
| do.thus | say-RLS [NISG] | AFFMT | crocodile | speak-RLS[NISG] |

| *emat* | *te* | *ŋgaŋguw* | *e* | *kowandut* | *menew* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | ŋgaŋgup | e | kowandut | menep | e |
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | 2PL.EMPH | ARG | NOW | THIS | ARG |

| *konoj* | *rinan* | *tomŋgandinin* | | *o* | *ndet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| konoj | ri-n-an | tomŋgandi-n-in | | o | nde-t |
| canoe | chop-NI-PL | fall.down-NI [SG]-FUT | CON | say-RLS[NISG] | |

He said this and the crocodile answered: 'concerning canoes from now on you will have to fell (trees).' [lit. you will chop and it will fall]

The expression *konoj ri* refers, according to Drabbe, to felling a tree in order to make a canoe (Drabbe 1959:150b).

**4.27**

| *Tumonan* | *a* | *mbumo* | *ŋgirapmo* | *ra* | *kanan* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tumo-n-an | a | mbumo | ŋgirapmo | ra | ka-n-an |
| chop.on-NI-PL | SEQ | finish | drag | take | go.IRR-NI-PL |

| *a* | *ok* | *riro* | *oronanin;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | ok | riro | oro-n-an-in |
| SEQ | river | go.down_II | put.down-NI-PL |

| *ŋgaŋgu* | *ŋgoton* | *ndomo* | *waepmonanin.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ŋgaŋgu | ŋgoton | ndomo | waepmo-n-an-in |
| 2PL | tired | row | move.around-NI-PL |

'You will then build them, finish them and drag them down to the river, you will let them into the water and you will get tired rowing around.'

**4.28**

| *Waepmono* | *mbokenan* |
|---|---|
| Waepmo-no | mboke-n-an |
| move.around-SS.SIM | sit_II.PL-NI-PL |

| *rakonmo* | *ok* | *kimbarukmonanin.* |
|---|---|---|
| rakonmo | ok | kimbarukmo-n-an-in |
| turn.over | river | swim.ITER-NI-PL-FUT |

'You will be travelling, capsize and [have to] swim in the river.'

Formally, *waepmono mbokenan* is a durative construction (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3), while *kimbarukmonanin* is an iterative verb. It might refer to a repetitive swimming, but its use may also reflect that the swimming is an action carried out by multiple subjects, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.

*Mboke* implies a plural subject, see Chapter 2, Section 2.7.

**4.29**

| *Ajuknogonin,* | *ran* | *e* | *nu* | *sumop* | *ten* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ajuknog-onin | ran | e | nu | sumo-p | ten |
| not.want.IMP-PL | woman | ARG | 1SG | marry-1SG | CON |

| *o* | *ndero* | *emo* | *ndet* |
|---|---|---|---|
| o | nde-ro | emo | nde-t. |
| CON | say-SS | do.thus | say-RLS[N1SG] |

'Don't be so nasty! I did it because I want to marry the woman', he [the crocodile] said.

*Ajuknogonin* is a plural imperative of *ajukmo*, which is composed of *ajuk* 'not want' and *mo* 'do', see Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1 on imperatives, Section 2.5.2 on prohibitives, and Section 2.8 on verb formation with *mo* 'do'. Drabbe explains that *ajuknogonin*, literally 'do not want', is an utterance expressing that the crocodile is not happy with the closing of the gate.

**4.30**

| *Ja* | *nati* | *ŋga* | *ragat:* | *kowandut* | *mene* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja | nati | ŋga | raga-t | kowandut | mene | |
| 3SG.POSS | father | AG | speak-RLS [N1SG] | now | THIS | |
| *naŋgo* | *konoj* | *tok,* | *kuk* | *ratokmowan* | *o* | *ndet.* |
| naŋgo | konoj | tok | kuk | ratokmo-w-an | o | nde-t |
| 1PL.POSS | canoe | GROUND | fence | open-1-PL | CON | say-RLS[N1SG] |

Her father answered: 'now that we have our canoe, let us open the gate.'

**4.31**

| *Oro* | *ok* | *rirono* | *ndet.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| o-ro | ok | riro-no | nde-t |
| start.to.move-SS | river | go.down_II-SS.SIM | say-RLS[N1SG] |

'Let it down in the river.'

The analysis and function of *oro* at this point is not entirely clear. Drabbe (1959:150) refers to his description of Mandobo (Kaeti) in the same volume (Drabbe 1959:33b). In that section, Drabbe describes *oro* as a 'metastatical element', which should, in my view, be understood as 'inchoative'. The form *oro* might, according to Drabbe, be a form of *o* 'start moving' plus a (same-subject) suffix *-ro*. De Vries (2020:248) glosses the form as 'move'.

**4.32**

| *Ndet* | *te* | *mbanew* | *arapket.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| nde-t | te | mbanep | arapke-t |
| say-RLS[N1SG] | CON | crocodile | protest-RLS[N1SG] |

He said so, but the crocodile protested.

**4.33**

| *Nu* | *i* | *ronanin* | *o* | *ndet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| nu | i | ro-n-an-in | o | nde-t |
| ISG | hit_II | put-N1-PL-FUT | CON | say-RLS[N1SG] |

'Kill me!' it [the crocodile] said.

Note how here a future form is used to express a command, literally 'you will kill me!'

**4.34**

| *Na* | *tenorow* | *e* | *na* | *teŋger* | *o* | *raramun* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| na | tenorop | e | na | teŋget | o | raramun |
| ISG.POSS | ass | ARG | ISG.POSS | penis | CON | women |

| *andenow* | *amow* | *o* | *ndet.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ande-nop | amop | o | nde-t |
| eat_II-NMLZ | PROH | CON | say-RLS[N1SG] |

'From my anus and my penis, the women may not eat', it said.

De Vries (2020:248) notes that 'Greater Awyu groups have dozens of food taboos. This passage in the origin story functions as a foundation for one of these food taboos.'

The function of *o* is not entirely clear. According to Drabbe's description, when used in enumeration, the connector *o* is repeated after each member. Here, however, *o* pairs with the argument marker *e*.

**4.35**

| *Sinam* | *ŋga* | *nataeminin* | *o* | *ndet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sinam | ŋga | nataem-inin | o | nde-t |
| bow | CIRC | shoot.IMP-PL | CON | say-RLS[N1SG] |

'Shoot me with a bow', it said.

**4.36**

| *Ndet* | *te* | *taembarin.* |
|---|---|---|
| nde-t | te | taemba-r-in |
| say-RLS[N1SG] | CON | shoot-RLS-N1PL |

It said so and they shot him.

**4.37**

| *Taembarin* | *de* |
|---|---|
| taemba-r-in | te |
| shoot-RLS-N1PL | CON |

| *nan* | *ip* | *tamburum* | *rogonatiro* | *o* | *ndet;* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nan | ip | tamburum | rogo-na-tit | o | nde-t |
| 1SG.POSS | name | randomly | say-PL-PROH | CON | say-RLS[N1SG] |

| *mun* | *mberon* | *o,* | *ran* | *mbari* | *o,* | *kagup* | *pari* | *o* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mun | mberon | o | ran | mbari | o | kagup | pari | o |
| boy | small | CON | woman | adult | CON | man | adult | CON |

| *mimir* | *atik* | *kaendijiw* | *e* | *o* | *ndet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mimit | atik | kaendi-jip | e | o | nde-t |
| back | bite | break-1SG.FUT | CON | CON | say-RLS[N1SG] |

They shot it and it said: 'Do not speak my name lightly, or I will break with my teeth the backs of small children, adult women and adult men.'

Drabbe adds a note about the use of *atik kaende* 'break with the teeth', and compares this to *ra kaende* 'break while holding, break with the hands' (Drabbe 1959:150b). *Atik* is a shorter form of *atigo*.

The function of *e* here is unclear to me. It is glossed by Drabbe as 'future', but not explained by him.

**4.38**

| *Ndero* | *te* | *kimaran.* |
|---|---|---|
| nde-ro | te | kima-r-an |
| say-SS | AFFMT | die-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

After he had said so, he died.

**4.39**

| *Emat* | *te* | *ra* | *ko* | *mbukmarin* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | ra | ko | mbukma-r-in |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | take | go | cut.in.pieces-RLS-N1PL |

| *a* | *andirinan.* |
|---|---|
| a | andi-r-in-an |
| SEQ | eat_II-RLS-NIPL-PST |

Thus it happened, and they took and divided [the crocodile] into pieces and ate (it).

**4.40**

| *Nde,* | *konoj* | *e* | *ririmogonin;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| nde | konoj | e | ririmo-gon-in |
| say | canoe | ARG | chop.ITER-RLS-NIPL |

| *tumarin* | *a* | *woŋgopon* | *kegemogonin.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| tuma-r-in | a | woŋgopon | kegemo-gon-in |
| chop-RLS-NIPL | SEQ | long.time | be.ITER-RLS-NIPL |

That is how they came to cut canoes; they make canoes and it takes them a long time.

The expression *konoj ri* refers, according to Drabbe, to felling a tree in order to make a canoe (Drabbe 1959:150b), compare with 4.26 above.

# 15

# Text 5: Koromop

***Koromop was alone in his house, made a mouth harp and played it. The women wanted to see it and looked for the place where the sound was coming from. Those women, who had followed their husbands, were building huts from nibung leaves. Koromop went out to pick pineapple fruits. Back in the house he got out the flesh and wrapped it into leaves. Then he went to cut bamboo in order to serve as a water container. While he had been playing on his mouth harp, the women, who had followed their husbands, had wondered where the sound was coming from, and now that he was away, one of them found the mouth harp and stuck it into her vagina.***

***Koromop went to make a hole in the bed of a stream so that the water could be collected there. Then he asked a woman (his sister) to get water for watering the pineapple, and she did so. Her brother followed her, and saw that the mouth harp was sticking out of her vagina. He went closer and pulled it out, but it had gone bad. Angrily he said: 'this is my thing!' Then he went to cut a liana and lay one end on the ground. The other end he bound in a wamkarok tree; then he came down and used the liana to swing to and from the Wambons, the Sagits, the Kamboms, the Morops and the Suruks. When he had seen and observed everything, he burnt banana skins (to use the ashes as salt) and put the ashes in a bamboo container. Then, he cleaned a piece of sago bark (as a sitting mat), took his dog, went into his house, and said: 'sister, you have spoilt my mouth harp'. Then he spoke to his dog. He warned his dog not to steal and lay him down on the leaves. He took his mat, the ashes, and went to swing again. However, he broke the liana and he came down at the widening of the Kao river called Kuamsamgom. There, in the river, he spread out his***

***mat. Because the water was clear (so that they could see him), he broke his bamboo container, so that the ashes went up and clouded the water. He let his mat down there and it became a korom fish. Then he began to sing, came up and walked over the land. He became a hornbill. He took off his string bag decorated with pigeon feathers and put that in a tree, he took off his white marsupial skin (that he used as a hat) and put that in the tree and he took off his belt of dog teeth and put that in the tree. The he flew upwards, and he flew away. That's all.***

**5.01**

| *Koromow* | *et* | *ke* | *te* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Koromop | et | ke | te | | |
| Koromop | NOM | be | con | | |
| *ŋgombejop* | *tarer* | | | *a* | |
| ŋgombejop | tare-t | | | a | |
| mouth.harp | scrape_II-RLS[N1SG] | | | SEQ | |
| *mbitiw* | *enden* | *ŋga* | *rino* | *mbaget* | *te.* |
| mbitip | enden | ŋga | ri-no | mbage-t | te |
| house | alone | CIRC | play-SS.SIM | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] | AFFMT |

Koromop made a mouth harp, and while he was alone in the house, he played it.

**5.02**

| *Ran* | *etogowan* | *ndero* |
|---|---|---|
| ran | etogo-w-an | nde-ro |
| woman | see-I-PL | say-SS |
| *arek* | *keno* | *mboket.* |
| arek | ke-no | mboke-t |
| investigate | be-SS.SIM | sit_II.PL-RLS[N1] |

The women wanted to see it and were listening where the sound was coming from.

*Mboke* is a stem that implies plurality of the subject, see Chapter 2, Section 2.7.

Drabbe points out that the expression *arek ke*, 'investigate', is used here to express a listening and wondering where the sound was coming from. Together with the following simultaneity marker and with *mboke*, it forms a durative construction (Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2) and expresses that the investigating had a certain duration, compare with Drabbe (1959:152b).

**5.03**

| *Titimono* | | *mboket* | *te,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| titimo-no | | mboke-t | te |
| twine.ITER-SS.SIM | sit_II.PL-RLS[NI] | CON | |

| *wok* | *ndomoni* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|
| wok | ndomo-ni | ku-r-an |
| pineapple | pick-INT | go-RLS[NISG]-PST |

The women (who had followed their husbands) were building (huts from nibung leaves), and Koromop went out to pick some pineapple fruits.

That these women have followed their husbands becomes clear in 5.06. That they are building huts (rather than something else) appears from Drabbe's translation.

**5.04**

| *Ra* | *me* | *turu* | *wog* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ra | me | turu | wok |
| take | come | go.up | pineapple |

| *oj* | *sarer* | *a* | *arigaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| oj | sare-t | a | ariga-r-an |
| inner.substance | scrape-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | wrap-RLS[NISG]-PST |

He came home and he went up into his house, got out the flesh of the pineapple and wrapped it in leaves.

**5.05**

| *Mari* | *ok* | *kahat* | *kaendini* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mari | ok | kahat | kaendi-ni | ku-r-an |
| come.down | water | bamboo | break-INT | go-RLS[NISG]-PST |

Then he came down and went to get and break off bamboo to serve as a water container.

*Kahat* 'thin bamboo' is not cut, but simply broken off (Drabbe 1959:152b).

*Ok kahat* is probably an endocentric compound of type 2, 'water bamboo', a right-headed compound expressing that the bamboo is meant to serve as a water container. That this is the purpose is clear from Drabbe's translation of this sentence, and is confirmed in 5.09. For compounds see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.

**5.06**

| *Ran* | *ŋga,* | *ŋgombejop* | *merino* | *mbagen* | *e,* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ran | ŋga, | ŋgombejop | meri-no | mba-gen | e | |
| woman | AG | mouth.harp | play-SS.SIM | sit-RLS [N1SG] | CON | |

| *oŋgene* | *ŋga* | *kujo* | *ndero,* | *ran* | *ap* | *mememono,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| oŋgene | ŋga | kuji-o | nde-ro | ran | ap | mememo-no |
| where | CIRC | IQ-CON | say-SS | woman | follow | come.ITER-SS.SIM |

| *mbagen* | *kujo* | *ndero* | *kagaender* | *a,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| mba-gen | kuji-o | nde-ro | kagaende-r | a |
| sit-RLS [N1SG] | IQ-CON | say-SS | search-RLS [N1SG] | SEQ |

| *raworo* | *te* | *jan* | *atop* | *kop* | *ndaramat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| rawo-ro | te | jan | atop | kop | ndarama-t |
| take_II-SS | CON | 3SG.POSS | vagina | in | insert-RLS[N1SG] |

The women, when he was playing the mouth harp, had wondered where the sound was coming from, they had come and followed their husbands, they wondered where it was and now one of them searched and found the harp and put it into her vagina.

*Ap* in combination with a verb of movement is used only for a woman who follows her husband (Drabbe 1959:152b).

*Rawo* 'take and grasp' should, when following the word *kagaende*, be understood as 'find' (Drabbe 1959:152b).

**5.07**

| *Ok* | *kahat* | *kaepmar* | *a* | *ororo* | *te.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ok | kahat | kaepma-r | a | ororo | te |
| water | bamboo | break-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | COMPL | AFFMT |

Koromop finished breaking bamboo.

It should be noted how *Ok kahat kaepma-r* corresponds to *ok kahat kaendini* in 5.05, thus picking up the event line, which has been interrupted by 5.06. Sentence 5.06 provides some background information on what had happened while Koromop was playing his mouth harp (5.01 and 5.02). It also tells what happens while Koromop is away: one of the women steals his mouth harp and puts it into her vagina.

Drabbe glosses *kaepmo* as if it were an iterative form. However, according to his grammatical description, this is not the case, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1

**5.08**

| *Koromop* | *mari* | *kur* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Koromop | mari | ku-r | a |
| Koromop | come.down | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ |

| *ok* | *sar* | *a.* |
|---|---|---|
| ok | sa-t | a |
| water | dig-RLS[NISG] | SEQ |

He came down and went to dig (a hole) for water (to assemble there).

Apparently, Koromop has returned home, which is clear from the fact that his going out for water is expressed as a coming down — i.e. from the house — and going away. There is, in other words, no neat continuation of the events in 5.07; as marked by the use of completive *ororo* at the end of the previous sentence, and the explicit mentioning of Koromop here, a new passage has begun (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3 on completive aspect).

This is the only (unexplained) example in the entire corpus of a sequential marker a at the end of a sentence.

**5.09**

| *Ok* | *sar* | *a* | *me* | *moto* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ok | sa-t | a | me | moto |
| water | dig-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | come | come.in/out_II |

| *ragat* | *wog* | *ok* | *natin* | *ndet* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| raga-t | wok | ok | natin | nde-t |
| speak-RLS[NISG] | pineapple | water | row.IMP | say-RLS[NISG] |

| *te,* | *ran* | *e* | *ok* | *tini* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| te | ran | e | ok | ti-ni | ku-r-an |
| AFFMT | woman | ARG | water | row-INT | go-RLS[NISG]-PST |

He dug for water and he came in (to the place where the women were assembled?) and asked one (his sister) to scoop water for the pineapple, and the woman went to scoop water.

*Og ok* 'pineapple water' is probably an endocentric right-headed compound (type 2), see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.2. This is in line with Drabbe's explanation that the water is sprinkled on the pineapple wrapped in leaves.

*Moto* refers to a coming in or coming out. Here it probably refers to the clearing where the women were building houses, see 5.03. For a discussion of the use of *moto*, see Chapter 3, the final part of Section 3.5.2.2.

**5.10**

| *Ja* | *kinum* | *e* | *ndarak* | *ker* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja | kinum | e | ndarak | ke-t | a |
| 3SG.POSS | brother | CON | out.of.house | be-RLS[NISG] | SEQ |

| *etagat* | *te* | *ja* | *ŋgombejow* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| etaga-t | te | ja | ŋgombejop | e |
| see-RLS[NISG] | CON | 3SG.POSS | mouth.harp | ARG |

| *atop* | *kop* | *pon.* |
|---|---|---|
| atop | kop | mbon |
| vagina | in | STAY |

Her brother got out of the house and saw that his mouth harp was stuck in her vagina.

**5.11**

| *Ndok* | *me* | *mbimatupket.* |
|---|---|---|
| ndok | me | mbimatupke-t |
| close | come | pull.out-RLS[NISG] |

He came close and pulled it out.

*Mbimatupket* is possibly a contraction of *mbima-t* (with lowering of final *o* to *a*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.4) and *tupke*. See, however, *mbimo tupke* in the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix.

**5.12**

| *Ra* | *merir* | *a* | *mbetat* | *ket,* | *ajukmo* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ra | meri-r | a | mbetat | ke-t | ajukmo |
| take | play-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | bad | be-RLS[NISG] | not.want |

| *oj* | *ŋgahenmo* | *na* | *manman* | *o* | *ndero,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| oj | ŋgahenmo | na | manman | o | nde-ro |
| inner. substance | be.angry | 1SG.POSS | thin | CON | say-SS |

| *kur* | *a* | *torom* | *ŋgamar* | *a,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ku-t | a | torop | ŋgama-t | a |
| go-RLS [NISG] | SEQ | liana | chop.off-RLS[NISG] | SEQ |

| *ra* | *mero* | *mbonmo* | *ororo* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ra | me-ro | mbonmo | ororo |
| take | come-SS | put.away | COMPL |

| *wamkarok* | *kurugut* | *atigoro* |
|---|---|---|
| wamkarok | kurugut | atigo-ro |
| kind.of.tree | upper.part | bind-SS |

| *Wambon* | *kur* | *a* | *menderan;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wambon | ku-t | a | mende-r-an |
| Wambon | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | come_II-RLS[NISG]-PST |

| *Sagit* | *kur* | *a* | *menderan;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sagit | ku-t | a | mende-r-an |
| Sagit | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | come_II-RLS[NISG]-PST |

| *Kambom* | *mender* | *a* | *kuran;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kambom | mende-t | a | ku-r-an |
| Kambom | come_II-RLS [NISG] | SEQ | go-RLS[NISG]-PST |

| *Morop* | *kur* | *a* | *menderan;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Morop | ku-t | a | mende-r-an |
| Morop | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | come_II-RLS[NISG]-PST |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Suruk* | *kur* | *a* | *menderan.* |
| Suruk | ku-t | a | mende-r-an |
| Suruk | go-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | come_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

He played on it and it was spoilt, he did not want it and was angry and said 'this is my thing!' He went and chopped off a liana, brought it and lay one end on the ground and bound the other end up in a wamkarok tree and swung to the area of the Wambons and back, to area of the Sagits and back, to the area of the Kamboms and back, to the area of the Morops and back and to the area of the Suruk and back.

*Kura menderan* 'he went and came' is used here for the movement of the swing. Note that the narrator uses *kura menderan* consistently, except in the case of Kambom, where he uses *mendera kuran*. This is because Kambom is near Tanah Merah where the narrator was located. In all cases except this, then, the movement is conceived of as away from the narrator (and back), except from the movement towards Kambom, which is conceived of as towards the narrator (and away from him again), see Drabbe (1959:152b).

Suruk is a Muyu area, see Figure 4 in the Introduction. Morop is the name of a small river which feeds into the Cassowary river, which in turn feeds into the Digul at Kawagit village (Lourens de Vries, personal communication).[1]

**5.13**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Etok* | *ŋgorop* | *mero* | |
| etok | ŋgorop | me-ro | |
| see | knowing | come-SS | |
| | | | |
| *tot* | *wanin* | *undar* | *a,* |
| tot | wanin | unda-r | a |
| banana.skin | ash | burn-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ |
| | | | |
| *rakonmo* | *kahat* | *ketop* | *agumaran;* |
| rakonmo | kahat | ketop | aguma-r-an |
| turn.over | bamboo | cylinder | put.into-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

1 For the location of Kawagit, see mapcarta.com (accessed 8 April 2022). The location of Sagit is not clear.

| *agumar* | *a* | *mbumo* | *riko* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| aguma-t | a | mbumo | riko | te |
| put.into-RLS [N1SG] | SEQ | finish | go.downhill | con |

| *kirigit* | *watek* | *tarer* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|
| kirigit | watek | tare-t | a |
| kind.of.sago | bark | scrape_II-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ |

| *mbumoro* | *raworo,* | *aŋgae* | *rawat,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mbumo-ro | rawo-ro | aŋgae | rawa-t |
| finish-SS | take_II-SS | dog | speak-RLS[N1SG] |

| *mbitip* | *tururo* | *te* | *aniop* | *ŋgu* | *ŋga* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mbitip | turu-ro | te | aniop | ŋgu | ŋga |
| house | go.up-SS | con | elder.sister-ADDR | 2SG | AG |

| *na* | *ŋgombejop* | *mbetatmogen* | *dok* |
|---|---|---|---|
| na | ŋgombejop | mbetatmo-gen | tok |
| 1SG.POSS | mouth.harp | spoil-RLS[N1SG] | GROUND |

| *tero* | *ragat.* |
|---|---|
| nde-ro | raga-t |
| say-SS | speak-RLS[N1SG] |

When he had seen and gotten to know (all these areas) he came and burnt the banana skins, and put the ashes into a bamboo water container; when he had finished, he went downhill and made a mat and took his dog, went up into his house and said: 'you, sister, have spoilt my mouth harp', so he said.

*Etok* is probably a truncated form of *etogo* 'see_II', see also footnote 18 in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.3.

The banana skins are burnt for the ash, which is used for adding a salty flavour to food. Drabbe remarks that 'we are in a saltless country, where one gives children a handful of salt as if it were sugar' (Drabbe 1959:52b).

*Kirigit watek tat*, literally 'scrape sago bark', by which is meant here 'make a mat' (Drabbe 1959:152b).

Note that Drabbe writes *rakonmo*, rather than *ragonmo*. This can be seen as an indication that there are two verbs: *ra* 'take, grasp' and *konmo*, which do not form one phonological word, compare Chapter 1, Section 1.5. The same is true for the verbs *ri ko*, a combination that is used to indicate 'going downhill', see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.2.2.

**5.14**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Aŋgae* | *e* | *ruk* | *agumar* | *a* |
| aŋgae | e | ruk | aguma-t | a |
| dog | ARG | sound | put.into-RLS[NISG] | SEQ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ketan* | *kurugut* | *ŋga* |
| ketan | kurugut | ŋga |
| kind.of.tree | upper.part | CIRC |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *setmajop* | *kae* | *agumaran.* |
| setmajop | kae | aguma-r-an |
| pile | break | put.into-RLS[NISG]-PST |

He (also) spoke to his dog, and up in a ketam-tree he pulled off leaves and put them on a pile in a (tree) fork.

In *aŋgae rug agumo*, 'put a word into the dog' *rug agumo* is an expression used for speaking to (Drabbe 1959:152b).

In this context, *ŋga* is a circumstantial marker indicating a location, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1.

**5.15**

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Aŋgae* | *e* | *kujo* | *kambir* | *amow* | *o* | *ndero,* |
| aŋgae | e | kujo | kambit | amow | o | nde-ro |
| dog | ARG | | theft | PROH | CON | say-SS |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *rug* | *agumar* | *a* | *urut* | *pagen.* |
| ruk | aguma-t | a | uru-t | mba-gen |
| sound | put.into-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] | sit-RLS[NISG] |

'Dog, do not steal', he said (to the dog), and he made it sit down (on the pile).

Drabbe glosses as if *kujo* and *kambit* together mean 'steal', while the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix gives *kujo kambi rap* 'steal'. For prohibitive *amop~amow*, see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.

**5.16**

| *Juw* | *e* | *kirigit* | *watek* | *rawat,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jup | e | kirigit | watek | rawa-t |
| 3SG | ARG | kind.of.sago | bark | take_II-RLS[N1SG] |

| *tot* | *wanin* | *rawat.* |
|---|---|---|
| tot | wanin | rawa-t |
| banana.skin | ash | take_II-RLS[N1SG] |

He took his mat, and the ashes from the banana leaves (and went swinging again).

Drabbe adds, 'and he went swinging again'. That he must have gone swinging is clear from the continuation of the narrative, where he breaks the rope and comes down.

**5.17**

| *Itkirom* | *ŋga* | *iŋgamo* | *kut.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Itkirom | ŋga | iŋgamo | ku-t |
| climbing.rope | CIRC | break | go-RLS[N1SG] |

The climbing rope he broke and he went.

The function of *ŋga* here is not entirely clear. For possible functions of *ŋga* see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1.

**5.18**

| *Iŋgamo* | *Niŋgurum* | *ko* |
|---|---|---|
| Iŋgamo | Niŋgurum | ko |
| Inggamo | Ninggurum | go |

| *Kuamsamkon* | *riraran.* |
|---|---|
| Kuamsamkon | rira-r-an |
| Kuamsamkon | go.down_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

He broke it and he went down and landed in Inggamo Ninggurum at Kuamsamkon.

Kuamsamgon is a place where the Kao river widens (Drabbe 1959:152a). Drabbe comments that Inggamo Ninggurum is the Upper Muyu. From the following context it is clear that Koromop has landed in the river.

**5.19**

| *Iŋgamo* | *riro* | *te* | *watek* | *rumat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Iŋgamo | riro | te | watek | ruma-t |
| Inggamo | go.down_II | CON | mat | spread-RLS[NISG] |

He went down at Inggamo and spread his mat.

**5.20**

*Mbaget.*
mbage-t
sit_II-RLS[NISG]
He sat down.

**5.21**

| *Tot* | *wanin* | *ra* | *korokmat* | *maturut* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| tot | wanin | ra | korokma-t | maturu-t |
| banana.skin | ash | take | open-RLS [NISG] | come.up-RLS[NISG] |

| *te* | *ok* | *katomat* | *kumraeket* | *tok,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| te | ok | katoma-t | kumraeke-t | tok |
| CON | river | be.turbid-RLS[NISG] | clear-RLS [NISG] | GROUND |

| *ajukmo* | *kirigit* | *wateg* | *e* | *ok* | *koriw* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ajukmo | kirigit | watek | e | ok | korip | e |
| not.want | kind.of.sago | bark | ARG | water | down.there | ARG |

| *urut* | *te,* | *korom* | *keran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| uru-t | te | korom | ke-r-an |
| put.down-RLS[NISG] | CON | kind.of.fish | be-RLS[NISG]-PST |

He opened his bamboo case with the ashes from the banana leaves and it came up so that the water got turbid, because it was clear and not wanting (to be seen) he put his mat from kirigit sago down there (in the river) and it became a korom fish.

Note that the conjunction *tok* indicates the ground of the preceding clauses: because the water was clear (and because he was too visible), Koromop opened his bamboo case, in order to make the water turbid.

Drabbe glosses *katomat* as 'become turbid', which suggests that he considers *katomo* an intransitive verb here. In my view, *katomo* is probably better viewed as a transitive verb 'close off' — see the 1956 wordlist in the Appendix. In that case, the ashes form the subject of both *maturut* and *katomat*: the ashes 'close' the water so that one cannot see the bottom anymore.

**5.22**

| *Emo* | *ndero* | *te* | *ŋgom* | *kup* | *riran;* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| emo | nde-ro | te | ŋgom | kup | ri-r-an |
| do.thus | say-SS | AFFMT | singing | COM | go.down-RLS [N1SG]-PST |

| *emat* | *te* | *juw* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | jup | e |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | 3SG.EMPH | ARG |

| *maturu* | *mbaet* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|
| maturu | mbaet | ku-r-an |
| come.up | land | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

He went down singing and came up and walked on the land.

*Emo* is an example of generic tail–head linkage, see Chapter 5, Section 5.6.2.

*Ndero te … reran*: 'he spoke [i.e. sang] and with singing he went down'.

*Maturu* probably indicates a coming up out of the water: compare with 4.02 and Chapter 3, Section 3.5.2.2.

The reason for using emphatic *juw* '3SG.EMPH', and following *e* 'ARG' might be to mark the comparison with the mat in 5.21: the mat is put down in the river and becomes a korom fish, he himself goes to the land and becomes a hornbill (5.23); see also Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2 on the function of *e*.

**5.23**

| *Mbaet* | *kuran* | *e* | *kawit* | *keran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| mbaet | ku-r-an | e | kawit | ke-r-an |
| land | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST | SR | hornbill | be-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

He became a kawit-bird [hornbill].

**5.24**

| *Kotim* | *ron* | *e* | *jun* | *e* | *ndomo* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kotim | ron | e | jun | e | ndomo |
| woodpigeon | feather | LNK | string.bag | ARG | put.off |

| *enow* | *anduj* | *tagip* | *kotae* | *e* | *ndomo* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| enop | anduj | tagip | kotae | e | ndomo |
| tree | stem | white.marsupial | skin | ARG | put.off |

| *enow* | *anduj* | *urut,* |
|---|---|---|
| enop | anduj | uru-t |
| tree | stem | put-RLS[N1SG] |

| *sagasag* | *anduj* | *ndomo* | *enow* | *anduj* | *ororo* | *te,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sagasag | anduj | ndomo | enop | anduj | oro-ro | te |
| kind.of.belt | stem | put.off | tree | stem | put-SS | CON |

| *maturu* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|
| maturu | ku-r-an |
| come.up | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

He put off his string bag adorned with feathers of a woodpigeon, and lay it on a tree stem, he put off his skin of a white marsupial, and lay it on a tree stem, and he put off his belly belt and lay that on a tree stem, and he came up and went away.

The structure of this sentence is not entirely clear. My analysis, reflected in the English translation, is based on Drabbe's translation. Intuitively, I would expect an extra verb *uru-t* following the first appearance of *anduj* 'stem', so that the first three clauses of the sentence were entirely parallel: object of *ndomo* (marked with *e*, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2), followed by *ndomo* 'put off' followed by *enow anduj* 'tree stem' followed by inflected or uninflected *oro* 'put'. In the sentence as written by Drabbe, (inflected) *oro* seems elided in the first clause.

*Kotim ron* is an endocentric compound of type 2, with main accent on the modifier-noun *kotim*. *Kotim ron e jun* is a compound of the same type, with *kotim ron* as the modifier-noun (Drabbe 1959:152b and Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.2).

My translation differs from Drabbe's, in that he translates 'in a tree', rather than 'on a tree stem'. There are, however, two arguments that support the idea that the objects are laid on a stem. First, *anduj* is always glossed by Drabbe as 'stem'. Second, if the object were put high in a tree, we would expect the use of *turu* 'go up', describing a movement away from a deictic centre, instead of *maturu* 'come up', describing a movement towards a deictic centre, see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.2.2.

**5.25**

*Ndoj* *keran.*

Ndoj ke-r-an

NEX be-RLS[N I SG]-PST

There is no more.

# 16

# Text 6: A brother and his sister

***A man went to a big feast. He used to go out hunting with his dog. Always when he came home with game and asked for sago, his sister used to say: 'your brother-in-law will come to kill you', so he used to sit and eat alone. One day he caught wasps and other insects, poisonous snakes and scorpions. With all these animals he climbed into a tree, after he had first bent a small tree and tied it to the bigger tree (in order to get into the big tree via the smaller tree). He cut nibung bark, climbed into the tree again and put the animals in the bark. He came down again and lied to his sister that he had found eggs (they would go to get them together). Then he flattened thin bamboo (for a torch). When it had become dark, the two of them went into the forest. The man took the dog, climbed into the tree, and put the dog in a tree fork. Then he took the bark with animals and held it upside down, so that his sister was bitten by many animals. He said 'I will light the torch and direct it towards you!' He immediately changed into the moon; the dog became a white parrot, and his sister became a ngawatorop insect. A big rat came towards her and hit her into the ground with a club.***

**6.01**

| *Kagu* | *mbit* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|
| Kagu | mbit | ku-r-an |
| man | feast | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

A man went to a feast.

Drabbe writes *kagumbit* as one word.

**6.02**

| *Menew* | *e* | *aŋgae* | *raworo* |
|---|---|---|---|
| menew | e | aŋgae | rawo-ro |
| THIS | ARG | dog | take_II-ss |

| *ŋgawae* | *kogojopmo* | *mbagen.* |
|---|---|---|
| ŋgawae | kogo<jop>mo | mba-gen |
| hunting | go.ITER<ITER> | sit-RLS[N1SG] |

He used to go out hunting with his dog.

*Menew* is a secondary demonstrative pronoun and functions, probably, as the subject of *raworo*: 'this one'. The analysis of *menew* as a subject, however, contradicts Drabbe's statement that secondary demonstrative pronouns are always marked with *ŋga* when they are used as subjects, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.5.2.

*Kogojopmo mbagen* is a habitual construction, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.2. The same is true for *eneniopmo mbaget* in the following sentence.

**6.03**

| *Kunow* | *it* | *te* | *ra* | *moto* | *ndun* | *o* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kunop | i-t | te | ra | moto | ndun | o |
| marsupial | hit_II-RLS[N1SG] | CON | take | come.in/out_II | sago | CON |

| *ndet* | *te,* | *ŋgo* | *mbut* | *me* | *ŋg'* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nde-t | te | ŋgo | mbut | me | ŋg' |
| say-RLS[N1SG] | CON | 2SG | brother. in.law | come | 2SG.EMPH |

| *inin* | *dok* | *ndero* |
|---|---|---|
| i-n-in | tok | nde-ro |
| hit-N1[SG]-FUT | GROUND | say-SS |

| *juguw* | *eneniopmo* | *mbaget.* |
|---|---|---|
| jugup | eneni<op>mo | mbage-t |
| 3SG.EMPH | eat.ITER<ITER> | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] |

Always when he had killed an animal and brought it in and asked for sago, his sister said: 'your brother-in-law will come and kill you', so he used to sit and eat alone.

For the function of *tok*, see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.5. In this case, *tok* indicates the grounds for advice from the sister and/or for the action of the main character: 'your brother-in-law will come and kill you, so act accordingly'.

Note that the sister is not mentioned explicitly.

**6.04**

| *Emat* | *te* | *kimbom* | *jaŋgarik* | *rawat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | kimbom | jaŋgarik | rawa-t |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | wasp | insect | take_II-RLS[N1SG] |

(One day) he caught wasps.

*Rawe* is the secondary stem of *rap* 'take' (Chapter 2, Section 2.2). Apparently, the final *e* of *rawe* harmonises with the preceding *a*, see also 4.20.

**6.05**

| *Emat* | *te* | *togop* | *rawat,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | togop | rawa-t |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | poisonous.snake | take_II-RLS[N1SG] |

| *ambumkak* | *rawat.* |
|---|---|
| ambumkak | rawa-t |
| scorpion | take_II-RLS[N1SG] |

He caught poisonous snakes and a scorpions.

Drabbe explains (in his free translation) that the man binds a smaller tree to the larger tree, so that he can climb via the smaller tree into the larger one.

**6.06**

| *Mberemar* | *a* | *tururo* |
|---|---|---|
| mberema-t | a | turu-ro |
| take.ITER-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | go.up-SS |

| *enop* | *jojomara* | *ko* | *andawat.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| enop | jojomara | ko | andawa-t |
| tree | kind.of.tree | go | bind_II-RLS[N1SG] |

He took all of these and went up in a tree by (first) binding a jojomara tree to it.

According to Drabbe's free translation and the translation given here, the main character climbs the tree twice; in this scenario it is not entirely clear where he leaves the animals while he is getting nibung bark. I wonder whether 6.07 could not equally well be read as an explanation of 6.06. In that case, 6.06 describes how

the main character takes the animals and then takes them into the tree, then 6.07 explains how, before going into the tree, he also chopped off some nibung bark and he now puts the animals into the tree using the bark.

**6.07**

| *Kurun* | *ŋgamar* | *a* |
|---|---|---|
| kurun | ŋgama-r | a |
| nibung.bark | chop.off-RLS[NISG] | SEQ |

| *ra* | *turu* | *agumaran.* |
|---|---|---|
| ra | turu | aguma-r-an |
| take | go.up | put.into-RLS[NISG]-PST |

He chopped off some nibung bark, took it and went up (into the tree) again and put the animals into it.

Drabbe glosses the form *kurun* as nibung bark (Dutch: nibungschors). In his 1956 wordlist however — see the Appendix to this publication — the form is translated as 'kind of palm'. This indicates that the gloss '(nibung) bark' (rather than 'nibung wood' or 'nibung tree') probably reflects a contextual implication rather than the lexical meaning.

**6.08**

| *Mari* | *kur* | *a* | *jan* | *ani* | *ragat:* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mari | ku-t | a | jan | ani | raga-t |
| come.up | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | 3SG.POSS | elder.sister | speak-RLS[NISG] |

| *jet* | *wagot* | *tero* | *kopjapmo* | *te* | *ndet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| jet | wagot | te-ro | kopjapmo | te | nde-t |
| bird | egg | say-SS | lie | CON | say-RLS[NISG] |

He came down and went and lied to his elder sister saying that he had found eggs.

Drabbe remarks that 'he and his sister will go and get them' (Drabbe 1959:153b)

**6.09**

| *Emat* | *te* | *jaŋgori* | *karogotmaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | jaŋgori | karogotma-r-an |
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | kind.of.bamboo | flatten-RLS[NISG]-PST |

He flattened bamboo.

He flattens thin bamboo in order to make a torch (Drabbe 1959:153b).

**6.10**

| *Mitik* | *ket* | *te* | *moto* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| mitik | ke-t | te | moto | te |
| night | be-RLS[NISG] | CON | come.in/out_II | CON |

| *irumon* | *korinan.* |
|---|---|
| irumon | ko-r-in-an |
| two | go-RLS-NIPL-PST |

It became night and the two came out and went.

**6.11**

| *Awaritop* | *reget* | *te,* |
|---|---|---|
| awaritop | rege-t | te |
| on.ground | stand_II-RLS[NISG] | CON |

| *ambae* | *e* | *aŋgae* | *sumo* | *turut.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ambae | e | aŋgae | sumo | turu-t |
| other | ARG | dog | carry | go.up-RLS[NISG] |

One stayed on the ground and the other one (the man) went up carrying the dog.

*Ambae*: one of the two, in this case, the man (Drabbe 1959:153b).

**6.12**

| *Sumo* | *ra* | *turu* | *enop* | *ŋgimiŋgip* | *ururan.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sumo | ra | turu | enop | ŋgimiŋgip | uru-r-an |
| carry | take | go.up | tree | fork | put-RLS[NISG]-PST |

He took the dog and put it in a tree fork.

**6.13**

| *Turut* | *te* | *kurun* | *e* | *rakotmat* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| turu-t | te | kurun | e | rakotma-t |
| go.up-RLS[NISG] | CON | nibung.bark | ARG | turn.over-RLS[NISG] |

*majat.*

maja-t

come.down_II-RLS[N1SG]

He went up and turned the nibung bark upside down so that the animals came down.

In his notes at this passage, Drabbe writes '*rakotmat majat* "he turned it upside down and the content came down"'. Drabbe's translation may serve as an explanation for the use of singular subject inflection in *majat*; the subject is not considered as a number of animals but as an uncountable, singular, mass.

**6.14**

| *Jan* | *ani* | *ambitikmaran.* |
|---|---|---|
| jan | ani | ambitikma-r-an |
| 3SG.POSS | elder.sister | bite.ITER-RLS[N1]-PST |

They bit his elder sister.

*Ambitikma* is the iterative stem of *atigo*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1. Note that *ambitikmaran* has no plural marker because a plural reading is implied by the iterative verb in combination with the context (Drabbe 1959:153b, see also Chapter 4, Section 4.1.4).

**6.15**

| *Jaŋgot* | *kaemo* | *kukmojip* | *tero* | *ragat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jaŋgot | kaemo | kukmo-jip | te-ro | raga-t |
| torch | light | direct-1SG.FUT | say-SS | speak-RLS[N1SG] |

'I will light the torch and direct it towards you', he said.

**6.16**

| *Kondip* | *wogoj* | *keran;* |
|---|---|---|
| kondip | wogoj | ke-r-an |
| immediately | moon | be-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

| *aŋgae* | *e* | *tagip* | *keran,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| aŋgae | e | tagip | ke-r-an |
| dog | ARG | sun | be-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

| *jan* | *ani* | *e* | *ŋgawotoronop* | *keran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jan | ani | e | ŋgawotoronop | ke-r-an |
| 3SG.POSS | sister | ARG | kind.of.insect | be-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

He immediately became the moon; the dog became a white parrot and the elder sister became a ngawotorop insect.

**6.17**

| *Sagot* | *ŋga* | *mero* | *kigum* | *ŋga* | *jan* | *ani* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sagot | ŋga | me-ro | kigum | ŋga | jan | ani |
| kind.of.rat/marsupial | AG | come-SS | club | CIRC | 3SG.POSS | sister |

| *iran;* | *itop* | *riraran.* |
|---|---|---|
| i-r-an | itop | rira-r-an |
| hit-RLS[N1SG]-PST | ground | go.down_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

A big rat came and hit the sister into the ground with a club.

# 17

# Text 7: Matirap

***Matirap-Konggorap killed his older brother and ate him. He did the same to his sister and younger brother. He threw the bones into a pit. Then he killed another younger brother and ate him. He used to say to his victims: 'let us go grandfather's house!' Once, when a younger brother missed a ndakmirop bird, Nggunrunggoron, Matirap's wife, said to him: 'Matirap has killed and eaten your brothers and he has thrown their bones into this pit.' The younger brother made an arrow. In the evening Matirap and he climbed into the house and Matirap said to him: 'lie down there to sleep.' Then he heated a stone and threw that down to his brother (he had climbed a beam), but he had gone to stand at the door, and the stone fell on the floor. Matirap came down and his brother shot him. He sent out a message and people came, cut Matirap in pieces and ate him.***

**7.01**

*Matirap-Koŋgorap*

Matirap-Konggorap

Matirap Konggorap

| *ja* | *net* | *ir* | *andet;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ja | net | i-r | ande-t |
| 3SG.POSS | older.brother | hit_II-RLS[N1SG] | eat_II-RLS[N1SG] |

| *jan* | *ani* | *ir* | *andet;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ja | ani | i-r | ande-t |
| 3SG.POSS | elder.sister | hit_II-RLS[N1SG] | eat_II-RLS[N1SG] |

| *ja* | *nan* | *ambae* | *ir* | *andet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja | nan | ambae | i-r | ande-t |
| 3SG.POSS | younger. brother | other | hit_II-RLS[N1SG] | eat_II-RLS[N1SG] |

Matirap-Konggorap killed and ate his elder brother, his elder sister and another, younger brother.

Throughout this narrative, the name Matirap (Matiraw before a vowel) alternates with Matiram: consider *Matiram e* in 7.08 to *Matiraw e* in 7.09.

**7.02**

| *Mir* | *e* | *ra* | *ko* | *tow* | *ambugutmaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mit | e | ra | ko | top | ambugutma-r-an |
| bone | ARG | take | go | opening | put.into.ITER-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

He took the bones and threw them into a pit.

**7.03**

| *Ja* | *nan* | *ambae* | *ir* | *andet.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja | nan | ambae | i-t | ande-t |
| 3SG.POSS | younger.brother | other | hit_II-RLS[N1SG] | eat_II-RLS[N1SG] |

He killed and ate another younger brother.

**7.04**

| *Mbaeop* | *pitip* | *kawan* | *ndero* | *memejop.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| mbae-op | mbitip | ka-w-an | nde-ro | meme-op |
| grandfather-ADDR | house | go.IRR-1-PL | say-SS | come.ITER-NMLZ |

He always came to say to his victims: 'let us go to grandfather's house'.

*Mbaeop* is the form used to address *mbae*, but also used to refer to *mbae*, especially by relatives (Drabbe 1959:154; Chapter 3, Section 3.1.2).

*Memejop* is a nominalised iterative form, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.1 and 2.4.1.2. While, according to Drabbe's description, the forms in *-op* are always followed by a predicative element, both here and in the following sentence we find a form in *-op* without a following predicative form.

**7.05**

| *Ndakmirop* | *paget* | *te* | *ambot* | *samar* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ndakmirop | mbage-t | te | ambot | sama-r |
| Ndakmirop | sit_II-RLS [N1SG] | CON | arrow | mishit-RLS[N1SG] |

| *a* | *ŋguruŋgoron* | *ŋga* | *ragat* | *te;* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | ŋguruŋgoron | ŋga | raga-t | te | |
| SEQ | Nggunggoron | AG | speak-RLS [N1SG] | CON | |
| *ŋgo* | *nanŋgui* | *e,* | *ŋgo* | *nenŋgui* | *e* |
| ŋgo | nan-ŋgui | e | ŋgo | nen-ŋgui | e |
| 2SG.POSS | younger. brother-PL | ARG | 2SG.POSS | older.brother-PL | ARG |
| *Matiram* | *ŋga* | *ŋgotonde* | *eno* | *mir* | *e* |
| Matiram | ŋga | ŋgotonde | e-no | mit | e |
| Matiram | AG | kill.ITER | eat-SS.SIM | bone | ARG |
| *top* | *me* | *agumo* | *mbagenop* | *ndet.* | |
| top | me | agumo | mba-gen-op | nde-t | |
| opening | come | put.into | sit-RLS[N1SG]-NMLZ | say-RLS[N1SG] | |

There was a ndakmirop bird, and someone tried to shoot it but missed, and Nggurunggoron (Matiram's wife) said to this person: 'Matiram has killed your younger and older brothers and eaten them and has (come to) put their bones into this pit.'

After the introduction, which tells how Matiram has killed his sister and brothers, and which also tells how he did that (7.04), we now turn to the main part of the story, where another brother (a younger brother, see 7.06) of Matiram is told how Matiram has killed his siblings. In the following sentence, we see how this younger brother starts to prepare to kill Matiram.

*Ŋguruŋgoron* is the name of the murderer's wife (Drabbe 1959:153b), translated as Nggurunggoron.

Note that the identity of the subject of samar gets clear only when we hear Nggurunggoron saying that Matiram has killed 'your brothers'. These words by Nggurunggoron make clear that the subject of *samar* is Matiram's brother: he is the one who has shot and missed.

For the analysis of *agumo mbagenop*, Drabbe refers to the passage in his description corresponding to the end of Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.3, which describes habitual constructions with inflected *mba* and predicative *te*. Drabbe gives no explanation for the fact that predicative *te* is missing here.

**7.06**

| *Ja* | *nan* | *e* | *kanut* | *tareno* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja | nan | e | kanut | tare-no |
| 3SG.POSS | younger.brother | ARG | arrow | scrape-SS.SIM |

| *mbaget,* | *kur* | *a* |
|---|---|---|
| mbage-t | ku-r | a |
| sit_II-RLS [NISG] | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ |

| *mitik* | *ket* | *tok* |
|---|---|---|
| mitik | ke-t | tok |
| night | be-RLS[NISG] | GROUND |

| *Matiram* | *ŋga* | *mero* | *taramo* | *mbitip* | *tururan.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Matiram | ŋga | me-ro | taramo | mbitip | turu-r-an |
| Matiram | AG | come-SS | lead | house | go.up-RLS[NISG]-PST |

The younger brother started making an arrow, and was busy with that until the night came, because of which Matiram came and lead him up into the house.

*Tareno mbaget* 'he was scraping' is a durative construction, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2. The scraping continues until the evening, which is expressed by *kur a metik ket*; here *kur a* should, according to Drabbe, be understood as 'it [the scraping] went on until' (Drabbe 1959:154). For this grammaticalised reading of *kur a*, see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.3.

**7.07**

| *Mene* | *ŋga* | *kinum* | *najan* | *ndero* | *ragat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mene | ŋga | kinum | najan | nde-ro | raga-t |
| here | CIRC | sleep | lie.IMP[SG] | say-SS | speak-RLS[NISG] |

'Lie down here to sleep', he said.

**7.08**

| *Matiram* | *e* | *mbitip* | *tururo,* | *irow* | *undar* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Matiram | e | mbitip | turu-ro | irop | unda-t | a |
| Matiram | ARG | house | go.up-SS | stone | burn-RLS [NISG] | SEQ |

| *mun* | *ewe* | *ahappiri* | *reget* | *te,* | *irow* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mun | ewe | ahappiri | rege-t | te | irop | e |
| boy | THAT | gate | stand_II-RLS[NISG] | CON | stone | ARG |

| *somat* | *mari* | *ŋgamburu* | *ket.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| soma-t | mari | ŋgamburu | ke-t |
| throw-RLS[NISG] | come.down | bump | be-RLS[NISG] |

Matiram went up in the house and heated a stone. The younger brother came to stand at the door, the older threw the stone down and it came down and bumped on the floor.

To explain the use of *mari* 'come down', Drabbe writes that Matiram has gone up and has climbed a beam. The coming down is described from the perspective of the younger brother.

*Ewe* is a secondary demonstrative pronoun, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.5. The function is not entirely clear. Drabbe's free translation may be taken as an indication that the information about 'that younger brother' is background information: he throws a stone from up in the house to his brother, but that brother has (in the meantime) gone to stand at the door. While Matiram is, in the foreground, preparing the stone, the younger brother, in the background, goes to stand at the door.

**7.09**

| *Matiraw* | *e* | *majat* | *te,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Matirap | e | maja-t | te |
| Matirap | ARG | come.down_II-RLS[NISG] | CON |

| *mun* | *ŋga* | *taembat* | *kimaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mun | ŋga | taemba-t | kima-r-an |
| boy | AG | shoot-RLS[NISG] | die-RLS[NISG]-PST |

Matirap came down and his brother shot and killed him.

**7.10**

| *Kagup* | *tawok* | *ndugupmaran.* |
|---|---|---|
| Kagup | tawok | ndugupma-r-an |
| man | message | put.IT-RLS[NISG]-PST |

He sent out a message.

The function of *kagup* is not entirely clear. It might form a compound with *tawok*, or be the subject of *ndugupmaran* and refer to Matirap.

**7.11**

| *Meme* | *marin* | *de* | *mbukmarinan.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Meme | ma-r-in | te | mbukma-r-in-an |
| come.ITER | do-RLS-N1PL | CON | cut.in.pieces-RLS-N1PL-PST |

People came and cut him in pieces.

**7.12**

*Andirinan.*

Andi-r-in-an

eat_II-RLS-N1PL-PST

They ate.

**7.13**

| *Men* | *mbitawae* | *keran.* |
|---|---|---|
| Men | mbitawae | ke-r-an |
| bladder | kind.of.bird | be-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

His bladder became a mbitawae-bird.

# 18

# Text 8: Kukjat's offspring

***As for Mbinmarumjap and Kapan, (their wife) Kukjat gave birth to pigs and cassowaries. Tigitop …***

**8.01**

| *Mbinmarumjap* | *Kapan* | *Kukjar* | *ewe* | *ŋga* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mbinmarumjap | Kapan | Kukjat | ewe | ŋga |
| Mbinmarumjap | Kapan | Kukjat | THAT | AG |

| *ŋgapmogen* | *de* | *uj* | *keran,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ŋgapmo-gen | te | uj | ke-r-an |
| give.birth.ITER-RLS[N1SG] | CON | pig | be-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

| *itit* | *keran.* |
|---|---|
| itit | ke-r-an |
| cassowary | be-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

As for Mbinmarumjap and Kapan, (their wife) Kukjat gave birth to pigs and cassowaries.

Note that *keran* is a singular form; according to Drabbe, the form should be interpreted as 'the consequence (of her giving birth) was' Drabbe (1959:154b).

The final /t/ of Kukjat is realised as [r] because it is followed by a vowel, see Chapter 1, Section 1.3.1.

**8.02**

*Tigitop, (etc.)*

Tigitop (etc.)

Tigitop etc.

*Tigitop* has been translated by Drabbe as ‘Tigi-kuil’: Tigi pit. It is the first in a series of eight names for eight places where animals have their homes (Drabbe 1959:154b).

According to Drabbe, the form *ewe* clearly has the function of a definite article, like the article used with proper names in German (Drabbe 1959:154b). If Drabbe is correct, this indicates that the addressees of this story are supposed to be familiar with Kukjat. In that respect, it is not surprising that it is left implicit that Mbinmarumjap and Kapan are two husbands married to the same wife; this was probably also known to the listener.

# 19

# Text 9: Wawit and his children

***Wawit, whose sons are fruit bats, went to prepare sago. He went to the sago swamp called Mbimbinketowom-tawat and his children stayed at home. Whenever he came home with sago, he used to eat it alone. One day he went out, as usual, to prepare sago, and also his children came out of the house. They collected taro leaves, sago leaves and genemu roots (to decorate themselves) and they burnt banana skins (to rub themselves with the ashes). While they were alone in the house, they decorated themselves. While their parents were on their way back home, they all went to hang in the trees. One boy repeatedly went to watch, and as soon as their parents arrived and went into the house, they all fled into a tun-tree and stayed hanging there. The parents saw their children, took a stone axe and cut the tree. The tree fell down into the river, and the Kao river took the tree and the children away from Tomkapa (which is where the tree used to stand).***

**9.01**

| *Wawir* | *en* | *amandumŋgui* | *towoj* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wawit | en | amandum-ŋgui | towoj |
| Wawit | LNK | son-PL | fruit bat |

| *ndun* | *rini* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|
| ndun | ri-ni | ku-r-an |
| sago | chop-INT | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

Wawit, whose sons are fruit bats, went out to prepare sago.

Apparently, *amandup* (~*amandum*) is a variant of *mandup*. Final *p* is realised as *m* when followed by a prenasalised stop, see Chapter 1, Section 1.3.4.

Drabbe remarks that *ndun ri* 'sago chop' is the expression used for cutting the sago tree. In 9.03, we find *kawonde* 'split', which describes the following step in the process. Both expressions are used as pars pro toto: prepare sago. (Drabbe 1959: 155b).

The sons are probably mentioned because they play a role from sentence 9.03 onwards.

Note that Drabbe's 1956 wordlist in the Appendix gives *wawit* 'earth spirit'.

**9.02**

| *Mbimbinketowom-tawat* | *kuran* | *de* |
|---|---|---|
| Mbimbinketowom-tawat | ku-r-an | te |
| Mbimbinketowom-tawat | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST | CON |

| *munotir* | *e* | *mbitip* | *pokirin* | *de* | *ndun* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| munotit | e | mbitip | mboki-r-in | te | ndun | e |
| children | ARG | house | sit_II[PL]-RLS-N1PL | CON | sago | ARG |

| *jugup* | *ra* | *me* | *enenejopmo* | *mbaget.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jugup | ra | me | enene<jop>mo | mbage-t |
| 3SG.EMPH | take | come | eat.ITER<ITER> | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] |

He went to the sago swamp called Mbimbinketowom-tat, and his children stayed at home. He always brought sago and ate it himself.

*Enenejopmo mbaget* is a habitual construction, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.2.

**9.03**

| *Emat* | *te* | *moto* | *kawondini* | *kut* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | moto | kawondi-ni | ku-t |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | come.in/out_II | split-INT | go-RLS[N1SG] |

| *jaŋguw* | *e* | *moto* | *up* | *ron,* | *ndun,* | *seregop,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| jaŋgup | e | moto | up | ron | ndun | seregop |
| 3PL.EMPH | ARG | come.in/out_II | taro | leaf | sago | palm.leaf |

| *tenot* | *mim* | *ra* | *mero,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| tenot | mim | ra | me-ro |
| kind.of.plant | root | take | come-SS |

| *tir* | *ambir* | *undarinan* | *mbumo.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| tit | ambit | unda-r-in-an | mbumo |
| banana | skin | burn-RLS-N1PL-PST | finish |

(One day) he came out and went to pound sago and in the meantime his children also came out and brought taro leaves, sago leaves, palm leaves and tenot roots (to decorate themselves), and they burnt banana skins (to rub themselves with the ashes).

*Ndun kawonde* 'sago split' is the expression used for splitting the sago stem (Drabbe 1959:155b), see the note at 9.01.

*Mbumo* is used as an expression of completive aspect, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3. Here it possibly reflects that the children's activities all take place within the period of the father's absence; they are completed before the father comes back.

**9.04**

| *Emat* | *te* | *mbitiw* | *enden* | *ŋga* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | mbitip | enden | ŋga |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | house | alone | CIRC |

| *aep* | *kirinan* |
|---|---|
| aep | ki-r-in-an |
| decoration | be-RLS-N1PL-PST |

After this, while they were alone in the house, they decorated themselves.

Apparently, the children have come back to the house before the father has come back.

**9.05**

| *Jaŋgo* | *noj* | *jaŋgo* | *nati* | *mindirin* | *de,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| jaŋgo | noj | jaŋgo | nati | mindi-r-in | te |
| 3PL.POSS | mother | 3PL.POSS | father | come_II-RLS-N1PL | CON |

| *emat* | *te* | *jaŋguw* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | jaŋgup | e |
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | 3PL.EMPH | ARG |

| *nduŋnde* | *enop* | *kurugut* | *wamburumarin.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| nduŋnde | enop | kurugut | wamburuma-r-in |
| altogether | tree | upper.part | hang-RLS-NIPL |

While their parents were coming home, they altogether went to hang in the upper part of trees.

Apparently, the mother had joined the father and also gone out to prepare sago. Note that the children are fruit bats (see 9.01), which explains the use of the verb *wamburuma* 'hang'.

**9.06**

| *Mun* | *omae* | *kur* | *a* | *ja* | *noj* | *ja* | *nati* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mun | omae | ku-t | a | ja | noj | ja | nati |
| boy | one | go-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | 3SG.POSS | mother | 3SG.POSS | father |

| *etogoro* | *memejopmo* | *mbaget.* |
|---|---|---|
| etogo-ro | meme<jop>mo | mbage-t |
| see-SS | come.ITER<ITER> | sit_II-RLS[NISG] |

One boy went every time to look whether he saw his parents and then came back.

*Memejopmo mbaget* is characterised by Drabbe as a habitual construction. In Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.2, I argue, however, that the form is better characterised as an iterative (which may have a habitual interpretation, depending on the context). Note that the iterativity has scope over the entire sentence; not only the coming back is iterative, but also the going (*kur*) and the looking (*etogoro*).

**9.07**

| *Mindirinan* | *motarin* | *de,* | *ko* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mindi-r-in-an | mota-r-in | te | ko |
| come_II-RLS-NIPL-PST | come.in/out-RLS-NIPL | CON | go |

| *kiririmo* | *tun* | *kurugut* |
|---|---|---|
| kiririmo | tun | kurugut |
| flee.ITER | kind.of.tree | upper.part |

| *wamburumo* | *mbokirin* | *de.* |
|---|---|---|
| wamburumo | mboki-r-in | te |
| hang | sit_II.PL-RLS-N1PL | CON |

When their parents came in, they all fled and went to hang in the upper part of a tun-tree.

According to Drabbe's translation, 'coming in' refers to going into the house. As soon as the parents have come into the house, the children, from the different trees in which they are hanging, gather in one tree.

**9.08**

| *Ja* | *noj* | *ja* | *nati* | *e,* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ja | noj | ja | nati | e | |
| 3SG.POSS | mother | 3SG.POSS | father | ARG | |
| *naŋgo* | *mandup* | *tero* | *kori* | *sumo* | *korin.* |
| naŋgo | mandup | nde-ro | kori | sumo | ko-r-in |
| 1PL.POSS | son | say-SS | stone.axe | carry | go-RLS-N1PL |

The parents said: 'our children!' and went (out of the house) carrying a stone axe with them.

Drabbe glosses *mandup* with 'son'. Most probably, however, the plural may also include daughters: consider *mun* and *munotit* in the YW-English wordlist, and Drabbe's free translation of the present narrative.

**9.09**

| *Ririn* | *kande* | *ok* | *rirat,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ri-r-in | kande | ok | rira-t |
| chop-RLS-N1PL | fall.down | river | go.down_II-RLS[N1SG] |
| *ok* | *Kawon* | *marit* | *te,* |
| ok | Kawon | mari-t | te |
| river | Kawon | come.down-RLS[N1SG] | CON |
| *ok* | *supmaran* | | *Tomkapa.* |
| ok | supma-r-an | | Tomkapa |
| river | carry.ITER-RLS[N1SG]-PST | | Tomkapa |

They chopped the tree and it fell down into the river, it came down into the river Kao and the river carried the tree and the children away from Tomkapa.

Tomkapa is the name of a widening of the Kao river and is the place where the tree was located.

Tomkapa should probably be interpreted as an afterthought, if we follow Drabbe, who writes that 'one can compare Tomkapa at the end of the sentence to Dutch "en wel vanaf Tomkapa"' (in English, that is to say: from Tomkapa). Note that Tomkapa is not the goal of the movement, but the source: the carrying is directed from Tomkapa (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1).

# 20

# Text 10: Koheponop and the snake

***The old woman Koheponon made fykes and secured them, one after the other, in the river.1 Upstream she lay down to sleep. Early in the morning, she came to empty the fykes. When she had reached the end of the row of fykes and looked into the fyke near her house, she saw a small snake. She put it in her string bag, and took it to her house. She went up and put the snake in a sago bag. Her grandchildren had gone down to prepare sago. She stayed at home. While she was sleeping, the snake, which had grown larger, broke the bag. It killed the woman and then went down to get water. Then it came up again, swallowed the woman and left again. At a waterfall, it crept into a tree and lay down there. When the grandchildren came home, they saw that the old woman was not there. The snake had swallowed her and left. They went into the forest and saw him lying up in a tree. Then they sent out a message, and people came and killed the snake, which fell into the waterfall. It threw up the old woman and they buried her.***

**10.01**

| *Rambari* | *Koheponon* | *ŋga* | *kahat* | *pop* | *titimono* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| rambari | Koheponon | ŋga | kahat | mbop | titimo-no |
| old.woman | Koheponon | AG | bamboo | fyke | twine.ITER-SS.SIM |

1 It should be noted that Drabbe uses the form *Koheponop* in his translation and summary, while the Yonggom Wambon text has *Koheponon*, with final [n]. The realisation of final /p/ as [n] can only partly be explained, as a case of regressive nasalisation of the final stop, see Chapter 1, Section 1.3.4. It is unclear, however, why the form is realised with dental [n] rather than with bilabial [m].

| *rombotmo* | *ra* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|
| rombotmo | ra | ku-r-an |
| fix | take | go-RLS[NISG]-PST |

The old woman Koheponon made fykes and secured them, one after the other.

I have followed Drabbe's translation, which suggests that the repetitive nature of the securing is linguistically expressed. Formally, however, only *titimo* is iterative.

**10.02**

| *Kin* | *ko* | *mbitip* | *ko* | *jaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kin | ko | mbitip | ko | ja-r-an |
| upstream | go | house | go | lie-RLS[NISG]-PST |

She went upstream to her house and lay down.

**10.03**

| *ariwamin* | *ŋga* | *mender* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ariwamin | ŋga | mende-t | a |
| early.morning | CIRC | come_II-RLS[NISG] | SEQ |

| *mberemo* | *ra* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|
| mberemo | ra | ku-r-an |
| take.ITER | take | go-RLS[NISG]-PST |

Early morning she came to empty the fykes.

Note how the location of the fykes is the deictic centre. From there the woman goes home (10.02) and comes back (10.03).

*Mberemo* is the iterative of *rap* 'take, hold' and refers to 'grasping' the fishes in the fykes (Drabbe 1959:156a).

**10.04**

| *Etagat* | *te* | *jenmbon* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|
| etaga-t | te | jenmbon | e |
| see-RLS[NISG] | CON | end | ARG |

| *aŋgun* | *mberon* | *kup* | *mbagen,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| aŋgun | mberon | kup | mba-gen |
| snake | small | COM | sit-RLS[NISG] |

| *raworo* | *jun* | *agumoro* | *mbitip* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| rawo-ro | jun | agumo-ro | mbitip | ku-r-an |
| take_II-ss | string.bag | bind-ss | house | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

She saw, at the end of the row of fykes, there was a small snake, and she took it and put it in a string bag and went home.

**10.05**

| *Tururo* | *aŋgun* | *mberon* | *e* | *matui* | *agumat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| turu-ro | aŋgun | mberon | e | matui | aguma-t |
| go.up-ss | snake | small | ARG | sago.bag | put.into-RLS[N1SG] |

She went up and the small snake she put into a sago bag.

From here onwards, the house forms the deictic centre of the narrative.

**10.06**

| *Ja* | *magomŋgui* | *ndun* | *dok* | *korin.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja | magom-ŋgui | ndun | tok | ko-r-in |
| 3SG.POSS | grandchild-PL | sago | GROUND | go-RLS-N1PL |

Her grandchildren went out to prepare sago.

Drabbe translates: 'haar kinderen zijn gaan sago bereiden', and suggests that she came into an empty house; the children had gone out to pound sago.

**10.07**

| *Juw* | *e* | *mbitip* | *pagen.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| jup | e | mbitip | mba-gen |
| 3SG.EMPH | ARG | house | sit-RLS[N1SG] |

She stayed at home.

**10.08**

| *Kinum* | *jar* | *a* | *aŋgun* | *ŋga* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kinum | ja-t | a | aŋgun | ŋga |
| sleep | lie-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | snake | AG |

| *matuj* | *mbimat* | *mborotket* |
|---|---|---|
| matuj | mbimo-t | mborotke-t |
| sago.bag | pull-RLS[N1SG] | break.down-RLS[N1SG] |

| *mariro,* | *rambari* | *it* | *kimat.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mari-ro | rambari | i-t | kima-t |
| come.down-ss | old.woman | hit_II-RLS[N1SG] | die-RLS[N1SG] |

While she was sleeping, the snake pulled the sago bag open and broke it, it came down and killed the old woman.

Given that *a* is a sequential marker, *kinum jar* 'sleep lie' must be interpreted as taking place before the pulling open of the bag. This is possible with an inchoative reading of *kinum jar*: 'she fell asleep and …'

Apparently, the sago bag had been placed somewhere up in the house, from where the snake could come down (*mari*).

**10.09**

| *Mari* | *ok* | *mini* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mari | ok | mi-ni | ku-r-an |
| come.down | water | drink-INT | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

It came down and went away to drink.

One seems to believe that snakes always go out to drink before swallowing a victim (Drabbe 1959:156a). This motive is also found in Aghu — see for example Text 6 of Van den Heuvel (2016:751, 764) — with reference to Drabbe's remark that:

> big snakes first drink some water when they want to eat a big chunk 'in order to widen their throat'. Then they go and lie in the water, for a good digestion.

**10.10**

| *Maturu* | *rambari* | *arogagumoro* |
|---|---|---|
| maturu | rambari | arogagumo-ro |
| come.up | old.woman | swallow-ss |

| *mari* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|
| mari | ku-r-an |
| come.down | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

It came up and swallowed the old woman and came down and went.

Note how the perspective is shifting. The snake comes up, which may express the uphill movement from the river, toward the house, or (also) the upward movement towards the woman, with the woman as deictic centre. Then the snake comes down, probably to the area below the house and goes away from there.

**10.11**

| *Kur* | *a* | *mbumo* | *ogirit* | *ko* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ku-r | a | mbumo | ogirit | ko |
| go-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | finish | waterfall | go |

| *enop* | *kurugut* | *turu* | *jaŋget.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| enop | kurugut | turu | jaŋge-t |
| tree | upper.part | go.up | lie_II-RLS[N1SG] |

It went away and then went to a waterfall and went up to lie down up in a tree.

**10.12**

| *Mitik* | *ket* | *te* | *ja* | *magomŋgui* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| mitik | ke-t | te | ja | magop-ŋgui |
| night | be-RLS[N1SG] | CON | 3SG.POSS | grandchild-PL |

| *mindirin* | *a,* | *etagarin* | *de* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mindi-r-in | a | etaga-r-in | te |
| come_II-RLS-N1PL | SEQ | see_II-RLS-N1PL | CON |

| *rambari* | *e* | *ndoj.* |
|---|---|---|
| rambari | e | ndoj |
| old.woman | ARG | NEX |

It became night and when her grandchildren came, they saw that the old woman was not there.

**10.13**

| *Arogagumoro* | *mari* | *oro* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| arogagumo-ro | mari | oro | ku-r-an |
| swallow-SS | come.down | put | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

The snake had swallowed her and come down and gone away.

The function of *oro* is not entirely clear. Drabbe refers to Text 4, probably to 4.31, where *oro* seems to have an inchoative function.

**10.14**

| *Ko* | *etagarin* | *de* | *enop* | *kurugut* | *jaŋgen.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ko | etaga-r-in | te | enop | kurugut | jaŋ-gen |
| go | see_II-RLS-NIPL | CON | tree | upper.part | lie-RLS[NISG] |

They went to see it and saw it lying up in a tree.

**10.15**

| *Kagup* | *tawok* | *urur* | *a* | *te,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| kagup | tawok | uru-t | a | te |
| man | message | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | CON |

| *mindirin* | *a* | *turumarin* | *de* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mindi-r-in | a | turuma-r-in | te |
| come_II-RLS-NIPL | SEQ | shoot.ITER-RLS-NIPL | CON |

| *ogirit* | *riraran.* |
|---|---|
| ogirit | rira-r-an |
| waterfall | go.down-RLS[NISG]-PST |

They sent out a message to other people and they came and shot the snake and it fell down in the waterfall.

**10.16**

| *Rambari* | *mo* | *ragamat* |
|---|---|---|
| rambari | mo | ragama-t |
| old.woman | only | throw.up-RLS[NISG] |

| *majat* | *tok* | *sagumarinan.* |
|---|---|---|
| maja-t | tok | saguma-r-in-an |
| come.down_II-RLS[NISG] | GROUND | bury-RLS-NIPL-PST |

It threw up the old woman and she came down and they buried her.

*Maja* 'come down' is probably a common way to refer to excrements that come out of the body, compare 3.01 where *maja* is used for faeces coming out of a body, or Aghu *mi* 'come down' used for blood coming out, or *meri* 'come down' in Mandobo (Drabbe 1959:72a).

Drabbe glosses *mo* with 'only' (Dutch: slechts). The meaning is not entirely clear.

# 21

# Text 11: Omgirop

***Of a woman called Omgirop both her sons had been killed. She came down out of the house, took her (two) dogs, went downhill with a piece of burning wood, and built a hut of nibung leaves. When it rained she went to build another hut. After it hadn't rained for two days, she built again another hut at another place. Then she built a hut at Ngonemkatok and from there she went to an open space where they were preparing sago. They got sago from the sago workers, and because the dogs (had) killed game, the three of them ate sago with meat. Each time when they brought the meat to the open space, they also gave the sago workers from it, who gave them sago in exchange. In this way, they always ate sago with meat. Whenever the woman went to sleep, she lay down singing. Her dogs were called Warimop and Komogop. Finally, she killed herself. Her dogs went on the Koreom hill and one called them (two stones at the top of the hill) Warimop and Komogop.***

**11.01**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Omgirop* | *mbaget* | *te* | *ja* | *manduw* | *e* |
| Omgirop | mbage-t | te | ja | mandup | e |
| Omgirop | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] | CON | 3SG.POSS | son | ARG |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Raweŋ* | *Saraweŋ* | *ŋgotondirin* | *de,* | *mariro* |
| Raweŋ | Saraweŋ | ŋgotondi-r-in | te | mari-ro |
| Raweng | Saraweng | kill.ITER-RLS-N1PL | CON | come.down-SS |

| *aŋgae* | *sumat* | *enoptenop* | *rawat,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| aŋgae | suma-t | enoptenop | rawa-t |
| dog | carry-RLS[N1SG] | fire | take_II-RLS[N1SG] |

| *mariro* | *kuk* | *ron* | *tiro* | *jaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| mari-ro | kuk | ron | ti-ro | ja-r-an |
| come.down-SS | nibung | leaf | twine-SS | lie-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

There was a woman named Omgirop, whose sons Raweng and Saraweng had been killed, she came down and carried her dogs and took a piece of burning wood, she came down and built a hut from nibung leaves.

According to Drabbe, the beginning of this narrative should be read as: 'there was a woman, whose sons ...'

The first coming down is the coming down out of the house, the second is coming down the hill on which this house is located (Drabbe 1959:157a).

*Ron ti* = 'build a hut from leaves' (Drabbe 1959:157a)

The final verb *jaran* has not been translated by Drabbe. Given that *tiro* is a same-subject verb, the subject of *jaran* must be the woman. *Jaran* might express that the woman lies down there (to sleep?).

**11.02**

| *Mirip* | *kup* | *majaran* | *e,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mirip | kup | maja-r-an | e |
| rain | COM | come.down_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST | SR |

| *kigip* | *ko* | *tiran.* |
|---|---|---|
| kigip | ko | ti-r-an |
| other | go | twine-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

When it rained she came down and built another one.

The interpretation of *majaran* is not entirely clear. If it refers to a coming down out of her house, the woman must first have gone back to her house after she has built the first hut.

**11.03**

| *Andan* | *jaran* | *e* | *ariruma**r**an.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| andan | ja-r-an | e | ariruma-r-an |
| drought | lie-RLS[N1SG]-PST | SR | be.two.days-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

There was a drought for two days.

Drabbe remarks that *andan ja* means 'to remain dry'. *Andan* is also the subject of *arirumaran* (Drabbe 1959:157a).

**11.04**

| *Kur* | *a* | *mbar* | *awae* | *ko* | *tiran.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ku-t | a | mbat | awae | ko | ti-r-an |
| go-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ | place | other | go | twine-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

She went and built a hut at another place.

**11.05**

| *Ewopmo* | *reger* | *a* |
|---|---|---|
| ewopmo | rege-t | a |
| do.so | stand_II-RLS[N1SG] | SEQ |

| *Ngonemkatok* | *tiro* | *jaran.* |
|---|---|---|
| Ngonemkatok | ti-ro | ja-r-an |
| Ngonemkatok | twine-SS | lie-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

Then she walked and built a hut at Ngonemkatok.

Just as in 11.01 above, *jaran* seems to indicate that the woman lies down.

This is the only place where Drabbe glosses *rege* 'stand_II' with 'walk' (Dutch: lopen). With this gloss, Drabbe probably wanted to indicate that in this context, standing up and building a hut at another place, Ngonemkatok, implies walking to this place. It does not mean that 'walk' is (part of) the lexical meaning of *rege*, which is the reason that I have simply glossed it as 'stand_II'.

**11.06**

| *Ndun* | *ririnan* |
|---|---|
| ndun | ri-r-in-an |
| sago | chop-RLS-N1PL-PST |

| *ndun* | *mbisan* | *otaran.* |
|---|---|---|
| ndun | mbisan | ota-r-an |
| sago | open.space | go.in/out_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

There were people preparing sago and she went to the open place where they were doing so.

*Ndun mbisan* = 'an open space where one prepares sago' (Drabbe 1959:157a). For the use of *ndun ri* as a pars pro toto, see 9.01.

**11.07**

| *Ndun* | *jagarin* | *dok* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ndun | jaga-r-in | tok | | |
| sago | give_II-RLS-N1PL | GROUND | | |
| *aŋgae* | *ŋga* | *kunow* | *it* | *tok,* |
| aŋgae | ŋga | kunop | i-t | tok |
| dog | AG | marsupial | hit-RLS[N1SG] | GROUND |
| *kunop* | *kup* | *enenejopmo;* | | |
| kunop | kup | enene<jop>mo | | |
| marsupial | COM | eat.ITER<ITER> | | |
| *kunop* | *kandun* | *e* | *ra* | *moto,* |
| kunop | kandun | e | ra | moto, |
| marsupial | meat | ARG | take | come.in/out_II |
| *ndun* | *e* | *kagup* | *jogoro* | |
| ndun | e | kagup | jogo-ro | |
| sago | CON | man | give_II-ss | |
| *ŋgotap* | *ndun* | *jagarin* | *dok* | |
| ŋgotap | ndun | jaga-r-in | tok | |
| in.exchange | sago | give_II-RLS-N1PL | GROUND | |
| *enenejopmo* | *waepmono* | *mbageran.* | | |
| enene<jop>mo | waepmo-no | mbage-r-an | | |
| eat.ITER<ITER> | move.around-SS.SIM | sit_II-RLS[N1SG]-PST | | |

They gave her sago and the (two) dogs had killed animals, so the three of them ate both meat and sago. They always brought in meat for the sago workers, and the sago people gave them sago in exchange.

Drabbe analyses *ndun e kagup* as a possessive construction, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.5: 'sago man, sago worker'. It functions as the ('indirect') object of jogoro.

The first *dok* and *tok* give the ground for *kunop kup enenejopmo* (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.5): because the woman brings sago and because the dogs have killed marsupials, they eat both sago and marsupials. Drabbe translates that it was 'the three of them' who ate (see the summary of this narrative); this probably refers to the woman and her two dogs, whose names are mentioned in 11.09.

The second *dok* closes off the clause *ŋgotap ndun jagarin*. This clause in *dok* is an independent clause, and is not part of the reference tracking system of preceding or following clauses (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.5). The verbs *ra*, *moto*, *jogoro*, *enenejomo*, *waepmono* and *mbageran* all have the same subject-referent: the woman and the dogs, while the subject of *jagarin* refers to the sago workers.

The final part of the sentence, *waepmono mbageran*, has not been translated by Drabbe. It is a durative construction (Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2), and possibly expresses that this practice of going out for meat and bringing it in — this *waepmo* 'move around' — went on for a period.

Note that *eneniopmo*, a habitual-iterative form, is contrary to Drabbe's description, see also Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.2, not followed by predicative *mba* or *te*. The reason might be that *enenejopmo* is repeated at the end of the sentence, where it is followed by *waepmono* and an inflected form of *mba*.

**11.08**

| *Kinum* | *janiow* | *e* |
|---|---|---|
| kinum | ja-ni-op | e |
| sleep | lie-INT-NMLZ | CIRC |

| *ŋgom* | *kup* | *riro* | *jajawukmo.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ŋgom | kup | riro | jajawukmo |
| singing | COM | go.down_II | lie.ITER |

When she lay down to sleep, she always lay down singing.

As a general rule, bare SS-forms are always followed by a clause with the same subject. Here, *jajawukmo* 'lie.ITER' forms an exception which remains to be explained.

The singing refers to the singing of mourning songs (Drabbe 1959:157a). She is mourning because her two sons have been killed.

**11.09**

| *Jan* | *aŋgae* | *iw* | *e* | *Warimop,* | *ambae* | *e* | *Komogop.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ja | aŋgae | ip | e | Warimop, | ambae | e | Komogop |
| 3SG.POSS | dog | name | ARG | Warimop | other | ARG | Komogop |

Her dogs were named Warimop and Komogop.

**11.10**

| *Emat* | *te* |
|---|---|
| ema-t | te |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *ti* | *ŋga* | *agumo* | *kimaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ti | ŋga | agumo | kima-r-an |
| rattan | CIRC | put.into | die-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

Finally, she went to put (her neck) into a rattan rope and killed herself.

The woman kills herself because of her sons who have been murdered. When people die, it is rather common for widows or mothers to hang themselves (Drabbe 1959:157a).

*Tig agumo* or *ti ŋga agumo* 'stick into rattan' or *tik jagur agumo* 'make rattan into a bow (knot) and stick (the head) into rattan', followed by *kimo* 'die' all express hanging oneself.

**11.11**

| *Aŋgae* | *e* | *Koreom* | *tururinan.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| aŋgae | e | Koreom | turu-r-in-an |
| dog | ARG | Koreom | go.up-RLS-N1PL-PST |

The dogs went up the Koreom hill.

The Koreom is a hill that is somewhat higher than the surrounding hills. It is located in Wambon area, not far from the six villages where people refer to themselves as Wambon, see the Introduction to this publication.

**11.12**

| *Turu* | *mbaget* | *te* |
|---|---|---|
| turu | mbage-t | te |
| go.up | sit_II-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *Warimop* | *Komogop* | *ndirinan.* |
|---|---|---|
| Warimop | Komogop | ndi-r-in-an |
| Warimop | Komogop | say-RLS-N1PL-PST |

They stayed there and people have called them (two stones on top of the hill) Warimop and Komogop.

Note that the names of the stones correspond to the names of the two dogs, see 11.09.

# 22

# Text 12: Ndinggitiop and Enowandajop

***A man and woman were/are called Ndinggitiop and Enowandajop. Trees, people, animals, birds, sago palms, nibung palms, segep palms, mboj plants and kojam palms were dancing and dancing. Then people, animals and birds went into the inner part of the trees that were there. The sago palms went into the water at the beginning of the river. A boy stayed behind and was crying continuously. His mother wrapped him in leaves, took him to the swamp, and put him down there. But he kept on coming to his mother. Then his mother put him upside down (in the mud) and he became a sago palm. At night one did not hear him cry any more, but one did hear rustling (from the sago palm). Also on top of the roof, a sound could be heard (from a sago pounder, with a blade of bamboo). The mother took the bamboo, which cut her, so that she got fingers. Then she shot the midribs of sago leaves all around randomly (which became sago palms).***

**12.01**

*Ndiŋgitiop* *Enowandajop.*

Ndiŋgitiop Enowandajop

Ndinggitop Enowandakop.

A man and a woman are/were called Ndinggitiop and Enowandajop.

**12.02**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Emat* | *te* | | | |
| ema-t | te | | | |
| do.thus-RLS[NISG] | CON | | | |
| | | | | |
| *enop* | *ketmom* | *urur* | *a* | *urut;* |
| enop | ketmom | uru-t | a | uru-t |
| tree | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |
| | | | | |
| *kagup* | *ketmom* | *urur* | *a* | *urut;* |
| kagup | ketmom | uru-t | a | uru-t |
| man | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |
| | | | | |
| *ujamun* | *ketmom* | *urur* | *a* | *urut;* |
| ujamun | ketmom | uru-t | a | uru-t |
| small.and.big.animals | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |
| | | | | |
| *jet* | *ketmom* | *urur* | *a* | *urut;* |
| jet | ketmom | uru-t | a | uru-t |
| bird | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |
| | | | | |
| *kunowamun* | *ketmom* | *urur* | *a* | *urut;* |
| kunowamun | ketmom | uru-t | a | uru-t |
| rats.and.marsupials | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |
| | | | | |
| *ndun* | *ketmom* | *urur* | *a* | *urut;* |
| ndun | ketmom | uru-t | a | uru-t |
| sago | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |
| | | | | |
| *jom* | *ketmom* | *urur* | *a* | *urut;* |
| jom | ketmom | uru-t | a | uru-t |
| nibung.palm | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |
| | | | | |
| *segep* | *ketmom* | *urur* | *a* | *urut;* |
| segep | ketmom | uru-t | a | uru-t |
| kind.of.palm | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *mboj* | *ketmom* | *urur* | *a* | *urut;* |
| mboj | ketmom | uru-t | a | uru-t |
| kind.of.palm | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *kojam* | *ketmom* | *urur* | *a* | *urut.* |
| kojam | ketmom | uru-t | a | uru-t |
| kind.of.palm | dance | put-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | put-RLS[NISG] |

Trees, people, small and big land animals, birds, marsupial rats and mice, sago plants, nibung palms, segep palms, mboj plants and kojam palms, were dancing and dancing and dancing.

*Ketmom uru,* literally 'to put down a dance', is glossed by Drabbe as 'to dance a dance' (Drabbe 1959:157a). According to Drabbe, 'a marker of plurality is not needed, because dancing is always done in groups' (Drabbe 1959:158a).

**12.03**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Enow* | *e* | *roket* | | |
| enop | e | roke-t | | |
| tree | ARG | stand_II.PL-RLS[NI] | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *kaguw* | *e* | *enop* | *kamber* | *otarin;* |
| kagup | e | enop | kambet | ota-r-in |
| man | ARG | tree | inner.part | go.in/out_II-RLS-NIPL |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ujamun* | *enop* | *kambet* | *korin;* | |
| ujamun | enop | kambet | ko-r-in | |
| small.and.big.animals | tree | inner.part | go-RLS-NIPL | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *jer* | *e* | *enop* | *kambet* | *korin.* |
| jet | e | enop | kambet | ko-r-in |
| bird | ARG | tree | inner.part | go-RLS-NIPL |

As for the trees that stood there, people, small and big animals, and birds went into the inner part of these trees.

Note how the verb *oto* 'go in/out' alternates with *ko*.

**12.04**

| *Ndun* | *ok* | *kin* | *rirarin.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ndun | ok | kin | rira-r-in |
| sago | river | upstream | go.down_II-RLS-NIPL |

The sago palms went into the water at the origin of the river.

**12.05**

| *Mun* | *omae* | *mbaget* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mun | omae | mbage-t | te |
| child | one | sit_II-RLS[NISG] | CON |

| *roman* | *mo* | *mbaget* | *te;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| roma-n | mo | mbage-t | te |
| weep_II-VN | do | sit_II-RLS[NISG] | AFFMT |

| *roman* | *mo* | *mbaget* | *tok,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| roma-n | mo | mbage-t | tok, |
| weep_II-VN | do | sit_II-RLS[NISG] | GROUND |

| *enop* | *ron* | *ŋga* | *awerekmo* | *ra* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| enop | ron | ŋga | awerekmo | ra |
| tree | leaf | CIRC | wrap | take |

| *riro* | *ko* | *okpitin* | *urut* | *regen.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| riro | ko | okpitin | uru-t | re-gen |
| go.down_II | go | swamp | put-RLS[NISG] | stand-RLS[NISG] |

A child stayed behind and was weeping all the time. Because of this, his mother wrapped him in leaves, took him to a swamp and made him stand there.

*Roman mo mbaget* is a durative construction of type 3, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2.

Note that the mother is not mentioned explicitly.

**12.06**

| *Roman* | *kup* | *memejopmo* | *mbaget.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| roma-n | kup | meme<jop>mo | mbage-t |
| weep_II-VN | COM | come.ITER<ITER> | sit_II-RLS[NISG] |

But he kept on coming, weeping.

From Drabbe's translation, it can be concluded that the coming was towards the mother (Drabbe 1959:157b).

Because *roman* here functions as complement of *kup* and therefore as a noun, I have followed Drabbe in glossing the form here as 'weeping' (Dutch: gehuil).

**12.07**

| *Otagae* | *ramburumo* | *ŋgin* | *e* | *sow* | *urut,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| otagae | ramburumo | ŋgin | e | sop | uru-t, |
| again | turn.around | head | ARG | along | put-RLS[N1SG] |

| *ndun* | *keran.* |
|---|---|
| ndun | ke-r-an |
| sago | be-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

When he did so again, she put him with his head in the mud and he became a sago palm.

That his head is in the mud has been told to Drabbe by a language helper explaining the meaning of the story (Drabbe 1959:157b, 158b).

*Sop~sow* is a relational noun, see Chapter 3, Section 3.7.

**12.08**

| *Emat* | *te* | *mitik* | *ket* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ema-t | te | mitik | ke-t | te |
| do.thus-RLS[N1SG] | CON | night | be-RLS[N1SG] | CON |

| *ndaririn* | *de* |
|---|---|
| ndari-r-in | te |
| hear-RLS-N1PL | CON |

| *roman* | *kup* | *menok* | *ket.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| roma-n | kup | me-nok | ke-t |
| weep_II-VN | COM | come-NEG | be-RLS[N1SG] |

After this, it became night and they listened and there was no weeping.

Literally 'they listened: it is not coming with weeping'.

**12.09**

| *Kinum* | *jar* | *a* | *imndin* | *ŋga* | *matik* | *ndare* | *te* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kinum | ja-t | a | imndin | ŋga | matik | ndare | te |
| sleep | lie-RLS[NISG] | SEQ | midnight | CIRC | get.up | hear | CON |

| *ŋguŋguguk* | *keno* | *mbagen.* |
|---|---|---|
| ŋguŋguguk | ke-no | mba-gen |
| ngungguguk | be-SS.SIM | sit-RLS[NISG] |

She went to sleep and at midnight she got up and heard a sound.

It was explained to Drabbe that this sound was the sound of sago palms (Drabbe 1959:157b, 158b).

*Ndare* is a 'false' SS-form. When a clause is followed by a clause with a non-topical subject, or a subject of low topicality, the reference tracking system is 'switched off'. Following a general pattern in Greater Awyu languages, the first clause ends in a 'false' SS-form (De Vries 2020:114, 50). Two examples in the corpus are this sentence and 4.24.

**12.10**

| *Neŋget* | *tarog* | *e* | *ruk* | *rogono* | *mbaget.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| neŋget | tarok | e | ruk | rogo-no | mbage-t |
| roof.cover | upside | ARG | sound | speak-SS.SIM | sit_II-RLS[NISG] |

On the roof there was also a sound.

It was explained to Drabbe that this sound was caused by a sago pounder with a bamboo blade (Drabbe 1959:157b, 158b).

If we assume that *mbage* — even though it is part of a durative construction — still functions as a posture verb, it may combine with an NP-argument expressing the location: *neŋget tarog*, followed by the argument marker *e*.

**12.11**

| *Matik* | *rawat,* | *karonde* | *wit* | *tokmat* | *te,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| matik | rawa-t | karonde | wit | tokma-t | te |
| get.up | take_II-RLS[NISG] | break | arm | cut-RLS[NISG] | CON |

| *ndun* | *tombon* | *e* | *sambupmat.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ndun | tombon | e | sambupma-t |
| sago | leaf.midrib | ARG | shoot.around.randomly-RLS[N1SG] |

(The mother) got up and took the bamboo, it broke and it cut her arm so that she got fingers, and she shot midribs of sago leaves all around randomly.

It was explained to Drabbe that the woman used to have only stumps. As far as I can see, the text does not say anything about getting fingers, so that part should also have been put in brackets by Drabbe.

It was explained to Drabbe that the sago midribs became sago palms (Drabbe 1959:157b, 158b).

**12.12**

| *Wambon* | *kuran.* |
|---|---|
| Wambon | ku-r-an |
| Wambon | go-RLS[N1SG]-PST |

She went to the Wambon area.

This clause was not translated by Drabbe.

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## Leipzig glossing rules

Available from the Max Planck Institute of Evolutionary Anthropology Department of Linguistics. www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php.

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# Drabbe's terminology

The list below is meant as a help for those who want to use Drabbe's original publications. While the relationship between Drabbe's terminology and that used in this publication can often be found through the use of a dictionary, in certain cases the relationship is less straightforward. It is these cases that have been mentioned in the list below.

| Term in Drabbe | Translation | Term in this publication |
|---|---|---|
| *Accent* | Accent | Lexical stress |
| *Eventief gebruik van werkwoorden* | Eventive use of verbs | Experiential construction |
| *Conditionalis* | Conditionalis | Conditional clause |
| *Futurum-stammen* | Future stems | Stems of type II |
| *Genitief-constructie* | Genitive construction | Possessive construction |
| *Indefiniete werkwoordsvormen* | Indefinite verb forms | Verb forms that are neutral with respect to tense |
| *Nominale futurumstammen* | Nominal future stems | Verbal nouns |
| *Primaire stammen* | Primary stems | Primary stems, also: stems of type I |
| *Secundaire stammen* | Secondary stems | Secondary stems, also: stems of type II |
| *Semi-nominale zinnen* | Semi-nominal clause | Nonverbal clauses other than nominal clauses: adjectival and number clauses |
| *Schakelelementen* | Linking elements | Cover term for postpositional case markers and other postpositions; focus markers; conjunctions; SS-markers and DS-markers, the possessive linker |
| *Zero-vormen* | Zero-forms | Semi-inflected realis forms |
| *Zero-futurum vormen* | Zero-future forms | Semi-inflected irrealis forms |

# Appendix: Wordlist, 1956

The wordlist presented below is based on a Wambon–Dutch wordlist which was finished by Drabbe in 1956, a few years before the publication of his Kaeti/Wambon grammar in 1959. It has never been published. Nowadays, the only copy of this manuscript is kept in Leiden University Library. It is a manuscript of 47 typewritten pages, entitled 'AWJU-TAAL, Woordenlijst – WAMBON dialect', and closed off with 'Drabbe, 1956, Digoel'. In the present publication, the wordlist is referred to as Drabbe's 1956 wordlist.

The wordlist has been presented in its entirety, with a few adaptations and an English translation. In addition, and in order to give the reader a more complete overview of Yonggom Wambon (YW) lexical data, references have been added to words that were attested in Drabbe (1959) and not here. Compared to Drabbe's 1956 original wordlist, the following adaptations and additions have been made. First, I have made a number of slight adaptations in spelling, in order to bring the spelling in line with the rest of this publication. In line with the practice explained in Chapter 1, Section 1.1.1. most sequences of vowel + *i* or vowel plus *u* have been spelled as vowel + *j* and vowel + *w,* respectively. Drabbe's *ng* has been rendered as *ŋg* in the intervocalic position, and by *ŋ* in the final position. Second, footnotes may give either some explanation or refer to relevant information in Drabbe's 1959 publication that formed the base for the present publication. Third, those lemmas, meanings or senses that are only mentioned here and not in Drabbe (1959) have been rendered in blue. In turn, words attested in Drabbe's 1959 work and not in the 1956 wordlist have been printed in red. In this way, I have attempted to both stay close to the source and to enhance the comparison of the data in this wordlist from 1956 to the data and analysis in the present publication.

The 1956 wordlist presented here differs from the wordlist presented in Part II of this publication in several respects. First, this list gives both the primary and the secondary stems, while the wordlist of Part II is restricted

to primary stems. Second, this list gives quite a number of proper names, which are not found in the list of Part II. Finally, contrary to the list of Part II, the present list does not consistently refer to other words in the same semantic field, or to sections where the words are attested, although I have at times added a reference if I considered this helpful for the reader. Finally, it should be noted that the spelling of (putative) compounds follows Drabbe's 1956 original, even if this is not internally consistent. This means that one and the same (putative) compound may have either a space or a hyphen in between the composing parts. Both of these spelling options differ from the spelling of compounds used elsewhere in this publication, where they are written as one word.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***a*** | linking element in case of anteriority[1] | schak. el. bij anterioriteit |
| ***aepke*** | decorate (v.) | zich opsieren |
| ***aerap, aerawo*** | vomit (v.) | braken |
| ***aet*** | vomit (n.) | braaksel |
| ***aetokmo*** | go apart, divide | uiteengaan, verdelen |
| ***aetokmo*** | some, several | enkele, sommige |
| ***agaeaop*** | what | wat?[2] |
| ***agaeaopmo te(n)* or *agaeap te(n)*** | what is it?, why is it?[2] | wat is het? waarom is het? |
| ***agaeopmo*** | do what?[2] | wat zijn, wat doen? |
| ***agaeow e sindik te(n)*** | for what reason, cause? | om welke reden, oorzaak, aanleiding is het? |
| ***agaeowe*** | be what?[2] | wat zijn? |
| ***agam ŋga = agap ŋga*** | who SUBJ?[2] | wie subj? |
| ***agap*** | who?[2] | wie? |
| ***agat kaende***[3] | go a long way around | omweg maken |
| ***agaw-agap*** | who PL? | wie? mv. |
| ***agawe*** | be who | wie zijn? |
| ***agip*** | cloud | wolk |
| ***agip*** | admonition, warning, command | vermaning, gebod |

1 In this publication glossed as SEQ, see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3.
2 See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.6 on interrogative pronouns.
3 The YW–English wordlist in Part II has *kande* rather than *kaende*.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***agiw in, i*** | warn, admonish | vermanen |
| ***agiwo*** | brood (v.) | broeden |
| ***agoj*** | charcoal | houtskool |
| ***agok*** | in *enow agok* beam, timber | in *enow agok* balk |
| ***agujap*** | cloth | lap, stuk goed |
| ***agumbarikmo*** | stick in and pull back again | insteken en weer terug trekken |
| ***agumbiamo*** | in *og agumbiakmo* wash, wash off, rinse off | in *og agumbiamo* wassen, afwassen, afspoelen |
| ***agumŋga*** | apart, in the foreign, outside the village | apart, in de vreemde, buiten het dorp |
| ***agumŋgamo*** | to divide (tr., intr.), | verdelen, zich verdelen, scheiden |
| ***agumo*** | put into, poor in, poor out, put on, put into, put on clothes, headwear, let a canoe into the water | uitstorten, instorten, uitgieten, ingieten, indoen, insteken in bv. schede, aantrekken van kleren, opzetten van hoofddeksel, te water laten van prauw |
| ***agup*** | *tebu ikan*, kind of plant | *tebu ikan*, een plantsoort |
| ***agusop*** | in the afternoon, early evening[4] | in de namiddag, vooravond |
| ***ahak, ahak-matan*** | thin, of flat objects | dun van platte voorwerpen |
| ***ahap*** | gate, door | deur |
| ***ahap-piri*** | gate, door | deuropening |
| ***ahap-piri sombon*** | at the door | bij de deur |
| ***ahek*** | namesake | naamgenoot |
| ***ahum*** | liver | lever |
| ***ajak*** | phlegm | fluim |
| ***ajak ti*** | cough | hoesten |
| ***ajak*, see *enow ajak*** | | |
| ***ajam*** | the one side, the other side, half, piece | de ene, de andere kant, helft, stuk |
| ***ajam-kiwujop*** | storm | storm |

4 Postposition *sop* following an expression of time, see Chapter 3, the end of Section 3.7.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ajuk*** | not wanting, prohibitive element | onwillig, prohibitief element |
| ***ajuk te*** | be disobedient | ongehoorzaam zijn |
| ***ajukmo*** | not want, hate, stop with, let loose, etc. | onwillig zijn, niet willen, haten, ophouden met, loslaten enz. |
| ***ajukmo mba, mbage*** | be in peace (not want to fight) | in vrede zijn (niet willen vechten) |
| ***ak*** | main vein, midrib of leaf | hoofdnerf van sagoblad |
| ***ak te*** | praise | prijzen, loven |
| ***am* in *kerow am*** | | |
| amamukmo = amukmo | | |
| amandup = mandup | | |
| ***ambae*** | other | ander |
| ***ambajukmo*** | iterative of *ajukmo* | it. bij *ajukmo* |
| ***ambarae*** | a short while ago, recently | kort geleden |
| ***ambarjok*** | plural of *arjok* | mv. bij *arjok* |
| ***ambeŋ* in *oj ambeŋ*** | | |
| ***ambit* in *tir ambit*** | | |
| ***ambitikmo***[5] | iterative of *atigo* | it. bij *atigo* |
| ***ambon*** | orphan | wees |
| ***ambot*** | arrow with a bunch of spearheads | pijl met bussel punt |
| ***ambotom-ŋgun*** | face; *jan ambotom-ŋgun re* stand before him | gelaat; *jan ambotom-ŋgun re* vóór hem staan |
| ***ambotop***[6] | nose; *konoj ambotop* stem, prow of canoe | neus; *konoj ambotop* voorsteven |
| ***ambotop(kup)*** | fourteen | veertien |
| ***ambugutmo*** | iterative of *agumo* | it. bij *agumo* |
| ***ambuk*** | mushroom | paddestoel |
| ***ambum*** | turtle | schildpad |
| ***ambumkak*** | scorpion | schorpioen |
| ***ambumo*** | miss, mishit, mis-shoot | missen, misslaan, misschieten enz. |
| ***ambusiripmo*** | iterative of *ambumo* | it. bij *ambumo* |

5 The YW–English wordlist in Part II has *ambatikmo* rather than *ambitikmo*.
6 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***amgon*** | mountain | berg |
| ***amin* in *ariw amin*** | | |
| ***amipmo*** | knead, mould | kneden |
| ***amkarap*** | just like that, without any warning? | zomaar |
| ***amok te*** | in vain | vergeefs |
| ***amop*** | prohibitive element[7] | prohibitief element |
| ***amot*** | price, value | prijs, waarde |
| ***amuj ke*** | be ripe | rijp zijn |
| ***amukmo(n)***[8] | all, entirely | alle, alles, geheel |
| ***amukmo ndoj*** | not at all, nothing at all | helemaal niet, helemaal niets |
| ***amun*** | general name for pigs, cassowaries and marsupials | alg. naam voor varkens, casuarissen en koeskoezen |
| ***anan* in *ŋgur anan*** | | |
| ***andam***[9] | rainless period, drought | regenloze periode, regenl. dagen |
| ***andap, andawo*** | bind, wrap up | binden, inwikkelen |
| ***andarapmo*** | iterative of *andap* | it. bij *andap* |
| ***ande* see *en*** | | |
| ***andoj*** | bird of paradise | paradijsvogel |
| ***andok*** | lap | schoot |
| ***anduj*** | stem of plant or tree | stam van plant, boom, enz. |
| ***andunow in, i*** | yawn | gapen |
| ***anep ko, ka*** | go away a little distance | zich op korte afstand verwijderen |
| ***anerop*** | addressee form of *net*[10] | aanspreking voor *net* |
| ***ani, nani*** | elder sister, father's sister, daughter of mother's sister[11] | oudere zuster, vaderszuster, dochter van moeders zuster |
| ***aniop*** | addressee form of *ani*[10] | aanspreking voor *ani* |

7 In the present publication glossed as PROH, see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2.
8 Chapter 1, Section 1.1.1, also gives *amuk* 'all'.
9 The YW–English wordlist in Part II has *andan* rather than *andam*.
10 See Chapter 3, Section 3.1.2 on addressee forms.
11 Cf. Mandobo neni, Kombai nani and Digul Wambon non (Wester 2014:Appendix A).

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***anoŋ*** | cloud? on the mountains? | wolk (?) op de bergen (?) |
| ***anop*** | tongue | tong |
| ***aŋgae*** | dog | hond |
| ***aŋgamo*** | push on, press on | drukken op |
| ***aŋganat*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***aŋgen*** | narrow | smal, nauw |
| ***aŋgiro*** | search, e.g. for lice in the hair, fishes in the mud, etc. | zoeken v. bv. luizen in 't haar, vis in de modder enz. |
| ***aŋgo* in *oj aŋgo*** | | |
| ***aŋgom*** | juice, gum | sap, gom |
| ***aŋgu*** | thumb, big toe | duim, grote teen |
| ***aŋgu(kup)*** | five | vijf |
| ***aŋgun*** | general name for snakes | algem. naam voor slangen |
| ***aŋgunun* in *og aŋgunun*** | | |
| ***ap*** | nest; *mun en ap* pouch of animal | nest; *mun en ap* buidel van dieren |
| ***ap me, mende, mando*** | follow, said of a woman who follows her husband | volgen, gezegd van een vrouw die achter man aan loopt |
| ***apkit*** | women's department in a house | vrouwenafdeling in een huis |
| ***aragaemo*** | play around, touch playfully | stoeien, spelend aanraken |
| ***arapke*** | be unwilling, reluctant,[12] warn, admonish, forbid, chase away | onwillig zijn, ongehoorzaam zijn, berispen, verbieden, verjagen |
| ***arat*** | spear | speer |
| ***arek*** | black parrot | zwarte papegaai |
| ***arek ke*** | search, investigate | zoeken, onderzoeken |
| ***ari*** | kind of marsupial | koeskoessoort |
| ***arigo*** | wrap into leaf in order to roast | in blad wikkelen om te bakken |

12 The YW English wordlist in Part II has 'protest', based on a single occurrence in Text 4.32.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***arigop*** | heartwood | kernhout |
| ***arin*** | thorn | doorn, naald |
| ***arin*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***arinde*** | hang over the head | aan het hoofd hangen LdV |
| ***arjok*** | new, unripe, not done (of food) | nieuw, onrijp, ongaar, levend |
| ***arjok mba, mbage*** | be alive, live | in leven zijn |
| ***arip*** | day | dag |
| ***arirum*** | two days | twee dagen |
| ***arirumo*** | be two days, it takes two days for someone to do something | twee dagen zijn, twee dagen erover doen |
| ***aritip*** | three days | drie dagen |
| ***aritow in, i*** | laugh | lachen |
| ***ariw amin*** | morning | ochtend |
| ***arog-agumo*** | swallow | doorslikken |
| ***arugup*** | wide | breed, ruim |
| ***arunde*, see *wir arunde*** | | |
| ***asiganae ti*** | sneeze | niezen |
| ***asi-ron*** | leaves | bladeren |
| ***atem*** | father-in-law and mother-in-law of husband, sister-in-law of husband | schoonvader en schoonmoeder v.d. man, schoonzus v.d. man |
| ***atenae*** | taboo; *atenae rop* fruit that is not allowed to be eaten | **tabu, pemali** [local Malay]; *atenae rop* verboden vrucht |
| ***ateren*13** | scar | litteken |
| ***ati, atigo*, sec. st. *atigo*[14]** | bind | binden |
| ***ati, atigo*, sec. st. *atigo*[14]** | bite; *inim ati, atigo* bite | bijten; *inim ati, atigo* bijten |
| ***atik kaende*** | break with the teeth | met de tanden doen breken |
| ***atirinde*** | follow, go behind | volgen, achternagaan |
| ***atirinde ko, ka*** | follow, go behind | volgen, achternagaan |

13 The English–YW wordlist of Part II (no. 124) has *aterem* instead of *ateren*.

14 In the present publication and following Drabbe (1959), I consider *atigo* as a (second) primary stem which is also used as secondary stem; see the table on semi-inflected realis forms in *-ken* in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.3, and the beginning of that section, which states that *ken* only combines with primary stems.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***atirinde mba, mbage*** | be stuck | vastzitten |
| ***atombiripmo*** | iterative of *atoromo* | it. bij *atoromo* |
| ***atop*** | vagina | vagina |
| ***atoromo*** | thread, step, kick | betreden, stappen, schoppen |
| ***awae*** | other; *nati-awae* non-biological father | ander, 'n; *nati awae* niet-eigen vader |
| ***awan*** | pole, post | paal, stijl |
| ***awarake*** | reprimand | berispen |
| ***awaritop*** | on the ground, down | op de grond, beneden |
| ***awawoj*** | plural of *awoj*[15] | mv. bij *awoj* |
| ***awerekmo, awirikmo*** | twist a rope, wrap, embrace[16] | touwdraaien, inwikkelen, omhelzen |
| ***awet*** | bank, rim, brim, e.g. of a well | oever, rand van bv. een put |
| ***awitkuj*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***awoj, awoj-mban*** | weak, soft, not strong, tame | zacht, zwak, niet sterk, tam |
| ***awojmo ŋga in, i*** | hit softly | zachtjes slaan |
| ***awomburuj*** | butterfly | vlinder |
| ***awon-kajukpirinon*** | sacral pig | sacraal varken |
| ***awoŋ rap, rawo*** | work | werken |
| ***aworom*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***awosagae*** | snout, (mug?) | snuit |
| ***awosen*** | loose, of something that is bound | los van bindsel |
| ***awurukmo*** | grope | tasten |
| ***awut-mit*** | neck | nek |
| ***dok,* see *tok*** | | |
| ***e*** | linking element[17] | schakel-element |
| ***ege(p)*** | relative element[18] | relatief element |
| ***egop*** | bamboo | bamboe |

15 In the present publication, plural formation of adjectives is discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.
16 The YW–English wordlist in Part II has *awirikmo* 'embrace' and *awerekmo* 'wrap'; these should probably be considered free variants of one and the same lexeme 'embrace, wrap'.
17 In the present publication, I analyse *e* as possessive linker (LNK), argument marker (ARG), or subordinate conjunction (SR), see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.5, Chapter 4, 4.1.2 and Chapter 5, 5.3.2, respectively.
18 In this publication analysed as a thematic marker, see Chapter 5, Section 5.4.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***emanop te*** | that's why it is, that's how it is[19] | daarom is het, zo is het |
| ***emat te (emate)*** | after this, then[20] | daarna, dan, toen |
| ***embom, embomop*** | similarity, like | gelijkenis, zoals |
| ***emo*** | be thus, do thus | aldus zijn, aldus doen |
| ***emo nde*** | say so | aldus zeggen |
| ***emo*, in *kambir emo*** | | |
| ***emoro*** | like this, thus, enduring[20] | aldus, blijvend |
| ***en = e*** | | |
| ***en, ande*** | eat | eten |
| ***enanop*** | addressee form for *noj*[10] | aanspreking voor *noj* |
| ***enden*** | without persons, for a house, alone, e.g. *mbitiw enden de mbagenep* I am alone in an empty house, I am at home alone. Also: *mbitiw enden de na tamukmo mbagenep* I am alone in an empty house | leeg van een huis wat betreft personen, bv. *mbitiw enden de mbagenep* ik zit in een leeg huis, d.w.z. ik ben alleen thuis. Ook: *mbitiw enden de na tamukmo mbagenep* ik ben alleen in een leeg huis |
| ***endom*** | enemy | vijand |
| ***enenemo*** | iterative of *en* | it. bij *en* |
| ***enoŋgmbon*** | deed, behaviour, custom, way of doing | daad, gedrag, gewoonte, *adat*, manier van doen |
| ***enop*** | wood, tree | hout, boom |
| ***enop jan, ja, jaŋge*** | have fever | koorts hebben |
| ***enop kok*** | dry wood, firewood | droog hout, brandhout |
| ***enop pot*** | bridge | brug |
| ***enop rop*** | fruit from tree, plural *enop rorop* | boomvrucht, mv.*enop rorop* |
| ***enop tenop*** | fire | vuur |
| ***enow agoj*** | burning piece of wood | brandend stuk hout |
| ***enow ajak*** | flame | vlam |
| ***enow anduj*** | tree trunk | boomstam |

19 See Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.1 on nominal forms in *-nop*, with one example of *ema-nop te* 'do.thus-NMLZ AFFMT'.

20 See Chapter 5, Section 5.6.2 on generic verb linkage, where it is explained how *ema-t te* 'do.thus-RLS[N1SG] and' has developed into a generic interclausal linker, without reference to an earlier verb or earlier subject.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***enow-arin-kup*** | thorny wood | doornig hout |
| ***enow-awan*** | pole, post | paal, stijl |
| ***enow in, i*** | experiential: have fever | event., koorts hebben |
| ***enow-e-rop*** | fruit from tree | boomvrucht |
| ***enow-uruk*** | smoke | rook |
| ***enow-wop*** | piece of wood | eind hout |
| ***eŋgene = oŋgene*** | | |
| ***eŋgigigow oro* and *uru*** | hiccup | hikken |
| ***ep*** | there | daar |
| ***ep pon*** | present there | daar aanwezig |
| ***ep tok*** | that being the case, therefore[21] | dat zo zijnde, daarom |
| ***erek*** | and, between nouns[22] | en tussen naamwoorden |
| ***erenajop*** | rainbow | regenboog |
| ***erende*** | be hoarse | schor zijn |
| ***et*** | emphatic nominative marker | |
| ***eto, etogo*** | see, look, take care, cf. *kindumo* | zien, kijken, verzorgen |
| ***etot*** | market building[23] | marktgebouw |
| ***etot ko, ka*** | go to a market feast | naar marktfeest gaan |
| ***etotokmo*** | iterative of *eto* | it. bij *eto* |
| ***etot tambinde*** | celebrate a market feast | marktfeest vieren |
| ***etot ti*** | build a market building | marktgebouw bouwen |
| ***ew embom*** | thus | aldus |
| ***ewe = ep***[24] | | |
| ***ewemo*** | do thus | aldus zijn, aldus doen |
| ***ewet = ep***[24] | | |
| ***ewewet = ep***[24] | | |
| ***ewop*** | thus, like that | aldus |
| ***ewopmo*** | do so, do like that | |
| ***i* see *in*** | | |

21 See Chapter 5, Section 5.3.5, for the function of *tok* 'GROUND'.
22 Glossed in this publication as ENUM, see Chapter 3, Section 3.8 on interphrasal conjunctions.
23 *Etot* is the name used for a longhouse, which is a building built at a pig feast, see Boelaars (1970:62). For the importance of pig feasts, see Welsh (1994), esp. page 101.
24 While Drabbe tends to equate different pronominal forms in this wordlist, he discusses their mutual differences in his 1959 publication. See Chapter 3, Section 3.2, in the present publication.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***igirigit*** | plural of *igit* | mv. bij *igit* |
| ***igit*** | thick, of flat objects | dik van platte voorwerpen |
| ***ikaepmo*** | peck open | |
| ***ikagaipmo*** | come out of the egg | uit ei komen |
| ***ikarogotmo*** | flatten by hitting | pletten door slaan |
| ***ikmo*** | wake up | wekken |
| ***imbigikmo*** | iterative of *ikmo* | it. bij *ikmo* |
| ***imndin*** | dark, fully night | donker, volop nacht |
| ***imo*** | cover | bedekken, afdekken |
| ***imonop*** | fly (n.) | vlieg |
| ***in, i*** | hit, kill | treffen, raken, slaan, doden |
| ***indomo*** **in** ***turutow indomaran*** | | |
| ***indum oro*** **or** ***uru*** | take place, of earthquake | plaats hebben van aardbeving |
| ***indup*** | seedling | poteling, zaailing, **bibit** |
| ***indup ro*** | plant (v.) | planten, poten |
| ***inim*** | tooth | tand |
| ***inim atigo*** | bite | bijten |
| ***inim ndot*** | tooth flesh | tandvlees |
| ***inim ŋgirike*** | smile | glimlachen |
| ***ininimo*** | iterative of *in, i* | it. bij *in, i* |
| ***iŋgamaŋgat*** | medicine | geneesmiddel |
| ***iŋgamo*** | tr. breaking of rattan etc, finish a case or an issue | tr. breken van rottan en derg, uitmaken van een zaak |
| ***iŋgamoro te*** | after this | daarna |
| ***ip*** | name | naam |
| ***ip*** | left | links |
| ***ip, iwo*** | twist a rope | draaien van dun touw |
| ***ipirikmo*** | push down on, press | drukken op |
| ***ipmae*** | little, a little, short (of time) | weinig, een weinig, kort van tijd |
| ***ipmo*** | smell, kiss | ruiken, zoenen |
| ***iptumo*** | sigh | zuchten |

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***iptutupmo*** | iterative of *iptumo*, also grunt (of pigs) | it. bij*iptumo*, ook knorren van varkens |
| ***irinow in, i*** | snoar, sigh | snurken, zuchten |
| ***irit*** **see** ***og irit*** | | |
| ***iroj*** | gravel | grint |
| ***irombut***[25] | psoriasis | schubziekte |
| ***iro oro*** | hit down, kill | neerslaan, doden |
| ***irop*** | stone | steen |
| ***irop-kop*** | opening in stone, cave | opening in de steen, grot |
| ***irukmo*** | be silent, wait | zwijgen, wachten, stil zijn |
| ***irukmo mba, mbage*** | be silent, wait, refuse[26] | stil zijn, wachten, weigeren |
| ***irumo(n)*** | two | twee |
| ***it*** | arm, hand | |
| ***itagap*** | on the ground, down | op de grond, beneden |
| ***itipmo(n)*** | three | drie |
| ***itir-o-kurop*** | big game | groot wild |
| ***itit*** | cassowary | casuaris |
| ***itkirom***[27] | climbing rope | |
| ***itkorop***[28] | rattan or liana to climb along | rottan of liaan om langs naar boven te klimmen |
| ***itokmo*** | to cut an opening | opening kappen |
| ***itombokmo*** | iterative of *itokmo* | it. bij *itokmo* |
| ***itom-ŋgum*** | border | grens |
| ***itop*** | soil, earth, area | grond, aarde, landerij, streek |
| ***itop-ndoj-e-kagup*** | drifter, wanderer | zwerver |
| ***itugujmo***[29] | extinguish | uitdoen van vuur |
| ***it wamip, i wamip*** | middle finger | middelvinger |
| ***it-wamip(kup)*** | twenty-five[30] | vijfentwintig |

25 The YW–English wordlist of Part II has *irombot* rather than *irombut*.
26 Lit. 'wait sit', cf. *irukmo re* 'wait stand' in the YW–English of Part II, with reference to no. 362 of the English–YW wordlist.
27 Cf. *itkorop* below.
28 Cf. *itkirom* above, with the same meaning.
29 The YW–English wordlist of Part II has *itiguimo* rather than *ituguimo*.
30 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***it wayŋop, i-wayŋop*** | ring finger | ringvinger |
| ***itwayŋop(kup)*** | twenty-six[30] | zesentwintig |
| ***iwipmo*** | iterative of *ip* | it. bij *ip* |
| ***iwo* see *ip*** | | |
| ***ja*** | POS.3SG[31] | bezitt.vnw. 3e enk. |
| ***ja, jan* and *jaŋge*** | lie (down)[32] | liggen |
| ***jae*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***jaek*** | red bird of paradise | rode paradijsvogel |
| ***jagip*** | garden | tuin, akker |
| ***jagip rap, rawo*** | work in the garden | tuinwerk doen |
| ***jagiwap*** | crop, harvest from garden | tuinopbrengst |
| ***jagiw arjok ri*** | make a garden, make a clearing for gardening | tuin aanleggen, tuingrond openkappen |
| ***jagiw oro* or *uru*** | work in the garden | tuinwerk doen |
| ***jagok*** | forest with high trees | bos met hoge bomen |
| ***jagut*** | halter | strop; *ti(k) ŋga jagur agumo kimaran* hij verhing zich |
| ***jajamo*** | iterative of *jan* | it. bij *jan* |
| ***jajaŋgetmo*** | iterative of *jan*[33] | it. bij *jan* |
| ***jajop*** | impenetrable | ondoordringbaar wegens lianen, duister van woorden, taal |
| ***jaju(n)*** | sick, ill, tired, difficult, nasty; *jaju kegen* it didn't work out; *kani jajun* not work out well; *jaŋgeni jajun* not be able to lie down | ziek, moe, moeilijk, lastig; *jaju kegen* het ging niet; *kani jajun* niet kunnen gaan; *jaŋgeni jajun* niet kunnen liggen |
| ***jaju jan*** | be ill | |
| jaju(n) ke | experiential: be ill | event. ziek zijn |
| ***jajunop*** | ill, sick | ziek |
| ***jakom*** | daughter-in-law | schoondochter |

31 Cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3 on possessive pronouns.

32 Drabbe's presentation suggests that he considered *ja* and *jan* as primary stems, and *jaŋge* as the only secondary stem. In his (1959) publication, however, he explicitly classifies only *jan* as primary, and *ja* as a second secondary stem, along with *jaŋ*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.

33 As iteratives of *ja* 'lie', apart from *jajaŋgetmo,* Drabbe (1959) does not give *jajamo*, but an additional irregular form: *jajawukmo*, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***jaman* see *ok jaman*** | | |
| ***jamik*** | pig trap | varkensval |
| ***jamik ti*** | set a pig trap | varkensval zetten |
| ***jamunon kup*** | the first | de eerste, het eerst |
| ***jan* see *ja, jan jaŋge*** | | |
| ***jan*** | tomorrow, e.g. in *jan ŋga mandonin* 'he will come tomorrow' | morgen, in bv. *jan ŋga mandonin* hij zal morgen komen |
| ***jandit*** | path, way | pad, weg |
| ***jandit-wamip*** | on the way | onderweg |
| ***janem*** | secretly | stiekum |
| ***janem de rogo*** | say to oneself, speak in parables | in z'n binnenste zeggen, in gelijkenissen spreken |
| ***janem ko, k a*** | walk secretly, leave secretly | stiekum lopen, stiekum weggaan. |
| ***jani-mban, jani-matan*** | straight | recht |
| ***janop*** | penis shell | penisschelp |
| ***jaŋgarik*** | general name for caterpillars etc., e.g. also for centipede | alg. naam voor rupsen enz., bv. ook voor duizendpoot |
| ***jaŋge = jaŋgup***[34] | | |
| ***jaŋge* see *ja, jan*** | | |
| ***jaŋgo*** | 3PL.POSS | bezitt.vnw. 3e mv. |
| ***jaŋgok*** | plural stem of *ja* 'lie' | |
| ***jaŋgot*** | bamboo reed, torch made thereof | bamboeriet, fakkel daarvan |
| ***jaŋgumo*** | collect, come together, bring together | vergaderen, verzamelen, bijeenkomen, bijeenbrengen |
| ***jaŋgup***[34] | third-person personal pronoun | pers. vnw. 3e mv. |
| ***jaraget*** | spear from one piece of wood | speer uit één stuk hout |
| ***jareŋgjap*** | kind of tobacco | tabaksoort |
| ***jatek*** | fine roots? | fijne worteltjes |
| ***jawarep*** | lemon | citroen |

34 In the present publication, however, *jaŋgup* is analysed as 3PL emphatic pronoun, and *jaŋg'e* as independent pronoun plus argument marker *e,* cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1, and Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***jawet*** | upper arm | bovenarm |
| ***jawet(kup)***[35] | nine | negen |
| ***jawok*** | small wood pigeon | kleine houtduif |
| ***jawon*** | kind of bird of prey | roofvogelsoort |
| ***jawot = jup***[24] | | |
| ***je = jup***[36] | | |
| ***jem de*** | secretly | stiekum |
| ***jemom ŋga*** | suddenly | plotseling |
| ***jem rogo*** | whisper, say secretly, say to oneself, speak in parable | fluisteren, stiekum zeggen, in z'n binnenste zeggen, in gelijkenissen spreken |
| ***jem tagamo*** | same as above | als vorige |
| ***jen mbon*** | end | einde |
| ***jerep* in *ok jerep ke*** | | |
| ***jer-ogon*** | kind of heron | reigersoort |
| ***jer-ogon-amun*** | birds and mammals | vogels en zoogdieren |
| ***jet*** | bird | vogel |
| ***jetok*** | urine | pis |
| ***jetok ti*** | urinate | pissen |
| ***jimin*** | until; *mene jimon, ep jimin, ewep jimin, korep jimin* until here, until there, until over there, until yonder; *jimin ŋgamo* stop walking | tot aan; *mene jimon, ep jimin, ewep jimin, korep jimin* tot hier, tot daar, tot ginds; *jimin ŋgamo* ophouden met lopen |
| ***jo*** | call, shout | roepen |
| ***jo, jogo*** | give; keep animals | geven; houden van dieren |
| ***jog o nde = jok te*** | | |
| jojokmo | iterative of *jo* | it. bij *jo* geven |
| ***jojomara*** | kind of tree | |
| ***jojomo*** | pull sidewards, make bend over (of a small tree) | schuin opzij trekken, doen overhallen v. dunne boom |
| ***jojomo*** | iterative of *jo* 'shout' | it. bij *jo* roepen |

35 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.

36 In the present publication, however, *jup* is analysed as 3SG emphatic pronoun, and *j'e* as 3SG pronoun plus argument marker *e,* cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1, and Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***jok*** | yes | ja |
| ***jok te*** | say yes, consent, obey | ja zeggen, beamen, toestemmen, goedvinden, houden van, gehoorzamen |
| ***jom*** | *nibung* palm | |
| ***jom*** | mat | |
| ***jom*** | meat, flesh | vlees |
| ***ju = jup***[24] | | |
| ***jugut*** | trail, abandoned garden of village, place where someone was standing; *bola urugininow e jugut* football field;[37] see also *mbitip-jugut* | spoor, verlaten tuin of dorp, plek waar iemand stond; *bola urugininow e jugut* voetbalveld; zie ook *mbitip-jugut* |
| ***jun*** | string bag | draagnet |
| ***jun*** | boil (n.) | steenpuist |
| ***jup*** | 3SG personal pronoun[38] | pers. vnw. 3e enk. |
| ***jut*** | rafter | dakspar |
| ***jut*** | kind of wood | houtsoort |
| ***ka*** **see** ***ko*** | | |
| ***kae*** | friend; *nagae, ŋgogae* etc.; *nagae-nagae* my friends | vriend; *nagae, ŋgogae* enz.; *nagae-nagae* mijn vrienden |
| ***kae-agumo*** | break and put into something, e.g. put into a fork | afbreken en ergens in doen, bv. in vork leggen |
| ***kaemo*** | light up, shine (of the sun) | aansteken, schijnen van de zon |
| ***kaende*** | tr. break (of wood etc.) | tr. breken v. hout en derg. |
| ***kaepmo*** | iterative of *kaende* | it. bij *kaende* |
| ***kaet*** **see** ***ok kaet*** | | |
| ***kaewow in, i*** | bark | blaffen |
| ***kagaemo*** | stand aslant | schuin staan, ze *sat kagaemo* |

37 *bola uru-gin-in-op e jugut* [ball put-RLS-NI PL-NMLZ garden] 'abandoned garden for putting (i.e. playing with) a ball'.

38 In the present publication, *ju* is analysed as a 'normal' 3SG independent pronoun, while *jup* is analysed as an emphatic pronoun, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kagaende*** | search, investigate, choose | zoeken, uitzoeken, onderzoeken, bekijken, kiezen, uitkiezen |
| ***kagaepmo*** | iterative of *kaepmo*[39] | it. bij *kaepmo* |
| ***kagamae*** | plural of *kaeme* | mv. bij *kamae* |
| ***kagam-ŋgambim*** | eighty[40] | tachtig |
| ***kagap*** | ten | tiental |
| ***kagarak*** | cockroach | kakkerlak |
| ***kagarapmo*** | be angry | boos zijn |
| ***kagaremo*** | iterative of *karemo* | it. bij *karemo* |
| ***kagareop*** | plural of *kareop* | mv. bij *kareop* |
| ***kagarop*** | hard | hard |
| ***kagaw-itipmo(n)*** | thirty[41] | dertig |
| ***kagom*** | bark with content that is being roasted | schors met inhoud die gebakken wordt |
| ***kaguj*** | shade, ghost, spirit | schim, geest, spook |
| ***kaguk*** | pus | etter |
| ***kagun*** | heavy | |
| ***kagup*** | human being, esp. man, male person | mens, inzonderheid man, mannelijk persoon |
| ***kagup kuwop*** | married woman | gehuwde vrouw |
| ***kagup paget*** | image of human, man | afbeelding van een mens, man |
| ***kagup sarip*** | widower[42] | weduwnaar |
| ***kaguw arjok*** | newlywed man | pasgehuwde man |
| ***kaguw-e-ŋgun*** | clan | clan |
| ***kahat*** | bamboo reed | bamboeriet, **buluh** |
| ***kahat-pop***[43] | fyke of bamboo reed | fuik van bamboeriet |
| ***kahotpan***[44] | stingy | gierig |
| ***kajandujop*** | *genemu*-rope worn over the chest[45] | **genemu**-touw gedragen over de borst |

39 This is somewhat confusing, as *kaepmo* is also iterative, counterpart of non-iterative *kaende* 'break'.
40 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.
41 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.
42 See *sarip* in the YW–English wordlist of Part II.
43 See *kahat* and *mbop* in the YW–English wordlist of Part II.
44 In the present publication analysed as *kasotmban*, with intervocalic /s/ realised as [h] and the adjectival ending *-mban* realised as [pan] (see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.2).
45 For an explanation of *genemu* see note to *tenot* in the YW–English wordlist of Part II.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kajipke*** | plural of *jan* | meervoudstam bij *jan* |
| ***kajok*** | kind of climbing plant | |
| ***kajoke*** | go down, subside (of water) | zakken van water |
| ***kak*** | frog | kikvors |
| ***kakarak*** | cockroach | |
| ***kamae, kamaeop*** | big; *ok kamae ke* the water is flooding | groot; *ok kamae ke* banjieren |
| ***kamam, kamamop*** | far away | ver |
| ***kambae*** | flame (n./a.)[46] | vlam |
| ***kambae ke*** | flame (v.) | vlammen |
| ***kambambae*** | plural of *kambae* | mv. bij *kambae* |
| ***kambat ke*** | be overwhelmed | overdonderd zijn |
| ***kamberawak*** | sacral name of *wawot* | sacrale naam van *wawot* |
| ***kambet*** | inner part of house, tree etc. | binnenste van huis, boom etc. |
| ***kambi rap, rawo***[47] | steal | stelen |
| ***kambir emo*** | have unlawful sexual intercourse | onrechtmatig geslachtelijk omgang hebben |
| ***kambit*** | theft | diefstal |
| ***kambit*** | other, foreigner | ander, vreemdeling |
| kambit rap = kambi rap | | |
| ***Kambom*** | name of Mandobo people living downstream | naam van de benedenstroomse Mandobo's |
| ***kamenwon*** | bullroarer | bromhout; *kamenwon in, i*, bromhout zwaaien |
| ***kameop*** | possessed | bezetene |
| ***kamet* in *mandup kamet* and *matip kamet*** | youngest daughter, youngest son | jongste zoon, jongste dochter |
| ***kamok* in *ran kamok*** | | |
| ***kamut maran*** | is round (like a plate) | is rond, als bord |
| ***kan*** | sharpened bamboo | gescherpte bamboe |
| ***kanak*** | porcupine | stekelvarken |
| ***kanaygit*** | palate | verhemelte |

46 Note that nouns are not inflected for number, and that this plural form follows the pattern of adjectival plural formation described in Chapter 3, Section 3.3, with infixation of <*mbV*>.
47 Or *kambir rap*, see the YW–English wordlist.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kande*** | fall down (of tree)[48] | omvallen van boom |
| ***kandit*** | in *rin kandit* purchase price for a woman, dowry | in *rin kandit* koopsom voor een vrouw LdV |
| ***kandun*** | meat, piece of meat, pulp of fruit | vleesspijs, stuk vlees, vruchtvlees |
| ***kanut*** | arrow | pijl |
| ***kapak*** | use an axe | verbst. van *kampak* bijl |
| ***kapak*** **see** ***ok kapak*** | | |
| ***kapkap*** **e.g. in** ***nan oj kapkap ran mene ŋga*** | I am in love with this woman | ik ben verliefd op deze vrouw |
| ***karagap*** | lazy | lui |
| ***karagap ke*** | be lazy, be tired of, have had enough of | lui zijn, het moe zijn, genoeg hebben van |
| ***karagapmo*** | be lazy, neglect, hate | lui zijn, verwaarlozen, haten |
| ***karanam*** | machete | kapmes |
| ***kare*** | an element indicating future[49] | futurum-aanduidend element |
| ***kare*** | dubitative element, e.g. *kar'ewe megen do* he may have come, *kare rogokenep do* I may have said so[50] | dubitatief element, bv. *kar'ewe megen do* misschien is hij gekomen, *kare rogokenep ten do* misschien heb ik het gezegd |
| ***kare ke*** | be sufficient, ready, come into existence | genoeg zijn, gereed zijn, ontstaan |
| ***kare ndat, ndare*** | obey | gehoorzamen |
| ***kare te nde*** | say that it is sufficient, forgive | zeggen dat het genoeg is, vergiffenis geven |
| ***karemo*** | follow, do like, follow an order, obey an order | navolgen, doen als, opvolgen v. bevel, gehoorzamen aan bevel |
| ***kareŋ*** | look (n.) | blik |
| ***kareop*** | true, real | waar, echt, werkelijk |

48 In the YW–English wordlist of Part II also: intransitive 'breaking of wood'.

49 It is not clear why Drabbe considers *kare* as a future marker, see the footnote on *kare* in Chapter 4, Section 4.6.1.

50 Note that both examples contain the question marker *do*. See my analysis in Chapter 4, Section 4.6.1, where I question Drabbe's analysis of *kare* as a marker of uncertainty and gloss it as 'TRUE'.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kareop te* or *kareop te nde*** | believe | geloven |
| ***karimo* see *wit karimo*** | | |
| ***karit*** | pandanus | **pandan** |
| ***karogotmo*** | flatten | pletten |
| ***karomo***[51] | to open (itr.), of leaf | zich openen van blad |
| ***karomo*** | distribute | uitdelen, onder elkaar verdelen |
| ***karonde***[51] | intr. breaking of pottery etc. | intr. breken van aardewerk en derg. |
| ***karukrumbun*** | *genemu* rope | **genemu**-touw |
| ***kat*** | outside, outside the house, outside the village | buiten, buitenshuis, buiten het dorp |
| ***katet*** | saliva | speeksel |
| ***katet kok ke*** | experiential: be thirsty | event. dorst hebben |
| ***katet tiomo*** | spit | spuwen |
| ***katet tioŋgitmo*** | iterative of *katet tiomo* | it. bij *katet tiomo* |
| ***katip*** | top, outer part, upper part | top, uiteinde, boveneinde |
| ***katkok*** | hot, spicy | **pedis**, heet, gepeperd |
| ***katkok ke* or *katkok kup ke*** | experiential: have pain, be in pain | event. pijn hebben |
| ***katkokmo*** | be in pain | |
| ***kat kombogok ke*** | iterative of *kat kok ke* | event. it. bij *kat kok ke* |
| ***katkuj*** | rubbish, dirt | vuilnis |
| ***katkuj kup*** | filthy, dirty | vuil |
| ***katogot*** | the skin below the mouth, see also *wan katogot* | het vel onder de mondholte, zie ook *wan katogot* |
| ***katomo*** | close, close off[52] | dichtdoen, afsluiten |
| ***katoni, katoniop*** | ignorant; *naŋge katoni* we are ignorant | onwetend; *naŋge katoni* wij weten het niet |
| ***kawae*** | sperm; see also *ŋgin kawae* | sperma; also see *ŋgin kawae* |
| ***kawan*** | beam, timber | balk |

51 In the English–YW wordlist of Part II, *(ra) karomo* is given as a translation for the transitive breaking of a stone (no. 374), and *karonde* (no. 375) for the corresponding intransitive breaking.
52 Possibly also 'become turbid', but see the note in Text 5.21 at this point.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kawarop*** | snail | slak |
| ***kawit*** | hornbill | neushoornvogel |
| ***Kawon*** | Kao-river | de Kao-rivier |
| ***kawonde*** | split in two (tr.), make a cut | in tweeën doen splijten, insnijding maken |
| ***kawor andap, andawo*** | bind hair extensions | haarverlengsels aanbinden |
| ***kawot*** | hair extension | haarverlengsel |
| ***ke*** | auxiliary, esp. become[53] | hulpwerkwoord, inzonderheid: worden |
| ***kegemo*** | iterative of *ke* | it. bij *ke* |
| ***kek*** | e.g. in *kek nagap* go aside, out of the way | ga opzij |
| ***kem*** | downstream, the downstream area | benedenstrooms, het benedenstroomse |
| ***kembegen*** | plural of *ken* | mv. bij *ken* |
| ***kemene*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***kemtop*** | window | venster |
| ***ken*** | bitter | bitter |
| ***kenae*** | some, several | sommige, enkele |
| ***kendet*** | drum | |
| ***kenem-ndomban*** | a little while, a moment | eventjes |
| ***keo*** | only in realis form with realis marker *t*, irregular, e.g. *kearep tutken* I watched upwards; *kearat kow oto kindumogen* he looked into it; *kearewan marigen* we looked downwards; for the future one uses semi-inflected forms: *keorop majonin, keoron majonin, keorowan majonin, keoron majonin.* | alleen in *t*-vorm, en dan nog onregelmatig, bv. *kearep tutken* ik keek omhoog; *kearat kow oto kindumogen* hij keek er in; *kearewan marigen* wij keken omlaag; voor't fut. zerovormen: *keorop majonin, keoron majonin, keorowan majonin, keoron majonin.* |
| ***kep jo, jogo*** | sharpen | slijpen |
| ***kep tagamo*** | speak lecherous language | ontuchtige taal spreken |
| ***kerarop*** | finger, toe | vinger, teen |

53 See Chapter 2, Section 2.8 on *mo* 'do' and *ke* 'be'.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kerepmo*** | become, change into, make become | worden, veranderen in, doen worden |
| ***kerepo*** | like | postpos. als, zoals |
| ***keretmo*** | treat an illness | behandelen van zieke |
| ***kerewet*** | dry | droog |
| ***keroke*** | go through, penetrate, used in combination with verbs of sticking, shooting etc; *mero keroke ko* walk past | er doorheen gaan, bij steken, schieten enz.; *mero keroke ko* voorbij lopen |
| ***keroke ko, ka*** | walk past, along | voorbijgaan, erlangslopen |
| ***kerop*** | eye | oog |
| ***kerop (kup)***[54] | thirteen | dertien |
| ***kerop mitke*** | be blind[55] | blind zijn |
| ***kerop mitpan*** | blind[55] | blind |
| ***kerop ŋgoj keran*** | be cross-eyed | is scheel |
| ***kerop ŋgojmban*** | cross-eyed | scheel |
| ***kerop petat*** | blind, having a bad sight | blind, slechtziende |
| ***kerop purumo*** | experiential: be crazy | event. gek zijn |
| ***kerop randawanmo*** | look upwards | omhoog kijken |
| ***kerop randawanmo eto, etogo*** | look upwards | omhoog kijken |
| ***kerop ron*** | whiskers | wimpers |
| ***kerop toŋgot*** | eyebrow | wenkbrauw |
| ***kerow am*** | eyelid | ooglid |
| ***kerow ok*** | tears | tranen |
| ***ket*** | flower | bloem |
| ***ketam'eto, etogo*** | see | zien |
| ***ketamo*** | get awake, open the eyes[56] | wakker worden, de ogen openen |
| ***ketan*** | kind of wood | houtsoort |
| ***keteg-o-kotawae*** | weed (n.) | onkruid |
| ***ketek*** | grass | gras |
| ***ketek-tawae*** | grass plain | grasvlakte |

54 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.
55 Lit. 'the eye is bone'.
56 The YW–English wordlist of Part II gives 'close eyes' rather than 'open the eyes' as a translation. This suggests that *ketamo* is somehow related to *koto* 'go in or out'.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***keteropmo*** | be robust, behave robustly | stevig zijn, stevig doen |
| ***ketmom*** | dance (n.) | dans |
| ***ketmom oro* or *uru*** | dance (v.) | dansen |
| ***ketmom rarapmo*** | dance (v.) | dansen |
| ***ketop*** | articulation in bamboo, finger, toe | geleding in bamboe, vinger, teen |
| ***ketpon*** | sacral | sacraal |
| ***kigindipmo*** | be how much, be how many? | hoeveel zijn |
| ***kigip*** | other, foreign | ander, vreemde |
| ***kigup*** | stone club | stenen knots |
| ***Kigup*** | Digul-river | Digoel-river |
| ***kim***[57] | sugarcane | suikerriet |
| ***kim*** | big; *kamaeop kim* very big[58] | groot; *kamaeop kim* zeer groot |
| ***kim ra ko, ka*** | swim | zwemmen |
| ***kim, kimo*** | die, extinguish (itr.) of fire | sterven, uitgaan van vuur |
| ***kim, kimo*** | rub, see also *ok kim* | wrijven, zie ook *ok kim* |
| ***kimbarukmo*** | iterative of *kim* 'rub', e.g. in *ok kim*[59] | it. bij *kim* wrijven, bv. in *ok kim* |
| ***kimbarukmo ra ko, ka*** | iterative of *kim ra ko*[59] | it. bij *kim ra ko* |
| ***kimbiginde*** | shut the eyes | sluiten van de ogen |
| ***kimbom*** | wasp | wesp |
| ***kimitke*** | iterative of *kim* 'die' | it. bij *kim* sterven |
| ***kin*** | upstream | bovenstrooms |
| ***kindon oj*** | wax | was |
| ***kindon ok*** | honey | honing |
| ***kindop*** | bee | bij (insect) |
| ***kindumo*** | look at, take care of | kijken naar, zorgen voor |
| ***kinimi*** | solid, hard | stevig, hard |
| ***kinimi te in, i*** | hit hard | hard slaan |
| ***kiniminimo in, i*** | hit hard | hard slaan |

57 The English–YW wordlist in Part II (no. 210) has *kin* rather than *kim*.

58 In fact, in the example (*kamaeop kim* 'big big') given here, *kim* looks more like an intensifier of the adjective 'big' than as an adjective. The only other example of its use is found in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.1, where it may indeed be considered an adjective.

59 As is clear from its use in texts (Texts 1.13, 1.14 and 4.28), the iterative form *kimbarukmo* is used in the sense of swimming, not only if followed by *ra ko*.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kinum*** | brother of female person | broer t.o.v. een vrouwelijk persoon |
| ***kinum jan, ja, jaŋge*** | sleep | slapen |
| ***kinum kok ke*** | experiential: be sleepy | event. slaap hebben |
| ***kiok ke*** | experiential: be amazed | event. verwonderd staan |
| ***kiot*** | claw | klauw |
| ***kirigit*** | kind of sago | sagosoort |
| ***kirigitmo*** | chase | wegjagen |
| ***kiririmo*** | iterative of *ŋgirimo* | it. bij *ŋgirimo* |
| ***kirup ~kirop*** | kind of fish, *Mystus* spp.[60] | vissoort, **ikan baung** |
| ***kit*, see *ok kit*** | | |
| ***kitup*** | branch of tree | tak |
| ***kitup*** | thigh | dij |
| ***kiwugop* in *ok kiwugop***[61] | | |
| ***kiwujop*, see *ajam-kiwujop*** | | |
| ***kiwuj*** | wind | wind |
| ***ko mendet mo*** | go and come | gaan en komen |
| ***ko rap, rawo*** | go and get | gaan halen |
| ***ko, ka*** | go, walk, go away | gaan, lopen, weggaan |
| ***kogojapmo*** | iterative of *kojapmo* | it. bij *kojapmo* |
| ***kogombetmo*** | iterative of *kombe ro* | it. bij *kombe ro* |
| ***kogomo*** | iterative of *ko* | it. bij *ko* |
| ***kohep***[62] | ashes | asse |
| ***kohipke* (cf. *kosip*)** | smell | geuren |
| ***koj*** | *Plectranthus rotundifolius* | **kembili** |
| ***kojake*** | be full | vol zijn |
| ***kojam*** | betelnut,[63] floor of lats of betel wood | betelnoot, vloer van pinanglatten |
| ***kojap*** | few | weinig |
| ***kojapmo*** | in order that not, lest | opdat niet, zie Sprk. |

60 According to the Indonesian Wikipedia page (id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baung), the term *ikan baung* is used for fishes of the type Hemibagrus, which is rendered in English as catfish, cf. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hemibagrus, both webpages accessed 8 October 2021.

61 Here, Drabbe probably refers to the form *kiwugup*, which, apparently, alternates with *kiwugop*.

62 In the wordlist of Part II: *kosep*. For the alternation between [s] and [h] see Chapter 1, Section 1.1.2 on consonants.

63 In the wordlist of Part II, *kojam* is glossed as 'kind of palm'.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kojapmo*** | lie, deceive | liegen, bedriegen |
| ***kojop*** | cheek, molar | wang, kies |
| ***kojop*** | twin of e.g. bananas; *mun kojop* twin children | tweeling van bv. bananen; *mun kojop* tweeling-kinderen |
| ***kojow in, i*** | slap into the face | in 't gezicht slaan |
| ***kok ke*** | be full-grown, of fruits[64] | volwassen zijn v. vruchten |
| ***kom*** | chip, splinter | spaander |
| ***komak*** | ginger | gember |
| ***komak*** | dammar gum | damarhars |
| ***kombatim = kop mbatim*** | male of human | mannelijk van mens |
| ***kombe ro*** | experiential: have a swelling, a tumour | event. gezwel hebben |
| ***kombep*** | shield | schild |
| ***kombisop*** | forehead | voorhoofd |
| ***kombit*** | lower end | ondereinde |
| ***komborokmo*** | iterative of *korokmo* | it. bij *korokmo* |
| ***komo*** | close, close off | dichtdoen, afsluiten |
| ***kondan mba, mbage*** | be awake | wakker zijn |
| ***kondip*** | directly, immediately | meteen, aanstonds |
| ***kondok*** | foot, leg, hindleg | voet, been, achterpoot |
| ***kondok jugut*** | foot trail | voetspoor |
| ***kondok kerop*** | knee | knie |
| ***kondok kerop ndimo*** | kneel | knielen |
| ***konmo* in *ra konmo*** | | |
| ***konoj*** | canoe | prauw |
| ***konoj ambotop*** | front part of canoe | voorsteven |
| ***konoj wambit*** | rear part of canoe | achtersteven |
| ***konop* in *tik-konop*** | waist belt | buikband |
| ***kop*** | over there[65] | ginds |
| ***kop*** | in | in |
| ***kop*** | man | |

64 In the wordlist of Part II, *kok ke* has the additional sense of 'dead, of a tree or wood ready to be burnt'.

65 See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.5 on demonstrative pronouns.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kopari = kop pari = kop mbari*** | old man, husband | oude man, echtgenoot |
| ***kopon kopon kup*** | everywhere | overal |
| ***korae*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***kore*** | over there[66] | ginds, gindse |
| ***korek*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***korep, korewe, korewet = kore***[24] | | |
| ***korewop*** | like over there | als gindse |
| ***kori*** | stone axe | stenen bijl |
| ***Kori*** | kind of Higher Being | soort Opperwezen |
| ***korip*** | down | beneden |
| ***korire*** | down there | daar beneden |
| ***korogot*** | stick, pole used for planting | pootstok |
| ***korok ke, koroke*** | experiential: come to rest, get quiet[67] | event. tot rust komen |
| ***korokmo*** | untie | ontbinden, los maken |
| ***korom*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***kosep = kohep*** | | |
| kosip ke = kohipke | | |
| ***kosip-matan*** | pleasant smell, fragrant, sweet-smelling | aangename geur, geurig |
| ***kotae*** | body, skin, bark | lichaam, huid, schors, schil |
| ***kotawae*** | weed, grass | onkruid, gras |
| ***koten*** | sweat (n.) | zweet |
| ***koten mo*** | be ashamed, regret | beschaamd zijn, spijt hebben |
| ***koten mut, moto*** | experiential: sweat | event. zweten |
| ***kotim*** | woodpigeon | kroonduif |
| ***kotmo* in *ra kotmo*** | | |
| ***koto* see *kut*** | | |
| ***kotombok*** | stick, weapon stick of women | stok, slagwapen der vrouwen |

66 Glossed in this publication as DIST, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.5 on demonstrative pronouns.

67 The YW–English wordlist of Part II also gives 'be untied', which nicely renders how *koroke* is basically intransitive, and *korokmo* transitive, cf. the discussion on *mo* 'do' and *ke* 'be' in Chapter 2, Section 2.8.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kotom-rop*** | kidney | nier |
| ***kotop*** | in there, out there[68] | daar binnen, daar buiten |
| ***kotore = kotop***[24] | | |
| ***koture, koturup*** | up there | daar boven |
| ***kowae*** | element of reciprocity[69] | element van wederkerigheid |
| ***kowandurup*** | new | nieuw |
| ***kowandut, kowandut mene*** | now, today, in a moment, a moment ago | nu, vandaag, straks (verl. en toek.) |
| ***kowe = kop***[24] | | |
| kowon | caterpillar | rups |
| ***kowoni*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***kug oj*** | small intestine | dunne darm |
| ***kuguj*** | fat | |
| ***kuji*** | questioning element[70] | vragend element |
| ***kuj-mban*** | black | zwart |
| ***kujo kambi rap, rawo*** | steal | stelen |
| ***kujom, kujomop*** | brave,[71] see also *ok kujom* | dapper, moedig, zie ook *ok kujom* |
| ***kuk*** | fence | omheining |
| ***kuk*** | kind of palm, *nibong* | **nibung** |
| ***kuk-matan*** | white | wit |
| ***kukmo*** | point at, direct at, show | aanwijzen, tonen |
| ***kuk-pan*** | white | wit |
| ***kumbuguj*** | plural of *kuj* 'black' | mv. bij *kuj* |
| ***kumbugukmo*** | iterative of *kukmo*, also used for: teach | it. bij *kukmo*, ook voor: onderwijzen, onderrichten |
| ***kumuj ke* or *kumuj kup ke*** | be pregnant, become pregnant | zwanger worden, zijn |
| ***kumuk*** | wrist, see also *wan kumuk* and *wit kumuk* | pols, zie ook *wan kumuk* en *wit kumuk* |
| ***kumuk(kup), kumukup*** | six[72] | zes |

68 See Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1 on complex spatial pronouns.
69 Glossed in this publication as RECP, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4.4.
70 Glossed in this publication as IQ, see Chapter 4, Section 4.6.2 on information questions.
71 In the English–YW wordlist, the word *kujom* is given as a translation of 'angry' (no. 323).
72 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kumuk-kumuk*** | twelve[72] | twaalf |
| ***kumun* in *oj-kumun*** | stomach | maag |
| ***kumurae ke***[73] | be clear of light, liquid | helder in de zin van licht, helder van vloeistof |
| ***kumut*** | sky, thunder | hemel, donder |
| ***kun*** | trail | |
| ***kun* in *om kun*** | | |
| ***kuŋgop, kuŋgore*** | across there[74] | daar aan de overkant |
| ***kun-matan*** | good (of food), tasty | lekker |
| ***kunop*** | general name for mice, rats and marsupials | alg. naam voor muizen, ratten en koeskoezen |
| ***kunow-amun*** | edible mammals[75] | eetbare zoogdieren |
| ***kunug-o-temon*** | mice and rats | muizen en ratten |
| ***kunuk*** | kind of mouse | muissoort |
| ***kunumo*** | have pity on | medelijden hebben met |
| ***kup*** | with; for persons also: to[76] | erbij, met; bij personen ook: naar |
| ***kup*** | bill | snavel |
| ***kur a***[77] | until | totdat |
| ***kurugut*** | up in, upper part | boven in, bv, *enop kurugut* boven in een boom; *mbitip kurugut* boven in huis, d.w.z. in de hanebalken |
| ***kurugut*** | index finger | wijsvinger |
| ***kurugut (kup)*** | four[72] | vier |
| ***kuruj*** | forest | bos, rimbu |
| ***kuruj-etop*** | forest | bos, rimbu |
| ***kurun*** | kind of palm[78] | palmsoort |
| ***kurup*** | wild pig | wild varken, zie ook *itir-o-kurup* |

73 In Text 5.21 we find the shorter form *kumraeke*.
74 See Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1 on complex spatial pronouns.
75 In his 1959 wordlist, the form is attested once and glossed by Drabbe as 'cuscuses, rats and mice', see the YW–English wordlist in Part II.
76 In this publication, analysed as a comitative marker, see Chapter 3, Section 3.7.
77 See Chapter 3, Section 3.5.3 on the grammaticalisation of *ko* 'go'.
78 In the wordlist of Part II glossed as '*nibung* bark', see Text 6.07.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***kusun*** | dust? | stof |
| ***kut, koto***[79] | go in, go out | binnengaan, buitengaan |
| ***kutko*** | for a moment, a short time, without staying overnight | voor korte tijd, eventjes, zonder overnachten |
| ***kutok*** | much, many | veel |
| ***kutokmo*** | be much, many, do much | veel zijn, veel doen |
| ***kutugut*** | fat | adj. vet |
| ***kutuk*** | short, low, close of time | kort, laag, nabij van tijd |
| ***kuwop* from *kup-op* in *kagup kuwop, ran kuwop* and *wut kuwop*** | | |
| ***mae te(n)*** | it's one, the same | 't is één, eender, gelijk, zijn gelijk |
| ***maekerap*** | move in the womb | zich bewegen in de moederschoot |
| ***maem*** | house lizard, gecko | huishagedis |
| ***maemo*** | together with; *maemo te megenewan* I came together with them; *maemo ja nati kup te miginin* he came with his father | samen met; *maemo te megenewan* ik kwam samen met hen; *maemo ja nati kup te miginin* hij kwam samen met zijn vader |
| ***maeŋgap*** | kind of bird | vogelsoort |
| ***magap*** | topped tree; *mbaŋgan magap* a high house built on a *mbaŋgan* trunk | getopte boom; *mbaŋgan magap* een hoog huis gebouwd op een *mbaŋgan*-stam |
| ***magit-kururop*** | necklace of *genemu* rope | halssnoer van **genemu**-touw |
| ***magop*** | grandchild | kleinkind |
| ***majo*, see *mari*** | | |
| ***majum*** | kind of sago | sagosoort |
| ***mak*** | shoulder | schouder |
| ***mak(kup), makup*** | ten | tien |
| ***mamae*** | young man | jongeman |
| ***mamapmo*** | iterative of *map* | it. bij *map* |

79 *Kut* and *koto* are not attested in Drabbe's 1959 publication. The synonymous variant forms *ut* and *oto*, however, are attested both in the present list and in Drabbe's publication, see YW–English wordlist in Part II.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***mamasowen ke*** | whisper, talk softly | fluisteren, zachtjes praten |
| ***mamatikmo*** | iterative of *mati* | it. bij *mati(go)* |
| ***mamin*** | warm | warm |
| ***mamin ke*** | experiential: be hot, have a fever | event. het warm hebben, koorts hebben |
| ***mamuririop*** | poisonous centipede | vergiftige duizendpoot |
| ***man*** | thing | ding |
| ***mandak*** | raft | subst. vlot |
| ***mando* see *me*** | | |
| ***mandon*** | plain, flat | vlakte, vlak |
| ***mandup*** | son, addressee form for male ego's brother's son and female ego's sister's son[80] | zoon, man noemt aldus zoon v. broer, en vrouw noemt aldus zoon van zuster |
| ***manimanim*** | Malay: beams | v. Mal. kralen |
| ***manman*** | thing, things | bullen, spullen |
| ***manoj*** | undergrowth | kreupelbos, rijshout |
| ***maŋgat*** | young woman | jongevrouw |
| ***maŋgit*** | dog teeth | hondetanden |
| ***maŋgor-ip*** | chin | kin |
| ***maŋgot*** | inner mouth | mondholte, mond, bek |
| ***maŋgot-top* = *maŋgot*** | | |
| ***map, mawe*** | give to me | aan mij geven |
| ***mari, majo*** | come down | naar beneden komen |
| ***marigo me*** | come downhill, come downstream, come from a low elevation[81] | helling afkomen, stroomafwaarts komen, van geringe hoogte af komen |
| ***mari mba, mbage*** | sit down from standing posture | gaan zitten uit staande houding |
| ***marip, marire*** | down here[81] | hier beneden |
| ***matap*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***mati* and *matigo* (secondary stem *matigo*)** | get up | opstaan |

80 May, in the plural, also include daughters, see Text 9.08.
81 See Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1 on complex spatial pronouns and verbs of motion.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***matik mba, mbage*** | sit up from lying position | gaan zitten uit liggende houding |
| ***matik re, rege*** | stand up from sitting or lying position | gaan staan uit zittende of liggende houding |
| ***matip*** | daughter, father's sister's daughter, brother's or sister's daughter | dochter, dochter van vaders zuster, dochter v. broer of zuster |
| ***matit*** | beard, moustache | knevel, snor |
| ***matogo*** | come in | |
| ***matogo me, mende, mando*** | rise of celestial body | opkomen van hemellichamen |
| ***matom*** | story, narrative | verhaal |
| ***matomop*** | the far past, ancestor; *matomop tokmo* or *tagomo* tell myths | het verre verleden, voorvader; *matomop tokmo* of *tagomo* mythen vertellen |
| ***maton*** | debt, fine, penalty | schuld, boete |
| ***matugo me*** | come uphill, come upstream[82] | helling opkomen, stroomopwaarts komen |
| ***matuj*** | sago bag | sagozakje |
| ***matum*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***mature, maturup*** | up here[82] | hier boven |
| ***matut* and *maturu, matoro*** | come up, grow up[82] | naar boven komen, opgroeien |
| ***mawe*, see *map*** | | |
| mba, mbage | sit, be present, remain present | zitten, aanwezig zijn, blijven |
| ***mbae*** | grandfather | grootvader |
| ***mbaem*** | buttocks | achterste, billen |
| ***mbaende*** | shave | scheren |
| ***mbaeop*** | addressee form for *mbae* | aanspreking voor *mbae* |
| ***mbaet*** | land as oppossed to water | land tegenover water |
| ***mbaget*** | sign; *mbager or* or *uru* set a sign | teken; *mbager oro* or *uru* teken zetten |
| ***mbambagemo*** | iterative of *mba* | it. bij *mba* |
| ***mbambaragae ke*** | iterative of *mbaragae k*e | it. bij *mbaragae ke* |
| ***mbambari*** | plural of *mbari* | mv. bij *mbari* |

82 See Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1 on complex spatial pronouns and motion verbs.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***mbambari ke*** | make shiver, shake | doen schudden |
| ***mbambariri ke*** | experiential: shiver | event. beven |
| ***mbambariri kenow e ruk*** | stammering, stuttering | gestotter |
| ***mbambu*** | fruit bat | vliegende hond |
| ***mbamuj*** | red parrot | rode papegaai |
| ***mbanep*** | crocodile | krokodil |
| ***mbaŋgan*** | kind of wood | houtsoort |
| ***mbaŋgi*** | **gaba-gaba (palm fronds)** | **gaba-gaba** |
| ***mbara ke*** | be absent, not be there | afwezig zijn, er niet zijn |
| ***mbaragae ke*** | fall, of human | vallen van mens |
| ***mbaranamet*** | kind of flat fish | platte vissoort |
| ***mbaranan*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***mbaraŋgat*** | lip | lip |
| ***mbaren*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***mbaren*** | banyan tree | *waringin* |
| ***mbarewen*** | strong | sterk |
| ***mbari*** | adult | volwassen |
| ***mbari ke*** | be adult, become adult | volwassen worden, zijn |
| ***mbarike*** | go under water, sink | onder water gaan, zinken |
| ***mbari-mbatomop*** | ancestors | voorouders |
| ***mbariow in, i*** | dance | dansen |
| ***mbarok rap, rawo*** | have sexual intercourse | coire |
| ***mbaroŋgoj in, i*** | burp | boeren |
| ***mbat*** | place | plek |
| ***mbatim*** | male, of animals | mannelijk van dieren |
| ***mbatop*** | unripe | onrijp |
| ***mbemberon*** | plural of *mberon* | mv. bij *mberon* |
| ***mbemit*** | breast | borst |
| ***mben*** | lower arm | benedenarm |
| ***mben(kup)*** | seven[83] | zeven |
| ***mbeŋgetkom*** | kind of wood | houtsoort |
| ***mberemo*** | iterative of *rap* | it. bij *rap* |
| ***mberon*** | small, little, few | klein, gering, weinig |

83 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***mbetat*** | only, bad, worthless | slechts, fout, verkeerd, nietswaardig |
| ***mbetatmo*** | be wrong, bad, do wrong, bad | slecht zijn, slecht doen, schuldig zijn, slecht behandelen |
| ***mbiamo*** | purify | zuiveren |
| ***mbian*** | coconut | kokos |
| ***mbian ndok*** | coconut fruit | |
| ***mbiat*** | younger sister, father's brother's daughter | jongere zuster, dochter van vaders broer |
| ***mbigimbikmo*** | iterative of *mbikmo* | it. bij *mbikmo* |
| ***mbikmo*** | stick, prick, put into the ground of a pole | steken, prikken, in de grond zetten van bv. paal |
| ***mbimo*** | pull, pull off | trekken, aftrekken |
| ***mbimo ndarugutke*** | pull loose, e.g. *mbimogonep ndarugutken* 'I pulled it loose' | lostrekken, aftrekken, bv. *mbimogonep ndarugutkegen* ik trok het les |
| ***mbimo tupke*** | pull out, e.g. *mbimat tupkegenep* I pulled it out[84] | uittrekken, bv. *mbimat tupkegenep* ik trok het eruit |
| ***mbin*** | Only in constructions like *eŋgene ran mbin* what woman is it? *Suruk ran mbin de* it is a Suruk-woman | alleen in verbindingen als *eŋgene ran mbin de* wat voor vrouw is het? *Suruk ran mbin de* het is een Suruk-vrouw |
| ***mbindok*** | infertile, of woman | onvruchtbaar van vrouw |
| ***mbir uru* or *oro*** | prepare a feast | feest voorbereiden |
| ***mbiri*, in *ahap-piri*** | | |
| ***mbirim-ndugop*** | navel | navel |
| ***mbirop*** | water rat | waterrat |
| ***mbirugut*** | bluebottle, blowfly | bromvlieg |
| ***mbisan*** | open space | open plek |
| ***mbisan ke*** | become visible | zichtbaar worden |
| ***mbiset*** | comb | kam |

84 Drabbe's spelling here is misleading, because *mbima-t* is a non-first singular form, which should be interpreted as 'you/(s)he/it pulls out'. It is better to analyse the form as a compound form, as is done in Drabbe 1959, see the YW–English wordlist in Part II.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***mbit*** | feast | feest |
| ***mbit tambinde*** | celebrate a feast | feest vieren |
| ***mbitawae*** | kind of bird | vogelsoort |
| ***mbit tawok*** | announce a feast, invitation | bericht over te houden feest, uitnodiging |
| ***mbitin* in *ok pitin*** | | |
| ***mbitip*** | bowl, container[85] | |
| ***mbitip*** | house | woonhuis |
| ***mbitip-jugut*** | sleeping place, place where a house is or was standing | slaapplaats, plek waar een huis staat of stond |
| ***mbo* = *mbon*** | | |
| ***mboj*** | kind of palm | |
| ***mbok, mboke*** | plural stem of *mba* 'sit' | |
| ***mbok rap, rawo*** | pick up | oppikken |
| ***mbom*** | wound, leak(age) in the roof | wonde, lek in dakbedekking |
| ***mbombom*** | plural of *mbom* | mv. bij *mbom* |
| ***mbomborotmo*** | iterative of *mborotmo* | it. bij *mborotmo* |
| ***mbom ke*** | rot, decay | rotten, vergaan |
| ***mbom kosip ke*** | stink | stinken |
| ***mbom oro,* and *uru*** | experiential: be wounded, have a wound | event. wonde hebben, gewond zijn |
| ***mbon*** | present, not yet, durative element[86] | aanwezig, nog niet, duratief element |
| ***mbondey*** | sweet potato | zoete bataat |
| ***mbonmo*** | put away | |
| ***mbonmo*** | do slowly | langzaam doen |
| ***mbon mo oro,* and *uru*** | put in place | op z'n plaats leggen, zetten |
| ***mbonop*** | outer part of mouth | uitwendige mond |
| ***mboy mberemo*** | iterative of *mbok rap* | it. bij *mbok rap* |
| ***mboy-taran*** | mouth harp | mondharp |
| ***mbop,* in *kahat pop*** | | |
| ***mborombon*** | plural of *mbon* | mv. bij *mbon* |

85 Cf. *og-e-mbitip* 'water container' below.
86 In the present publication glossed as STAY, see Chapter 2, Section 2.7 on posture verbs and verbs derived from them.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***mborotke*** | intr. be worn out, broken, of clothes or roof, fallen into disrepair | intr, kapot, versleten zijn van kleren, *atap*, vervallen van huis |
| ***mborotke*** | pull out | |
| ***mborotmo*** | demolish of e.g. clothes, or break down a house | kapot maken van bv. kleren, afbreken van huis |
| ***mbot*, in *enop-pot*** | | |
| ***mbuae*** | (piece of) cloth, clothes | lap, goed, kleren |
| ***mbugumbukmo*** | iterative of *mbukmo* | it. bij *mbukmo* |
| ***mbugurop*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***Mbujamirop*** | name of a stone on the Koreom hill | naam van een steen op de Koreom |
| ***mbukmo*** | cut | snijden |
| ***mbuk rap, rawo*** | beat up | pak slaag geven |
| ***mbumo*** | finish, be finished; *ŋgoropmo mbumogen* he knows everything | totaliseren, afmaken, beëindigen, af zijn; *ŋgoropmo mbumogen* hij weet alles |
| ***mbumtop*** | hill, high embankment | helling, hoge wal |
| ***mbun* in *wan mbun* and *wit pun*** | | |
| ***mbunde*** | be finished | af zijn, ten einde zijn |
| ***mbup*** | alang-alang (grass used for roof thatching) | *alang-alang* |
| ***mburak*, see *ok-purak*** | | |
| ***mburiapkon*** | kind of tobacco | tabaksoort |
| ***mburuj*** | wing | vleugel |
| ***mburumo*, in *kerop purumo*** | | |
| ***mburutmo*** | meet | ontmoeten |
| ***mbut*** | father's sister's husband, father-in-law, sister's husband, husband's brother, wife's brother | vaders zusters man, schoonvader, zusters man, broers vrouw, mans broer, vrouwsbroer |
| ***mbutke*, in *oj mbutke*** | | |
| ***mbutmo*** | cut open of a path or space | open kappen van pad, ruimte |
| ***me*** | here | hier |

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***me, mende, mendo~mando* (for future)**[87] | come | komen |
| ***mememo*** | iterative of *me* | it. bij *me* |
| ***men*** | gall, bladder | gal, pisblaas |
| ***mende* see *me*** | | |
| menden | reflexive element[88] | reflexief element, zich |
| ***mendetmo*** | put a trap (with a rope) | lus, strop leggen |
| ***mene*** | here[89] | hier |
| ***menemo*** | be like this, do like this[90] | zijn als dit, doen als dit, aldus zijn, aldus doen |
| ***menep, menewe, menewet* = *mene***[24] | | |
| ***menewop*** | like this, so[91] | als dit, aldus, zo |
| ***menewopmo*** | be like this, do thus | aldus zijn, aldus doen |
| ***men kok ke*** | experiential: be hungry | event. honger hebben |
| ***meŋtip*** | small string bag | klein draagnetje |
| ***mereŋ*** | side, lumbar region | zijde, lendenen |
| ***meri, ri*** | play an instrument | |
| ***met*** | tendon | pees |
| ***mi*** | drink (v.) | drinken |
| ***mi-agumo*** | swallow | doorslikken |
| ***mike*** | go and stand still, keep standing | stil gaan staan, stil blijven staan |
| ***mike re, rege*** | go and stand still, stand up | stil gaan staan, gaan staan |
| ***mim*** | vein of palm leaf[92] | palmbladnerfje |
| ***mimimo*** | iterative of *mi* | it. bij *mi* |
| ***mimirinde*** | lay forward | voorover liggen |
| ***mimirop*** | menstruation blood; *ran mimirip kup te regen* the woman has menstruation | menstruatiebloed; *ran mimirip kup te regen* de vrouw heeft menstruatie |

87 See Chapter 2, Section 2.2 and Section 2.5.2.
88 Glossed in this publication as REFL, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4.3.
89 Glossed in this publication as THIS, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.5 on demonstrative pronouns.
90 See Chapter 2, Section 2.8 on the verbalisers or auxiliaries *mo* 'do' and *ke* 'be'.
91 See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.5.4 on forms derived from demonstratives.
92 In Drabbe's 1959 publication the form *mim* is attested only once, and glossed as 'root' (of a *genemu* plant).

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***mimit*** | back (body part) | rug |
| ***mimit-ketop*** | backbone | ruggegraat |
| ***mimop*** | edged, e.g. of a timber | gekant, gekapt van bv. balk |
| ***mindin*** | ridge | nok |
| ***mindom*** | first, in the front | eerst, voorop |
| ***minduj*** | star, firefly | ster, vuurvliegje |
| ***mirigam*** | stretcher | draagbaar |
| ***mirip*** | rain | regen |
| ***mit*** | bone | been, gebeente |
| ***mitik*** | night | nacht |
| ***mitikpan*** | dark, turbid | donker, troebel van water |
| ***mitke* in *kerop mitke*** | | |
| ***mitop*** | grave | graf |
| ***mitpan* in *kerop mitpan*** | | |
| ***mo*** | only; *omae mo* only one | slechts; *omae mo* slechts één |
| ***mo*** | auxiliary[93] | hulpwerkwoord |
| ***mogap*** | already | reeds |
| ***mogot*** | in compounds, e.g. *Kamot mogot* mouth of the Kao | in samenstellingen, bv. *Kawon mogot* uitmonding van de Kao |
| ***moj*** | later | later, achteraan |
| ***moj ndomo*** | hold the rudder | het roer houden |
| ***mok*** | fruit of banana plant | vrucht van banaan |
| ***mokmok te*** | futile | vergeefs |
| ***mom*** | mother's brother, son of mother's brother | moedersbroer, zoon van moeders broer |
| ***mom* in *wan mom* and *wit mom*** | | |
| ***momop ke*** | iterative of *mop ke* | it. bij *mop ke* |
| ***mon*** | crumb, very small piece, scraping etc. | kruimel, korrel, heel klein stukje, schrapsel enz. |
| ***mondo*, see *mun*** | | |

93 See Chapter 2, Section 2.8 on *mo* 'do' and *ke* 'be' as verbalisers or auxiliaries.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***monmo*** | break up, destroy | kapot maken, vergruizelen |
| ***monmon*** | crumbs, see *mon* | kruimels, klein spaanders, zie *mon* |
| ***monop*** | very (before adjectives) | zeer, vóór adjectieven |
| ***monow oro ko, ka*** | go on walking | doorlopen |
| ***mop ke*** | be afraid | bang zijn |
| ***morinon-uj*** | sacral pig | sacraal varken |
| ***Morop*** | name of a tribe in the mountains, upper Muyu | naam van een stam in de bergen, boven-Muju |
| ***moto ko, ka*** | fly | vliegen |
| ***moto*** **see** ***mut*** | | |
| ***motop, motore*** | in here, out here[94] | hier binnen, hier buiten |
| ***mugumukmo*** | iterative of *mukmo* | it. bij *mukmo* |
| ***muk*** | nail, hoof | nagel, hoef |
| ***muk*** **in** ***om muk*** | | |
| ***mukmo*** | rub, clean by rubbing, rub in | wrijven, schoonwrijven, inwrijven |
| ***mumutmo*** | iterative of *mut* | it. bij *mut* |
| ***mun*** | child esp. boy, offspring; also addressee form for *mandup* | kind, afstammeling zowel als kleine mens, speciaal jongen; ook aanspreking voor *mandup* |
| ***mun kojop*** | twin | tweeling |
| ***mun ŋgomkup*** | infant, baby | zuigeling, baby |
| ***mun, mondo*** | come across | naar de overkant komen |
| ***mune*** | friend | vriend, makker |
| ***munotit*** | children, plural of *mun* | kinderen, mv. bij *mun* |
| ***muŋgo*** | medial stem of the verb *mun*[95] | infiniete vorm bij *mun* |
| ***muŋgop, muŋgore*** | across here[96] | hier aan de overkant |
| ***mut, moto*** | come in, come out | binnenkomen, buitenkomen |

94 See Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1 on complex spatial pronouns and motion verbs.
95 In his 1959 publication Drabbe gives only two stems with a dedicated medial stem that differs both from the primary and the secondary stem: *uŋgo*, related to primary *un* 'go across' and *muŋgo*, related to primary *mun* 'come across'. See Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1.
96 See Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1 on complex spatial pronouns and motion verbs.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***na*** | 1SG.POSS | bezitt.vnw. 1e enk. |
| ***Naerop*** | son of Kori | zoon van Kori |
| ***namae*** | white parrot | witte papagaai |
| ***namajop*** | spider mite (*Tetranychus urticae*) | spint |
| ***ŋgerakmo*** | request, ask for, invite | vragen om, uitnodigen |
| ***namit*** | thick rattan | dikke rottan |
| ***nan*** | younger brother, son of father's brother, son of mother's sister, son of brother | jongere broer, zoon van vaders broer, van moeders zuster, zoon van broer |
| ***nandap-nandaw-o oro*** **or** ***uru*** | long for | verlangen naar |
| ***nani*** **see** ***ani*** | | |
| ***naŋge =naŋgup***[97] | | |
| ***naŋgo*** | 1PL.POSS | bezitt.vnw. 1e mv. |
| ***naŋgo kup te*** | say to us too, ask for something, plural subject | ons óók zeggen, d.w.z. vragen om iets, meerv. subj |
| ***naŋgup***[97] | we | wij |
| ***narin*** **in** ***mandup narin*** **and** ***natip narin*** | eldest son, eldest daughter | oudste zoon, oudste dochter |
| ***natep*** | maybe, possibly | misschien |
| ***nati*** | father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband | vader, vaders broer, moeders zusters man |
| ***nati*** | owner, the one who | eigenaar, degene die |
| ***nati awae*** | non-biological father | niet-eigen vader |
| ***natiop*** | addressee form of *nati* | aanspreking voor *nati* |
| ***nawot = nup***[24] | | |
| ***ndaganin*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***ndajaŋ*** | wall | wand |
| ***ndak*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***ndakmirop*** | kind of bird | vogelsoort |
| ***ndandaremo*** **and** ***ndandatmo*** | iterative of *ndat* | it. bij *ndat* |

97 In the present publication, however, *naŋgup* is analysed as 1PL emphatic pronoun, and *naŋg'e* as 1PL independent pronoun plus argument marker *e* cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1, and Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ndaynde*** | hit, also for 'throw something and hit the intended goal' | raken bij slaan of werpen |
| ***ndaragae*** | smooth, slippery | glad, glibberig |
| ***ndarak*** | into or out of the house | |
| ***ndarake mut, moto*** | get out or in | naar buiten of naar binnen komen |
| ***ndarak ke*** | do or walk secretly, sneak | stiekum doen, lopen, sluipen |
| ***ndara-mbumo*** | burn away, burn out | intr. wegbranden, opbranden |
| ***ndaramo*** | insert, stick into, put on the head | insteken, steken tussen, op het hoofd zetten |
| ***ndaran*** | baked, roasted, from *ndo*, e.g. in *raga ndaran* roasted fish[98] | van *ndo*, gebakken, in bv. *raga ndaran* gebakken vis |
| ***ndare,* see *ndat*** | | |
| ***ndarimo*** | push over (a person) | omverwerpen van een persoon |
| ***ndarugutke*** | come loose, come off, of something that is stuck | intr. loslaten van iets wat vast zit |
| ***ndat, ndare*** | hear, listen | horen, luisteren naar, gehoorzamen |
| ***ndawan-(matan)*** | high | hoog |
| ***ndawon*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***ndawot,* see *og-ndawot*** | | |
| nde | say, think, mean, want; *ran ewe ndegenewop ten* I love this woman | zeggen, menen, bedoelen, willen; *ran ewe ndegenewop ten* ik houd van die vrouw |
| ***ndegemo*** | iterative of *nde* | it. bij *nde* |
| ***ndembey ke*** | get dark | donker worden |
| ***ndemo*** | wear clothes covering the private parts | dragen van peniskoker, penisdop, schaamschort |
| ***ndendemo*** | iterative of *nde* | it. bij *nde* |
| ***ndenem*** | wood pigeon | houtduif |
| ***nderep*** | *koteka,* penis gourd[99] | peniskoker |

98 Note that *nda-r-an* can be analysed as burn-RLS[N1SG]-PST, see footnote at the end of Chapter 3, Section 3.3.

99 In his 1959 publication, Drabbe translates the word with '*schaamdop*', literally 'pubic cap'.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ndigi*** | flower of taro | bloem van tales |
| ***ndimbot*** | suspension bridge | hangbrug |
| ***Ndimit*** | Mandobo river | Mandobo-rivier |
| ***ndimndop*** | heart, soul, spirit of life | hart, ziel, levensgeest |
| ***ndimndopmo*** | have pity on | medelijden hebben met |
| ***ndimo*** | touch, see also *kondok kerop ndimo* | aanraken, zie ook *kondok kerop ndimo* |
| ***ndirop*** | timber of loft | zolderbalk |
| ***ndit*** | root | wortel |
| ***ndiwon*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***ndo*** | intr. bake, roast, get done, get burnt | intr. bakken, poffen, gaar worden, verbranden |
| ***ndogom jo, jogo*** | saw wood for a fire[100] | vuur zagen |
| ***ndoj*** | no, not, nothing, empty[101] | niet, neen, niets, leeg |
| ***ndoj ke*** | intr. perish, be gone, recover | te niet gaan, op zijn, leeg zijn, genezen |
| ***ndojmo*** | finish | afmaken, totaliseren |
| ***ndojowop = ndoj*** | without[102] | zonder |
| ***ndok me, mende, mando*** | get close, get against | benaderen, vlakbij komen, tegenaan komen |
| ***ndokmo*** | lean on, lean against, dam up, bar, run aground | steunen op, leunen tegen, afdammen, stranden, droog liggen |
| ***ndomboroj*** | plrual of *ndoj* | mv. bij *ndoj* |
| ***ndomin*** | tree lianas | boomlianen |
| ***ndomke*** | fall into disrepair (of house), come loose, come off | invallen van huis, losraken, loslaten |
| ***ndomke ri, riro*** | go down, of celestial bodies; fall, of fruits | ondergaan v. hemellichamen, afvallen v. vruchten |
| ***ndomo*** | pick | plukken |
| ***ndomo*** | paddle; see *moj ndomo* | pagaaien; zie *moj ndomo* |
| ***ndomo,* in *ŋgoton ndomo*** | | |
| ***ndomsawet*** | kind of lizard | hagedissoort |
| ***ndoŋgitke*** | iterative of *ndomke* | it. bij *ndomke* |

100 The meaning of the expression '*vuur zagen*' in Dutch, lit. 'saw fire' is not entirely clear.
101 See Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1 on factual negation.
102 Cf. *rug e ndoj* and *rug ndojowop* below.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ndoŋnde*, see *sar e sambum ndoŋ nderan*** | | |
| ***ndot*, see *inim ndot*** | | |
| ***ndugop*, see *mbirim ndugop*** | | |
| ***ndugupmo*** | iterative of *oro* and *uru* | it. bij *oro* en *uru* |
| ***nduj*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***ndumbawuj*** | outer end of unopened sago leaf | uiteinde of top van ongeopend sagoblad |
| ***ndun*** | sago | sago |
| ***ndun anduj*** | sago stem | sagostam |
| ***ndun mbisan*** | open space where one is preparing sago | open plek waar men sago bereidt |
| ***ndun mon*** | sago flour | sagomeel |
| ***ndun-o-kom*** | vegetable food[103] | plantaardig voedsel |
| ***nduŋ de*** | in a group, e.g. *nduŋ de ko* go in a group[104] | groepsgewijs, in groep, bv. *nduŋ de ko* in groep gaan |
| ***ne*** | here | hier |
| ***ne = nup***[105] | | |
| ***neknegop*** | cricket | krekel |
| ***ne mbon*** | present here | hier aanwezig |
| ***neŋget*** | roof cover | dakbedekking |
| ***net*** | older brother, son of father's brother, son of mother's sister[106] | oudere broer, zoon v. vadersbroer, zoon v. moederszuster |
| ***Niŋgirum***[107] | name for population upstream, between Kao and Muju | naam van de bevolking bovenstrooms tussen Kao en Muju |

103 See Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1.1 on exocentric compounds.
104 The YW–English wordlist of Part II has *nduŋnde* 'together'.
105 In the present publication, however, *nup* is analysed as 1SG emphatic pronoun, and *n'e* as 1SG independent pronoun plus argument marker *e* cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1, and Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2.
106 Whereas this 1956 list gives only 'older brother', according to the YW–English wordlist of Part II, *net* is used both for older and for younger brother. Although Drabbe's 1956 glosses suggest that the use of *net* is restricted to parallel brothers, he is not explicitly clear about that, neither here nor in his 1959 publication. As for the asymmetry between *net* (older and younger) and *nan* (only younger), it is informative to compare YW to the neighbouring Awyu varieties Mandobo and Dibul Wambon. As can be seen in Appendix A in Wester (2014), Mandobo has *anet* for both younger brother and older brother, while Digul Wambon has *net* for older and *nana(n)* for younger brother.
107 Drabbe (1959) has *Niŋgurum* rather than *Niŋgirum*, see Text 5.18.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***niŋguj*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***noj*** | mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife's daughter | moeder, moederszuster, vadersbroers vrouw, dochter v. moedersbroer |
| ***noj*** | female owner, the one (female) who | eigenares, degene die |
| ***no kup te*** | say to me too, ask for something, singular subject | mij ook zeggen, vragen om iets, enk. subj. |
| ***nomben*** **see** ***omben*** | | |
| ***norop*** | testicle | testikel |
| ***nup*** | I, me[105] | ik |
| ***ŋga*** | linking element[108] | schakelelement |
| ***ŋgaenak*** | wet, soft | nat, zacht |
| ***ŋgahenmo*** **in** ***oj ŋgahenmo*** | | |
| ***ŋgamban*** | wrong | fout, verkeerd |
| ***ŋgambim*** | inside of elbow | binnenste van elleboog, ellebooghoogte |
| ***ŋgambim (kup)*** | eight[109] | acht |
| ***ŋgambot*** | wurm | worm |
| ***ŋgambuj*** **in** ***wan ŋgambuj*** | | |
| ***ŋgamburu ke*** | sound of falling stone, bounce, bump | geluid van bv. vallende steen, bonzen |
| ***ŋgamo*** | give birth[110] | baren |
| ***ŋgamo*** | cut off of rattan, arm, leg | afkappen van rottan, arm, been, staart |
| ***ŋgan*** | earring made of cassowary feather | oorring van causarispen |
| ***ŋgande*** | intr. break (of rattan etc.), stop e.g. of rain | intr, breken van rottan en derg., ophouden v. bv. regen |

108 In this publication analysed as agentive or circumstantial marker, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1 and Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1.

109 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.

110 Note the homonymous *ŋgamo* 'cut off'. Most probably, the two senses ('cut' and 'give birth') are related, as in certain Greater Awyu groups the cutting of the umbilical cord is considered as the moment of giving birth (cf. Stasch 2009:152 on Korowai).

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ŋgaŋgaripmo*** | iterative of *ŋgarimo* | it. bij *ŋgarimo* |
| ***ŋgaŋge= ŋgaŋgup***[111] | | |
| ***ŋgaŋgo*** | 2PL.POSS[112] | bezitt. vnw. 2e mv. |
| ***ŋgaŋgop*** | twig | twijg |
| ***ŋgaŋguj*** | linking element for irrealis[113] | schakel-element voor irrealis |
| ***ŋgaŋgup*** | you (PL)[114] | jullie |
| ***ŋgapmo*** | iterative of *ŋgamo* | it. bij *ŋgamo* |
| ***ŋgarami*** | ground spider | grondspin |
| ***ŋgaremo*** | stop, defend, stand in the way | tegenhouden, verdedigen, in de weg staan |
| ***ŋgarimo*** | lie, deny | leugenachtig ontkennen |
| ***ŋgati*** | general name for crocodile, lizards, monitor lizards and snakes | alg. naam voor krokodil, hagedissen, varanen en slangen |
| ***ŋgati-sowae*** | kind of lizard | hagedissoort |
| ***ŋgatokmo*** | multiply, add, replace, follow up, be together; help; change name | vermeerderen, bijvoegen, vervangen, opvolgen, samen zijn, helpen, veranderen van naam |
| ***ŋgawae ko, ka*** | go hunting | op jacht gaan |
| ***ŋgawae waepmo*** | be hunting | op jacht zijn |
| ***ŋgawerop*** | ladder | ladder, trap |
| ***ŋgawondagae*** | kind of bird | vogelsoort |
| ***ŋgawotoronop*** | kind of insect | insectsoort |
| ***ŋge = ŋgup***[115] | | |
| ***ŋgeŋgege ke*** | be tied, bound | gebonden zijn |
| ***ŋgeŋgerakmo*** | iterative of *ŋgerakmo* | it. bij *ŋgerakmo* |

111 In the present publication, however, *ŋaŋgup* is analysed as 2PL emphatic pronoun, and *ŋaŋg'e* as independent pronoun plus argument marker *e,* cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1, and Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2.
112 See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2 on possessive pronouns.
113 In the present publication, analysed as a marker of counterfactuals, see Chapter 5, Section 5.5.2.
114 In this publication, analysed as emphatic pronoun, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.
115 In the present publication, however, *ŋgup* is analysed as emphatic pronoun, and *ŋg'e* as independent pronoun plus argument marker *e,* cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1, and Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ŋgerakmo*** | drag | slepen |
| ***ŋgere ke*** | prepare, make ready | gereed maken |
| ***ŋgeremoŋgop*** | big man, head, respected person | groot man, hoofd, aanzienlijke |
| ***ŋgereŋgereŋ ke*** | tr. and intr. rattle | tr. en intr. rammelen |
| ***ŋget*** | kind of palm | palmsoort |
| ***ŋget-matan*** | sharp | scherp |
| ***Ngewop*** | Awju | Awju |
| ***ŋgimbirike ri*** | iterative of *ŋgirike ri* | it. bij *ŋgirike ri* |
| ***ŋgimburutke*** | have a heavy head, be drunk etc. | zwaar hoofd hebben, dronken zijn enz. |
| ***ŋgimiŋgip*** | fork | vork, mik |
| ***ŋgin*** | head | hoofd |
| ***ŋgin kawae*** | brains | hersens |
| ***ŋgin otem ke,*** **or** ***oro (uru)*** | experiential: have a headache | event. hoofdpijn hebben |
| ***ŋgin-mit*** | skull | schedel |
| ***ŋgin-mugurop*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***ŋgin-o-kerop*** | face, appearance, e.g. *mbitiw ewe ŋginokerop wagaeop te* that house is beautiful | gelaat, gedaante, vorm, bv. *mbitiw ewe ŋginokerop wagaeop te* dat huis is mooi |
| ***ŋgin-wamit*** | crown (part of head) | kruin |
| ***ŋgiŋ ŋgapmo*** | headhunt | koppen snellen |
| ***ŋgirakmo***[116] | pull | trekken |
| ***ŋgirike*** | intr. roll | intr. rollen |
| ***ŋgirike ri, riro*** | fall down | naar beneden vallen |
| ***ŋgirimo ko, ka*** | flee | vluchten |
| ***ŋgiritop*** | nostril | neusgat |
| ***ŋgi-ron*** | hair of head | hoofdhaar |
| ***ŋgit ke*** | experiential: be cold | event. het koud hebben |
| ***ŋgo*** | 2SG.POSS | bezitt. vnw. 2e enk |

116 The YW–English wordlist of Part II has *ŋgirapmo* rather than *ŋgirakmo*.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ŋgoj*** | winding | bochtig |
| ***ŋgoj-mban*** | bent, not straight | krom |
| ***ŋgom*** | blood | bloed |
| ***ŋgom*** | singing | gezang |
| ***ŋgombejop*** | mouth harp | mondharp |
| ***ŋgombejop ri*** | play the mouth harp | mondharp bespelen |
| ***ŋgomben*** | place where a pole or a plant is standing | de plek waar een paal staat, of een plant |
| ***ŋgomben*** | throat (outer part) | hals |
| ***ŋgomben-mit*** | neck | nek |
| ***ŋgombenmit (kup)*** | eleven[117] | elf |
| ***ŋgombetupke*** | intr. bow | zich buigen |
| ***ŋgombokmo*** | iterative of *in, i* kill[118] | it. bij *in, i* doden |
| ***ŋgombon*** | damar tree | damarboom |
| ***ŋgomkup*** **see** ***mun ŋgomkup*** | | |
| ***ŋgom mut, moto*** | experiential: bleed[119] | event. bloeden |
| ***ŋgom ri*** | sing | zingen |
| ***ŋgonde*** | catch on something, be/get stuck | ergens aan blijven haken, hangen, vastzitten |
| ***ŋgon korok ke, ŋgon korokmo***[120] | be happy, content | gelukkig zijn, blij, tevreden zijn |
| ***ŋgon korokmo mba, mbage*** | be happy | gelukkig zijn |
| ***ŋgoŋ, ŋgoŋmban,***[121] ***ŋgoŋmatan*** | blunt | stomp |
| ***ŋgoŋgoj*** | plural of *ŋgoj* winding | mv. bij *ŋgoj* bochtig |

117 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.
118 In addition to regular *ininimo* and another irregular iterative *ŋgotonde*, Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.
119 See Chapter 4, Section 4.2 on experiential clauses.
120 The present publication has a single occurrence of *ŋgon* in Chapter 1, Section 1.1.1, glossed as 'happy' (Dutch: *gelukkig*).
121 Although *ŋgoŋmatan* is given in the 1956 wordlist, according to Drabbe (1959), the adjective stem *ŋgoŋ* can combine only with the adjectival suffix *matan*, see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ŋgoŋgomben*** | plural of *ŋgomben*, place where plants stand[122] | mv. bij *ŋgomben* plek waar planten staan, planting |
| ***ŋgoŋgopmo*** | cheat | voor de gek houden |
| ***ŋgoŋgoropmo*** | iterative of *ŋgoropmo* | it. bij *ŋgoropmo* |
| ***ŋgop*** | arrow | pijl |
| ***ŋgorae*** | day before yesterday, formerly, later, a long time | eergisteren, vroeger, later, lange tijd |
| ***ŋgorae jan*** | day after tomorrow, later | overmorgen, later |
| ***ŋgorake*** | hang the head | laten hangen van het hoofd |
| ***ŋgorop*** | knowing | wetend, kennend |
| ***ŋgoropke*, *ŋgoropmo*** | know | weten, kennen |
| ***ŋgorowop*** | knowing, clever | wetend, kennend |
| ***ŋgorowopke* and *ŋgorowopmo*** | know | weten, kennen |
| ***ŋgotap*** | in exchange, as a reward, reciprocal element | in ruil, ter vergelding, ook gebruikt als wederkerigheidselement |
| ***ŋgotap karemo*** | reward | vergelden |
| ***ŋgotmae*** | bunch of bananas | kam van bananen |
| ***ŋgoton*** | tired | |
| ***ŋgotonde*** | iterative of *in, i* kill[123] | it. bij *in, i* doden |
| ***ŋgoton ndomo*** | be very tired | erg vermoeid zijn |
| ***ŋguerop***[124] | ladder | |
| ***ŋgum*** | afterbirth, placenta | nageboorte, placenta |
| ***ŋgum*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***ŋgun*** | time, part | maal, keer, deel |
| ***ŋgunduk*** | top of plant or tree | top van plant of boom |

122 Note, however, that according to Drabbe (1959) only kinship nouns have plural forms, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.3.

123 In addition to the regular *ininimo* (Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1) and another irregular iterative *ŋgombokmo*, listed above.

124 Drabbe spells *ŋgwerop*. This spelling, however, suggests a consonantal status for [w], and a syllabification *ŋgwe.rop*, with an initial CC-cluster, which is not in line with the syllable structure of the language described in Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ŋguŋguguk ke*** | make sound | geluid geven |
| ***ŋgup***[115] | you (SG) | jij |
| ***ŋgur anan*** | nit | neet |
| ***ŋgur aŋgiro*** | lice | luizen |
| ***ŋguru*** | deep | |
| ***ŋgurup, ŋguruwop, ŋgurupmatan*** | long, high | lang, hoog |
| ***ŋguruwop tomba*** | low, short | laag, kort |
| ***ŋgut*** | louse | luis |
| ***ŋgutop*** | thing, valuable, also for food | ding, waardeding, bullen, ook voor etenswaren |
| ***o*** | vocative element[125] | vocatief element |
| ***og agu-mbiamo*** | wash | wassen |
| ***ogan*** | foreigner from overseas | overzeese vreemdeling |
| ***og-aŋgunun*** | water snake | waterslang |
| ***ogarurop*** | throat (inner part) | keel |
| ***ogarurop-mit*** | Adam's apple[126] | adamsappel |
| ***og-e-mbitip*** | container for water | iets om water in te doen, drinknap, watervat |
| ***og-e-ragae*** | fish | vis |
| ***og-irit*** | waterfall | waterval |
| ***Og-Iwe*** | sacral name of Kao-river | sacrale naam van de Kao-river |
| ***og-ndawot*** | place to moor, landing stage[127] | aanlegplaats |
| ***ogon*** | kind of heron | reigersoort |
| ***oj*** | bowels, inner part of human or animal, see also *wan oj* and *wir oj* | ingewanden, binnenste v. mens of dier, zie ook *wan oj* en *wir oj* |
| ***oj*** | crap, faeces | poep |
| ***oj ambeŋ*** | spleen | milt |
| ***oj aŋgo*** | defecate | poepen |

125 Glossed in this publication as VOC, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.2.
126 See under *mit* in YW–English wordlist.
127 The YW–English wordlist in Part II has *ndawot* 'place to moor'.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***oj awojmo mba, mbage*** | be humble, mild-mannered | nederig zijn, zachtmoedig zijn |
| ***oj awoj-matan mo*** | be humble, mild-mannered | nederig zijn, zachtmoedig zijn |
| ***ojetande jan, ja*** **and** ***jayge*** | lay backwards | achterover liggen |
| ***ojip*** | in order that not | opdat niet, zie Sprk. |
| ***oj kapkap*** | e.g. *nan oj kapkap, nan oj e kapkap* I love it, without expression of the subject | bv. *nan oj kapkap, nan oj e kapkap* ik houd ervan, zonder uitgedrukt subj. |
| ***oj karagapmo*** | hate | haten |
| ***oj kop*** | in the inner part | in het binnenste |
| ***oj korok ke*** **or** ***koroke*** | be happy, content | blij, tevreden zijn |
| ***oj korokmo*** | be happy, content | blij, tevreden zijn |
| ***oj kumun*** | stomach | maag |
| ***oj mbutke***[128] | fart (v.) | veesten |
| ***oj ŋgahenmo*** | be angry | boos zijn |
| ***oj ŋganhenmo re, rege*** | hate | haten |
| ***oj ŋgon korokmo*** | be happy, content | blij, tevreden zijn |
| ***oj ŋgum*** | navel, umbilical cord | navel, navelstreng |
| ***oj ramburumo*** | convert | zich bekeren |
| ***oj rewerep ke*** | experiential: have a bellyache | event. buikpijn hebben |
| ***oj rogo*** | hate | haten |
| ***oj sambum*** | just, justified | rechtvaardig |
| ***oj sop*** | anus | aars |
| ***oj tet*** | tail of bird | staart van vogels |
| ***oj wagae, oj wagaeop*** | mild, generous | mild, goedgeefs |
| ***oj wagop ke*** | experiential: have diarrhea | event. buikloop hebben |
| ***ok*** | water, river | water, rivier |
| ***ok jaman*** | sand, sandbank | zand, zandbank |
| ***ok jerep ke*** | experiential: be thirsty | event. dorst hebben |
| ***ok kaer oro*** **of** ***uru*** | wave | golven |
| ***ok kaet*** | wave, swell, roll | golf, deining |
| ***ok kaet kim*** | high wave | hoge golf |
| ***ok kahat*** | water case | waterkoker |

128 The YW–English wordlist in Part II has *oj mbuk ke*.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ok kamae*** | flood, high water | banjier, hoog water |
| ***ok kapak*** | deep, deepening and widening in big river | diep, verdieping en verbreding in grote rivier |
| ***ok kim, ok kimo*** | tr. and intr. bathe | tr. en intr. baden |
| ***ok kit*** | twined bark used to close off a river[129] | gevlochten boomschors om riviertje af te sluiten |
| ***ok kiwugup*** | source | bron |
| ***ok kujom*** | flood[130] | banjier |
| ***ok kup*** | wet | nat |
| ***ok pitin*** | swamp, marsh | moeras |
| ***ok purak*** | lake, pool | plas, meer |
| ***ok sagat*** | mud | modder |
| ***ok so*** | dig a hole in the bottom of the river to keep the water in case the river lowers | gat graven in de bodem van de rivier, om het water erin te houden als de rivier zakt |
| ***okson*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***ok taman ko, ka*** **or** ***me, mende, mando*** | follow the course of the river | de loop v.d. river volgen |
| ***okpon = opkon*** | | |
| ok taman ri, riro | go downstream along the river | langs de rivier stroomafwaarts gaan |
| ***ok taman tut*** **of** ***turu, toro*** | go upstream along the river | langs de riv. stroomopwaarts gaan |
| ***ok ti*** | scoop water | water scheppen |
| ***ok tini ko, ka*** | go and get water | water gaan halen |
| ***ok top*** | well | waterput |
| ***ok tut*** | bay | baai, deel van rivier tussen twee kapen |
| ***ok wandae*** | dam | dam, afdamming |
| ***ok wandae ti*** | dam up a river | riviertje afdammen |
| ***om*** | breast, udder | borst, uier |
| ***omae*** | one | één |
| ***omae-omae mo*** | one by one | een voor een |

129 Given in English–YW wordlist as translation of '*net*' (no. 250).
130 Lit. 'brave, angry water'.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***omben, nomben*** | grandmother, mother's brother's wife | grootmoeder, vrouw van moedersbroer |
| ***ombenop*** | addressee form for *omben* | aanspreking voor *omben* |
| ***ombenop*** | small whistle | klein fluitje |
| ***omboj-tagumop*** | plant with stem like banana | plant met stam als banaan |
| ***omemo*** | lie upside down, of earth (myth) | onderste boven liggen van de aarde (mythe) |
| ***om jo, jogo*** | breastfeed | zogen |
| ***om kop mi*** | suck the breast | aan de borst zuigen |
| ***om kun*** | milk | melk |
| ***om muk*** | nipple | tepel |
| ***om ŋgorowow e kagup*** | from *op*, person who can read and write | van *op*, iemand die kan lezen en schrijven |
| ***on*** | thing | ding |
| ***ondo*** see ***un*** | | |
| ***onoŋnemo*** | do, make | doen, maken |
| ***oŋgambuj*** | cape | kaap |
| ***oŋgen 'embom(op)*** | similar to what? | waarop lijkend? |
| ***oŋgene*** | where? | waar? |
| ***oŋgene kop pon*** | where is it?, which is it? | waar is het, welke is het? |
| ***oŋgenemo*** | be how, do how?, be where, do what?[131] | hoe zijn, hoe doen? |
| ***oŋgenep, oŋgenewe, oŋgenewet = oŋgene*** | | |
| ***oŋgenewop***[131] | how? | hoe? |
| ***oŋg-ndum*** | island | eiland |
| ***op*** | figure, writing; *ow oro* or *uru* make figure, write | figuurtje, geschrift; *ow oro* of *uru* figuurtjes maken, schrijven |
| ***op tagamo*** | read | lezen |

131 See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.6 on interrogative pronouns and other interrogative forms.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***opkon*** | thought, will, custom; *nan opkon ran e mene* this one I want, I prefer, I love; *nangon opkon ngup te* we want you, we love you; *nan opkon mene nga* I want this | gedachte, wil, gewoonte, **adat**; *nan opkon ran e mene nga* deze wil ik, verkies ik, heb ik lief; *nangon opkon ngup te* we willen jou, we houden van jou; *nan opkon mene nga* dit wil ik, deze wil ik |
| ***opkon ke*** | think | denken |
| ***oro*** | away, before verbs of movement[132] | weg, vóór bewegingswerkwoorden |
| ***oro* or *uru* (secondary stem *oro*)** | put, put down, end, do everything, finish | plaatsen, neerleggen, neerzetten, beëindigen, allemaal doen, helemaal doen, totaliseren |
| ***oro (uru) ko, ka*** | send; *taget orop kanin* I will send money; *tagep ororep kuran* I have sent money | sturen; *taget orop kanin* ik zal geld sturen; *taget ororep kuran* ik heb geld gestuurd |
| ***oro* or *uru* (secondary stem *oro*)** | long for; *raranow orogenep* I long to take it | verlangen naar; *rawanow orogenep* ik verlang het te nemen |
| ***oro mba, mbage*** | take care of, guard | passen op, bewaken |
| ***oro me,* see *oro ko*** | send to here | naar hier sturen |
| ***orop*** | flee (n.) | vloo |
| ***ororo*** | sit down for a moment in *mbager a ororo te* | even gaan zitten |
| ***ororo re, rege*** | long for | verlangen naar |
| ***oro~romo*** | iterative of *oro* | it. bij *oro* |
| ***oro (uru) satkok ke*** | roast, e.g *uj urut satkok keran* he had roasted the pork; *uj e naron satkok ken* roast the pork | roosteren, bv. *uj urut satkok keran* hij had het varkensvlees geroosterd; *uj e naron satkok ken* rooster het varken |
| ***orowot ke*** | experiential: have pain | event. pijn hebben |
| ***osop*** | anus | |
| ***ot*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***otagae*** | again, also | opnieuw, weer, ook, nog |

132 It is unclear what Drabbe had in mind here. Were these cases like those attested in Texts 4.31 and 10.13?

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***otem* in *ŋgin otem ke*** | | |
| ***otkat*** | neck | nek |
| ***oto* see *ut*** | | |
| ***otoro ko***[133] | go close | naar dichtbij gaan |
| ***ow oro* or *ow uru*** | write, make figures | schrijven, figuurtjes maken |
| ***pikmo*** | stab | |
| ***ra* = *rap*** | | |
| ***ragae*** | fish | vis |
| ***ragae kagaendeni ko, ka* or *waepmo*** | stand fishing | lopen te vissen |
| ***ragae ndaran*** | roasted fish (from *ndo*) | van *ndo* gebakken vis |
| ***ragaeson*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***raguman*** | foster child | pleegkind |
| ***raguman oro* or *uru*** | adopt as a foster child | als pleegkind aannemen |
| ***ragumo*** | adopt as a foster child | als pleegkind aannemen |
| ***ra haramo***[134] | tear by hand, tear open | met de hand scheuren, openscheuren |
| ***ra hawarapmo*** | iterative of *ra haramo* | it. bij *ra haramo* |
| ***ra kaende*** | break wood etc. by hand | met de handen breken van hout en derg. |
| ***ra kaepmo*** | iterative of *ra kaende* | it. bij *ra kaende* |
| ***rakamo***[135] | vomit, throw up | uitbraken |
| ***ra karomo*** | break pottery etc. by hand | met de handen breken van aardewerk en derg. |
| ***rak ko, ka*** | take along, take away | meenemen, wegbrengen |
| ***ra ko oro* or *uru*** | go and put down, take away to | gaan neerleggen, wegbrengen naar |
| ***ra konmo*** | put a hollow object upside down over something else, capsize, poor out | omstulpen, kapseizen, uitgieten, uitstorten |
| ***ra korokmo*** | open by hand, untie by hand | met de handen openmaken, losmaken |
| ***ra kotmo* = *ra konmo*** | | |

133 *oto-ro ko* 'go.in/out_ss go', see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1 on complex demonstrative pronouns and motion verbs.
134 Cf. *saramo.*
135 The YW–English wordlist of Part II has *ragamo* rather than *rakamo*.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ra mari oro* or *uru*** | put down | neerleggen |
| ***ra mati, matigo*** | put upright | rechtop zetten |
| ***rambamo*** | ask for | vragen naar |
| ***rambapmo*** | iterative of *rambamo* | it. bij *rambamo* |
| ***ra-mbari*** | old woman | oude vrouw |
| ***rambarimo*** | stumble | struikelen |
| ***ra mbarokmo*** | play with genitals | spelen met schaamdelen |
| ***ramburumo*** | capsize, put a hollow object upside down over something else; turn around (tr., intr.), horizontally and vertically | kapseizen, omstulpen, doen kapseizen, zich omdraaien, vertikaal en horizontaaal omdraaien, omkeren |
| ***ramburumo eto, etogo*** | look back, look aside | omzien, opzij kijken |
| ***ramburumo jan, ja* and *jaŋge*** | lay on the back | op de rug liggen |
| ***ra(p) me, mende, mando*** | bring, bring along, bring here | brengen, meebrengen, hierbrengen |
| ***ra ndomo*** | break off | afbreken |
| ***ra ndoŋgitmo*** | iterative of *ra ndomo* | it. bij *ra ndomo* |
| ***ra ŋgamo*** | break by hands of rattan, rope etc. | met de handen breken van rottan, touw enz. |
| ***ra ŋgirimo*** | push forth, push away | voortduwen, wegduwen |
| ***ran*** | woman, female person, male ego's sister; *na ran* my sister | vrouw, vrouwelijk persoon, zuster t.o.v. broer; *na ran* mijn zuster |
| ***ran arjok*** | newlywed woman | pas gehuwde vrouw |
| ***randawan* see *kerop randawan* etc.** | | |
| ***randawanmo*** | lift up, lift high | opheffen, omhoog heffen |
| ***randokmo* and *randokmo ko, ka*** | leave behind | achterlaten |
| ***randugupmo*** | iterative of *randokmo* | it. bij *randokmo* |
| ***randuj*** | girl, also addressee form for *matip* and *mbiat* | meisje, ook aanspreking voor *matip* en *mbiat* |
| ***ran kambir emo*** | have unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman | onrechtmatige geslachtelijke omgang hebben met vrouw |
| ***ran kamok*** | infertile woman | onvruchtbare vrouw |

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***ran kandit*** | purchase price for a wife | koopsom voor een vrouw |
| ***ran kuwop*** | married man | gehuwde man |
| ***ran sarip*** | widow | weduwe |
| ***raygande*** | shout | schreeuwen |
| ***rayge*** | addressee for *regen* | aanspreking voor *regen* |
| ***rayguj*** | female of animals | vrouwelijk van dieren |
| ***rap, rawo*** | take hold of, take, get, hold; *rawaran* he has power over | aanpakken, aannemen, krijgen, nemen, vasthouden; *rawaran* hij heeft macht over |
| ***rap jo, jogo*** | hand over | aanreiken |
| ***raprapmo*** | feel, finger | betasten |
| ***rap tut* of *turu, toro*** | lift upwards | omhoog heffen |
| ***raramun*** | plural of *ran* | vrouwen, mv. bij *ran* |
| ***rarapmo* in *ketmom rarapmo*** | dance | dansen |
| ***ra re, ra rege*** | go into the forest with a woman to have unlawful sexual intercourse, so *ran ra re, rege* | met een vrouw naar 't bos gaan voor onrechtmatige geslachtelijke omgang, dus *ran ra re, rege* |
| ***ra ri, riro*** | push down, press down | neerdrukken |
| ***rat ke*** | be light, clear | licht, helder zijn |
| ***rat-matan***[136] | light, clear | licht, helder |
| ***ratokmo*** | open (v.) | openen |
| ***ra tumo*** | take off | uittrekken |
| ***rawari*** | round | |
| ***rawari maran*** | be round as a ball | is bolrond |
| ***rawarimo*** | surround, enclose | omringen, omcirkelen |
| ***rawarimo ka, ko*** | walk around it | er omheen lopen |
| ***rawarimo mba, mbage*** | sit around | zitten rondom |
| ***rawo* see *rap*** | | |
| rawot | breadfruit | broodboom |
| ***re, rege*** | stand | staan |
| ***rege* see *re*** | | |

136 The YW–English wordlist has *rat*, without the suffix *-matan*.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***regen*** | father's sister's son, sister's son | zoon van vaderszuster, zoon van zuster |
| ***reregemo*** | iterative of *re* | it. bij *re* |
| ***rerende* or *enop rerende*** | warm oneself at the fire | zich warmen bij het vuur |
| ***rereop*** | noise | lawaai |
| ***rereop in*** | make noise | lawaai maken |
| ***rereoworo*** | altogether | |
| ***rewerekmo*** | wrap | inwikkelen |
| ***rewerep* in *oj rewerep ke*** | | |
| ri | chop down, fell | omkappen, kappen |
| ***ri*** | recite, sing | reciteren, zingen |
| ***ri*** | down, below; *ri mba* sit below | beneden; *ri mba, mbage* beneden zitten |
| ***ri , riro*** | go down | naar beneden gaan |
| ***ri kaende*** | chop down; *rigenep kaendegen* I chopped down | omkappen; *rigenep kaendegen* ik kapte om |
| ***ri ko*** | go downhill, downstream | helling afgaan, stroomafwaarts gaan |
| ***rin*** | rib | rib |
| ***riŋgin*** | proximity; *na ringin* my proximity; *na riŋgin ŋga* in my proximity | nabijheid; *na riŋgin* mijn nabijheid; *na riŋgin ŋga* in mijn nabijheid |
| ***ririmo*** | iterative of *ri* chop down or *ri* go down | it. bij *ri* kappen, reciteren, naar beneden gaan |
| ***riro* see *ri*** | | |
| ***riwirip*** | proximity, vicinity; *na riwirip* my proximity; *na riwirimo ŋga* close to me | nabijheid; *na riwirip* mijn nabijheid; *na riwirim ŋga* in mijn nabijheid |
| ***ro*** | plant | planten |
| ***rogo*** | speak, say, command[138] | zeggen, bevelen |
| ***rok, roke*** | plural stem of *re* 'stand' | |
| ***rom, romo*** | weep | wenen |
| ***rombotmo*** | fix | |
| ***rombotmo*** | iterative of *ro* | it. bij *ro* |

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***romŋgandit ke*** | iterative of *rom*[137] | it. bij *rom* |
| ***ron*** | hair on the body, feathers, leaves | haar op 't lichaam , veren, blad |
| ***roŋgaremo*** | defend | verdedigen |
| ***rop*** | fruit, pit | vrucht, pit |
| ***rorogomo*** | iterative of *rogo* | it. bij *rogo* |
| ***roromo*** | iterative of *ro* | it. bij *ro* |
| ***rowot ke*** | be sour, become sour | zuur zijn, verzuren |
| ***rug agumo*** | speak to | aanspreken, toespreken |
| ***rug e ndoj keran*** | be dumb | is stom |
| ***rug in, i*** | speak | spreken |
| ***rug iŋgamo*** | make a case, pass judgement | zaak uitmaken, oordeel vellen |
| ***rug ndojmban*** | dumb | stom |
| ***rug ndojowop*** | dumb | stom |
| ***ruk*** | voice, speaking, language, command, word[138] | stem, spraak, taal, bevel, woord |
| ***ruk janem*** | secret | geheim |
| ***ruk kogomogen*** | the news is spreading | het nieuws verspreidt zich |
| ***ruk mo up, uwo*** | argue, bicker | bekvechten |
| ***ruk raganow irukmo*** | be silent | zwijgen |
| ***ruk rogo*** | speak | spreken |
| ***ruk tagamo*** | speak | spreken |
| ***rum*** | scale of animal | schub |
| ***rumburumo*** | iterative of *rumo* | it. bij *rumo* |
| ***rumo*** | spread out | uitspreiden |
| ***sae*** | bed | brits |
| ***sagasak*** | series of dog teeth carried around the waist | rits hondentanden gedragen om het middel |
| ***sagat*** | casque of cassowary | helm van casuaris |
| ***sagat*** **see** ***ok sagat*** | | |
| ***Sagit*** | name of a tribe in the mountains, upper Kao | naam van een stam in de bergen, boven-Kao |

137 Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1, gives *romŋganit ke* rather than *romŋgandit ke*.
138 Cf. De Vries (2020:151) on nouns glossed 'language' or 'talk' as grounded in Greater Awyu perceptions of language as sound (here: voice) and action (here: command).

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***sagot*** | kind of rat or marsupial | ratsoort |
| ***saguj*** | kind of *shorea* tree | damarboom |
| ***sagumo*** | bury | begraven |
| ***saharep*** | during the day | overdag |
| ***sakpar oro* or *uru*** | sacrifice, bring an offering | offeren |
| ***sakpat*** | offering | offer |
| ***sambum*** | just, right, see also *sar e sambum ndoŋg* and *oj sambum* | recht, zie ook *sar e sambum nd.* en *oj sambum* |
| ***sambupmo*** | iterative of *samo* | it. bij *samo* |
| ***samo*** | mishit, shoot randomly | misschieten, in 't wilde weg schieten |
| ***sandek*** | tongue | tong |
| ***sapak ke*** | hit with the hand | slaan met de hand |
| ***sapmo*** | iterative of *un,* roast etc. | it. bij *un* poffen enz. |
| ***sapuk*** | tobacco | tabak |
| ***sapuk rap, rawo*** | jerk at, tug at, beating of the heart[139] | rukken aan bv. touw, kloppen van het hart |
| ***saramo*** | tr. tear, see also *ra haramo* | tr. scheuren, zie ook *ra haramo* |
| ***sarande*** | intr. tear | intr. scheuren |
| ***sarap*** | hut | hut |
| ***sare*, see *tat, tare*** | | |
| ***sar e jandit*** | the East | het oosten |
| ***sar e kagaemaran*** | it is in the later afternoon | het is in de namiddag |
| ***sar e sambum ndoŋ nderan*** | it is in the afternoon | het is middag |
| ***sar oŋgenemat te*** | what is the time? | hoe laat is het? |
| ***sarip*** | wife | echtgenote |
| ***sarip* in *kagup sarip* and *ran sarip*** | | |
| ***saruj*** | cold | koud |
| ***sat*** | sun | zon |
| ***sat kagaemogen*** | it is in the afternoon | het is in de namiddag |
| ***satkok*** | dry | droog |

139 Lit. 'hold a cigarette'. It seems as if the holding—and, I assume, sucking or inhaling—of tobacco is metaphorically extended to tugging, e.g. of a rope, or to the beating of the heart.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***satkok ke*** | experiential: be warm | event. het warm hebben |
| ***sat matugo megen*** | it is approximately 9 a.m. | 't is circa 9 u. a.m. |
| ***sat ndomke*** | go down, of the sun | ondergaan van de zon |
| ***sat ndomke ri, riro*** | go down, of the sun | ondergaan van de zon |
| ***sawarapmo*** | iterative of *saramo* | it. bij *saramo* |
| ***segek, segep*** | pinky finger, little toe | pink, kleine teen |
| ***segek(kup), segepkup*** | twenty seven[140] | zevenentwintig |
| ***segepotop*** | kind of palm | palmsoort |
| ***seget***[141] | kind of palm | palmsoort |
| ***sek*** see ***sinam sek*** | | |
| ***sendeknon*** | ground lianas | grondlianen |
| ***seregop*** | (side) leaf of sago | zijblad van sago |
| ***seretke*** | stop, prevent | tegenhouden |
| ***setmajop*** | pile, heap | stapel, hoop |
| ***sinam*** | bow for shooting | schietboog |
| ***sinam sek*** | bowstring[142] | boogpees |
| ***sindik*** | proximity | nabijheid |
| ***sindik*** | in e.g. *agaeow e sindik te* for which reason is it? What is the cause, the reason? | in bv *agaeow e sindik te* om welke reden is het? wat is de oorzaak, de aanleiding? |
| ***sindik ke*** | be close, of place and time | nabij zijn van plaats en tijd |
| ***so*** | in *top so* dig | in *top so* graven |
| ***sogonap*** | kind of mouse | muissoort |
| ***sogondot*** | plural of *sondot* | mv. bij *sondot* |
| ***sogugonde*** | grunt of pigs | knorren van varken |
| ***soke*** | jump | springen |
| ***sokegemo*** | iterative of *soke* | it. bij *soke* |
| ***soke ri, riro*** | jump down | naar beneden springen |
| ***sombirop*** | kind of palm | palmsoort |
| ***sombon*** | in *ahap-piri sombon* at the door | in *ahap-piri sombon* bij de deur |
| ***somo*** | throw, throw away | gooien, weggooien |

140 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.
141 The YW–English wordlist of Part II has *segep* rather than *seget*, see Text 12.02.
142 The YW–English wordlist of Part II has *sek* 'bowstring', without preceding *sinam*.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***sondot*** | hard, tight | hard, vast, stevig |
| ***soŋgitmo*** | it of *somo*, also used for scatter, spread, sow | it. bij *somo*, ook voor uitstrooien, zaaien |
| ***soomo*** | iterative of *somo*[143] | it. bij *somo* |
| ***sop* see *oj sop*** | | |
| ***sop*** | along etc. e.g. *og e sop ke* walk along the river[144] | langs, enz. bv. *og e sop ko* langs de rivier lopen, zie Sprk. |
| ***sopuk rap, rawo*** | beat, flog | afranselen, een pak slaag geven |
| ***sosomo*** | iterative of *so* | it. bij *so* |
| ***sowae* or *ŋgati sowae*** | kind of lizard | hagedissoort |
| ***sowag emoro*** | yet, notwithstanding everything | toch, niettegenstaande alles |
| ***sowak*** | for some time, without purpose, without doing anything | voorlopig, zomaar |
| ***sowakmo*** | just like that, without purpose, without doing anything | zomaar |
| ***sowakmo mba, mbage*** | sit without doing anything | ledig zitten |
| ***sowakmo waepmo*** | walk naked | naakt lopen |
| ***sowen-suwen*** | mosquito | muskiet |
| ***sowenop*** | kind of wood | houtsoort |
| ***sowenop-magap*** | house on *sowenop* trunk | huis op *sowenop*-stam |
| ***sugujaŋ*** | paddle | pagaai |
| ***sukmae*** | fast, quickly, in a moment | snel, aanstonds |
| ***sukmae ke*** | be quick, do quickly | vlug zijn, vlug doen |
| ***sumbupmo*** | iterative of *sumo* | it. bij *sumo* |
| ***sumo*** | take on the shoulder, carry on the shoulder; *ran sumo* marry a woman | op schouder nemen; *ran sumo* een vrouw huwen |

143 At this point, Drabbe's 1959 publication deviates from his 1956 list. In Drabbe (1959), *soomo* is not considered an iterative stem of *somo*, but as the iterative stem of *so* 'dig' (Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1), along with a second interative stem *sosomo* (used for the rooting of pigs, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.1). The iterative of *soomo* 'throw (away)' is *soŋgitmo* (Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1).

144 Analysed in the present publication as a postposition, glossed as MOVE and used in combination with verbs of movement, see Chapter 3, Section 3.7.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***sun*** | habitual element[145] | habitualis-element |
| ***sunmo(n)*** | often, usually | vaak, gewoonlijk |
| ***sunmon-sunmon*** | often, always, daily | gewoonlijk, heel vaak, altijd, dagelijks |
| ***supmo*** | iterative of *sumo* | it. bij *sumo* |
| ***Suruk*** | name of inhabitants of the downstream area between Kao and Muju | naam v.d bewoners benedenstrooms tussen Kao en Muju |
| ***suwan*** | spider | spin |
| ***taeŋgapmo*** | iterative of *taeŋgamo* | it. bij *taeŋgamo* |
| ***taem, taembo*** | shoot | schieten |
| ***taembo*** **see** ***taem*** | | |
| ***taeŋgamo*** | chop | kappen |
| ***taep*** | also, too, e.g. *ju taep, nu taep* he too, me too | ook, bv. *ju taep, nu taep* hij ook, ik ook |
| ***tagamo*** | speak, say | spreken, zeggen |
| ***tagamo ndojmo*** | say everything, confess | geheel zeggen, bekennen |
| ***tagamo tokmo*** | confess | bekennen |
| ***tagamomo*** | with *tagamo,*[146] in the sense of conduct, govern | bij *tagamo*, met betekenis van: besturen |
| ***tagapmo*** | curse, swear, use abusive language | schelden |
| ***taget*** | cowrie shell | |
| ***tagimo*** | pay, buy[147] | betalen, kopen |
| ***tagip*** | white marsupial, white parrot | witte koeskoes |
| ***tagiripmo*** | iterative of *tagimo* | it. bij *tagimo* |
| ***tagonde*** | stamp[148] | stampen |
| ***taman*** **see** ***ok taman*** | | |
| ***tambapte*** | embrace | omhelzen |
| ***tambinde*** | celebrate a feast | vieren van feest |
| ***tambog-oj*** | large intestine | dikke darm |
| ***tamburum*** | randomly | zomaar |
| ***tami*** | make a canoe | vervaardigen van prauw |

145 See Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.3 on (other) habitual constructions.
146 Drabbe probably means that this is the iterative of *tagamo*, with an idiosyncratic meaning 'conduct'.
147 Related to *taget* 'cowrie shell', because cowrie shells were used as payment, cf. De Vries (2020:196).
148 Meaning not entirely clear, because Dutch '*stampen*' may refer either to the concept of stamping, bumping, knocking or to the concept of pounding, crushing, pulverising.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***tamkok*** | dried meat | gedroogd vlees |
| ***tamo*** | sew | naaien |
| ***tamuk* and *tamukmo*** | alone, e.g. *ja tamuk* or *ja tamukmo* he alone | alleen, bv. *ja tamuk* of *ja tamukmo* hij alleen |
| ***taŋgat*** | war, fighting; *taŋgat ke* fight | oorlog, vechtpartij; *taŋgat ke* vechten |
| ***taŋ mbenemo*** | stick, tr. | doen aankleven |
| ***taŋ nde*** | cling to, stick, intr. | intr. aankleven |
| ***taŋgotop*** | armpit | oksel |
| ***tapke*** | hide oneself | zich verbergen |
| ***taragumo*** | hang | hangen |
| ***taragumo jan, ja* and *jaŋge*** | hang | hangen |
| ***taramo*** | sell | verkopen |
| ***taramo ko, ka***[149] | escort, lead | begeleiden |
| ***taramo me, mende, mando*** | escort to here | naar hier geleiden |
| ***tare* see *tat*** | | |
| ***tarin*** | slanting, leaning over | hellend |
| ***tarok*** | on[150] | op |
| ***tarom*** | rainy season, beginning of Eastern monsoon | regenperiode, begin oostmoesson |
| ***tarot*** | crab | krab |
| ***tat*** | sheath | schede |
| ***tat* see *wan tat* and *wit tat*** | | |
| ***tat, tare***[151] | scrape off, sharpen | afschrappen, uitschrappen, aanscherpen, schaven |
| ***tatamo*** | iterative of *tamo* | it. bij *tamo* |
| ***tatapmo*** | iterative of *tat* | it. bij *tat* |
| ***tawae* see *ketek tawae*** | | |
| ***tawog oro* or *uru*** | send a message | bericht sturen |
| ***tawok ko, ka*** | go and send a message | bericht gaan brengen |

149 In YW–English wordlist *taramo* without following *ko* has the same meaning.
150 See Chapter 3, Section 3.7, where it is explained that *tarok* should be analysed as a noun, 'upside'.
151 In addition to *tare*, the YW–English wordlist of Part II also gives *sare*, with same meaning.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***tawok me, mende, mando*** | bring a message here[152] | bericht hierbrengen |
| ***te*** | CON (linking element, and)[153] | schakel-element, Ned 'en' |
| ***te = nde*** | say | zeggen |
| ***te(n)*** | predicative element[153] | praedicatief element |
| ***tegemo=ndegemo*** | iterative of *te*[154] | it. bij *te* |
| ***tegetmo*** | pinch | knijpen |
| ***tek*** | rush, see also *sinam tek*[155] waistcloth made of rush | bies, zie ook *sinam tek*, ook schaamschort van die biezen |
| ***tek-wambit*** | waistcloth made of rush | schaamschort van biezen |
| ***tembetenop*** | plural of *tenop* | mv. bij *tenop* |
| ***tembetet*** | plural of *tet* 'tired'[156] | mv. bij *tet*, moe |
| ***temon*** | kind of rat | ratsoort |
| ***ten = te*** | | |
| ***tendemo=ndegemo*** | iterative of *te*[154] | it. bij *te* |
| ***teneŋgomo*** | fix to | vastmaken aan |
| ***tenep*** | tusk, fang, molar, horn | slagtand, kies, hoorn |
| ***tenok*** | legendary kind of taro | legendarische tales-soort |
| ***tenop*** | red | rood |
| ***tenor-o-kajok*** | vegetables | groenten |
| ***tenorop*** | anus | |
| **see *enop tenop*** | | |
| ***tenot*** | *genemu* plant[157] | **genemu**-plant |
| ***tenowop*** | red | rood |
| ***teŋget*** | penis | penis |
| ***teŋget*** | unopened leaf of palm, banana etc. | ongeopend blad van palm, banaan, enz. |

152 It is not entirely clear how Drabbe derives this transitive meaning of *me*. From an emic standpoint, *tawok* is the subject of the coming, see also Text 2.07.
153 In the present publication, *te* is considered an affirmative copula or a coordinator, see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.
154 Note that *te = nde*; in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1, the iterative stems of *nde ~ te* can be found under the lemma of *nde*.
155 Drabbe mistakenly refers to a non-existent entry.
156 Chapter 3, Section 3.3, has *tetembet* rather than *tembetet*.
157 It refers to the tali gnemon, a tree whose fibres are used to make bigger or smaller ropes, e.g. in order to make bracelets (Lourens de Vries, p.c.).

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***teren*** | leech | bloedzuiger |
| ***terende*** | go down of water, calm down of water | zakken, stil worden van water |
| ***tereŋgetmo*** | be ashamed of[158] | zich schamen |
| ***tet*** | shrimp[159] | garnaal |
| ***tet*** | tired | moe |
| ***tet*** **see** ***oj tet*** | | |
| ***tetenop*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***teteon*** | kind of bird | vogelsoort |
| ***tetewok*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***tetkondok*** | grasshopper | sprinkhaan |
| ***ti*** | scoop, row[160] | scheppen, roeien |
| ***ti*** | build, twine, peel[160] | bouwen, vlechten, schillen enz. |
| ***tig agumo(ro) kim, kimo***[161] | hang oneself | zich verhangen |
| ***tigin*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***tigin*** | because of, e.g. *ran e tigin de kaguw iran* he killed someone because of a woman('s case)[162] | wegens, bv. *ran e tigin de kaguw iran* hij doodde iemand wegens vrouw(ezaak) |
| ***tig irumon*** | twenty[163] | twintig |
| ***tik*** | rattan, rope | rottan, touw |
| ***tik*** | ten, ten of[163] | tiental |
| ***tik-konop*** | waist belt of rattan | buikband van rottan |
| ***tikmae*** | contracted form of *tik omae* 'ten'[163] | |
| ***tik-mbesi*** | Malay: chain, iron wire, steel cable | (Mal.) ketting, ijzerdraad, stalen kabel |
| ***tik wop*** | length of rattan (rope) | eind rottan |
| ***timae*** | kind of fish | vissoort |

158 Cf. *tereŋget* in the YW–English wordlist of Part II.
159 The YW–English wordlist of Part II glosses *tet* with grasshopper (Dutch: *sprinkhaan*), cf. *tetkondok* in the 1956 wordlist here.
160 In the YW–English wordlist, I have explained how the different senses of *ti* 'scoop' and *ti* 'build' may be related.
161 Lit. 'to make a rope and die'.
162 See also Text 3.01 and the explanation given there.
163 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and the use of *tik* in a base-10 numeral system.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***timtop*** | corner? | hoek |
| ***ti-ŋgoj*** | bunch of bananas | bananentros |
| ***tiomo*** | spit | spuwen |
| ***tioŋgitmo*** | iterative of *tiomo* | it. bij *tiomo* |
| ***tir ambit*** | banana skin, banana peel | bananenschil |
| ***tirin*** | year | jaar |
| ***tirin-tirin*** | yearly | jaarlijks |
| ***tirin-tirinop*** | yearly | jaarlijks |
| ***tir-o-jagip*** | garden products | tuinproducten |
| ***tit*** | mouth of river | |
| ***tit*** | banana | banaan |
| ***titimo*** | iterative of *ti* | it. bij *ti* |
| ***titit*** | yellow | geel |
| ***titmo*** | touch | aanraken |
| ***titun*** | ant | mier |
| ***tiwop = tik-wop*** | | |
| ***to(n)*** | interrogative and dubitative element[164] | vragend, en dubitatief element |
| ***tog o = tok*** | | |
| ***togonde*** | make a hole for planting | pootgat maken |
| ***togop*** | kind of poisonous snake | giftige slangsoort |
| ***tojoke*** | burst of ground, stone | barsten van grond, steen |
| ***tok, dok*** | element expressing cause or reason[165] | redengevend en oorzaakaanduidend element |
| ***tok ke*** | intr. split, split open, | intr. splijten, opensplijten |
| ***tokmo*** | tr. split, cut in | tr. splijten, insnijden |
| ***tokmo*** | in *ran tokmo* marry a woman | in *ran tokmo* een vrouw huwen |
| ***tokmo* see *tagamo tokmo*** | | |
| ***tomae*** | white ant, termite | witte mier, termiet |
| ***tomba*** | not[166] | niet |

164 Analysed as interrogative copula in the present publication and glossed as Q, see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.2.
165 Glossed in the present publication as GROUND, see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.5. The form *dok* is used following nasals.
166 Analysed in the present publication as a negative copula, see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.3.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***tombanop*** | good, beautiful | goed, mooi |
| ***tombik*** | rack above the hearth | rekje boven de haard |
| ***tombok ke*** | burst of ground, stone | barsten van grond, steen |
| ***tombokmo*** | iterative of *tokmo* | it. bij *tokmo* |
| ***tombon*** | midrib of leaf | nerfje van palmblad |
| ***tomin*** | bat | vleermuis |
| ***tomŋgande***[167] | fall down of tree etc. | omvallen van boom enz. |
| ***ton = to*** | | |
| ***toŋgot* in *kerop toŋgot*** | | |
| ***top*** | opening, hole, pitfall | opening, gat, valkuil |
| ***topmaemo*** | remaining | blijvend |
| ***top so*** | dig, dig a hole | graven, gat graven |
| ***toro* see *tut*** | | |
| ***torop*** | kind of liana | liaansoort |
| ***totmo*** | tr. and intr. stick | tr. en intr. aankleven |
| ***totogopmo*** | walk fast, flee | hard lopen, vluchten |
| ***tot wanin*** | banana peel, banana skin | banaanschil |
| ***towoj*** | fruit bat | vliegende hond |
| ***tuguj*** | fat (n.), grease | subst. vet |
| ***tuj*** | pulp | pulp |
| ***tumo*** | pull off, pull out, hollow out of a canoe | uittrekken, uitdoen, afdoen, aftrekken, uithollen v. prauw |
| ***tun*** | kind of wood | houtsoort |
| ***tun* see *wit tun*** | | |
| ***tupke*** | intr. get loose, come off from something else | intr. loslaten, losraken uit iets anders |
| ***turu* see *tut*** | | |
| turukmo | hide | verbergen |
| ***turu ko*** | go uphill, upstream[168] | helling opgaan, stroomopwaarts gaan |
| ***turumo*** | iterative of *taem*; ***paku*** *ŋga turumo* to nail | it. bij *taem;* **paku** *ŋga turumo* spijkeren |
| ***turup*** | alone, *ja turup* he alone | alleen, *ja turup* hij alleen |
| ***turutop*** | ear | oor |

167 Cf. *kande* 'fall'.
168 See Chapter 3, Section 3.5 on complex spatial pronouns and verbs of movement.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***turutop komaran*** | deaf | doof |
| ***turutop(kup)*** | twelve[169] | twaalf |
| ***turutow indomaran*** | deaf | doof |
| ***turutow oj*** | earwax | oorsmeer |
| ***tut*** | shallow | ondiep |
| ***tut* in *ok tut*** | | |
| ***tut* or *turu, toro*** | go upwards | naar boven gaan |
| ***tutupke*** | iterative of *tupke* | it. bij *tupke* |
| ***tutupmo*** | iterative of *tumo* | it. bij *tumo* |
| ***tututmo*** | iterative of *tut* | it. bij *tut* |
| ***ugum* and *ugumo*** | blow | blazen |
| ***ugum-somo*** | blow on | beblazen |
| ***uj***[170] | pig | varken |
| ***uj*** | dream | droom |
| ***uj*** | prison, chain | gevangenis, boei |
| ***uj agumo*** | put in prison | in de gevangenis zetten |
| ***ujamun*** | small and big animals | |
| ***uj-aygae*** | pets | huisdieren |
| ***uj-itit*** | pigs and cassowaries, large game | varkens en casuarissen, groot wild |
| ***uj jayge eto, etogo*** | dream | dromen |
| ***uj-mbitip*** | pigsty | varkenshok |
| ***uj top*** | rest place of wild pig | varkensleger |
| ***uk*** | lung | long |
| ***uke matut* and *maturu, matoro*** | come up out of the water | omhoog komen uit het water |
| ***Uk-Jandit*** | watershed between Wanik and Kao | waterscheiding tussen Wanik en Kao |
| ***umop*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***un, ondo*** | go across | naar de overkant gaan |
| ***un, undo*** | roast | poffen, bakken |
| ***undo*** | see *un* roast, bake | zie *un* bakken |
| ***undundumo*** | iterative of *un* go across | it. bij *un* naar overkant gaan |

169 See Chapter 3, Section 3.6 on numeral nouns and counting.
170 Also extended to all edible animals, see the explanation in the YW–English wordlist of Part II.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***uŋgo*** | medial form of *un* go across[171] | infiniete vorm bij *un* naar overkant gaan |
| ***uŋgo ko*** | go across and go away | oversteken en weggaan |
| ***up*** | kind of taro | tales-soort |
| ***up, uwo*** | fight, make war | vechten |
| ***upney iŋgamo*** | to breathe one's last breath | laatste adem uitblazen |
| ***upney ke*** | experiential: breathe | event. ademen |
| ***upney ndoj ke*** | to breathe one's last breath | laatste adem uitblazen |
| ***uru = oro*** | | |
| ***uruk* see *enow uruk*** | | |
| ***ururuke ko, ka***[172] | fly | vliegen |
| ***ut*** | dead body fluid | lijkvocht |
| ***ut, oto*** | go in, go out[173] | binnengaan, naar buiten gaan |
| ***uupmo*** | iterative of *up* | it. bij *up* |
| ***uutmo*** | iterative of *ut* | it. bij *ut* |
| ***uwo* see *up*** | | |
| ***wa*** | sago grub | sagoworm |
| ***wae ke*** | get well, recover | beter worden, genezen |
| ***waep ke*** | be angry; *ŋginokerop waep ke* look angry | boos zijn; *ŋginokerop waep ke* boos kijken |
| ***waepke*** | decorate | |
| ***waepmo*** | walk, be walking, walk around | lopen, op stap zijn, rondlopen |
| ***wagae ke*** | experiential: be healthy | event. gezond zijn |
| ***wagae, wagaeop*** | good, beautiful, pure, sweet, tasty, healthy | goed, mooi, zuiver, zoet, lekker, gezond |
| ***wagaemo*** | be good, do good, treat well | goed zijn, goeddoen, goed behandelen, goed doen |
| ***wagaeop* see *wagae*** | | |
| ***wagap, wagawop*** | wild, shy, timid | wild, schuw |

171 In his 1959 publication, Drabbe gives only two stems with a dedicated medial stem that differs both from the primary and the secondary stem: *uŋgo*, related to primary *un* 'go across' and *muŋgo*, related to primary *mun* 'come across. See Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1.
172 The YW–English wordlist of Part II has *ururuk ke* rather than *ururuke ke*.
173 Synonymous with *kut, koto*.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***wagi*** | knife, sharp part of e.g. tusk | mes, het scherp van bv. slagtand |
| ***wagop*** **see** ***oj wagop ke*** | | |
| ***wagot*** | egg | ei |
| ***wagot*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***wagum*** | bush fowl | boskip |
| ***waguwop*** | thin, skinny | mager |
| ***wahae*** | right (opp. of left) | rechts |
| ***wajok*** | immature, of fruits | onvolgroeid van vruchten |
| ***wajon*** | owl | uil |
| ***wajuk*** | duck | eend |
| ***wambarumo***[174] | hang | hangen |
| ***wambindemo*** | put on waistcloth | aandoen van schaamschort |
| ***wambirop*** | testicle | testikel |
| ***wambit*** | tail; *konoj wambit* rear part of canoe | staart; *konoj wambit* achtersteven |
| ***wambit ke*** | experiential: sleep of body parts | event. slapen van ledematen |
| ***wambogoj*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***Wambon*** | language spoken by the tribe in question | stam die het onderhavige dialect spreekt |
| ***wamin*** | yesterday | gisteren |
| ***wamip*** | middle | |
| ***wamit*** | earth spirit | |
| ***wamkarok*** | kind of wood | houtsoort |
| ***wan*** | foot, leg | voet, been |
| ***wan aŋgu*** | big toe | grote teen |
| ***wandae*** **see** ***ok wandae*** | | |
| ***wanden*** | windings, package | windselen, pakje |
| ***wandin*** | belly, egg | buik, ei |
| ***wandin ke*** | experiential: be or get satisfied | event. verzadigd worden, zijn |

174 The YW–English wordlist in Part II has *wamburumo* rather than *wambarumo*.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***Wanik*** | tribute to the Kao river; *Waniktit* mouth of the Wanik | zijriviertje van de Kao; *Waniktit* Wanik-monding |
| ***wanin*** | ash | |
| ***wan katogot*** | heel | hiel |
| ***wan kerarop*** | toe | teen |
| ***wan ketop*** | toe | teen |
| ***wan kumuk*** | ankle | enkel |
| ***wan mbetat*** | cripple | kreupel |
| ***wan mbin*** | shin | scheen |
| ***wan mbun*** | leg bracelet | beenband |
| ***wan mom***[175] | calf (body part) | kuit |
| ***wan muk*** | toenail | teen-nagel |
| ***wan ŋgambuj*** | heel | hiel |
| ***wan ŋgojmban*** | lame | lam |
| ***wan oj*** | sole of the foot | voetzool |
| ***wan segek*** | little toe | kleine teen |
| ***wan tat*** | sole of the foot | voetzool |
| ***wan wogoj*** | ankle | enkel |
| ***Waŋgom*** | name of a tribe that also speaks a dialect of Awyu | naam van een stam, die ook een dialect van het Awju spreekt |
| ***waŋgum jo, jogo*** | pay debt or fine | boete, schuld betalen |
| ***waragande mari, majo*** | fall backwards | achterover vallen |
| ***waran*** | daylight | daglicht |
| ***warande*** | be daylight | daglicht zijn |
| ***waranden*** | morning | morgen |
| ***warawae*** | lightning; *warawae warimo* flashing of lightning | bliksem; *warawae warimo* flitsen v.d. bliksem |
| ***warigae*** | mucus | snot |
| ***warigae kup*** | having a cold | verkouden |
| ***warim*** | beetle | kever |
| ***warimo*** | flash (of lightning) | flitsen v.d. bliksem |
| ***waritop*** | space below a house | ruimte onder een huis |

175 The YW–English wordlist in Part II has *wan mbon* rather than *wan mom*.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***waroke mari, majo*** | come loose and fall off | loslaten en afvallen, afvallen |
| ***watek*** | bark of sago | schors van sago |
| ***watmo*** | carry leaves as coverage of penis | dragen van bladeren als penisbedekking |
| ***watom*** | **udang putih (white shrimp)** | **udang putih** |
| ***watuk*** | trunk without head | romp zonder kop |
| ***wawaruke*** | rock a child in the arms | op de arm wiegen van een kind |
| ***wawit*** | earth spirit | aardgeest |
| ***wawot*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***wawuk*** | kind of mouse | muissoort |
| ***weretmo***[176] | intr. recover, get well | intr. genezen |
| ***win-ŋgambin*** | elbow | elleboog |
| ***wir arunde*** | stretch the arm | arm strekken |
| ***wir-aŋgu*** | thumb | duim |
| ***wir oj*** | inner part of hand | binnenste van de hand |
| ***wirop*** | taro | tales |
| ***wir-o-wan*** | arms and legs | armen en benen |
| ***wit*** | hand, arm, foreleg | hand, arm, voorpoot |
| ***wit karimo*** | count | tellen |
| ***wit kerarop*** | finger | vinger |
| ***wit ketop*** | finger | vinger |
| ***wit kumuk*** | wrist | pols |
| ***wit kurugut*** | index finger | wijsvinger |
| ***wit mak*** | shoulder | schouder |
| ***wit mo te kumbugukmo*** | use sign language | gebarentaal spreken |
| ***wit mom*** | lower arm | benedenarm |
| ***wit-muk*** | fingernail | vingernagel |
| ***wit pen***[177] | lower arm | benedenarm |
| ***wit pun*** | bracelet | armband |
| ***wit rap me, wit rap ko*** | conduct by hand | aan de hand geleiden |
| ***wit segek*** | little finger | pink |
| ***wit-tat*** | palm of hand | handpalm |

176 The YW–English wordlist in Part II has *werepmo* rather than *weretmo*.
177 See *mben* in Chapter 3, Section 3.6.

| Yonggom Wambon | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|
| ***wit tun*** | upper arm | bovenarm |
| ***wit wamip*** | middle finger | middelvinger |
| ***wit waŋgop*** | ring finger | ringvinger |
| ***wogoj*** | moon | maan |
| ***wogoj* see *wan wogoj*** | | |
| ***wok*** | kind of pineapple | een soort ananas |
| ***womo*** | guard | bewaken, passen op |
| ***wonam*** | hearth | haard |
| ***woŋgopon*** | long of duration, old, formerly, in former times | lang van duur, oud van zaken, vroeger, in vroegere tijd |
| ***woŋgujup*** | kind of fish | vissoort |
| ***wop* see *eno-wop* and *tik-wop*** | | |
| ***woron in, i***[178] | play | spelen |
| ***wut*** | crowd, troop of birds or fishes | menigte, school van vis, vlucht van vogels |
| ***wut kuwop*** | crowd | menigte |

178 The YW–English wordlist in Part II has *worow in* rather than *woron in*.

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